THE UNIVERSITY *of* EDINBURGH

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MARIA GORDUSENKO

SELF-REPRESENTATION IN THE THREE-DIMENSIONAL ARTS:

A STUDY OF *ITALIA* AND *GERMANIA*, CA 800 – CA 1200

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Abstract

Self-Representation in the Three-Dimensional Arts: A Study of *Italia* and *Germania*, ca 800 – ca 1200

This thesis is a study of self-representation in sculpture in the Middle Ages. The research offers a new interpretation of the uses of self-representation by practitioners working in various three-dimensional media active in medieval Italia and Germania before the twelfth century. An analysis of a series of case studies provides evidence for investigating issues hitherto often overlooked, including literacy, devotion, skill, craftsmanship, commemoration and identity.

Emphasis is placed on visual analysis of the case studies. Sculptors' self-representations, integrated within these religious objects produced for use in Christian practice, are identifiable either through inscriptions or documentary evidence. This thesis applies interdisciplinary methodologies to explore practical, devotional and cultural functions of the case studies. It combines iconological and iconographic approaches to indicate cultural connections and exchange between European regions, where my examples are found. The roles of artists and patrons and their mobility, and the continuity of self-representational tradition from antiquity to the Middle Ages are considered to provide necessary background context to this enquiry.

The topics of sculptors' iconography, literacy and social standing have not received systematic attention in previous scholarship. However, this analysis of sculptors' self-representations demonstrates that certain iconographic codes existed already in the early medieval period. Iconographic analysis of one of the examples indicates affiliation of the sculptor with lay brothers. Insufficiently studied to date, this social group receives thorough attention in this thesis. In other examples, signed self-representations accurately specify sculptors' professional titles and social positions. This thesis also demonstrates that the me fecit-signatures are indicative of sculptors' authorship and literacy. Having established this, this enquiry challenges the misleading impression of medieval artists' anonymity popular in early scholarship. It also proposes that sculptors' self-representations should not be perceived in a standardised way.

The case studies reflect social diversity of early medieval sculptors' community on both sides of the Alps. They encompass individuality of their authors, ensure devotional expression and serve as a means of communication between sculptors, their contemporaries and further generations. The thesis opens new perspectives for understanding of early medieval sculptors and their work.

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Introduction and Literature Review

This thesis researches self-representations of early medieval sculptors in Western Europe created up to the twelfth century. It offers a new view of artistic self-reference in the Middle Ages.[1] The case is made through analysis of a series of three-dimensional examples, which have not received sufficient attention in previous scholarship. References to two-dimensional pieces are made when necessary to underline that the nature of medieval self-representations was not restricted to media and forms in which these were made. Produced by sculptors, bronze casters and goldsmiths active in the territories of present-day Italy and Germany, I consider the case studies with self-representation as signs of devotion and self-awareness of their makers.

Most of the self-representations discussed in this thesis are identifiable either through inscriptions, 'signatures,' or on the basis of documentary evidence.[2] A select number of these examples serve as main case studies in this thesis. Among them is the signed self-representation of the sculptor Liutpreht at a column capital in a crypt (Freising Cathedral, Germany). The capital has the name 'LIVT // PREHT' carved in Roman majuscule exactly above the figure of a man. Most importantly, the column with this self-representation stands next to the sarcophagus of St Corbinian. The sculptor perpetuated his presence by the saint's relics that attracted pilgrims from all over Europe. Liutpreht demonstrated not only piety, but also a combination of artistic creativity and humility, because his self-representation appears at an angle of the capital making it noticeable only for those, who would pray in front of the sarcophagus and altar of St Corbinian. By analysing this and a number of other self-representations, this thesis is not insisting in presenting definitive evidence. It rather offers an alternative

[1] By referring to the territories in question as 'Western Europe' the ambiguity and inconsistency of geographical borders of these areas in the course of political and economic history are taken into account. Although in the Middle Ages the large territory of Western Europe was divided into kingdoms, it still possessed spiritual unity through Christian religion and the Pope, as well as had uniformity of language, because Latin was officially used by the noblemen, clergy and scholars.
[2] Signatures are considered as sub-category of inscriptions.

view on lives and work of early medieval sculptors and suggests overcoming the stereotype of the anonymous artist in the Middle Ages. At the same time, this thesis cautiously avoids projecting another stereotypical misconception, namely a post-medieval view of an artist as an intellectual individual gifted with oustanding creativity.

Notably, self-representations that are subjects of research in this study are integrated within works of art produced for use in Christian practice, devotion and ceremonial. Sculptors' self-representations are regarded as their essential parts, and emphasis is placed on visual analysis and materiality of objects in question. The case studies produced in the territories of *Italia* and *Germania* are not presented as isolated from other pieces with artists' self-representations created in various media and in different European regions; several French and Spanish examples are also illustrative of the issues discussed in this thesis. By engaging with the case studies critically, I pursue to identify common features characteristic of self-representations originating from both sides of the Alps. This includes consideration of iconographical, stylistic and technical aspects, as well as a discussion of sculptors' self-representations, their practical, devotional and cultural functions and contexts. For instance, the main case studies from Italy and Germany are discussed in this thesis in relation to French sculptors' self-representations. This illustrates the unity of some artistic and self-representational tendencies in early medieval Europe. Gofridus's capital (Collégiale Saint-Pierre, Chauvigny), Bernardus Gelduinus's altar (Saint Sernin, Toulouse) and Giraldus's doorknockers (St Julien, Brioude in Auvergne) are among the select examples in my discussion of the *me fecit*-signatures. The signed self-image of the Spanish sculptor Arnaud Catell (Sant Cugat del Vallès, Barcelona) is one of the documented cases demonstrating the interconnection between written and figurative self-representations, and it also illustrates the formation of iconography of sculptors at work.

This thesis enquires into possible sources for self-representations. However, it does not attempt to identify any early prototype or prototypes that sculptors subsequently followed. My intention has been to avoid making ideologically motivated generalisations characteristic of earlier scholarship. Some of these generalisations, for instance, that portraiture was an achievement of Western European art and developed

from ancient and Renaissance conceptions of individuality, were criticised by Jonathan Alexander. According to Alexander, awareness of representational contexts and traditions in different cultures and periods is more important to enquiries on portraiture than identifying the first portrait or its origins.[3] This constructive point of view helps to justify the diversity of selected case studies in my thesis and serves as a foundation for developing my arguments.

Attempts to collect and classify all known sculptors' self-representations are excluded from the goals of this study. In previous research, such classifications, usually subjective and covering a broad timespan, failed to provide thorough analysis of early medieval self-representations.[4] For instance, Calabrese's thematic classification is thorough but hardly applies to early medieval sculptors. Legner's encyclopaedic work *Der Artifex* (2009) raised no analytic questions and addressed the examples briefly rather than attempted an in-depth approach. However, the author provided a substantial framework for the topic, which may be used as a source of factual information to consult at the starting point of research. Dietl (1995) used statistical data and classified artists' inscriptions by various categories, including location, formulas and terms used.[5] However, research in this direction needs to be expanded as the material addressed by Dietl is limited to the twelfth-century Italy. In addition, this thesis shows that there is no point in perceiving sculptors' self-representations, especially inscriptions, in a standardised way. Critical analysis of early medieval case studies with sculptors' self-representations suggested in this thesis aims to level the gaps in our knowledge of the period and enhance the understanding of later examples.

In terms of discussing medieval artists, the term 'self-representation' is considered in this thesis as more suitable than 'self-portrait'. Both 'self-representation' and 'self-portrait' demonstrate an awareness of one's own individuality and closely relate to the

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[3] J. Alexander, 'Facing the Middle Ages: Concluding Remarks,' *Gesta* 46 (2007): 194.
[4] See Calabrese, O. *Artists' Self-Portraits*. London: Abbeville Press Publishers, 2006 and Legner, A. *Der Artifex: Künstler im Mittelalter und ihre Selbstdarstellung: eine illustrierte Anthologie.* Cologne: Greven, 2009.
[5] A. Dietl, 'Italienische Bildhauerinschriften: Selbstdarstellung und Schriftlichkeit mittelalterlicher Künstler,' in *Inschriften bis 1300*, ed. H. Giersiepen et al. (Bonn: Opladen Westdt. Verl, 1995), 201.

concept of identity. However, in a self-portrait an artist is rather the main subject and is shown as a character. In this sense, the category of self-representations is broader, because it may include both written and figurative self-representations or ‘self-images.’ Self-representations realise artists’ aspirations for remembrance and show artists as they wished to represent themselves to their contemporaries, future generations, or to God. Another specific feature of self-representations is ensuring artists’ presence not only in the environment of cultural memory, but also nominally in a church or monastery where their work was meant to be found. For people in the Middle Ages, a name mentioned in a written self-representation was equated to a person’s physical presence and established a substantial connection between them and an object with their name inscribed.[6] In the медшумal period, names functioned as ‘orthographic fingerprints’ and were used in a broad context, to identify not only a certain person, but also their ancestors and descendants.[7] Signatures were applied by artists because since early times names were perceived as stronger means of identification than images.[8] Moreover, in the texts of their inscriptions artists usually expressed devotion and humbly promoted their skills.

A range of case studies analysed in this thesis illustrates characteristic features of two basic types of self-representations, made in pictorial (figurative) and written (non-figurative) forms. Among them are signatures and inscriptions produced by Ursus, Liutpreht, Bernhardus and Pelegrinus, which are the main case studies of this thesis. Signatures and inscriptions of these sculptors are mentioned in Dietl’s four-volume comprehensive corpus *Die Sprache der Signatur* (2009). Fundamental contributions of the scholars Dietl (1987; 2003; 2009) and Claussen (1981; 2003) in classifying sculptors’ signatures and inscriptions and analysing their terminology may not be

[6] H. Bley, ‘'Bernhardus me fecit': die romanischen Löwenkopf-Türzieher in Freckenhorst,’ *Westfalen* 68 (1990): 194-195.
[7] L. Seidel, *Legends in Limestone: Lazarus, Gislebertus, and the Cathedral of Autun* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1999), 14.
[8] S. Perkinson, *The Likeness of the King: a Prehistory of Portraiture in Late Medieval France* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2009), 43.

overlooked.[9] However, my findings reveal that information on my case studies provided by Dietl is not entirely accurate and requires an update.

Not only self-representations demonstrate the ways artists wished to represent themselves to others and show features recognisable to others, but they also reflect what artists have learned about themselves, the degrees of their self-awareness. Specifically, in written self-representations the scope of investment of artists' self in their inscriptions varies. Firstly, in many cases it is uncertain whether artists composed their inscriptions themselves, or those were dictated by their educated patrons.[10] For instance, considering their modest level of literacy, not only Lombard sculptors were insctructed about graphic rendering and designs, but they were also provided with texts of inscriptions by their patrons.[11] Secondly, along with the scale of investment of artists' self in their inscriptions, the consequent projection of these written self-representations to audience depended on artists' purpose. As the analysis of written self-representations in this thesis demonstrates, some of them address artists' contemporaries, whereas others were meant as petitions to God.

In early scholarship portraiture was firmly associated with the Renaissance period, when self-awareness and individuality flourished. The Middle Ages, on the contrary, were commonly labelled as the time of collective mentality.[12] However, Beutler (1982)

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[9] In *Die Sprache der Signatur* (2009) Dietl collected an impressively broad number of artist's signatures and inscriptions. The first volume discussed important practical, economic and social issues related to medieval artists' inscriptions. Other volumes contain a well-structured catalogue of inscriptions from various European regions. See Dietl, A. *Die Sprache der Signatur: die mittelalterlichen Künstlerinschriften Italiens*. Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2009 and Claussen, P. 'Früher Künstlerstolz: Mittelalterliche Signaturen als Quelle der Kunstsoziologie.' In *Bauwerk und Bildwerk im Hochmittelalter: Anschauliche Beiträge zur Kultur- und Sozialgeschichte*, edited by Karl Clausberg, 7-34. Giessen: Anabas, 1981.
[10] F. Dell'Acqua, 'Ursus 'magester': uno scultore di età longobarda,' in *Artifex bonus: il mondo dell'artista medievale*, ed. Enrico Castelnuovo, 20-25, (Roma: Editori Laterza, 2004), 24.
[11] A. Petrucci, *Writers and Readers in Medieval Italy: Studies in the History of Written Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 49.
[12] J. Burckhardt, *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien* (Leipzig: Seemann, 1928), 123. Self-representations of artists (especially sculptors) were ignored in early publications. The earliest books by Eitelberger (1884) and Burckhardt (1898) focused on portraiture in general. For the latter author, for instance, portraiture was meant to convey physiognomic likeness and personality of a sitter. Lehmann (1900) and Buerkel (1905) limited their surveys to painters' self-portraiture. Benkard (1927) and Goldscheider (1937) mentioned a few sculptors' self-

stated that the principles of individualisation form the foundation of European culture.[13] In his study of a Carolingian piece, the scholar discussed Christian relics, freestanding statues of saints and increasing individualisation in sculpture. Beutler emphasised the link between classical Roman and early medieval periods. It is necessary to consider the importance of this connection in order to understand the continuity of artistic tradition further to the Renaissance. Current in-depth historical studies demonstrate that portraiture, as a genre, was equally present in antiquity, medieval and Renaissance periods; the concept of likeness, however, depended upon the period, the tastes and many other circumstances.[14] Artistic naturalism, for instance, was perceived as a criterion denoting the boundaries between medieval and modern visual appearances; but at the same time, the impact of philosophical texts, especially the works of 'natural philosophy,' on art and development towards naturalistic images were noted by Panofsky and Camille.[15]

Recent scholarship proposes that medieval artists have not exclusively relied on physiognomic likeness to identify sitters and express individuality; their idea of a portrait was based on conventional visual signs, such as age and gender, occupation and kinship, heraldry and costume, and inscriptions.[16] This may actually signify that medieval portraiture was more accurate and true-to-life, as it implied not only physiognomic likeness, but also a number of additional features to complement an image. Medieval peoples' views on themselves differed significantly from those that

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portraits. However, their enquiries on the evolution of self-portraiture contain outdated attributions and are superficial as they cover a wide range of artworks from various periods and regions.

[13] C. Beutler, *Statua. Die Entstehung der nachantiken Statue und der europaische Individualismus* (Munich, Prestel Verlag: 1982), 9-11.

[14] J. Woodall, *Portraiture: Facing the Subject* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 9.

[15] For an in-depth discussion on this see S. Perkinson, *The Likeness of the King: a Prehistory of Portraiture in Late Medieval France* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2009), 32, 35. The author discussed portraiture, likeness and identity in the Middle Ages and thoroughly considered these in relation to philosophical, theological and artistic issues of the period.

[16] See S. Perkinson, 'Sculpting Identity,' in *Set in Stone: the Face in Medieval Sculpture*, ed. C. Little (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 121 and L. Jacobus, '"Propria Figura": The Advent of Facsimile Portraiture in Italian Art,' *The Art Bulletin* 99 (2017): 73.

have existed in other periods and we have at present. Serene, 'unemotional' faces of rulers or saints with accents on the eyes corresponded to the views that expressing passions was unacceptable for figures of high rank, even in artistic representations; marginal sculpture showing musicians or demons, on the contrary, was abundant with deformed emotional faces.[17] This thesis aims to identify the place of sculptors in this hierarchy of representations.

Notably, even within the medieval period the idea of likeness was subject to change. Whereas in early medieval portraits conventional signs, social rank and the individual's spiritual likeness were crucial, late medieval portraits demonstrated interest in physiognomic likeness.[18] Nevertheless, medieval people associated portraits with memory, and likeness for them was a complex quality.[19] Perkinson considers medieval portraiture in the context of artistic and social aspects of the period. In his articles, the author mostly analyses the fourteenth-century examples, whereas in his book the scholar's ideas are presented in greater detail and connections to the early Middle Ages in terms of the issues of resemblance and likeness are established.[20] Thus, Perkinson's approach, to an extent, may also be efficient with regards to self-representations of early medieval sculptors. Focusing on early medieval portraiture, Dale suggests that an individual in the Middle Ages was represented not as a 'unique personality,' but as an ideal type through their 'virtue, character and presence.'[21] This suggestion may apply to most of my case studies. Sculptors' characters, indeed, do become prominent in some self-representations, as my discussion of selected examples further indicates.

Both Perkinson and Dale published their work in a special issue of *Gesta* entirely focused on medieval portraiture. The articles demonstrated fresh approach to the subject

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[17] T. Dale, 'Romanesque Sculpted Portraits: Convention, Vision, and Real Presence,' *Gesta* 46 (2007): 107.
[18] Ibid., 114.
[19] S. Perkinson, 'Rethinking the Origins of Portraiture,' *Gesta* 46 (2007): 135.
[20] Perkinson, *The Likeness of the King: a Prehistory of Portraiture in Late Medieval France*, 38-47.
[21] Dale, 'Romanesque Sculpted Portraits: Convention, Vision, and Real Presence,' 101. The same was also noted by Jacobus, '"Propria Figura": The Advent of Facsimile Portraiture in Italian Art,' 73.

and reconsidered conventional features associated with portraiture. However, the issue of artists' self-representations, especially from early medieval period, was left without consideration, and the role of inscriptions in constructing medieval identities was noted very lightly. This thesis aims to fulfil the gaps in scholarship and questions whether sculptors, being proficient in depicting saints or lay individuals, used same approaches when representing themselves.

In this enquiry, artists' names are transliterated and given precisely as their authors spelled them in their inscriptions or signatures. This helps to avoid confusion and misspelling that took place in previous publications. When necessary, the translations of Latin inscriptions are reviewed. This also applies to the case studies by 'Ursus Magester' and Liutpreht, in which sculptors' signatures closely relate to figurative representations.[22] The reasons for a connection between written and pictorial components of a self-representation and the ways in which these link to other elements of an object receive thorough attention and interpretation. McKitterick discusses this issue with regards to religious texts and illuminated manuscripts, whereas three-dimensional objects remain outside of the scope and require further investigation.[23] This thesis also explores why in certain cases sculptors used only pictorial or only written self-representations and where these were placed within an object of religious art.

Analysing and interpreting figurative and written components of sculptors' self-representations contributes to my investigation into the objectives that were pursued by their makers. In most cases sculptors deliberately positioned their inscriptions prominently to the viewers, and self-representations, especially in written form, were meant to indicate professional skills and status.[24] Apart from serving these practical

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[22] 'Ursus Magester' is a direct quote from the sculptor's signature carved in the relief at Ferentillo. To avoid inconsistency and preserve the original ways of sculptors' self-references, in this thesis, original spelling, phrasing and word order of inscriptions and signatures are used.
[23] R. McKitterick, *The Uses of Literacy in Early Medieval Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 297-319.
[24] See A. Dietl, 'In arte peritus. Zur Topik Mittelalterlicher Künstlerinschriften in Italien bis zur Zeit Giovanni Pisanos,' *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* 29 (1987): 77; see also Claussen, P. 'Früher Künstlerstolz: Mittelalterliche Signaturen als Quelle der Kunstsoziologie.' In *Bauwerk und Bildwerk im Hochmittelalter: Anschauliche Beiträge zur Kultur- und Sozialgeschichte*, edited by Karl Clausberg, 7-34. Giessen: Anabas, 1981.

functions noted in previous scholarship, sculptors' self-representations may also have spiritual function. This thesis explores whether the opportunity to demonstrate devotion on a permanent basis and perpetuate themselves as pious Christians were among the few reasons to encourage sculptors expressing themselves visually. By the example of case studies, I analyse the ways in which sculptors manipulated the space around their self-representations, either to make them visible or concealed from potential audience.

Notably, in some of their written self-representations, sculptors addressed not only to the divine, but also to the faithful. This thesis aims to demonstrate that medieval sculptors' self-representations, to an extent, may be considered as signs of self-actualisation.[25] By analysing the case studies I show that their makers intended to achieve that their artistic talent and socio-cultural roles were valued in the society. All these aspects are examined in their complexity to demonstrate that already in the early medieval period sculptors in various media were equally concerned with these issues. Investigations of primary sources present strong evidence that in the medieval period sculptors were recognised as a social group, and some, similar to Roman sculptors, were entitled 'magistri,' which indicated prestigious status in profession.[26] Sculptors' social positions, their relations to patrons, religious beliefs and economic factors may have determined the ambiguous nature of their self-representations. For instance, some sculptors depicted themselves as humble and devoted Christians, kneeling in prayer as the bronze caster Barisanus of Trani, whereas others showed themselves as skilful professionals proud of their work, as it is seen in the extensive inscription by Pelegrinus in his relief.

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[25] A term self-actualisation was first introduced by a German psychologist Kurt Goldstein (1878 - 1965) and reflects an intention of an individual to express their creativity and to prove their importance to the society; it is a motive and a driving life force. See K. Goldstein, *The Organism: a Holistic Approach to Biology Derived from Pathological Data in Man.* New York: American Book Company, 1939. This term may be applied to some medieval sculptors, as their self-representations may demonstrate creativity and aspirations to elevate social standing.

[26] See Petrucci, *Writers and Readers in Medieval Italy: Studies in the History of Written Culture*, 57 and S. Lomartire, 'Commacini e marmorarii: temi e tecniche della scultura tra VII e VIII secolo nella Langobardia maior,' in *I "magistri commacini" - mito e realtà del Medioevo lombardo*, vol. 1 (Spoleto: Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull' Alto Medioevo, 2009), 168-169 and Dietl, 'Italienische Bildhauerinschriften: Selbstdarstellung und Schriftlichkeit mittelalterlicher Künstler,' 197-198.

This thesis restores sculptors as persons, who had their own thoughts, feelings and attitudes. Generally, this approach permits the self-representations in question to be understood in context, showing their makers both as individuals, just as they aimed to be remembered, and as representatives of their periods. Just like any other person, medieval sculptors may have had ambitions and vanity in their minds, but the essence of sculptors' nature is their ability to overcome the challenges of time. I consider that self-representations may indeed have served sculptors as perfect tools for this.

One of the aims of this thesis is to challenge two major issues that I observed in previous scholarship while researching my topic. The first issue is that early medieval sculptors who produced self-representations have generally been neglected in previous scholarship.[27] It has been the case largely due to the insufficient knowledge or lack of primary sources and artistic evidence.[28] This, in my opinion, may have caused another issue, namely, misconceptions that sculptors had no individuality or opportunities to express themselves visually. Uninformed statements on 'anonymity' and 'insignificancy' of sculptors and assumptions that they were not of interest to medieval minds to be distinguished from patrons determined the mindset of scholarship from previous decades.[29] Such speculations may stem from a general error inherent in older scholarship, which traditionally labelled the Middle Ages as a period when the sense of selfhood and individuality was undeveloped.[30]

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[27] Some scholars, however, pointed out that self-representations of medieval artists in various media are more common than previous publications have implied. See M. Camille, *Image on the Edge: the Margins of Medieval Art* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992), 149.
[28] The topic of status and self-representations of early medieval sculptors, bronze casters and metalwork artists has been overlooked in scholarship to date, with the exception of some brief references. For example, Wittkower (1963) insisted on the insignificance of sculptors' position in medieval hierarchical society and stated that there is no evidence they were discontent with it. He adhered to an outdated conception that they were 'silent about themselves' and 'had to take […] meals with tailors, cooks, porters, grooms, sweepers, muleteers and water-carriers.' See R. Wittkower, *Born under Saturn* (London: Schenval Press Limited, 1963), 11, 13-14. Petzold (1995) only proposed a generalisation that most sculptors' signatures either request for a prayer, or indicate social position. See A. Petzold, *Romanesque Art* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1995), 28.
[29] See J. Gimpel, *The Cathedral Builders* (Wiltshire: Michael Russel Publishing Ltd, 1983), 72 and N. Pevsner, 'The Term 'Architect' in the Middle Ages,' *Speculum* 17 (1942): 553.
[30] Perkinson, 'Rethinking the Origins of Portraiture,' 135.

These stereotypes were challenged in further literature by Claussen (1981), Dietl (1987) and Kenaan-Kedar (1993), but mostly with regards to the examples from the twelfth century and later.[31] Perkinson, for instance, refers to medieval sources showing that the notion of 'the self' existed in the Middle Ages, but differed from modern conceptions of identity.[32] Claussen (2003) disagrees with the cliché that artists' signatures were only typical of the modern period and underlined the popularity and efficiency of medieval masters' inscriptions.[33] Despite their contributions, the works of these scholars have geographical or chronological limitations and these findings need to be tested to see to what extent they apply to the period before the twelfth century, which is the subject of my study.

A study of architectural sculpture and the so-called 'signature portraits' in church exterior demonstrated that to identify themselves with their profession and claim authorship twelfth-century sculptors placed self-referential signs in the margins of their works.[34] Nevertheless, sculptors' self-representations deserve detailed attention and should not remain in the margins of our knowledge. In some cases, the roles of an architect and a sculptor may have been combined by one person. For instance, documentary evidence indicated that the sculptor Arnaud Catell was also proficient as an architect.[35] Medieval architects, who were frequently active as stone sculptors, developed the tradition of self-representation in their buildings.[36] 'Signature portraits' indicated sculptors' positions in the hierarchical medieval society. Apparently, self-

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[31] Among them were Claussen (1981), Dietl (1987) and Kenaan-Kedar (1993).
[32] Perkinson, 'Rethinking the Origins of Portraiture,' 135.
[33] See P. Claussen, 'L'anonimato dell'artista gotico. La realtà di un mito,' in *L'artista medievale*, ed. Maria Monica Donato, 283-297, (Pisa: Scuola normale superiore di Pisa, 2003).
[34] The term 'marginal sculpture' was introduced by Kenaan-Kedar (1995) and Camille (1996), who applied it to architectural sculpture of medieval cathedrals. Faces or mallets as symbols of trade in marginal sculpture decorating portals of churches, archivolts or consoles were also discussed by Schweikhart (2001) and Nødseth (2013). These examples are not the subjects of research in this thesis. For further discussion on this topic see N. Kenaan-Kedar, *Marginal Sculpture in Medieval France: Towards the Deciphering of an Enigmatic Pictorial Language* (Brookfield: Scolar Press, 1995), 41.
[35] I. Otzet, 'El escultor Arnau Cadell, constructor de claustros,' *Románico* 20 (2015): 165.
[36] See Gerstenberg, K. *Die Deutschen Baumeisterbildnisse Des Mittelalters. Jahresgabe Des Deutschen Vereins Für Kunstwissenschaft.* Berlin: Deutscher Verlag Für Kunstwissenschaft, 1966.

manifestation through their skills was common to early medieval sculptors, who perceived themselves literally inseparable from their works.

Since the early medieval period, freestanding statues were only made for saints or royalty, which underlined their important position. Beutler referred to the case when freestanding statues, which were rather characteristic of the Roman period, were reintroduced in the times of Charlemagne.[37] The statue in question was related to the occasion, when in 828 Charlemagne returned from Rome and brought the relics of saint martyrs Marcellinus and Petrus. (Self-)representations of sculptors as autonomous figures were introduced considerably later, in the period which goes beyond the chronological frames of this thesis.

A search for evidence in primary sources describing what theologians and religious figures wrote on the status of mechanical arts and of artists practicing these is very revealing. For instance, Benedictine Honorius of Autun (1080 – 1154) and a canon regular Hugh of Saint Victor (ca 1096 – 1141) supported mechanical arts in their writings and spoke for craftsmen to be recognised as a social entity.[38] The latter, in his *Didascalicon*, dedicated specific attention to mechanical arts and the issues of likeness of man to God. Hugh of Saint Victor mentioned various artistic techniques and suggested 'that we look with wonder not at nature alone, but at the artificer as well.'[39] In my opinion, since three-dimensional works of religious art in stone, bronze and other media were of demand among the nobility and the Church, their makers may also have deserved special status. Indeed, history consists not only of objects, but also of personalities. This enquiry into the nature of early medieval sculptors' self-representations demonstrates that circumstances allowed sculptors to draw attention to themselves considerably more demonstrably than it is generally acknowledged.

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[37] Beutler, C. *Statua. Die Entstehung der nachantiken Statue und der europaische Individualismus*. Munich, Prestel Verlag: 1982.

[38] J. van Engen, 'Theophilus Presbyter and Rupert of Deutz: the Manual Arts and Benedictine Theology,' *Viator* 11 (1980): 155-156.

[39] Hugh of Saint Victor, *Didascalicon. A Medieval Guide to the Arts*, trans. J. Taylor (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), 56-57, 74-75.

Considering that medieval artists ‘increasingly tended to sign their works whether with a signature or with a self-portrait,’ this enquiry aims to balance our knowledge of self-representations in various media, but focuses exclusively on understudied examples.[40] In the course of exploring this topic, I indeed faced one of the principal limitations, the lack of primary sources. Over the centuries, early medieval sculptors may have been forgotten following their deaths, but it does not mean that they were anonymous during their lifetime. Exactly for this reason the question about reputations that these artists enjoyed when they were active should remain open to thorough investigation. Although reconstructing a fuller picture of the topic of sculptors' self-representations would be unfeasible due to the fragmentary character or, sometimes, complete absence of documentary evidence, hasty conclusions made in earlier scholarship require reconsideration.

Nevertheless, this thesis aims to demonstrate that the factual existence of sculptors' self-representations counts against their anonymity and underlines their claims for professional, devotional and social self-actualisation. These intentions of sculptors were progressive both in the sense of enhancing their chances for salvation and raising the prestige of their profession in the eyes of contemporaries and further generations. Exploring early sculptors' self-representations would help to understand their work and the times when they were active. It would also fill serious gaps in our knowledge of areas of medieval European cultural and social history that have not received sufficient scholarly attention until present.

I suggest that spiritual and inventive medieval makers of three-dimensional religious objects may, in fact, be broadly referred to as artists, and not as simple artisans or craftsmen. As it will be pointed out in detail in subsequent chapters, this is due to the spiritual integrity of their works with self-representations, and not solely mechanical, but primarily devotional nature of their labour, which eventually would have led artists to

[40] O. Calabrese, *Artists' Self-Portraits* (New York: Abbeville Press, 2006), 35. A number of art historians, including Claussen (1981), Gimpel (1983), Dietl (1987) and Kenaan-Kedar (1993) have previously expressed the same idea as Calabrese. In his book, Calabrese referred to several early self-representations of sculptors and goldsmiths. However, thematic classification of painters' self-portraiture from various periods remained the main focus of his research.

finding God in themselves. Notably, when discussing this issue, I aim to avoid extremes, such as projecting a romantic view of the artist as an intellectual individual gifted with remarkable creative talents. Following a stereotypical misconception that medieval sculptors were 'artists' in the modern sense of the word is not the purpose of this thesis.

In his article, Benton has shown conviencing examples to illustrate that self-awareness was growing in the Middle Ages in various fields, including arts. The scholar has also underlined that early medieval understanding of the nature of the self differed from contemporary concept. In the Middle Ages, discovering of the self was meant for the sake of God, while today it is for the sake of self alone.[41] Discovering of 'the soul' (*anima*), 'the self' (*seipsum*), or the 'inner man' (*homo interior*) was seen in the Middle Ages as finding within oneself of human nature made in the image of God.[42] The process of producing self-representations may have been regarded by medieval artists as a devotional act directed towards discovering an *imago Dei*, the essence of the soul or the self.

The word 'sculptor' in this thesis is used as a broad technical term referring to medieval makers of three-dimensional objects of religious art in various media, including stone, bronze or precious metals. This is done following such sources as *Libri Carolini* (the eighth century) and the treatise *De Diversis Artibus* (the twelfth century). In both texts the Latin verb *sculpere* was used when discussing techniques of metalwork, engraving and casting; and in the seventh-century *Etymologiae* it was applied even when describing works on gems.[43] However, it is necessary to emphasise the distinction

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[41] J. Benton, 'Consciousness of self and of "personality" in the Renaissance of the twelfth century,' *Humanities Working Paper* 1 (1979): 24.

[42] See C. Bynum, *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), 87; see also S. Bagge, 'The European Legacy: Toward New Paradigms,' *The Individual in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (2008): 1309; M. Camille, *Gothic Art: Glorious Visions* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1996), 164.

[43] For example: 'Cernimus namque in metallis conflatorio sive sculptorio opere, in gemmis insignibusque lapidibus mira sculptoris arte, in marmoribus caeterisque lapidibus latomorum sive sculptorum industria, in lignis caelatoris scalpeilo, in litostrotis diversorum colorum per artificem conpaginatis crustulis, in sericis, laneis nec non et lineis multicoloribus vestibus plumario polimitarioque opera formatas imagines.' See Theodulfus, Bishop of Orléans, *Libri Carolini, sive, Caroli Magni Capitulare de imaginibus*, ed. H. Bastgen (Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1924), 209. See also Theophilus, *The Various Arts*, trans. C. Dodwell

between the technical and social definitions of the word 'sculptor.' This ancient term, in fact, was hardly used during the medieval period, and the word 'magister' was often used instead when referring to sculptors.[44] Indeed, medieval bronze casters, sculptors working in wood or stone, as well as silversmiths, ivory carvers and gem cuttes have never existed as one social group. Social differences between them are manifested through their choices of different patron saints.[45] Moreover, these various groups of artists worked for different audiences and produced pieces that varied in sizes and served different purposes. Thus, in this thesis they are not treated as one group from the social point of self-representation.

Limiting this thesis to textual evidence of sculptors and their self-representations is insufficient to explore the topic. To complement it, I apply interdisciplinary methodologies and analyse case studies by means of iconographic and iconological approaches. The topic of sculptors' iconography has not received systematic attention neither in early, nor in recent scholarship. Perkinson only briefly referred to Thamyris and Irene, women-artists from Antiquity, depicted in the process of work in fifteenth-century miniatures from Boccaccio's *Concerning Famous Women*.[46] This thesis enquires into the iconography of early medieval sculptors' self-representations and demonstrates its continuity in later examples. It also questions if sculptors' iconography was formed by the twelfth century on both sides of the Alps and whether there were any common features.

Iconological approach serves to expanding knowledge on the main subject of this thesis. A combination of art-historical, socio-cultural, philosophical and religious

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(Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 108, 135-136, 139; and Book XVI in Lindsay, W., ed. *Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi Etymologiarum sive originum libri*. Oxford, 1911. For further discussion on this subject see C. Dodwell, 'The Meaning of 'Sculptor' in the Romanesque Period,' in *Romanesque and Gothic: Essays for George Zarnecki* 1, ed. N. Stratford, 49-63, (Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 1987), 54-56.

[44] The specifics of the term, 'magister' are thoroughly discussed in Chapter 2.

[45] For instance, the patron of goldsmiths, blacksmiths and metalwork artists in general is St Eloy, whose attributes are an anvil and a hammer. Patron saints of artists working in the three-dimensional array are mentioned in Chapter 1.

[46] Perkinson, 'Rethinking the Origins of Portraiture,' 142.

contextualisation of the case studies allows new perspectives for understanding of early medieval sculptors and their work. Each piece with a self-representation is approached considering cultural and religious backgrounds characteristic of the region, town or monastery where it initially belonged. Original functions and positions of sculpted objects with self-representations within architectural and sculptural ensembles are also studied. The roles and functions of these objects, many of which were made for ecclesiastical settings, are regarded in relation to particular liturgical actions and specifics of Christian ceremonies.

The case studies discussed in this thesis are products of the periods when they were created, but at the same time they also encompass individuality of their authors and transmit their messages, which are not always limited to devotional expression. As noted above, this thesis explores sculptors' self-representations not only as petitions to the divine, but also as a means of communication with contemporaries and further generations. For these sculptors' 'messages' to be interpreted accurately to present-day viewers and readers, I address a number of issues related to the case studies. For instance, the *me fecit*-signatures, like the one by Bernhardus at Freckenhorst, are indicative of the issue of authorship; whereas the inscription of the sculptor Pelegrinus is representative of such matter as artists' self-awareness. The two signed self-representations, by Ursus Magester and by the lay brother Liutpreht, illustrate questions of status of early medieval sculptors. Notably, all these objects reflect the diversity of materials, methods and purposes for which sculptors produced self-representations from the eighth to the twelfth centuries on both sides of the Alps. To complement the picture of iconographical and conceptual development of self-representations in the course of time, several examples dated from the twelfth century and later are used for comparisons in this thesis.

To ensure that the issue of sculptors' self-representations is regarded in its complexity, I take into account several aspects forming necessary background context to this topic. Among these are: continuity of tradition and cultural exchange between historical periods and places, where my case studies are found, the roles of artists' and

patrons' personalities and their mobility, and links between self-representations in two- and three- dimensional arts.

Although antiquity and Renaissance are not periods with which this thesis is primarily concerned, references to them are made occasionally to provide a broader understanding of developments in sculptors' self-representations. In contrast with most early medieval examples, Italian Renaissance artists' self-portraits are relatively well-documented. A better availability of archival evidence resulted in a wide range of publications on this topic and may have created an erroneous impression that self-portraiture was first introduced in Renaissance Italy.[47] I suggest that this requires reconsideration and emphasise the role of the early medieval period in linking antiquity and the Renaissance in terms of continuity of the tradition of artists' self-representations. This is done with references to primary sources, such as Plutarch's *Pericles*, which narrates about the sculptor Phidias and his self-portrait, the iconography of which I discuss in comparison to medieval examples.[48] Among other sources is Pliny's *Naturalis Historia*, which encompassed material on classical portraiture and was widely accessible during the medieval period.[49]

The core of Western European visual art combines features of Roman culture and Christian religion. After the so-called decline of the Roman Empire, cultural achievements of antiquity were not forgotten. On the contrary, its legacy and certain values were rethought and gained second life in the new Christian environment. This

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[47] This opinion was expressed by Woodall (1997), Woods-Marsden (1998) and Brown (2000). According to Woods-Marsden, self-portraiture 'was invented in fifteenth- and developed in sixteenth-century Italy.' See J. Woods-Marsden, *Renaissance Self-Portraiture: the Visual Construction of Identity and the Social Status of the Artist* (New Heaven: Yale University Press, 1998), 1. Brown, whose main interest belongs to self-portraits of Venetian painters, observed that the tradition itself was initiated by the Florentine artists and mentioned Andrea Orcagna's self-representation at the Orsanmichele tabernacle as an early example. See K. Brown, *The Painter's Reflection: Self-Portraiture in Renaissance Venice, 1458-1625* (Florence: L.S. Olschki Editore, 2000), 117.

[48] See Pliny, the Elder. *The Elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art*. Translated by K. Jex-Blake. London: Macmillan, 1986 and Plutarch. 'Pericles,' accessed June 15, 2017. http://classics.mit.edu/Plutarch/pericles.html

[49] Jacobus, '"Propria Figura": The Advent of Facsimile Portraiture in Italian Art,' 86.

ensured continuity and contributed to further development of Europe.[50] In contemporary scholarship, the term 'long late antiquity' is used to refer to the period from the third to the eighth century, whereas early Middle Ages associates with the times from the fourth to the tenth centuries.[51] The overlapping of these two periods implies the process of assimilation and gradual adaptation of cultural and artistic tendencies between the third and the tenth centuries.

This transitional time is of interest to this thesis primarily in terms of sculptors' self-representational tendencies, which are regarded as connecting links between the periods. Rooted in antiquity, ideas of self-representation underwent changes according to socio-cultural circumstances in Christian Europe. The role of early medieval theological and philosophical thought as reflected in relevant treatises may have influenced the conceptions of portraiture or representation of self. The impact of saints' biographies, like *Vita Bernwardi episcopi* and *Vita Sancti Eligii* should not be underestimated too, as these would have encouraged sculptors to follow conventional social and spiritual models.[52] The lives of St Eloy and Bernward of Hildesheim, along with a selection of similar sources on other artists and patrons published with English translations by Davis-Weyer and Frisch, emphasised the roles of individuals in early medieval art. Although these anthologies are not focused exclusively on sculptors, they rectify the misleading impression of medieval artists' anonymity.[53]

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[50] B. Ward-Perkins, *The Fall of Rome and the End of Civilization* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 8-9; see also G. Bowersock, *Interpreting Late Antiquity: Essays on the Postclassical World.* Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2001.
[51] For further notes and literature on the currently popular concept of the long late antiquity see I. Garipzanov, *Graphic Signs of Identity, Faith, and Power in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017), 1.
[52] Written by the chronicler Thangmar, Bernward's contemporary, this text emphasised his proficiency in three-dimensional arts. See Thangmar, *Vita Bernwardi episcopi*, ed. H. Pertz (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1841), 758. The full version of *Vita Sancti Eligii* is accessible at Medieval History. 'Medieval Sourcebook: The Life of St. Eligius, 588-660,' accessed May 5, 2017, https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/basis/eligius.asp
[53] C. Davis-Weyer, *Early Medieval Art, 300–1150: Sources and Documents* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1971), ix, 69. See also T. Frisch, *Gothic Art 1140–1450: Sources and Documents*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1971.

The fourth-century treatise *De physiognomia* introduced Greek and Roman ideas on 'reading the face for the signs of the soul' to Christian world and, as Dale noted, served as a foundation for literary and artistic portraits. The scholar also suggested that conceptions from this text were reflected in Athanasius's *Life of St Anthony*, which in turn was widely popular in medieval libraries as a model of the monastic life.[54] In the relevant chapters of this thesis, self-representations of ancient and medieval artists are paralleled to reveal the links between the two periods and identify what features were adopted by Christian artists.

This thesis focuses on the religious context of sculptors' self-representations. It explores whether medieval sculptors applied the same approaches in expressing likeness in their self-representations and in the sculpted portraits of nobility. As noted above, recent trends in scholarship on medieval portraiture indicated that an idea of likeness would not usually imply exact physiognomic likeness.[55] Especially, it was not an issue in the early Middle Ages. Sculptors working on portraits of their patrons wanted to achieve visual impression in the first instance.[56] Late medieval artists, however, were more focused on facial likeness as a means to show individuality than their early medieval colleagues. It was related to late medieval theological ideas that body and soul are integrally combined in any individual.[57] Overall, disregarding specific periods within the Middle Ages, individuality may be regarded as an intrinsic part of medieval Christian society, because 'the idea of a unique, eternal, individual soul is central' to this religion.[58]

Visual analysis and the evidence retrieved on case studies would allow determining whether depicting themselves as men that reached an ideal state of being good Christians was indeed one of the early medieval sculptors' goals. The issue of 'image-likeness to God' and conceptions of artistic skill and talent as God's gifts were addressed in a

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[54] Dale, 'Romanesque Sculpted Portraits: Convention, Vision, and Real Presence,' 107.
[55] Jacobus, '"Propria Figura": The Advent of Facsimile Portraiture in Italian Art,' 92.
[56] Ibid.,79; see also J. Gardner, 'Stone Saints: Commemoration and Likeness in Thirteenth-century Italy, France, and Spain,' *Gesta* 46 (2007): 128-130.
[57] Perkinson, 'Rethinking the Origins of Portraiture,' 136, 138.
[58] Bagge, 'The European Legacy: Toward New Paradigms,' 1306.

treatise by the twelfth-century author Theophilus.[59] In addition, sculptors may have used knowledge of complex techniques and ability to work with costly materials as instruments to gain social recognition. Weinryb emphasised that the lost-wax method of bronze casting was associated with magical and alchemical qualities.[60] An ability to work with bronze required professional skills, because the process of casting this 'volatile and capricious' material was considered manageable, but 'nonetheless dangerous and unpredictable.'[61] These ideas and statements of scholars are tested in a chapter concerning authors' inscriptions at bronze doorknockers. I explore why their content evolved from emphatically religious to secular, but kept references to the Genesis and symbolism of lost-wax casting. When analysing the case studies, I question whether it was common to sculptors' self-representations to express aspirations to salvation in inscriptions or to emphasise the motif of labour iconographically. I also explore the nature of the *me fecit*-signatures and discuss whether bronze casting or metalwork in general may have been the origin of this signing practice.

Furthermore, this thesis explores whether devotional self-representations may have been justified in accordance with the Benedictine conceptions. Although it is not the aim to focus on it exclusively, the Benedicitne Order is frequently mentioned in this enquiry. Formed in 529, the Benedicitne Order extended its patronage to a vast number of early medieval artists and dominated the religious structure of monastic Europe throughout the early medieval period and until the twelfth or thirteenth centuries when it was partially replaced by other forms of organisation.[62] The Franciscans, a group of mendicant religious orders and the Order of Saint Augustine, formed in 1209 and in 1244, respectively, are not the focus of this enquiry, as their activities commenced considerably later than most of my case studies were created.

[59] Van Engen, 'Theophilus Presbyter and Rupert of Deutz: the Manual Arts and Benedictine Theology,' 150-151.
[60] Already since the second half of the eleventh century, alchemy gained popularity in the intellectual circles. See I. Weinryb, *The Bronze Object in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 44-45.
[61] M. Droth, *Bronze: the Power of Life and Death* (Leeds: Henry Moore Institute, 2005), 14.
[62] Benton, 'Consciousness of self and of "personality" in the renaissance of the twelfth century,' 21.

Coincidentially, most of the main case studies in this thesis were produced by early medieval artists that worked for or affiliated with the Benedictine Order. Thus, this enquiry studies artists' self-representations with regards to the Rule of St Benedict when its relevant; references to other monastic communities are also made when necessary. Labour and artistic skills often served them as a means to express piety. A closer reading of the Rule would show that, in fact, it encouraged practising arts and crafts with humility and for the purpose of praising God.[63] Among the case studies are pious inscriptions or self-images of sculptors as faithful Christians, always in relation to the divine, kneeling in prayer or working to express piety to God. This allows challenging a simplistic argument from previous scholarship that medieval artists signed their work primarily to gain personal recognition and fame.[64] However, not all the case studies and their makers discussed in this thesis are directly related to Benedictine monasteries, which allows presenting discussion in a broader context. For instance, it is unknown whether the sculptor Pelegrinus affiliated with the Benedictines; and there is no evidence what rule the nunnery at Freckenhorst, where Bernhardus signed his doorknockers, was following before 1240, when they accepted the Rule of St Augustine.[65]

To avoid one-sided view on the subject, this thesis compares iconographic, stylistic and conceptual features in two- and three-dimensional self-representations. It allows exploring more on interconnection and exchange between manuscript artists and those of three-dimensional array. Manuscripts, however, mainly relate to a different set of issues, and are only used here as a reference and for background context.[66] Overlooked in previous research, the objects with self-representations produced in methods of creative

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[63] Benedict, Saint Abbot of Monte Cassino, *The Rule of Saint Benedict*, trans. J. McCann (London: Burns Oates, 1952), 111, 129.
[64] C. Kendall, *The Allegory of the Church: Romanesque Portals and their Verse Inscriptions* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 171.
[65] A. Schröer, *Die Kirche in Westfalen vor der Reformation. Verfassung und geistliche Kultur. Misstände und Reformen* (Munster: Aschendorff, 1967), 153 and Ernst, *Freckenhorst Das Stift und seine Kirche*, 7.
[66] Hall in his book *The Self-Portrait. A Cultural History* (2014), focused on illuminated manuscripts and neglected any pieces of sculpture or metalwork. The author only briefly mentioned a few late sculptors' self-portraits and have not addressed their signatures and inscriptions.

expression other than painting were specifically selected to be subjects of investigation in this thesis and remain its main focus.

With regards to this, I enquire into the issue of literacy among manuscript artists and sculptors, of both monastic and lay backgrounds.[67] Artists-monks specialising in manuscripts worked in specific environments of medieval scriptoria, where education and literacy were natural. As a result, they had more possibilities to express themselves in words and images, and more evidence of these activities survives. Being the sources of traditional knowledge, books received privileged treatment due to their religious, ceremonial and artistic value; at the same time, the art of the book was private and depended upon the tastes of enlightened clerics or noblemen making manuscripts the sources of innovative ideas, including those on self-representation.[68]

Sculptors and manuscript artists used distinct methods of self-expression, and their media and approaches to materials were different too. However, an exchange of ideas between them, disregarding their lay or monastic background, may have been a possibility, and it should not be overlooked in recent scholarship. Christians themselves, lay sculptors commonly worked for the church. Unlike artists-monks, they were supposed to provide for their families and needed pay for their work.[69] This thesis explores whether the church may have granted lay sculptors freedom to produce self-representations as signs of spiritual renumeration for work.

As noted by Harvey (1972) and Gimpel (1983), 'the hospitality of monastic houses and colleges' extended towards lay sculptors, who interacted with ecclesiastics.[70] In their works both authors have not focused on early medieval examples and have done little to understand what sources sculptors may have used to obtain literacy. However, these scholars generally acknowledged that professional skills were usually acquired by

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[67] For a recent discussion on artists' literacy see Mineo, E. 'L'artiste lettré? Compétence graphique et textuelle de l'artiste roman à travers les signatures épigraphiques.' In *Entre la letra y el pincel: el artista medieval: leyenda, identidad y estatus*, edited by Manuel Antonio Castiñeiras Gonzalez, 77-91. Alicante: Círculo Rojo, 2017.
[68] G. Duby, *Art and Society in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000), 15-16.
[69] Davis-Weyer, *Early Medieval Art, 300–1150: Sources and Documents*, 167.
[70] J. Harvey, *The Mediaeval Architect* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1972), 87, 95 and Gimpel, *The Cathedral Builders*, 71-72.

sculptors by hereditary principle or through apprenticeship and communication with senior colleagues. This thesis questions whether the same principle of communicating with educated ecclesiastics and patrons, or gaining access to manuscripts through them may have contributed to sculptors' awareness of current religious and philosophical thought on the self and identity. Visual analysis and comparisons are used to explore whether self-representations of early medieval sculptors reveal familiarity of their makers with manuscript decoration, Biblical stories or legends. Thus, in this thesis books and literary tradition are regarded as possible mediums that ensured dissemination of philosophical and artistic conceptions.

Among other factors to encourage this process may have been artists' and patrons' mobility, travelling and pilgrimages, which are also parts of the spectre forming the background context to my topic. Consideration of the cultural impact of these factors allows exploring more not only about iconographic and stylistic features of sculptors' self-representations, but also on intentions of their makers. In this context, it is impossible not to mention such historical personalities as Charlemagne (ca 747 – 814), Archbishop Willigis (975 – 1011), Bishop Bernward of Hildesheim (ca 950 – 1022) and Abbot Suger (1081 – 1151). Although their contribution to the development of art and culture in the Middle Ages has been well studied, it is essential to acknowledge the impact of their activities in the context of the topic of this thesis.

Firstly, I consider travelling officials, ecclesiastics or lay individuals, as potential customers of local artists, who, in turn, were willing to receive commissions and invitations to work in other cities or even countries. In many cases, for the period required to accomplish their work, artists lived in households of their employers, afterwards, they moved on to another place to focus on a different commission.[71] This ensured an atmosphere of openness to innovation, contributed to artistic exchange and mobility art.

It would be too early to speak about the existence of art market as such prior to and in the twelfth century, because at that period sculptors were mostly working on the orders

[71] Duby, *Art and Society in the Middle Ages*, 46.

from the Church, the royalty and nobility. However, in the relevant chapter of this thesis I refer to surviving evidence, although fragmentary, which mentions travellers of high social standing buying objects of artistic value and establishing connections between both sides of the Alps.

Secondly, I use case studies and, when possible, documentary evidence, to illustrate if it was indeed common for medieval artists and workshops to travel for work all over Europe.[72] Dietl considered artists' inscriptions as the indicators of their mobility and acknowledged their roles in establishing intercultural communication between Italy and other European regions.[73] The main focus of Dietl's research, however, was twelfth-century Italian examples and earlier pieces were almost completely omitted.[74] Italy played a valuable role in cultural life of early medieval Europe, however, the contribution of the Frankish kingdom, north of the Alps, should not be overlooked.[75] In this thesis, self-representations from the North of the Alps are acknowledged as conveying independent devotional ideas no less than those from the South; and the case is made through early medieval examples that were not the subjects of investigations of Schleif (1993), Clarke (1998), Scholten (2007) and Gallo (2010), who mostly published on self-portraits of Northern European late medieval and early Renaissance sculptors.

To overcome geographical and chronological limitations in previous scholarship, this thesis addresses case studies and documentation from the earlier period.[76] The eighth-century source *Leges Langobardorum*, contemporary to Ursus Magester, for example,

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[72] Weinryb, *The Bronze Object in the Middle Ages*, 30-32, 86 and Duby, *Art and Society in the Middle Ages*, 47.
[73] For more details see Dietl, A. 'Iscrizioni e mobilità. Sulla mobilità degli artisti italiani nel medioevo.' In *L'artista medievale*, edited by Maria Monica Donato, 239-250. Pisa: Scuola normale superiore di Pisa, 2003.
[74] The tendency to specialise on Italian inscriptions from later periods remains in some other relatively recent surveys. For example, Boffa dedicated his dissertation *Artistic Identity Set in Stone* (Beloit College, 2011) and his article on *Sculptors' Signatures and the Construction of Identit*y (2013) to the analysis of sculptors' signatures in Italy from ca 1250-1550 and has not addressed earlier examples.
[75] E. Kitzinger, *Early Medieval Art in the British Museum and British Library* (London: British Museum Publications, 1987), 26, 45.
[76] Similar issues are also peculiar to the project *Deutsche Inschriften Online*. Although the search system makes this resource accessible and easy to navigate, the entries only consider medieval and early modern examples from German-speaking countries. See http://www.inschriften.net/

stated that master sculptors travelled with the permission of the king and could work away from home, but for no longer than three years.[77] Another source from the twelfth century indicated that Liutpreht, the lay brother from Abbey St Lambrecht in Styria (currently Austria) travelled to Freising to produce sculpture for the Cathedral Crypt.[78] The name of the sculptor Pelegrinus, who was active in medieval Verona, speaks for itself. The unity of artistic forms within Europe was largely determined by the tastes of powerful political and ecclesiastic figures. However, cohesion of monastic orders, popularity of pilgrimages and mobility of artists also established connections between European regions.[79] This thesis questions whether sculptors' self-representations occurring on both sides of the Alps may have been encouraged by these cultural processes.

Moreover, for sculptors with Christian background who produced religious art these 'pilgrimages' may have had not only professional, but also spiritual meaning, evoking parallels with actual pilgrims. This thesis suggests a comparative analysis of sculptors' signatures and pilgrims' devotional graffiti and questions to what extent these may relate. I propose a hypothesis that pilgrims' graffiti may have served as prototypes or sources of inspiration for sculptors to produce devotional inscriptions and signatures.

Thirdly, I question whether travelling for work may have contributed to strengthening of sculptors' senses of identity and encouraged their self-awareness as bearers of cultural traditions peculiar to their places of origins. In addition to this, I address the issue of sculptors' individuality. In earlier scholarship, it was overlooked that although medieval sculptors strongly related to their professional groups when working on commissions of the church, each of them, at the same time, had their own individual duty. Guilds started

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[77] See Institut für Mittelalterforschung: Leges Langobardorum. 'Memoratorio de mercedes commacinorum,' accessed June 19, 2017, https://www.oeaw.ac.at/imafo/ressourcen/quellen-zur-langobardengeschichte/leges-langobardorum/item-memoratorio-de-mercedes-commancinorum/, also N. Christie, *The Lombards: The Ancient Longobards* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995), 191-192 and Lomartire, 'Commacini e marmorarii: temi e tecniche della scultura tra VII e VIII secolo nella Langobardia maior,' 169-170.
[78] P. Altmann Altinger, 'Die zwei ältesten Nekrologien von Kremsmünster,' in *Archiv für österreichische Geschichte*, vol. 84 (Vienna: Gerold, 1897), 22, 128.
[79] Duby, *Art and Society in the Middle Ages*, 47-48.

prevailing from ca 1000, whereas between the sixth and the eleventh centuries European cities had organisations named *collegia*, *schola* and *ministeria*.[80] They may have fulfilled functions similar to guilds, but scarce documentary evidence does not inform whether guilds were their direct descendants or a completely new institution.

Suggesting that before the eleventh century, due to the absence of guilds, artists and artisans had more professional freedom and opportunities for self-expression may be a speculation. However, this thesis aims to test whether 'the discovery of the individual' in the Middle Ages co-existed 'with a quite self-conscious interest in the process of belonging to groups and filling roles.'[81] This hypothesis proposed by Bynum was acknowledged by Fulton (2007), who stressed that in the Middle Ages there existed 'processes, institutions, associations and roles' that encouraged the emergence of individualism and self-consciousness.[82] Fulton explored medieval communities and the matter of person focusing on sociological and religious, but not artistic matters. Nevertheless, the concepts presented by this author may still be applicable to medieval sculptors as they certainly were members of society and religious communities.

Thus, this thesis draws attention to early medieval sculptors' self-representations, both written and pictorial, which were nearly neglected in previous publications with the exception of brief mentions. In the situation of lacking archival evidence, visual analysis, art-historical interpretation and contextualisation of these case studies allow a new understanding of sculptors as professionals and devoted Christians.

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[80] Guilds are associated not only with industrial occupations and merchants, but also with artistic production. S. Ogilvie, *Institutions and European Trade: Merchant Guilds, 1000-1800* (Leiden: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 4, 21.
[81] Bynum, *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages*, 85.
[82] R. Fulton, *History in the Comic Mode: Medieval Communities and the Matter of Person* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 4.

Thesis overview

In this thesis, chapters concerned with theoretical aspects inform and interconnect with chapters exploring the case studies. The material is organised thematically rather than chronologically to facilitate comparisons and parallels between the main case studies and other objects. As a result, the issue of sculptors' self-representations is contextualised broadly and connections are established between examples produced in various periods and geographical areas. In order to aid coherency, discussion of previous scholarship on my case studies is integrated with my findings, interpretations and hypotheses and presented in relevant chapter sections.

Chapter 1 discusses matters of authorship and distinction between artists and donors with regards to the *me fecit*-signatures. It thoroughly addresses the *me fecit*-formula, the ambiguity of the verb *facere* and the nuances of its use in connection to the case studies.[83] A closer look into recent publications reveals that some of these followed a misconception that the *me fecit*-formula refers exclusively to donors.[84] For instance, the publication by Mineo (2015) has not contributed to a deeper understanding of the topic, and the absence of references to documentary evidence in it created an impression of superficiality.

Chapter 1 aims deepening the discussion on the *me fecit*-signatures by giving more examples and providing references to primary sources. It builds on the arguments of Seidel and Kendall, who differentiated between formulas *me fecit* (made me) applied by makers and *hoc fecit* (made this), *hoc opus fieri fecit* (caused this work to be made) or *me fieri fecit* (caused me to be made) used by donors.[85]

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[83] For more examples on patrons' signatures see R. Oursel, *Floraison de la sculpture romane. Le coeur et la main*, vol. 2 (La Pierre-qui-Vire: Zodiaque, 1976), 14-15; Frisch, *Gothic Art 1140–1450: Sources and Documents*, 6, 10-11 and P. Kidson, 'Panofsky, Suger and St Denis,' *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 50 (1987), 10.
[84] E. Mineo, 'Las inscripciones con "me fecit": ¿artistas o comitentes?' in *Románico* 20 (2015): 106-112.
[85] Seidel, *Legends in Limestone: Lazarus, Gislebertus, and the Cathedral of Autun*, 83 and Kendall, *The Allegory of the Church: Romanesque Portals and their Verse Inscriptions,* 172.

Fundamental publications on artists' inscriptions by Claussen and Dietl are acknowledged in this thesis, but considered as lacking visual analysis and art-historical approach to the context and position of artists' signatures at their works.[86] Chapter 1 aims to complement this serious omission by re-interpreting a select number of case studies and using these as material evidence in support of arguments. This chapter enquires into style and dating of the main case study, the lion head doorknockers from Freckenhorst Church in Germany. The analyses of content and palaeography of the *me fecit*-signature at their ring-shaped handles reveal more about the man by the name Bernhardus, who is mentioned in it.

Status, literacy and identity of sculptors as reflected in ancient and medieval sources are explored in Chapter 2. These aspects have been consistently overlooked in recent scholarship, whereas publications on artists-monks and medieval monasteries as centres of intellectual and artistic production prevailed over the last decades. Westfall Thompson (1960) broadly discussed education of laymen in medieval Italy, Germany, France, Flanders and England, but have not focused on lay artists. The author, however, challenged generally accepted view that laymen had no knowledge of Latin and argued that the representatives of non-noble social groups, merchants and freemen, were also educated.[87] Scholten's (2007) opinion that sculptors' self-representations were the indications of social positions is taken as a starting point for further investigations.[88]

Chapter 2 questions whether the treatises *De Coloribus et Artibus Romanorum* by Eraclius (ca 900) and *De Diversis Artibus* by Theophilus (the first third of the twelfth century) may indeed serve as direct evidence of literacy among the practicing artists of

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However, a question whether the expression *hoc fecit* refers to artists or to patrons requires a more thorough investigation with regards to the studies of 'making' in medieval art.

[86] For further information see Claussen, P. 'Früher Künstlerstolz: Mittelalterliche Signaturen als Quelle der Kunstsoziologie.' In *Bauwerk und Bildwerk im Hochmittelalter: Anschauliche Beiträge zur Kultur- und Sozialgeschichte*, edited by Karl Clausberg, 7-34. Giessen: Anabas, 1981; and Dietl, A. *Die Sprache der Signatur: die mittelalterlichen Künstlerinschriften Italiens*. Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2009.

[87] J. Westfall Thompson, *The Literacy of the Laity in the Middle Ages* (New York: B. Franklin, 1960), 2, 9.

[88] Scholten, F. 'Johan Gregor van der Schardt and the Moment of Self-Portraiture in Sculpture.' *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 4 (2007/2008): 195-220.

monastic background.[89] This chapter demonstrates that the issue of literacy of early medieval sculptors and intellectual context of their self-representations are more important than scholars from the past had thought.

Two other sections of Chapter 2 address the case studies, the eighth-century relief by Ursus Magester from the church in Ferentillo (Umbria, Italy) and the twelfth-century capital of a column by Liutpreht from Freising Cathedral (Bavaria, Germany). Both self-representations consist of signatures firmly related to images of men, and both were produced by sculptors, who worked for the Benedictine monasteries but in different European regions and periods (Maps 1, 4-5). In this chapter I propose a new understanding of the Rule of St Benedict with regards to manifestations of authorship. Discovering more about the insufficiently known social groups of master sculptors and lay brothers unveils valuable facts about the roles and statuses of their representatives.

Chapter 3 enquires into sculptors' written self-representations and the coexistence of their devotional and personal roles. Following the previous chapters, it explores more about sculptors' mobility and travelling to various European cities, as well as cultural exchange on both sides of the Alps as a long-standing tradition (Map 6). In connection to this, the motif of metaphorical journey of soul in sculptors' inscriptions is discussed by the example of the *Traditio Legis* relief signed by the sculptor Pelegrinus.

Over the recent years, a sequence of conferences in Europe and in the United States indicated the growing scholarly interest in the concepts of identity and self-representation of artists.[90] However, most of these events practically neglected medieval

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[89] See Eraclius. *On the Colours and Arts of the Romans*. Translated by M. Merrifield. London: J. Murray, 1848 and Theophilus. *The Various Arts*. Translated by C. Dodwell. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986. Davis-Weyer (1971), Hawthorne (1979) and Dodwell (1986) provided commentaries on the treatises by Eraclius and Theophilus. See also P. Long, *Openness, Secrecy, Authorship: Technical Arts and the Culture of Knowledge from Antiquity to the Renaissance* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005), 85-88.

[90] The early medieval examples of sculptors' self-representations were discussed in my talks at the *International Medieval Congress* (Leeds, 2015), at the *Trecento Seminar: Artist and Authorship* (Edinburgh, 2016); I also presented on selected sculptors' self-representations at a conference and two seminars organised by the Late Antique and Medieval Society (the University of Edinburgh, 2017).

sculptors and their self-representations.[91] The same concerns several large art exhibitions on portraiture and self-portraiture that took place in major European and American museums.[92] Thus, a comprehensive scholarship on sculptors' self-representations in the early medieval period needs to be done to fill in the gaps in our knowledge. This would be incomplete without a thorough investigation of a broad spectre of related issues, which this thesis addresses. Considering the lack of documentary evidence on the case studies, this thesis avoids claiming certainty about these examples. It rather offers a nuanced alternative story on the sculptors' self-representations and provides an interpretation of personal messages that their authors wished to deliver to the audience. However, interpretations of this complex material are done with references to medieval treatises and in terms of educational and sociological contexts of the period.

In conclusion, this thesis demonstrates that understanding the 'language' of early medieval sculptors' self-representations and an ability to interpret them are vital to present-day art history. It contributes to scholarship essentially, provides a perspective to expand our socio-cultural comprehension of the Middle Ages and sculptors as representatives of that period. This enquiry offers insights into the meanings and functions of cultural codes and artistic components that early medieval sculptors applied to express themselves visually in their works.

[91] For instance, there was no specific session on artists' self-portraiture organised at the International Medieval Congress (Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, 2014). Nevertheless, my presentation in the session on *Late Medieval Art in Northern Europe* addressed the origins and developments of sculptors' self-portraiture.
[92] Entirely dedicated to sculpted objects, the exhibition *Set in Stone: the Face in Medieval Sculpture* (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 2006) included no representations of sculptors or goldsmiths. However, it would have been a valuable contribution to any exhibition on portraiture.

Chapter 1

Image Makers

Me fecit, Meaning and Authorship

A variety of pieces made by medieval sculptors and metalwork artists on the territories of present-day Italy and Germany contain signatures of their makers with *facere*.[93] This verb, however, was often applied not only by artists, but also by donors to perpetuate their names on objects of religious art.[94] The ambiguity of the verb *facere*, and, specifically, of the *me fecit*-formula, which is frequently found on objects produced for religious use, often complicates identifying whether a signature refers to a donor or to a maker.[95] Publications addressing this issue have not expressed unanimous opinion on it. Moreover, three-dimensional objects were not sufficiently considered in this context as opposed to illuminated manuscripts or paintings. I suggest that each example needs to be regarded individually and with a consideration of historical and cultural context. Latin terms and formulas used in signatures require careful revision. Most of the examples discussed in this thesis apply the verb *facere*. Some of the variations, however, are characteristic of donors rather than artists. This chapter explains these variations with

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[93] Dietl, *Die Sprache der Signatur: die mittelalterlichen Künstlerinschriften Italiens*, vol. 1, 307-309.

[94] Oursel, *Floraison de la Kendallsculpture romane. Le coeur et la main*, 14.

[95] My Introduction and Literature Review note that the issue of signatures with *facere* was addressed by a number of scholars. See Claussen, P. 'Früher Künstlerstolz: Mittelalterliche Signaturen als Quelle der Kunstsoziologie.' In *Bauwerk und Bildwerk im Hochmittelalter: Anschauliche Beiträge zur Kultur- und Sozialgeschichte*, edited by Karl Clausberg, 7-34. Giessen: Anabas, 1981; Dietl, A. 'Italienische Bildhauerinschriften: Selbstdarstellung und Schriftlichkeit mittelalterlicher Künstler,' 201; Dietl, A. 'Iscrizioni e mobilità. Sulla mobilità degli artisti italiani nel medioevo.' In *L'artista medievale*, edited by Maria Monica Donato, 239-250. Pisa: Scuola normale superiore di Pisa, 2003. Dietl, A. *Die Sprache der Signatur: die mittelalterlichen Künstlerinschriften Italiens*. Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2009. See also Seidel, *Legends in Limestone: Lazarus, Gislebertus, and the Cathedral of Autun*, 83; Kendall, *The Allegory of the Church: Romanesque Portals and their Verse Inscriptions*, 172 and M. Beghelli, 'Gli artigiani del metallo nell'Europa altomedievale. Organizzazione manifatturiera, officine, firme e strategie di vendita,' in *I maestri del metallo: l'intelligenza nelle mani*, ed. Michelle Beghelli, 157-190, (Roma: BraDypUS.net, 2017), 177-184.

specific references, distinguishes between them and compares them to other kinds of sculptors' signatures. Necessary visual analysis and historical evidence on objects in question are also provided. This approach is suitable when archival evidence is lacking, and interpretations of the *me fecit*-signatures remain the only possibility to explore about the case studies and their makers.

All these issues apply to the bronze doorknockers at Freckenhorst, which are discussed in Chapter 1 in a broad context of other objects signed by their makers. The *me fecit*-signature at the ring-shaped handles relates these doorknockers from Freckenhorst, a small town in North Rhine-Westphalia, to a variety of similar examples from other European regions.

The inscription at the ring of the bronze doorknocker from Freckenhorst finishes with the phrase 'BERNHARDVS ME FECIT' (fig. 1). These words, in fact, come out of a lion's mouth, whose face decorates the piece. But does the lion refer to a donor or to a maker? Previous scholarship considered Bernhardus was not the maker of the doorknockers, but the donor of the whole church portal.[96] The *me fecit*-siganture was interpreted not as relating to the doorknockers, but to the word *ianvas* from the first portion of the inscription, 'HAS IANVAS GENTEM CAVSA PRECI(BV)S INGREDIENTEM.'[97] However, it would have been rather uncommon if an inscription commemorating a donor of a portal was placed at a doorknocker. The second section of Chapter 1 discusses whether Bernhardus's signature refers to the doorknockers and their maker or to the whole portal of Freckenhorst Church and its donor.

In the medieval period, mentioning a name in an inscription or signature was equated to physical presence of a person and established a substantial connection between them and an object with their name inscribed.[98] As a rule, inscriptions and signatures of medieval patrons and makers are found exactly at the objects that they have donated or produced. By indicating a firm connection with their pieces of work in (written) self-

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[96] Bley, ''Bernhardus me fecit': die romanischen Löwenkopf-Türzieher in Freckenhorst,' 192.
[97] This portion of inscription may be interpreted as 'people who enter (literally entering) these doors to pray.' The full inscription and its translation are provided further in this chapter.
[98] Bley, ''Bernhardus me fecit': die romanischen Löwenkopf-Türzieher in Freckenhorst,' 194-195.

representations, makers underlined their devotional gestures and contributions, and aimed ensuring remembrance among their contemporaries and future generations.

Numerous examples in medieval art could illustrate this, and similar cases are found in Italy, Germany, France and other European countries, as they possessed cultural and spiritual unity through Christian religion. For instance, an inscription 'GIRAVLDVS / FECIT ISTAS PORTAS,' translated as 'Girauldus made these doors (gate, entrance),' precisely indicates who contributed to the work on the portal of Saint Ursin in Bourges and what their contribution was.[99] Placed exactly at the tympanum, and not at the doors or doorknockers of the church, Girauldus's signature most likely belongs to an early medieval sculptor.[100] Similarly, the eighth-century sculptor Ursus, whose relief is one of the case studies in Chapter 2, claimed authorship in a signature: 'VRSVS MAGESTER FECIT.' The verb *fecit* without the preceding *me* after the names Girauldus and Ursus may be a simpler variation of artists' signatures. Some makers were concise in their signatures and may have used *fecit* instead of the longer form *me fecit*, assuming that their claims for authorship were clear.[101] Recent scholarship suggested that artists' signatures with the formula 'X FECIT' prevailed until approximately the tenth century, and then signatures 'X ME FECIT' have become more common up until the twelfth century.[102] In my opinion, it is likely that the fluctuating nature of language ensured flexibility of authorship formulas, which may not be completely standardised.

The word *magester* identifies Ursus as a master sculptor, whereas Bernhardus's signature does not specify his title and the use of the amibiguous *me fecit*- signature further complicates identification. The formula *me fecit* suggested that the artist's work

[99] Kendall, *The Allegory of the Church: Romanesque Portals and their Verse Inscriptions*, 171.
[100] For more information on the signed portal of Saint Ursin in Bourges see: L. Brugger, 'La cathédrale de Bourges au regard du tympanum de Saint Ursin,' *En Berry, du Moyen-âge à la Renaissance* (1996): 67-72; Y. Codou, 'L'influence antique dans l'art roman: le tympan de Saint-Ursin de Bourges,' *Antiquité Tardive* 6 (1998): 283-389. Codou dated the portal to the end of the eleventh or beginning of the twelfth century and considered that the inscription belongs to a sculptor.
[101] Beghelli, 'Gli artigiani del metallo nell'Europa altomedievale. Organizzazione manifatturiera, officine, firme e strategie di vendita,' 182-183.
[102] J. Leclercq-Marx, 'La "signature" au Moyen Âge. mise en perspective historique,' in *Entre la letra y el pincel: el artista medieval: leyenda, identidad y estatus*, ed. Manuel Antonio Castiñeiras Gonzalez, 63-76, (Alicante: Círculo Rojo, 2017), 74.

comes alive and speaks for its maker; as a form of indirect identification, it serves to emphasise their skill and the role of Creator.[103] This tradition was especially popular among metalwork artists and bronze casters, and it continued its development over the centuries, along with artists' growing interest to self-expression. Their use of formulas became more flexible in the course of time. Villard de Honnecourt, for instance, began his portfolio of drawings (between 1220 and 1240) with an introduction and contents overview in middle French. He requested that the readers 'pray for his soul and remember him,' but have not used the Latin *me fecit*-formula.'[104]

It may be too categorical to say that medieval artists only meant supplications for a petition and were not calling attention to themselves as professionals. However, I shall follow Rubin in considering artists' signatures as 'offerings to the glory of God' originating from the monastic tradition, as the Rule of St Benedict regarded these as acceptable for expiation.[105] Additional evidence and examples produced by artists-monks are presented further in this chapter to illustrate it; which does not mean, however, that lay artists never applied the same formulas in their written self-representations. The Benedictines believed that devotion could be expressed not only in a prayer, but also by means of physical or creative work, which may have motivated artists to make signatures. As it will be argued, the verb *fecit* in this context would emphasise the act of working for the glory of God, and *me fecit*, as a form of indirect identification, would express humility.

Certain previous publications classified the *me fecit*-signatures as originating from antiquity and considered them questionable in terms of proof of authorship.[106] For instance, inscriptions at some Roman and Gallo-Roman tombstones use this formula to

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[103] Droth, *Bronze: the Power of Life and Death*, 24, 26.
[104] Perkinson, *The Likeness of the King: a Prehistory of Portraiture in Late Medieval France*, 54-55.
[105] P. Rubin, 'Signposts of Invention: Artists' Signatures in Italian Renaissance Art,' *Art History* 29 (2006): 566-567.
[106] Kenaan-Kedar, *Marginal Sculpture in Medieval France: Towards the Deciphering of an Enigmatic Pictorial Language*, 42; Gimpel, *The Cathedral Builders*, 72; Dell'Acqua, 'Ursus 'magester': uno scultore di età longobarda,' 24.

mention their commissioners, and not makers.[107] However, conviencing parallels between these examples and medieval objects require more research and references, which were not sufficiently provided.

In my opinion, there is strong evidence that medieval artists applied the *me fecit*-signatures following the steps of their predecessors from antiquity and adhered to the traditional ways of signing their works.[108] Greek and Roman artists and craftsmen, including sculptors and masons, manifested their self-esteem and professional pride in various aspects of their lives. In Greece, they worshipped Athena, and in Rome they formed their own *collegia*. They signed their works, created monuments and tombstones for themselves with identifications of their trades.[109]

The origins of the formula *me fecit* could be traced back to the sixth century BC, and what is specifically important, are related to metalwork. One of the oldest artists' inscriptions in Latin is found at the golden Praenestine Fibula: 'MANIOS MED FHEFHAKED NVMASIOI.' Translated as 'Manios made me for Numerius,' this inscription clearly states that Manios was an artist and produced the fibula for Numerius, who commissioned it.[110] The use of the *me fecit*-formula in first-person singular here suggests that the object itself makes this testimony. It relates to the conception of animation through the casting process, which assigns a caster the role of Creator.[111] Similar motif of indirect identification, when an object 'comes alive' and introduces its maker, is also found in early medieval inscriptions. This indicates that artists, including Bernhardus, were building on established tradition originating from antiquity.[112]

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[107] Kenaan-Kedar, *Marginal Sculpture in Medieval France: Towards the Deciphering of an Enigmatic Pictorial Language*, 42.
[108] P. Claussen, 'Künstlerinschriften,' in *Ornamenta Ecclesia. Kunst und Künstler der Romanik*, ed. A. Legner, 263-276, (Cologne: Greven, 1985), vol. 1, 264; see also Claussen, P. 'Früher Künstlerstolz: Mittelalterliche Signaturen als Quelle der Kunstsoziologie.' In *Bauwerk und Bildwerk im Hochmittelalter: Anschauliche Beiträge zur Kultur- und Sozialgeschichte*, edited by Karl Clausberg, 7-34. Giessen: Anabas, 1981.
[109] H. Applebaum, *The Concept of Work: Ancient, Medieval, and Modern* (Albany: State University Press, 1992), 580.
[110] Kendall, *The Allegory of the Church: Romanesque Portals and their Verse Inscriptions,* 83.
[111] Droth, *Bronze: the Power of Life and Death*, 24, 26.
[112] For a recent discussion on this topic see Leclercq-Marx, J. 'La "signature" au Moyen Âge. mise en perspective historique.' In *Entre la letra y el pincel: el artista medieval: leyenda,*

Moreover, it also allows suggesting that metalwork and cast bronzes may have encouraged the *me fecit*-signing practice to originate and develop.

Cases with the *me fecit*-signatures combined with presentation of piety and skill also occur in the subsequent periods.[113] The Italian sculptor Bonanus Pisanus signed the bronze doors of Monreale Cathedral (1186) with the *me fecit*-formula: 'ANNO D(OMI)NI M.C.L.XXXVI. I(N)DICTIO(NE) III BONANVS CIVIS PISANVS ME FECIT.'[114] A documented thirteenth-century manuscript illuminator William de Brailes produced several signed self-portraits depicting him in monastic garb and with a tonsure as he held minor orders. A miniature from his Psalter (Oxford, ca 1230 – 1250) depicts De Brailes being saved in the Last Judgement scene. Holding the artist by the right hand, St Michael lifts him away from sinners and Hell. Notably, in the same hand the illuminator clasps a scroll with a signature 'W DE BRAIL ME FCIT' ('W[illiam] de Braile[s] made me'), which indicates that he was saved through his skill and art.[115] In his *De Brailes Hours* the artist used a more specific term in his signature to indicate his contribution adding 'Q[VI] ME DEPEINT' ('who painted me') to his name 'W. DE BRAIL.'[116]

Claiming authorship through signatures implied sculptors possessed at least basic literacy level to express themselves in Latin. At that period literacy ranged from functional to intellectual and learned; from recognition of basic words to copying or comprehending complex texts.[117] These issues are thoroughly examined in Chapter 2. However, a statement from a recent publication that the words *fecit, ornabit, edificavit, fabricavit, decoravit* carved at sculptural or architectural monuments acknowledge donors' initiatives rather than indicate artists' authorship, requires further discussion

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identidad y estatus, edited by Manuel Antonio Castiñeiras Gonzalez, 63-76. Alicante: Círculo Rojo, 2017.
[113] Rubin, 'Signposts of Invention: Artists' Signatures in Italian Renaissance Art,' 568.
[114] J. White, 'The Bronze Doors of Bonanus and the Development of Dramatic Narrative,' *Art History* 11 (1988): 158.
[115] C. Donovan, *The de Brailes Hours: Shaping the Book of Hours in Thirteenth-Century Oxford* (London: The British Library, 1991), 10.
[116] Ibid., 9.
[117] McKitterick, *The Uses of Literacy in Early Medieval Europe*, 3, 320.

here.[118] The vagueness of distinction between these terms is explicable, as medieval artists were often members of clergy just like donors, who frequently 'intervened personally, even professionally, in artistic activity.'[119] This may have contributed to building confusions about the meaning of the *me fecit*-formula that scholars have faced at present.

A genuine understanding of word meaning in medieval signatures referring to donors or sculptors is essential when interpreting their content, but this may be achieved efficiently by the example of specific cases. Seidel and Kendall differentiated between the formulas *me fecit* (made me) and *hoc fecit* (made this), *hoc opus fieri fecit* or *me fieri fecit* (caused me to be made).[120] According to these scholars, *me fecit* was frequently used in the early Middle Ages, whereas other expressions were firmly linked to patronage formulas from antiquity.[121] Recent scholarship follows the same line of argument in differentiating authorship and patronage formulas.[122]

In addition, I emphasise that the placing of a signature should be taken into consideration when interpreting whether it belongs to a donor or to an artist. While patrons' inscriptions are most frequently placed prominently, artists' signs of authorship are commonly found at marginal areas.[123] For instance, an argument that *hoc fecit* is a patronage formula is illustrated with the inscription 'GISLEBERTVS HOC FECIT' at the portal lintel of Saint Lazare at Autun. Seidel suggested that it belongs not to a sculptor, but to the tenth-century donor and founder of the Cathedral, who contributed to the acquisition of relics.[124] Indeed, a number of historical accounts mention the name

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[118] Dell'Acqua, 'Ursus 'magester': uno scultore di età longobarda,' 24.
[119] J. Le Goff, *The Medieval World* (London: Parkgate Books, 1997), 225.
[120] Seidel, *Legends in Limestone: Lazarus, Gislebertus, and the Cathedral of Autun*, 83.
[121] Kendall, *The Allegory of the Church: Romanesque Portals and their Verse Inscriptions,* 83, 172.
[122] For an in-depth discussion on this topic and more examples of artists' and donors' signatures see Beghelli, 'Gli artigiani del metallo nell'Europa altomedievale. Organizzazione manifatturiera, officine, firme e strategie di vendita,' 180-184.
[123] See Kenaan-Kedar, N. 'The Margins of Society in Marginal Romanesque Sculpture.' *Gesta* 31 (1992): 15-24; Kenaan-Kedar, N. *Marginal Sculpture in Medieval France: Towards the Deciphering of an Enigmatic Pictorial Language*. Brookfield: Scolar Press, 1995.
[124] Seidel, *Legends in Limestone: Lazarus, Gislebertus, and the Cathedral of Autun*, 16, 89. Mariaux (2003) disagreed with Seidel and claimed that not only dukes, but also artists used the

Gislebert and indicate that this nobleman had connections among highly ranked persons in pre-Capetian France.[125]

I suggest that it may not be coincidental that Gislebertus's name is carved at Christ's feet and directly above a small figure that looks up at the Saviour. In this relief depicting the Last Judgement, this figure stands next to an angel with a sword and raises their hands in prayer. It makes viewers think where the angel would direct this man, to Heaven or to Hell, and whether is it a faithful Christian or a sinner, whose fate has already been decided. The position of this figure makes a strong association with the name and may be regarded as a manifestation of Gislebertus's piety and aspirations for salvation, similar to above-mentioned De Brailes's signed self-portrait in the Last Judgement. At the same time, Gislebertus's inscription displays his power. Both in antiquity and in the medieval period carved inscriptions were associated with authority and equated in their significance to archival records.[126]

The tradition of donors' inscriptions at portals of Christian churches relates to that of inscriptions at ancient triumphal arches, as both perpetuate the names and deeds of historical personalities.[127] On the one hand, Bernhardus's name at the doorknockers may fit in the tradition of placing donor's names at church portals. But on the other hand, 'authorship developed in the context of patronage,' and sculptors may have followed these conventions using slightly different formulas to distinguish themselves from donors.[128] Gislebertus's inscription applies the patronage formula *hoc fecit*, whereas the

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Latin pronoun 'hoc' in their signatures. To support this argument, Mariaux mentioned the twelfth-century sculptor's inscription 'HOC OPUS ANSELMUS FORMAVIT.' However, the scholar failed to notice that the key term applied by Anselmus is not exactly the same and the verb 'formavit' in this signature makes strong associations with sculptor's work, which is not the case for Gislebertus. See P. Mariaux, 'Quelques hypotheses a propos de l'artiste roman,' *Médiévales* 44 (2003): 204.

[125] An idea that Gislebertus was a sculptor is rather of speculative character, since no early publications provided verifiable documentation. There is a high probability that his artistic career and personality were invented. See Seidel, *Legends in Limestone: Lazarus, Gislebertus, and the Cathedral of Autun*, 24-26, 64, 174.

[126] Ibid., 15.

[127] Ibid., 82.

[128] Long, *Openness, Secrecy, Authorship: Technical Arts and the Culture of Knowledge from Antiquity to the Renaissance*, 110.

me fecit-siganture at Freckenhorst doorknockers, just like other similar examples discussed above, may indicate that Bernhardus was the maker. Signatures set in stone or bronze perpetuated sculptors' names better than fragile manuscripts vanishing with time. Thus, ancient formulas were adopted and applied by medieval sculptors to indicate authorship and express piety in the new context of Christian religious art.

Makers' and donors' inscriptions occur in the forms *me fecit* and *me fecit fieri*, respectively, which further supports my hypothesis. An inscription at the doorknockers of Oristano Cathedral (1228) is illustrative of the difference between these formulas: 'AD (H)ONOREM D(E)I (ET) B(EATA)E MARI(A)E (ET) IVDICIS MARIANI / PLACENTINVS NOS FECIT (ET) CO(PER?)T MCCXXVIII' (fig. 2). It gives the date 1228 and mentions the commissioner Mariano II (died in 1233) along with the maker Placentinus. His name may originate from Piacenza and refer to the master Ubertus Placentinus.[129] The second portion of this inscription continues at the other doorknocker and mentions Archbishop of Oristano Torgotorio de Muru (1224 – 1244): 'ARCHIEP(ISCOPV)S TROGOTORIVS NOS (F)ECIT FIERI ET COP(ER)TVRA(M) ECCL(ESIA)E.' The full translation is: 'For the honour of God and Saint Mary and judge Mariano, Placentinus made us and the roof, 1228. Archbishop Trogotorius caused us to be made and the roof of the church.'

Oristano inscription suggests that it was Placentinus and archbishop Trogotorius, who made the doorknockers and the roof of the church.[130] However, each of them contributed at a different level. *Nos fecit* (made us) is used in relation to the maker, whereas *nos fecit fieri* (caused us to be made) refers to the archbishop, who was overseeing the work

[129] U. Mende, *Die Türzieher des Mittelalters* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1981), 225. However, there is no firm evidence to confirm this identification to Ubertus Placentinus, the maker of the doors for the papal palace at the Lateran in Rome (now in the cloister). See C. Bolgia, 'Celestine III's Relic Policy and Artistic Patronage in Rome,' in *Pope Celestine III (1191-1198): Diplomat and Pastor*, ed. J. Doran, 239-244, (London: Routledge, 2016).

[130] A. Pala, 'Il tetto ligneo della chiesa romanica di Santa Maria d'Itria a Maracalagonis: elementi e decori,' *Porticvm* 4, 2012, accessed August 27, 2016, https://dialnet.unirioja.es/descarga/articulo/4168713.pdf In this article the inscription is transcribed differently from the version in the book *Die Türzieher des Mittelalters* by Mende, which I consider as a more reliable source.

rather than involved in the actual working process. Bernhardus in his signature used the same formula as the bronze caster Placentinus, making the objects speak for their maker, with the exception that it is first-person singular, *me fecit*. On the one hand, this may permit to associate Bernhardus with artists rather than with patrons, and his inscription with the doorknockers rather than with the whole portal. On the other hand, in the absence of documentary evidence confirming this suggestion, it is preferable to be cautious when comparing these inscriptions and making generalisations. In fact, only in the case when an inscription names both a donor and an artist the *me fecit*-formula clearly refers to the latter. This is characteristic of the reliquary of St Maurice produced by Undiho and Ello, the signed doorknockers from Oristano, Bernardus Gelduinus's inscription in Toulouse and Ursus's relief in Ferentillo. In all these cases the inscriptions follow hierarchy and name donors first, as they are socially more important, whereas artists are mentioned in the end of inscriptions.

In the earlier period, the formula *fieri fecit opus* (caused this work to be made) and its variations were also used to indicate activities of donors or patrons. Among the earliest examples is the eighth-century Reliquary of St Maurice (Abbaye de Saint-Maurice d'Agaune, Treasury) by Undiho and Ello. An inscription at the rear side of the reliquary names everyone involved in the commission and manufacture of the piece: 'TEVDERIGVS PRESBITER IN HONORE SCI MAVRICII FIERI IVSSIT / AMEN / NORDOALAVS ET RIHLINDIS ORDENARVNT FABRICARE / VNDIHO ET ELLO FICERVNT.' This inscription specifies the role of each person in the creation of the reliquary and translates as follows: 'Theuderich the priest caused its making in honour of Saint Maurice / Amen / Nordoalaus and Rihlindis ordered its manufacture / Undiho and Ello made it.' The contributions of the priest (*fieri iussit*) and the two patrons (*ordenarunt fabricare*) are indicated accordingly, whereas the authorship of the makers, Undiho and Ello, is traditionally noted with the verb *facere*, here in plural form. In this early medieval example, just like in Ursus's signature, which dates from the same century, the particle *me* before the verb *facere* is omitted. Besides, due to the detailed character of the inscription, which names people involved in the commission and production of the reliquary, the distinction between donors and artists is evident.

Later in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the formulas *fieri fecit* were used for donors in inscriptions. A chronicler applied *fieri fecit opus* in relation to Hunaud de Gavarret, Abbot of the Benedictine Abbey Saint-Pierre at Moissac, who commissioned sculpture for Saint-Martin de Layrac and undoubtedly was a donor.[131] When describing works at the Abbey Church of Saint-Denis, Abbot Suger (1081 – 1151) repeatedly used expressions translating as 'caused to be made (painted, repaired, composed)' in relation to church walls, windows, a pulpit and candlesticks.[132] However, his use of Latin may sometimes appear confusing. For example, the Abbot wrote that he 'caused [church walls] to be repaired,' and continued: 'I completed this all the more gladly because I had wished to do it.'[133] Further, Suger wrote similarly about new windows that he 'caused to be painted,' but specified that it was done 'by the exquisite hands of many masters from different regions.'[134] Here, the reference to masterly hands of artists that worked on the windows is not a coincidence. It casts no doubt that Suger was the commissioner, who admired the skill of his artists or architects. However, the Abbot have not mentioned their names as he may have seen them solely as workforce. Suger was primarily concerned with underlining his own role as the author of the project generating ideas and overseeing the whole process of church construction. He positioned himself not only as a patron, but as a creator, who closely supervised the works and had a clear plan of what should be done at Saint-Denis. Considering that Suger provided no technical, geometric or arithmetic evidence, he was not working as an architect or an artist himself, but rather invited professionals to work at Saint-Denis.[135]

A votive inscription that Suger cited in his treatise explains his intentions. The Abbot emphasised his labours 'for the splendor of the church' and expressed hopes for the prayers of the Holy martyr St Denis so 'that he [Suger] may obtain a share of

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[131] Oursel, *Floraison de la sculpture romane. Le coeur et la main*, 14-15.
[132] Frisch, *Gothic Art 1140–1450: Sources and Documents*, 6, 10-11.
[133] Ibid., 6. See also Suger, Abbot of Saint Denis. *Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of St.-Denis and its Art Treasures*, edited by E. Panofsky. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979 and Frisch, *Gothic Art 1140–1450: Sources and Documents*, 6.
[134] Frisch, *Gothic Art 1140–1450: Sources and Documents*, 10.
[135] Kidson, 'Panofsky, Suger and St Denis,' 10.

Paradise.'[136] Notably, these words were inscribed at the bronze church doors, metaphorically read as the Doors of Paradise, with a representation of the *Passion of Christ* and *Ascension*. An appreciation of bronze casters' craftsmanship was also noted in this inscription: 'Marvel not at the gold and the expense but at the craftsmanship of the work. Bright is the noble work; but, being nobly bright, the work should brighten the minds.'[137] It was done in accordance with the Benedictine principles that artistic skills are gifts of God and that they should only be used with pious intentions and not for personal profit.

A parallel could be drawn between the inscriptions at the doors at Saint-Denis and at Freckenhorst, since both include a plea for a prayer. While the former addresses to St Denis, the one at Freckenhorst doors is to Christ: 'May Jesus Christ the King of kings see to it that the people who enter (literally entering) these doors to pray ascend to Heaven. Bernhardus made me.' An Ascension scene at Saint-Denis doors relates to a reference to the ascension of the faithful to Heaven found in the inscription at Freckenhorst doorknockers. The placing of Bernhardus's inscription at the entrance to Freckenhorst church and its reference to the authority of Christ, the King of kings, may associate with the character of donors' inscriptions. In this respect, Bernhardus's inscription may be interpreted as the words of the donor, who expresses his hopes for the faithful entering the church through the words of the lion head doorknockers. However, since no documentary evidence mentioning Bernhardus as the donor survives this suggestion remains hypothetical.

Originating from antiquity, the *me fecit*-signatures link ancient and medieval periods. The analysis of signatures and inscriptions discussed above demonstrates that depending on the formula the verb *facere* may refer to a donor or an artist. In some cases, due to the ambiguity of the verb *facere*, it may be difficult to make definitive conclusions having no additional evidence or references to an artist and their patron. Applying standardised approach to artists' inscriptions may be rather unproductive; each example should be considered in its specific context. For this reason, I proceed with a discussion of select

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[136] Frisch, *Gothic Art 1140–1450: Sources and Documents*, 7.
[137] Ibid., 7.

artworks with *me fecit*-signatures produced in various media, which is followed by a detailed analysis of the main case study, the bronze doorknockers from Freckenhorst.

The *me fecit*-signatures could be perceived as direct speech of objects introducing their makers. Throughout the centuries, artists in various media applied the *me fecit*-formula to claim authorship and express devotion indirectly. However, I propose that bronze casting may have been the origin of the *me fecit*-signing practice. When compared to other materials, bronze was considered as a living matter possessing 'intrinsic value.'[138] It was usually associated with magical transformations and metamorphoses, and sculptors working in bronze were reputed to as having divine creative power.[139] In this context, the use of the *me fecit*-formula in signatures at bronze objects naturally corresponds to the idea that these objects may resonate, sound, 'come alive' and speak for themselves.

Nevertheless, artists in various media, including manuscript illuminators and sculptors working in different materials, such as stone, bronze and precious metals applied *me fecit*-signatures. An early twelfth-century capital in the South transept of Conques Cathedral represents an angel holding a scroll with a signature: 'BERNARD(VS) ME FECIT.' As a messenger, the angel conveys sculptor's words and introduces the namesake of Bernhardus, who cast Freckenhorst doorknockers.[140] The depiction of a scroll and an inscription in it suggest interplay between the art of sculpture and written works of art.

Similar to angel's words at the Conques capital, the phrase 'BERNHARDVS ME FECIT' at the doorknocker may be interpreted as the words of a lion decorating it. The way in which these words are placed at the ring-shaped handles in the teeth of the lion makes them appear as if they are coming out of his mouth. Enclosed in the circular shape, Bernhardus's petition at the ring was guaranteed to be reiterated perpetually by

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[138] D. Fontijn, *Sacrificial Landscapes: Cultural Biographies of Persons, Objects and 'Natural' Places in the Bronze Age of the Southern Netherlands, C. 2300-600 BC* (Leiden: University of Leiden, 2013), 28.

[139] Droth, *Bronze: the Power of Life and Death*, 26.

[140] A. Dietl, 'Künstlerinschriften als Quelle für Status und Selbstverständnis von Bildhauern,' in *Studien zur Geschichte der europäischen Skulptur im 12.,13. Jahrhundert*, ed. A. Dietl, 175-191, (Frankfurt am Main: Henrich, 1994), 184.

the faithful from the secular nunnery at Freckenhorst, who would use door handles to enter the church. The bronze caster achieved expression of his petition not only in words, but also through the technique and shape that he gave to the rings.

A similar feature, when things that a person says are shown as text in banderoles coming out of their mouth, is found in medieval manuscripts. These title banners were also used by medieval scribes and manuscript illuminators to indicate authorship. For instance, the twelfth-century *Homeliary of Saint Bartholomew* from Frankfurt Staatsbibliothek has a self-portrait signed by the nun Guda, an artist and scribe (fig. 3).[141] Depicted in an initial letter D, she wears habit of a nun and holds a signed banderole that curves similar to the ring of a doorknocker: 'GUDA PECCATRIX MULIER SCRIPSIT ET PINXIT HUNC LIBRUM.'[142] In this inscription the nun does not deviate from monastic regulations and expresses humility by referring to herself as a sinner, but at the same time she claims authorship: 'Guda, a sinner, wrote and painted this book.' She firmly holds the banderole with her left hand, which establishes a close association between the title banner, the inscription in it and the image of Guda. Similarly, the lion at the doorknocker firmly holds the ring with an inscription in his teeth, as if reaffirming affiliation with Bernhardus.

Another example from a manuscript with an author's signature placed in a ring is found in the Bible from the Monastery of SS Maria and Martin in Leon, dated at 920 (currently at the Cathedral Archives). Upon closer examination, one of the circular motives in a colourful page from this manuscript reveals an inscription among other decorative patterns (fig. 4). The scribe asks a reader to pray for him and finishes the inscription with 'Deacon Ioannes made it,' using the Latin word *fecit*.[143] The ring with an inscription conveying his plea for a prayer emerges from the mouth of an ox, the symbol of Luke the Evangelist. The way in which the inscription is arranged on the ring reveals affinities to the same feature of a lion head doorknocker signed by Bernhardus.

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[141] D. Gaze, *Dictionary of Women Artists* (London: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 1997), 9, 22.
[142] A. Legner, *Der Artifex: Künstler im Mittelalter und ihre Selbstdarstellung: eine illustrierte Anthologie* (Cologne: Greven, 2009), 254, 259.
[143] Ibid., 201, fig. 254.

Just like Bernhardus, the twelfth-century monk Sawalo from the Benedictine Abbey of Saint-Amand in France used *me fecit* in his signatures in the Bible (ca 1160) and in the title page of Peter Lombard's *Sententiarium Libri IV* (ca 1170; both at the Municipal Library in Valenciennes). In his signatures, he claimed authorship and indicated his affiliation with a monastery: 'SAVVALO MONACVS SC AMANDI ME FECIT.' This signature may imply devotional connotations. The work of scribes, mechanical and monotonous at first sight, was perceived by the Benedictines as one of the forms to express piety. The use of the verb *me fecit*, especially in this context, not only emphasises the aspect of authorship but also underlines the moment of mechanical work performed by the scribe.

Although they are not found in every medieval manuscript, examples of scribes' self-representations were frequent enough to be known by the contemporaries. It would certainly be a speculation to claim that Bernhardus may have seen these particular manuscripts with signatures and self-images of their makers. However, these relatively standard forms of self-expression may have been learned from manuscripts, which were easy to disseminate considering their mobility. Already in the Carolingian period, artists and scribes used late antique books as sources for ideas on ornamentation and scripts.[144] As visual evidence indicates, medieval bronze casters also studied manuscripts to copy decorative motifs. The makers of Paderborn doorknockers, for instance, may have borrowed ornaments from Ottonian manuscripts.[145] The vertically placed scenes, the sense of space, the silhouettes and the stylised trees at the *Bernward Doors* at Hildesheim reveal that the bronze casters were familiar with the Genesis cycles in the Bibles belonging to the Carolingian school of Tours and New Testament cycles from the

[144] J. Mitchell, 'Literacy Displayed: the Use of Inscriptions at the Monastery of San Vincenzo al Volturno in the Early Ninth Century,' in *The Uses of Literacy in Early Mediaeval Europe*, ed. Rosamond McKitterick, 186-225, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 219.
[145] Mende indicated that the decoration of Paderborn doorknockers is based on the ornaments found in Ottonian manuscripts, which, in turn, allowed the scholar to date these bronze objects to the second half of the eleventh century. See Mende, *Die Türzieher des Mittelalters*, 208.

Codex Egberti.[146] Similar to ornaments, various concepts of self-representation found in medieval manuscripts may have been inspirational for sculptors and encouraged them to manifest their artistic intelligence like manuscript artists.

More parallels between manuscript art and bronze casting may be found by the example of Barisanus of Trani's self-representations. Towards the end of the twelfth century he produced bronze doors for cathedrals at Monreale and his native Trani in Italy.[147] His both signed self-images at cathedral doors bear a connotation of Barisanus's hope to enter the gates of Heaven. At Monreale, his self-image is accompanied with the *me fecit*-inscription: 'BARISANVS TRANE(…) ME FECIT,' whereas at Trani it is signed with his name only. In both cases the bronze caster depicted himself as a small figure kneeling in supplication before St Nicholas, apparently dedicating his work to the saint or praying.

Similar iconographical forms are found in manuscripts produced earlier than Barisanus's bronze doors. For instance, the images of St Dunstan kneeling before Christ (tenth century, St Dunstan's Classbook, MS Auct. F.4.32 Bodleian Library, Oxford) or of the ninth-century Benedictine monk Hrabanus Maurus (ca 840, De laudibus sanctae Crucis, Reg. Lat. 124., f. 35v, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rome). The humble posture of Barisanus recalls that of St Dunstan and introduces him as a devoted Christian, whereas the *me fecit*-signature clearly implies a votive gesture. However, the connection with manuscript art is seen not only through iconography of bronze caster's self-image. Both Monreale and Palermo examples showing Barisanus and a saint are framed with decorative patterns recalling the borders of manuscript pages (fig. 5).

Goldsmiths and stone sculptors followed the same tendency as bronze casters, manuscript artists and painters in claiming authorship and expressing devotion with the *me fecit*-signatures. Eilbertus of Cologne, for example, signed the reverse side of the top panel of his Portable Altar (ca 1150): 'EILBERTVS / COLON/IENSIS / ME /

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[146] J. Beckwith, *Early Medieval Art: Carolingian, Ottonian, Romanesque* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 2001), 146 and P. Barnet, *Medieval Treasures from Hildesheim* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2013), 11.
[147] Weinryb, *The Bronze Object in the Middle Ages*, 173-180 (with reference to earlier literature).

FECIT.'[148] Lavishly decorated with gold and enamel, the front side of this panel has an image of Christ in Majesty in the centre that coincides with the position of Eilbertus's votive signature on the reverse. This choice underlines the goldsmith's intention to obtain Christ's blessing, which is also characteristic of all examples previously mentioned in this chapter section. The name of the goldsmith refers to the city of Cologne, where he may have been trained.[149] In fact, noting the city of origin in a signature may also be considered as a way of manifesting identity.

An inscription of Bernardus Gelduinus, the namesake of the bronze caster who produced Freckenhorst doorknockers, originates from the same period as the main case study of Chapter 1. This sculptor was active in France between 1075 and 1096, and carved his *me fecit*-signature at an altar in the church of Saint Sernin in Toulouse.[150] Decorated with floral motifs and medallions representing the Virgin, the apostles and Christ, the altar conveys Eucharistic connotations. The signature 'BERNARDVS GELDVINVS ME FEC[IT]' is preceded by an extensive devotional inscription carved along the altar's border. Its content recalls the inscription at Freckenhorst doorknockers. As noted previously in this thesis, the similarities in the ways in which German and French artists represented themselves and signed their work may depend on cultural and religious circumstances that were common in Roman-catholic world. Mentioning that canons had founded this altar (*fecerunt constitui*), on which a church sermon may be held for the salvation of souls and for all those faithful to God, the inscription also pleas for the prayers of the martyr St Saturnin.[151]

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[148] Deutsche Inschriften Online. 'Die Inschriften der Stadt Braunschweig bis 1528, cat. no. 11,' accessed August 11, 2016, http://www.inschriften.net/braunschweig-bis-1528/inschrift/nr/di035-0011.html

[149] P. Lasko, *Ars Sacra, 800–1200* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 181.

[150] Publications on this sculptor are rare. See Lyman, T. 'La table d'autel de Bernard Gilduin et son ambiance originelle.' *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa* 13 (1982): 53-73.

[151] The full inscription reads: + IN NOM (INE DOMINI NOSTRI) / IHV XRI / HOC / ALTARE / FECERVNT / CONSTITVI / CONFRATRES / BEATI / MARTIRIS / SATVRNINI / IN QVO / DIVINV / CELEBRETVR / OFFICIV/AD / SALVTE / ANIMARVM / SVARV / ET OMIVM / DI / FIDELIVM / AM / + SATVRNINE / DEI CONFESSO|R / ET / INCLITE / MARTIR / NOMINE / PRO / XRI / QVI / TAVRO / TRACTVS / OBIISTI / VRBE / TOLOSANA / DV / CORRIPIS / ACTA / POFANA / VOTA / TVAE / PLEBIS / FER / AD / AVRES / | OMPTIS / VT (EI SI) T GRATVS / QVOD / IN / HAC / ARA / CELEBRATVR / + BERNARDVS

Notably, the *me fecit*-formula in this inscription refers to the maker, whereas the donors are mentioned with the words '*hoc altare fecerunt constitui*.' Again, this recalls some of the above-mentioned examples with extensive inscriptions, such as the reliquary of St Maurice, the doorknockers from Oristano or the bronze doors of Mainz Cathedral. In these cases the names of a donors are followed with artists' *me fecit*-signatures. The West portal of San Cornelio y San Cipriano at Revilla de Santullán (Palencia) has a signed self-image of a twelfth-century stone sculptor: 'MICAELIS ME FECIT.' Apart from using the standard *me fecit*-signature, the sculptor followed common iconographical features, which are discussed in the next chapter. He represented himself sitting in profile and working with his mallet and chisel.[152]

Bernhardus's signature at Freckenhorst doorknockers was meant to be seen and read by the noble women of the nunnery and children from noble families from all over the country, who lived and studied at the convent and regularly attended the church for service. Practical function of Freckenhorst church doorknockers as handles to open and close the heavy doors combined with symbolic function. By placing his signature at the doorknockers, Bernhardus wished that he would be remembered in the petitions of those entering the convent church. A similar approach was chosen by the French artist Bernardus Gelduinus, whose signature would have been noticed by a priest conveying a service. The sculptor may also have wanted to ensure his nominal presence at all the services at the church of Saint Sernin in Toulouse.

The selection of these diverse examples shows that artists in various media and from various European countries followed similar schemes and used the *me fecit*-formula to sign their work. Cases like this belong to a tradition that goes back to my case study, Freckenhorst doorknockers, as well as later. Among the factors that determined continuity of this tradition is, most certainly, cultural and religious links that united German, Italian, French and other European artists. The French doorknockers at wooden

GELDVINVS ME FECIT. See Lyman, 'La table d'autel de Bernard Gilduin et son ambiance originelle,' 59, 64.

[152] Magistri Cataloniae. 'Fecit. Professional vocabulary,' accessed August 08, 2018. http://www.magistricataloniae.org/en/indexmceng/terms/item/fecit.html

doors of the Church St Julien in Brioude in Auvergne (early twelfth century) are encircled with an inscription: 'ORIOR EXAMINIS VITA(M) DAT SP(IRITUS) ORIS // ILLECEBRIS ORIS CAPTOS FALLAX TRA(H)IT ORBIS / GIRAL(D)VS ME FECIT.' It translates: 'I am born without life, the breath of your mouth gives me life // The deceitful world carries out those who have been taken as prisoners by the bewitching mouth / Giraldus made me' (fig. 6).[153]

The *me fecit*-signature in plural form at doorknockers from St Peter's Cathedral at Trier (the second half of the thirteenth century, currently at the Cathedral Treasury) reveals that there were two artists involved in the manufacture process. A portion of the inscription in Gothic majuscule gives names of the makers: 'MAGISTER NICOLAVS ET MAGISTER IOHANNES DE BINCIO NOS FECERONT,' which means: Magister Nicholaus and Magister Johannes de Bincio made us (fig. 7). The other portion of inscription refers to the lost-wax technique applied by the makers to produce the doorknockers: 'QVOD FORE CERA DEDIT TVLIT IGNIS ET ESTIBI REGDIT.' It translates as: 'That which the wax gives, the fire removes and the bronze returns to you.'[154] Mende interprets 'de Bincio' as a reference to Binche in the province of Hainaut in Southern Belgium or a German town Bingen in Hesse, suggesting that the two artists may have originated from one of these places. Besides, she believes that one of them may have worked on wax models and the other one specialised on bronze casting.[155] However, no further evidence confirming that such division of labour existed between the two artists is provided by the scholar. The assumption on 'de Bincio' as the place of origin of both artists does not sound convincing enough, as it follows immediately after the name of Magister Johannes and may refer only to him. The content of the inscription indicates collaboration between the two professionals on the production of the

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[153] Weinryb, *The Bronze Object in the Middle Ages*, 52, 154.
[154] I. Weinryb, 'The bronze object in the Middle Ages,' in *Bronze*, ed. D. Ekserdjian, 69-78, (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2012), 69.
[155] See Mende, *Die Türzieher des Mittelalters*, 262; T. Raff, *Die Sprache der Materialien* (Munster: Waxmann, 2008), 84 and Enciclopedia dell'arte medievale. 'Iohannes e Nicolaus de Bincio,' accessed August 11, 2016, http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/iohannes-e-nicolaus-de-bincio_(Enciclopedia-dell'-Arte-Medievale)/

doorknockers in Trier. Most importantly, the formula *me fecit* in this particular case was indeed used primarily to claim authorship; the inscription does not include supplications.

Just like the examples from Brioude, Trier and Oristano the doorknockers from Freckenhorst have an inscription that splits in two portions and appears on both of them serving as a verbal tie that keeps the two objects together. All these pairs of zoomorphic doorknockers speak for themselves in literary or metaphorical language, and their inscriptions contain biblical connotations and references to the aspects of life, death and enlivening.

Notably, inscriptions reflecting similar ideas expressed through the *me fecit*-formula occur at various bronze objects, some of which may not be considered sculptures. For instance, an inscription at the fourteenth-century bell at the Church of Our Lady in Antwerp reads: 'MAGISTER IERADVS DE LEODIO ME FECIT ANNO DOMINI MCCCXVI ORIDA VOCOR.' It translates: 'Master Gerardus of Liege made me in the year of our Lord 1316. I am called the Terrible.' Again, the bronze object introduces its maker and itself, the name 'Terrible' corresponds to the bell's function 'to warn of danger and disaster.'[156] The title *magister* before the names of these bronze casters shows their proficiency and experience, whereas the *me fecit*-formula indicates authorship and relates to the motif of enlivening. Similar formulae and terminology are also found in stone sculptors' signatures, which are the subject of Chapter 2.

To conclude, the examples discussed above demonstrate that artists in various media, especially metalwork artists and bronze casters, signed their works with the *me fecit*-signatures, aiming to ensure themselves remembrance and salvation. Related to figural imagery, this Latin formula emphasises a firm connection between the maker and an object, which 'comes alive' as a result of their sacred labour. Freckenhorst doorknockers signed by Bernhardus are an illustrative example of overall issues, including the issue of authorship related to *me fecit*-signatures. The next chapter part focuses on the pieces from Freckenhorst in detail and questions whether Bernhardus was the bronze caster and the maker of the doorknockers or the donor of Freckenhorst church portal.

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[156] Droth, *Bronze: the Power of Life and Death*, 33.

A Donor or a Maker: Bernhardus and the Lion Head Doorknockers from the Treasury of Freckenhorst Church (Germany) in the late eleventh Century

Freckenhorst doorknockers and Bernhardus, whose name is mentioned in the inscription, have not received sufficient attention in scholarship up to now. Among the few publications mentioning the doorknockers, most contain serious omissions and errors, both factual and interpretative. An early reference to Bernhardus as to one of the first bronze casters in Germany occurred in the nineteenth century, when he was paralleled to the *Artifex* Berengerus, who was active in ca 1000 and produced doors with lions head doorknockers for the Cathedral in Mainz.[157] No evidence was presented in relation to this argument, but nevertheless it was further supported in the twentieth-century scholarship.[158]

The only article that discussed Freckenhorst doorknockers specifically and questioned Bernhardus's social standing and contribution to Freckenhorst Church is based on controversial hypotheses. It provided a misleading interpretation of Bernhardus's inscription and used unconvincing examples to illustrate it. Moreover, no documentary evidence was given to identify Bernhardus with a representative of local nobility.[159]

The dating of Freckenhorst doorknockers proposed in previous publications was based almost exclusively on brief stylistic analysis and superficial knowledge on the history of Freckenhorst Church.[160] This was copied in subsequent publications, which

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[157] J. Nordhoff, *Die Kunst- und Geschichts-Denkmäler des Kreises Warendorf* (Munster: Coppenrath, 1886), 112; K. Hölker, *Die Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler von Westfalen. Kreis Warendorf* (Munster: Aschendorff, 1936), 89; G. Dehio, *Handbuch der deutschen Kunstdenkmäler, Westfalen* (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1969), 168; Mende, *Die Türzieher des Mittelalters*, 191.

[158] Not giving own hypothesis on the identification of Bernhardus, Dehio (1932), Hölker (1936), Ernst (1948), Kohl (1975) and Mende (1981) followed the idea from the early publications and considered Bernhardus as a bronze caster.

[159] W. Kohl, *Germania Sacra. Das (freiweltliche) Damenstift Freckenhorst* (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1975): 23.

[160] Ibid., 23.

failed to support suggestions on dating of the doorknockers with firm archaeological or technical evidence.[161]

The lack of primary sources on the doorknockers may be explained by fires that heavily damaged the convent and its church in the first half of the tenth and in the twelfth centuries. I retrieved and compiled historical evidence on Freckenhorst Church from a number of sources, including the legend on the church, a digitised chronicle and several old historical publications concerning specifically with Freckenhorst and its religious community.[162] These sources ensured necessary historical background for further enquiries on my case study. The encyclopaedic book by Mende described Freckenhorst doorknockers in a rather short catalogue entry, but provided relevant comparative material for their contextualisation and thorough stylistic analysis.[163]

Finally, very little was done to interpret the inscription at the ring-shaped handles of the doorknockers and identify the man by the name Bernhardus mentioned in it. I address primary sources and a selection of inscriptions with similar formula to investigate whether Bernhardus was a bronze caster with a religious background. My

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[161] Bley, ''Bernhardus me fecit': die romanischen Löwenkopf-Türzieher in Freckenhorst,' 193-194 and Legner, *Der Artifex: Künstler im Mittelalter und ihre Selbstdarstellung: eine illustrierte Anthologie*, 226-227, fig. 300.

[162] See Freckenhorster Heimatverein. 'Freckenhorster kommentierte Datensammlung bis 1949,' accessed August 6, 2016, http://www.heimatverein-freckenhorst.de/Freckenhorster%20Geschichte/Zeitgeschichte%20bis%201949.pdf

The *Freckenhorster kommentierte Datensammlung* is a chronicle on the history of Freckenhorst compiled by Hans-Jörg Kraneburg. It is based on scholarly publications by historians Kohl, Schweiters, Fischer, etc. The chronicle was digitised and uploaded online, and is accessible via the link specified above. The *Freckenhorster kommentierte Datensammlung* includes several volumes, the first of which begins with the earliest events from the time period Before Christ (BC) and covers the history of Freckenhorst up until 1950s. The first volume is most relevant to the subject and time frame of this chapter, as it presents the events from the medieval period chronologically, with a particular focus on the history of the Convent of St Boniface in Freckenhorst.

[163] Mende, *Die Türzieher des Mittelalters*, 208. The doorknockers were installed at the Sacristy doors before 1975, because Kohl's publication (1975) notes that they are found there. See Kohl, *Germania Sacra. Das (freiweltliche) Damenstift Freckenhorst*, 23. Mende in her fundamental books on church doors and bronze doorknockers (1981; 1983) provided accurate texts and German translations of bronze casters' and donors' inscriptions from a variety of European regions. See also Mende, U. *Die Bronzetüren des Mittelalters, 800–1200*. Munich: Hirmer, 1983.

analysis of the content and palaeographical characters of this inscription permits drawing new conclusions on the dating of the doorknockers, as well as their religious and symbolic function.

The two bronze doorknockers in question are currently kept at the Treasury of Freckenhorst Church. Circular in shape, they are decorated with faces of lions with stylised manes and wide-open eyes. These doorknockers were made as counterparts for the two sides of a pair of double doors. They are of approximately similar measurements, 13x12.5x9 cm, but are not identical; which is typical of lost-wax method that was widely used in the eleventh and twelfth centuries to cast bronze items.[164] Liquid bronze was poured through special channels in a mould that contained a positive full-scale wax model.[165] This caused wax to melt and drain away, and vacated space for liquid bronze to fill the shape inside the mould and solidify. Technically, this would not allow creating two identical casts. Any wax model, produced individually for each piece out of clay, would have been broken to extract the bronze object.[166]

Archival evidence relating to the exterior decoration of the church in Freckenhorst is virtually non-existent, and no conclusive argument regarding the dating of the doorknockers has been proposed. Thus, the only viable method of dating these pieces is on the basis of analysing and comparing their style and technique. Further in this chapter, comparisons of Freckenhorst doorknockers to a number of German and Italian examples indicate that there is the fusion of stylistic features, which establishes a closer connection between the North and South of the Alps. The dating previously suggested for the Freckenhorst doorknockers to the twelfth century was exclusively based on the style of the lion heads.[167] However, it requires revision, because a variety of other

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[164] Bley, ''Bernhardus me fecit': die romanischen Löwenkopf-Türzieher in Freckenhorst,' 185.
[165] Weinryb, *The Bronze Object in the Middle Ages*, 44.
[166] This technique was refined in the course of time. In the following centuries bronze casters discovered indirect lost-wax method, which allowed them to preserve and use models multiple times. See C. Mattusch, 'Greece, Etruria and Rome,' in *Bronze*, ed. D. Ekserdjian, 47-54, (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2012), 47. For more on lost-wax method see U. Mende, 'Türzieher mittelalterlicher Bronzetüren,' in *Le porte di bronzo dall'antichita al secolo XIII*, ed. S. Salomi, 477-493, (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1990), 478.
[167] Kohl, *Germania Sacra. Das (freiweltliche) Damenstift Freckenhorst*, 23.

factors, such as history of the church for which they were produced, inscriptions found at the objects, as well as visual and archaeological evidence should also be considered.

Reevaluation of all these factors shows that the doorknockers date back to the time when Freckenhorst Church was founded or restored. Namely, they belong to the last quarter of the eleventh century and were cast between 1084 and 1090, around the time when the consecration of the Church took place.[168] Besides, palaeography of the characters in the inscription at Freckenhorst doorknockers is thoroughly discussed in this chapter. In a combination with stylistic analysis, it shows that affinities of the doorknockers belong with examples from the eleventh century rather than the twelfth.

In their teeth, both lions hold a ring-shaped handle in diameter of 13 cm. These handles are notable for an inscription that mentions a man by the name 'Bernhardus.' The inscription's positioning at the ring-shaped handles is uncommon. Most twelfth or thirteenth-century doorknockers discussed in this thesis, including those from Brioude and Trier, have inscriptions positioned prominently, on broad circular panels encircling lion heads.[169] In my opinion, the case study was produced before the twelfth century and may be considered among the earliest medieval doorknockers with an inscription. Interestingly, similar to the inscriptions at the doorknockers from Brioude and Sant'Ambrogio in Milan, the characters of Freckenhorst inscription are also indented.[170] The same is peculiar to the signatures at the bronze doors by Barisanus of Trani. The examples at these pieces differ from the voluminious characters of inscriptions at the doorknockers from Trier and Oristano.

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[168] Bley has briefly mentioned about this possibility. Bley, ''Bernhardus me fecit': die romanischen Löwenkopf-Türzieher in Freckenhorst,' 188.

[169] For an extensive discussion and catalogue of medieval bronze doorknockers from varios European regions see Mende, U. *Die Türzieher des Mittelalters*. Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1981.

[170] Due to significant limitations in funding, it was not possible to study Freckenhorst doorknockers in the original, and unfortunately it is uncertain whether Bernhardus's inscription was made in wax and therefore cast or incised in the cold metal. Interestingly, the mirrored characters of the inscription at Sant'Ambrogio doorknockers may suggest that the inscription was made in the wax; perhaps the maker has not considered that it would be difficult to read the inscription when its cast.

Addressed to Christ, Bernhardus's inscription resembles a petition for the faithful entering the Church. The position of the inscription at the doorknockers' handles suggests that the maker wanted the faithful to notice and read it, think about their souls, pray for the said Bernhardus and then enter the church. Both portions of the inscription are written in Leonine verse, they are logically connected and together express a complete idea. The uniformity of Roman majuscule characters in this inscription indicates that although the two objects are not identical, they were produced as a pair.

The maker divided the inscription into two parts. It starts on the ring of the first doorknocker and continues at the ring of the other one, respectively:

'HAS IANVAS GENTEM CAVSA PRECIS INGREDIENTEM'; 'IXPC REX REGVM FACIAT CONCENDERE CAELVM BERNHARDVS ME FECIT.'

['May Jesus Christ the King of kings see to it (faciat) that the people who enter (literally entering) these doors to pray (for the sake of prayer) ascend to Heaven. Bernhardus made me.'][171]

The humble tone of Bernhardus's inscription contributes to the harmony of textual and pictorial components of the doorknockers. Further in-depth analysis of these features, and comparisons of artists' inscriptions and their content are included in Chapter 3. This serves as additional evidence in support of my newly proposed dating of Freckenhorst doorknockers.

The dating, in fact, is largely based on the analysis of the palaeographical style of characters in Bernhardus's inscription. The distinction between the words and the use of punctuation, as well as the style of characters R and A reveal affinities to the examples dated from the twelfth century onwards.[172] However, the letter G, rather curved in

[171] I am grateful to Dr Patricia Brignall for her advice on the translation of this inscription.
[172] R. Favreau, *Études d'épigraphie médiévale: recueil d'articles de Robert Favreau rassemblés à l'occasion de son départ à la retraite* (Limoges: Pulim, 1995), 76-77.

inscriptions from the same period, looks different at Freckenhorst doorknockers.[173] Moreover, the characters in Bernhardus's inscription are close to rounded shape, which is rather common to the examples from before the twelfth century. This unusual combination of features may indicate that Freckanhorst doorknockers belong to the transitional period, presumably to the last decades of the eleventh century.

This suggestion is confirmed with further comparisons between palaeographical characters in Bernhardus's inscription and other late eleventh-century examples. For instance, the style of characters S, A, T, N, E, M and R, as well as the proportions and spacing between the letters in Freckenhorst inscription reveal affinities to the epitaph form the Abbey Saint-Jean-de-Montierneuf in Poitiers (1097) and to Wiligelmo's inscription at the West façade of Modena Cathedral (1099). Contractions of words were not applied in both Freckenhorst and Poitiers inscriptions; and punctuation is hardly used in the latter.[174] The curve of the character S in all these three inscriptions, with the upper part of the letter larger than its lower part reveals close similarities. Notably, the palaeographical style of the characters S and R, N, M, E in the inscriptions from Freckenhorst, Poitiers and Modena shows affinities to the inscription by Berengerus at the bronze doors of Mainz Cathedral, which is analysed later in Chapter 3.

This chapter enquires into the matter of authorship and questions who was Bernhardus, the man mentioned in the inscription. However, from the inscription alone it is impossible to form a complete judgement on it. Bernhardus may have been a donor or a maker of the doorknockers, a local nobleman, a merchant, a lay official in a parish or a church warden. Unlike noblemen and patrons, who are likely to be documented, this may not always be the case with artists, either laymen or monks. In case Bernhardus was one of them, he may have worked without a fee, leaving no records of payments to confirm

[173] Favreau, *Études d'épigraphie médiévale: recueil d'articles de Robert Favreau rassemblés à l'occasion de son départ à la retraite*, 38.
[174] Ibid., 86.

the commission.[175] In these circumstances, signing their work may have been the only way for artists to manifest identity and claim authorship.

No specific archival records establish a connection between the person named Bernhardus and reconstructions of, or donations to the Church. However, evidence presented below may suggest that the formula used in the inscription refers to the maker rather than a donor. This may complement our understanding of the ways in which medieval sculptors expressed themselves in written self-representations and confirm their interest in distinguishing themselves similar to patrons, in inscriptions. Some of the above-mentioned examples with maker's signatures, as well as certain *cronica fratrum* indicated that medieval monks or lay brothers of various monastic communities, including the Benedictine, were literate and proficient in arts and crafts.[176] I propose a hypothesis that Bernhardus may have been the artist who produced the doorknockers, a bronze caster, possibly with a clerical or monastic background.

Images of artists with religious background occur not only through self-representations integrated in their work, but also in legends or medieval treatises.[177] These narratives tell us about saints or historic personalities, monks or bishops. Among these are the bishop Rotaldus from the legend on the translation of the relics of St Zeno, St Eloy (ca 590 – 660) and an English canonised bishop St Dunstan (909 – 988), the patron of goldsmiths. The latter, apparently, was a literate person, just like Bernward of Hildesheim (ca 950 - 1022) or Theophilus, who worte *De Diversis Artibus*. St Dunstan's biographer Osbern, for example, noted his proficiency in 'making a picture and forming letters.'[178]

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[175] For similar cases see J. Cannon, 'Sources for the Study of the Role of Art and Architecture within the Economy of the Mendicant Convents of Central Italy: a Preliminary Survey,' *Economia dei conventi dei frati minori e predicatori fino alla metà del Trecento* (2003): 227.
[176] Ibid., 254-255. Here, for example, Cannon mentions primary source on monks-illuminators or scribes.
[177] This ancient tradition continued in subsequent periods. Payne mentions a sixteenth-century legend about an architect and their church: A. Payne, *L'architecture parmi les arts: matérialité, transferts et travail artistique dans l'Italie de la Renaissance* (Paris: Louvres éditions, 2016), 29.
[178] J. Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators and Their Methods of Work* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 9.

Since antiquity the durability of bronze determined that many utilitarian or household items were produced in this material.[179] At first, it may seem that the Freckenhorst doorknockers have had a purely practical function. However, the inscription reveals that the maker assigned them a more prominent role. Their function spread beyond than just handles at the door. The analysis of the content and character of the inscription presented in this chapter reveals the maker's ideas on the symbolism and function of lion head doorknockers. Written in the form of a pious petition for the salvation of souls, Bernhardus's inscription is addressed to God. It may be interpreted as the words of a religious who affiliated with the Church or a monastery and whose natural concern was to pray for the faithful. At the same time, the inscription implies Bernhardus's personal aspirations for a place in Heaven. By arranging it to follow the circular shape of the doorknockers' handles he ensured that the petition would be reiterated permanently.

This chapter also discusses the ancient origins of the connection between the images of lions at the doorknockers and the special status and qualities of bronze as material of which they are made. Bernhardus may have been familiar with apotropaic qualities of lion head doorknockers and knew that they were frequently associated with Christ. I suggest that the maker may have implemented sonorous qualities of the doorknockers to ensure that his name obtains signification through sound. The doorknockers were enriched with symbolic and religious connotations and showed interplay of pictorial and written components. For Bernhardus, the doorknockers may have served as a means of communication with the divine and the faithful entering the church. The votive character of the signature suggests that the doorknockers may have been set at the main portal to ensure that everyone entering the Church for a prayer would notice Bernhardus's words.[180] However, the church was related to Freckenhorst Convent, and only people affiliating with it may have known who Bernhardus was.

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[179] Pliny, the Elder, *The Elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art*, 13.

[180] There are brief references in some sources that the two bronze pieces might have been originally set at the main doors of the West portal of the Church in Freckenhorst. See L. Ernst, *Freckenhorst Das Stift und seine Kirche* (Warendorf: Schnell, 1948), 23; Kohl, *Germania Sacra. Das (freiweltliche) Damenstift Freckenhorst*, 23 and Freckenhorster Heimatverein. 'Freckenhorster kommentierte Datensammlung bis 1949,' accessed August 6, 2016,

Freckenhorst was only a small settlement that in the course of time had grown into a town, largely on account of the convent that played the role of a local religious and educational centre. Apparently, literacy was an integral component in the convent's life. This may explain why there is an inscription at Freckenhorst doorknockers, which is notable for its length and profound meaning. It mentions Bernhardus and creates an image of this man as a literate person with strong religious beliefs, who aimed to express devotion to God by producing or donating the doorknockers. This, however, may not exclude that Bernhardus was a layman, who, just like monks, worked for convents producing various items.[181]

Early scholarship suggested that artists like St Eloy, specialising on work with precious metals, enjoyed privileged positions in the Middle Ages.[182] However, in this chapter I challenge this stereotype and demonstrate that all metalwork artists, including bronze casters, were valued specialists, both in the antiquity and in the medieval period. They also enjoyed privileged position and their craft was considered to have sacred character.[183] An opportunity to place his signature prominently, at the doorknockers at the entrance doors to the church may indicate that Bernhardus was respected at Freckenhorst. By comparing this case study to other examples, I suggest that it may have been Bernhardus's social status or his ability to cast bronze that earned him the right to display his name prominently.

In the course of time, Freckenhorst doorknockers were transferred and reused at different church doors. By the end of the nineteenth century they were found at the doors of the South portal of Freckenhorst Church.[184] However, already at the beginning of the twentieth century, they were set at the North portal.[185] Later in the twentieth century the

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http://www.heimatverein-freckenhorst.de/Freckenhorster%20Geschichte/Zeitgeschichte%20bis%201949.pdf

[181] Cannon, 'Sources for the Study of the Role of Art and Architecture within the Economy of the Mendicant Convents of Central Italy: a Preliminary Survey,' 222, 254.

[182] Davis-Weyer, *Early Medieval Art, 300–1150: Sources and Documents*, 69.

[183] M. Eliade, *The Forge and the Crucible: the Origins and Structures of Alchemy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), 88.

[184] J. Schulte, *Geschichtliche Mitteilungen über das Stift Freckenhorst* (Warendorf, 1890), 20.

[185] J. Schwieters, *Das Kloster Freckenhorst und seine Aebtissinnen* (Warendorf: Schnell, 1903), 36.

doorknockers were separated and transferred inside the Church, and used respectively at the South and North sacristy doors.[186] It may be explained by an intention to preserve them from weather conditions and damage, yet keep their practical function. Apparently, the doorknockers remained set at the Sacristy doors for several years. Finally, in the end of the twentieth century they were transferred to the Treasury of Freckenhorst Church, where they are kept at present.[187] Thus, the local community perceived these doorknockers not only as objects of functional importance, but also appreciated them.

Bernhardus's inscription at the doorknockers visualises people entering the Church through the entrance doors. It served as a petition to God so that these faithful ascend to Heaven. Virtually, this devotional idea lost its relevancy at the point when the doorknockers were transferred from the gates to the Church interior. There is no documentary evidence to confirm whether in the Early Modern period the doorknockers were valued as in the Middle Ages. During the Reformation old customs may have remained dormant until Catholics regained power in the convent at the beginning of the seventeenth century.[188]

Over the centuries, medieval understanding of the doorknockers as votive pieces with practical significance shifted towards appreciation of their historical and cultural values. However, in both cases Bernhardus's inscription ensured that the doorknockers were valued as preserving the memory of this man and conveying his written petition. For this reason, it is essential to explore this case study in the context of the history of Freckenhorst Convent and its church.

A nunnery in Freckenhorst was founded in 854 by Everword and his wife Geva.[189] Dedicated to St Boniface (ca 675 - 754), the first archbishop of Mainz who had made a

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[186] Mende, *Die Türzieher des Mittelalters*, 208. The doorknockers were installed at the Sacristy doors before 1975, because Kohl's article (1975) noted that they are found there. See Kohl, *Germania Sacra. Das (freiweltliche) Damenstift Freckenhorst*, 23.

[187] Bley, ''Bernhardus me fecit': die romanischen Löwenkopf-Türzieher in Freckenhorst,' 185.

[188] It is documented that in 1613 a parish school at Freckenhorst had a hundred of pupils and its rector was Catholic. See Freckenhorster Heimatverein. 'Freckenhorster kommentierte Datensammlung bis 1949,' accessed August 6, 2016, http://www.heimatverein-freckenhorst.de/Freckenhorster%20Geschichte/Zeitgeschichte%20bis%201949.pdf

[189] Freckenhorst. Geschichte. 'The Legend of the Foundation of Freckenhorst (Übersetzung von Ulrich Möllmann),' accessed August 18, 2016,

significant contribution in promoting Christianity in the eighth-century Germany, the Convent in Freckenhorst was established exactly one hundred years after the saint's death.[190] The only source telling the story of the foundation of the convent is a fifteenth-century legend that exists in two versions.[191] In Latin, it is called *De constructione monasterii Freckenhorstensis* and in Low German language it is *Hyr begynnet de fundacie, wo de kercke und das kloster des stichtes tho Freckenhorst erst ys wunderlyken van der genade Godes getymmert*. According to the legend, Everword dreamt that it was St Peter himself who told him to build the convent. Consequently, the main chapel of the convent was dedicated to this saint apostle. Apart from the Chapel, the convent included a variety of buildings, such as cells and a dormitory, two refectories with a kitchen, a farmstead and a storehouse.[192] In the beginning, this secular nunnery consisted of twelve well-educated noblewomen, but in the course of time more noble families from all over the country would send their daughters to Freckenhorst.[193]

The convent of St Boniface in Freckenhorst was a religious and educational centre, as well as one of the earliest strongholds of Christianity in Westphalia. Documents from the second half of the eleventh century show that the canonesses and the abbess of the convent taught children of the local noblemen religion, reading, writing and handcrafts.[194] Children lived at the convent during the period of studies and were supposed to return to their families after they finished learning; there were also those

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http://www.freckenhorst.de/cms/zumort/geschichte/gruendung and Freckenhorster Heimatverein. 'Freckenhorster kommentierte Datensammlung bis 1949,' accessed August 11, 2016, http://www.heimatverein-freckenhorst.de/Freckenhorster%20Geschichte/Zeitgeschichte%20bis%201949.pdf

[190] P. Leidinger, 'Die Vögte von Freckenhorst aus dem Hause Rheda,' *Freckenhorst* 6 (1987): 12-19.

[191] Kohl, *Germania Sacra. Das (freiweltliche) Damenstift Freckenhorst*, 53.

[192] Ernst, *Freckenhorst Das Stift und seine Kirche*, 5-7 and Kohl, *Germania Sacra. Das (freiweltliche) Damenstift Freckenhorst*, 53.

[193] Freckenhorst. Geschichte. 'The Legend of the Foundation of Freckenhorst (Übersetzung von Ulrich Möllmann),' accessed August 18, 2016, http://www.freckenhorst.de/cms/zumort/geschichte/gruendung

[194] Freckenhorster Heimatverein. 'Freckenhorster kommentierte Datensammlung bis 1949,' accessed August 6, 2016, http://www.heimatverein-freckenhorst.de/Freckenhorster%20Geschichte/Zeitgeschichte%20bis%201949.pdf

who wanted to stay at the convent, acquire knowledge of Latin and become involved in monastic life.

Monastery and cathedral schools, along with schools at royal court, existed in Europe already during the rule of Charlemagne. The commitment of the Church in promoting literacy and Latin was an essential cultural feature of the Carolingian period.[195] The papal government provided education to young men through the system of cathedral schools, but the level of learning there was only sufficient for working in administrative or ecclesiastical setting.[196] Universality of education and interchange between these intellectual centres were among the characteristic features of cathedral and court schools; for instance, a monk that received education in the cloister might have been appointed at court and become a bishop in the future.[197] In Germany, schools as educational institutions flourished and their number was growing, especially from the tenth century onwards. Students travelled specifically to learn from famous teachers that often had religious background and taught at cathedral schools. For instance, due to his reputation of a learned man, a cleric Ohtricus attracted many students to Magdeburg where he was teaching.[198] Similar to travelling artists, circulation of teachers actively took place in the medieval period; it ensured exchange of ideas and dissemination of knowledge, sometimes at an international level. By 952, Otto the Great (912 – 973) and bishop Poppo I of Wurzburg (941 – 961) invited an Italian master, Stefan of Novara, to teach in Wurzburg.[199] Situated just 300 km away from Magdeburg and Wurzburg, which were famous for their schools, Freckenhorst Convent also developed as educational centre in accordance to the common tendencies of the period.

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[195] J. Nelson, 'Literacy in Carolingian Government,' in *The Uses of Literacy in Early Mediaeval Europe*, ed. Rosamond McKitterick, 258-297, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 263.

[196] T. Noble, 'Literacy and the Papal Government in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages,' in *The Uses of Literacy in Early Mediaeval Europe*, ed. Rosamond McKitterick, 82-109, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 104.

[197] C. Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Medieval Europe, 950–1200* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994), 26-27.

[198] C. Jaeger, 'Cathedral schools and humanist learning,' *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte* 61 (1987): 572.

[199] Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Medieval Europe, 950–1200*, 47.

Apparently, there were no strict regulations about monastic rules at the convent at an earlier date, and it is unknown what rule the nuns were following before 1240, when they accepted the Rule of St Augustine, probably on the initiative of Bishop Ludolf von Holte (1226 – 1247).[200] As opposed to traditional nunneries where the Rule would have been stricter, Freckenhorst Convent was based on the principles of secular community. This may imply that there were fewer restrictions extended to its members and to anyone who worked for the convent. Literacy of Freckenhorst nuns and their descent from wealthy noble families created favourable atmosphere for patronage of arts. It may also have encouraged the freedom of artistic expression and self-representational tendencies among the artists that were involved in decorating of Freckenhorst Church. This may include Bernhardus whose name appears in a signature at the doorknockers produced for the church doors. However, to support this statement an enquiry into the history of the convent and stages of construction of its church is needed.

The first church of the convent was dedicated to St Vitus, but at present evidence about this building is fragmentary. Archaeological excavations have indicated that the convent and its church suffered destruction from fire in the first half of the tenth and in the twelfth centuries; the construction of a new church in Freckenhorst began approximately in the middle of the eleventh century and continued until the early twelfth century; it was a period when building of many new churches was especially active throughout Germany.[201] First references to Freckenhorst Church appear between 1084 and 1090, after its consecration by the bishop Erpho (1085 - 1097).[202] Apparently, in 1116, shortly after its construction was finished, a fire occurred, causing damage to the church and the whole nunnery.[203] Subsequent reconstructions took about twelve years, and Bishop Egbert of Munster (1127 – 1132) consecrated the newly refurbished church

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[200] A. Schröer, *Die Kirche in Westfalen vor der Reformation. Verfassung und geistliche Kultur. Misstände und Reformen* (Munster: Aschendorff, 1967), 153 and Ernst, *Freckenhorst Das Stift und seine Kirche*, 7.
[201] Freckenhorster Heimatverein. 'Freckenhorster kommentierte Datensammlung bis 1949,' accessed August 11, 2016, http://www.heimatverein-freckenhorst.de/Freckenhorster%20Geschichte/Zeitgeschichte%20bis%201949.pdf
[202] Kohl, *Germania Sacra. Das (freiweltliche) Damenstift Freckenhorst*, 13-14.
[203] Ernst, *Freckenhorst Das Stift und seine Kirche*, 7-8.

in the summer of 1129, as the inscription at the baptismal font indicates: '+ ANNO AB INCARNAT(IONE) D(OMINI) M C XX VIIII EPACT (IS) XXVIII CONCURR(ENTIBUS) I P(OST) B(ISSEXTILEM) INDICT(IONE) VII II NON(AS) IBN(II) A VENERAB(ILI) EP(ISCOP)O MIMIGARDEVORDENSI EGBERTO ORTDINAT(IONIS) SUE ANNO II CONSECRATU(M) E(ST) HOC TEMPLUM' (fig. 8). The church was built as a cruciform basilica, with a choir flanked by two towers, a crypt, and a westwork with two towers on the sides.[204]

Previously suggested dating of the doorknockers to the twelfth century requires accurate revision with regards to additional comparative material and consideration of key dates in the history of Freckenhorst Church.[205] I suggest that the doorknockers with such simple, static and stylised lion faces may have been produced in the eleventh century, before the new church was consecrated in 1129. It corresponds to the time around ca 1080, when the refurbishment of Freckenhorst Church was almost completed, and when such final details as doorknockers would have been installed at the doors. To strengthen this hypothesis, more stylistic comparisons with other doorknockers and an analysis of inscriptions at these pieces are provided further. However, an analysis based on stylistic and palaeographic evidence would rather show regional or local differences than reveal precise dating. Due to the absence of documentary evidence, this may only lead to tentative, hypothetical conclusions. The archives of the convent and its church were destroyed by the fire in 1116, which is the main reason why information on Freckenhorst Church is lacking.[206] As a consequence, it is problematic to determine when the lion head doorknockers were set at the main doors of the West portal and why they were relocated in the course of time.

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[204] Ibid., 20; see also Dehio, *Handbuch der deutschen Kunstdenkmäler, Westfalen*, 164 and Kohl, *Germania Sacra. Das (freiweltliche) Damenstift Freckenhorst*, 14.
[205] Kohl, *Germania Sacra. Das (freiweltliche) Damenstift Freckenhorst*, 23; Legner, *Der Artifex: Künstler im Mittelalter und ihre Selbstdarstellung: eine illustrierte Anthologie*, 226, fig. 300 and Bley, ''Bernhardus me fecit': die romanischen Löwenkopf-Türzieher in Freckenhorst,' 188.
[206] Freckenhorster Heimatverein. 'Freckenhorster kommentierte Datensammlung bis 1949,' accessed August 6, 2016, http://www.heimatverein-freckenhorst.de/Freckenhorster%20Geschichte/Zeitgeschichte%20bis%201949.pdf

In the medieval period, only the richest churches had expensive bronze doors, and those of Frechenhorst Church may have been wooden and have not survived the fire of 1116.[207] Indeed the openings around lions' faces that are positioned at regular intervals suggest that the doorknockers were mounted to a wooden surface with large nails, just like the examples from St Peter's Cathedral at Trier and the Church of St Julien in Brioude (figs. 6, 7). However, it is uncertain whether all these openings are original or there are later additions, because the doorknockers were relocated several times. As distinguished from Freckenhorst examples, the doorknockers at Aachen, Mainz and Hildesheim cathedrals are integral parts of the doors that were cast in a single piece.

Bley proposes a contradictory hypothesis that since the doors of Freckenhorst Church were not made of bronze, Bernhardus was not a bronze caster, but rather a donor of the whole portal whose name was perpetuated at the doorknockers.[208] He refers to the powerful House of Lippe, which included at least eight Bernhards between 1123 and 1563. The scholar identifies Bernhardus with Bernard I von Lippe (ca 1090 – ca 1158) registered in historical documents between 1123 and 1158, which corresponds to the consecration of the newly refurbished Freckenhorst Church in 1129.[209]

However, I consider Bley's hypothesis and dating of the doorknockers problematic. The scholar provided no archival evidence to confirm identification of Bernhardus with Bernard I von Lippe and to demonstrate that the latter indeed contributed to Freckenhorst Church by funding its refurbishment, ordering the doorknockers or reconstructing its portal. Moreover, stylistic evidence presented in the following chapter section would indicate that the Freckenhorst doorknockers relate to the examples from the eleventh century, and not to the period when Bernard I von Lippe was active.

The state of destruction of the church after the fire in 1116 has been a topic of speculation. In fact, it is uncertain that there indeed was a necessity to build a new church portal. Archaeological evidence indicated that the vaults of the church and the

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[207] Bley, ''Bernhardus me fecit': die romanischen Löwenkopf-Türzieher in Freckenhorst,' 192-193.
[208] Ibid., 192-193.
[209] Ibid., 193-194.

westwork in the area of a window over the main gates bear the traces of fire.[210] This, in fact, shows that both the vault and the West entrance section survived the fire and have not collapsed. Hypothetically, if this is correct, the doors of the West portal would still have been seriously damaged and needed a replacement. Certainly, it does not mean that the whole portal was not subject to reconstruction, but it definitely casts doubt on the ideas that the church may have needed a completely new West façade and that Bernhardus participated in its building as a donor.

Moreover, it is worth enquiring whether anyone named Bernhardus was active in the area close to Freckenhorst before the fire of 1116, or, more precisely, in the last decades of the eleventh century, when Freckenhorst Church was consecrated by the bishop Erpho. In fact, that period in the history of St Boniface Convent was full of important events. The building of Freckenhorst Church may have started in the middle of the eleventh century, and the construction of its Crypt, the earliest component of the church, began in 1080.[211] In the late eleventh century, alternations were made to the transept and women's choir was added.[212]

The works on the new church were accompanied by a series of religious and political events that were of significance for Freckenhorst and St Boniface Convent. Namely, Erpho, the follower of the Emperor Henry IV (1050 – 1106) became a bishop of Munster after another candidate that was loyal to the Pope, died. In the disputes between the king and the Pope, Freckenhorst Convent remained on the side of the royalty.[213] In Freckenhorst, after 1085 the abbess Adalheidis (ca 1085 – 1090) ceased to follow the *vita communis* (community living), she also requested that the bishop Erpho reorganised certain rules in the convent to strengthen the rights of the canonesses and regulate their

[210] Freckenhorster Heimatverein. 'Freckenhorster kommentierte Datensammlung bis 1949,' accessed August 8, 2016, http://www.heimatverein-freckenhorst.de/Freckenhorster%20Geschichte/Zeitgeschichte%20bis%201949.pdf
[211] Hölker, *Die Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler von Westfalen. Kreis Warendorf*, 57.
[212] Freckenhorster Heimatverein. 'Freckenhorster kommentierte Datensammlung bis 1949,' accessed August 29, 2016, http://www.heimatverein-freckenhorst.de/Freckenhorster%20Geschichte/Zeitgeschichte%20bis%201949.pdf
[213] Ibid.

relations with their vassals and retainers.[214] An archival document from 30 December 1085 confirms this.[215] It lists the names of the nuns that held important positions at the convent and the witnesses of the new agreement, among which were people affiliated with the convent, members of clergy and representatives of nobility. Notably, one of these witnesses was a man named Bernhardus, who was probably of noble background, as his name is listed among the knights. The document, however, contains no details on his relation to Freckenhorst Convent: whether he was a relative of one of the nuns, a donor or a bronze caster. Due to the fragmentary character of evidence given in this source it is scarcely probable to find definitive solution to this issue. However, this reference to Bernhardus in a document from 1085 and the fact that the name with exactly the same spelling appears at the doorknockers may not be an accidental case. The doorknockers, possibly, were produced specifically for the newly refurbished church, the consecration of which roughly coincides with the date of the archival record.

Research into the genealogy of medieval German nobility from Westphalia and Saxony shows that at the turn of the eleventh and the twelfth centuries there were personalities named Bernhardus. Most of them extended patronage to or affiliated with religious institutions. However, no archival sources note them in connection to Freckenhorst Church and Convent. There were several counts of Werl named Bernhardus, originating from a cognominal town in Westphalia, in a close proximity to Freckenhorst. Among them were the first count of Lerigau and Dersigau (ca 980) and two other namesakes, born in the eleventh century. In the imperial chronicle *Annalista Saxo* Bernhardus von Werl, one of the three sons of Hermann I, is referred to as a brother of Empress Gisela. He was a reeve at the Diocese of Essen (1027). Another Bernhardus von Werl, one of the four sons of Hermann II von Werl, is mentioned in historical documents as a witness to property donations and also as a reeve (or church

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[214] Kohl, *Germania Sacra. Das (freiweltliche) Damenstift Freckenhorst*, 292.

[215] Archive in Nordrhein-Westfalen. 'Stift Freckenhorst / Urkunden. A 134 I Stift Freckenhorst - Urkunden (DFG-gefördert),' accessed August 29, 2016, http://www.archive.nrw.de/LAV_NRW/jsp/findbuch.jsp?archivNr=1&id=0615&klassId=1&verzId=2&expandId=0&tektId=282&bestexpandId=281&suche=1

warden) at Paderborn Cathedral (between 1024 and 1066) and at the Benedictine Abbey of Corvey (1065).[216]

Bordering with Westphalia (Munster, Freckenhorst), the German region Saxony had Hildesheim as one of its principal cities, the Cathedral of which is famous for its eleventh-century bronze doors. Historical documents mention several personalities named Bernhardus that were active in that area. Bernhardus, the count at Harzgau, is named in a charter from 1063; a support that he showed to churches is specified as well, but the church in question was in Bremen-Hamburg, and not in Freckenhorst.[217] Chronicles also mention a monk named Bernhardus form a noble family that resided at Plötzkau, on the southern outskirts of Bernburg, about 150 km away from Hildesheim and 300 km away from Freckenhorst. 'Bernhardus diaconus et monachus' was the son of Gerburch Folkmare de Domenesleve, and his death in 1117 is recorded in *The Annales Magdeburgenses*. As noted above, the tone and content of the inscription at the doorknockers in Freckenhorst sounds as if its author, Bernhardus, belonged to ecclesiastic community. Unlike most artists, who, in their inscriptions, primarily ask for their own souls, the author of this petition is concerned about the faithful that enter Freckenhorst Church for a prayer and only after that humbly mentions himself. However, there is not enough evidence to establish a connection between the monk Bernhardus from Plötzkau and the inscription from Freckenhorst composed by his namesake.

Most of the above-mentioned noble namesakes of Bernhardus actively contributed to religious and cultural life of their communities. Considering the proximity to Freckenhorst, they may have been connected to the convent. However, neither of the chronicles contains records on it, nor indicates whether they expressed any interest in bronze casting. Thus, it is questionable whether Bernhardus, who signed the doorknockers, was one of these noblemen. However, he evidently wished his name to be remembered in petitions to God by the contemporaries and further generations.

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[216] Saxony, Nobilty. 'Grafen von Werl,' accessed August 29, 2016, http://fmg.ac/Projects/MedLands/SAXON%20NOBILITY.htm
[217] Ibid.

Bernhardus made his lion head doorknockers speak for himself with and inscription, and with their knocking his name literally obtained sound.

In the cases when archival evidence on the piece and its maker is lacking, a combination of technical and stylistic analyses may reveal more about the object. Of these two, stylistic analysis would suggest more about artistic exchange between different countries or regions.

However, in the Middle Ages, technique rather than style was the tool of regional distinction.[218] Rich mines of mineral ores and copper discovered in the outskirts of Hildesheim in the tenth century, to an extent, determined that this region began specialising on metalwork and, in particular, on bronze casting. Freckenhorst, situated about 200 km away from Hildesheim, was a part of this area, which could not but reflect in the bronze objects produced there.

The dating of Freckenhorst Church doorknockers has been the subject of speculations, as documentary evidence and primary sources were lost in the fire of 1116. Considering that Freckenhorst doorknockers were cast in the lost-wax method, an approximate dating of these objects was proposed to the eleventh or twelfth centuries.[219] Indeed, the lost-wax production was especially popular around that period. However, dating exclusively on the basis of the technique is unspecific and would not allow identifying the exact time frame. In this case comparisons to the doorknockers from Hildesheim Cathedral and the Cathedral of St Maria, St Liborius and Kilian in Paderborn may be useful in definig the place of Freckenhorst doorknockers in the stylistic diversity of the region (figs. 9, 10). Common stylistic and technical features of these doorknockers may be determined by their origins from workshops that were situated in a relatively close proximity.

Hildesheim doorknockers are dated at 1015 through an inscription at the cathedral doors. Paderborn examples belong approximately to the middle of the eleventh century, as the decorative motives found on some of them are comparable to the ornaments in

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[218] Weinryb, *The Bronze Object in the Middle Ages*, 30-32, 86.
[219] Bley, ''Bernhardus me fecit': die romanischen Löwenkopf-Türzieher in Freckenhorst,' 185, 188.

Ottonian manuscripts.[220] Not only parallels with these manuscripts are helpful in terms of dating of the doors, but they also indicate that the makers of the doors were familiar with books. The stylistic peculiarity of the Hildesheim doorknockers is determined by a combination of details. On the one hand, the expressive facial features of the lions permit associating them with Lombard tradition. On the other hand, the style of the lions' manes and the flamelike treatment of their curling tufts are comparable to the same features of lions' faces at the doorknockers from Aachen and Mainz, which are closely related to ancient examples (figs. 11, 12). Their frowning faces, the shapes of the noses and the eyes, the hollowed out pupils and the flamelike tufts of their manes are resemblant of the bronze lion's head handle dated to approximately the third century AD (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston).[221]

The bronze doors in Aachen and their lion head doorknockers were associated with the return to ancient practice and regarded as the forerunners of the *Bernward Doors* at Hildesheim. Freckenhorst doorknockers, in turn, were considered as the successors of the latter and, consequently, as belonging to a further step of stylistic development towards a closer connection with Lombard tradition and parting with antique.[222] In my opinion, unlike the doorknockers at the Cathedrals of St Mary in Aachen (ca 800) and at Mainz (ca 1000) the ones at Freckenhorst do not show any direct affinities to the prototypes from antiquity. I suggest that Freckenhorst doorknockers are rather comparable to certain Italian examples, which places them among the pieces that reconnect both sides of the Alps.

Geographical proximity of such medieval centres as Freckenhorst, Hildesheim and Paderborn may have encouraged artistic exchange and determined technical affinities between the pieces of bronze casting that were produced there. The short manes and the gazes upwards are peculiar to Freckenhorst and Paderborn pieces, whereas the shapes of ears of the lions at Hildesheim and Paderborn are different from those at Freckenhorst.

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[220] Mende, *Die Türzieher des Mittelalters*, 208.
[221] C. Vermeule, *Sculpture in Stone and Bronze: Additions to the Collections of Greek, Etruscan, and Roman Art, 1971–1988, in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston: The Museum, 1988), 127.
[222] Bley, ''Bernhardus me fecit': die romanischen Löwenkopf-Türzieher in Freckenhorst,' 188.

The four openings at the edge around Freckenhorst lion heads indicate that, similar to the doorknockers from Paderborn, they were meant to be attached to wooden doors with the use of nails.[223] Another common detail about these two pieces is that both were, probably, gilded, but the traces of gilding are lost.[224]

Undoubtedly, the high technical and artistic quality of Hildesheim doorknockers assigns them a special place among the similar objects, their maker had a deep understanding of volume, specifically in relation to facial features modelling; the doorknockers from Paderborn are considered as their successors.[225] However, there are specific features that are peculiar to the doorknockers from Freckenhorst and Hildesheim, but are not characteristic of those from Paderborn. This establishes a closer connection between the two former examples. The manes of the lions from Freckenhorst are considerably less voluminous, but their style, and especially the ways in which the hair and tufts are modelled, show strong affinities to the same features of the lions from Hildesheim. Moreover, the makers of these doorknockers demonstrated attention to such details as feline mystacial whiskers and indicated these features by engraving numerous dots above the upper lips of lions' images. The eyebrows and the eyelids of the lions are emphasised in the same way too. Freckenhorst lions' eyes gaze upwards, their eyebrows with the dramatic curve are common to the facial expression of pleading. These features perfectly correspond to the content of the petition inscribed at the ring-shaped handles that Freckenhorst lions hold in their teeth.

The motif of engraved dots emphasising details of lion's faces is equally characteristic to the pieces from Freckenhorst and Hildesheim. Another lion head doorknocker, also originating from Hildesheim, has a similar element. Its eyes and mouth are surrounded by an engraved contour of short regular lines imitating fine hair. Having studied a considerable amount of high resolution images of medieval lion head doorknockers, I consider these details as specific to Hildesheim workshop and suggest

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[223] Mende, *Die Türzieher des Mittelalters*, 208-209 and Bley, ''Bernhardus me fecit': die romanischen Löwenkopf-Türzieher in Freckenhorst,' 192.
[224] Ibid., 208-209 and Ibid., 185.
[225] Mende, *Die Türzieher des Mittelalters*, 207-208.

that they establish a connection between the examples at Hildesheim and Freckenhorst. However, variations of certain features are not uncommon even within the same workshop; and the highly stylised mane, the wide opened mouth with a protruding tongue and the shape of the nose of this lion from Hildesheim are different (fig. 13).

Bronze details for church doors may easily have been done to order and transported from the workshop in Hildesheim to Freckenhorst, similar to the way in which Barisanus of Trani's bronze panels were sent to various cities in Italy.[226] Certainly, due to the lack of documentary evidence, it would be a speculation to claim that Freckenhorst doorknockers were produced in Hildesheim. However, this possibility should not be excluded. It may also explain why Bernhadus, in case he was an artist-monk, worked for Freckenhorst nunnery regardless of strict male/female separation rules in medieval monastic communities. The comparative analysis indicates that the author of Freckenhorst lion head doorknockers was either looking back at the models from Hildesheim, or, in some measure, affiliated with the bronze casting tradition of that workshop.

Comparisons with the doorknockers from other regions in Germany do not provide sufficient evidence in establishing firm stylistic connections with my case study, which reaffirms the relation of Freckenhorst doorknockers to the local tradition of bronze casting. Affinities are found between the almond shaped eyes of lions at Freckenhorst Church, Frauenchiemsee (second half of the ninth century), Payerne Courthouse (eleventh century) and even late examples such as Trier Cathedrals (thirteenth century). However, resemblance of the eye shapes is rather generic and common to medieval images of lions, which were not depicted 'from life' but copied from earlier renderings.[227] Apart from this, all other facial features of these lions are significantly different (fig. 14). Evidently, there existed a variety of artistic centres in medieval

[226] Weinryb, *The Bronze Object in the Middle Ages*, 175.
[227] See, for instance, Villard de Honnecourt's images of lions in his *Portfolio* (MS fr. 19093, fol. 24v, Bibliothèque nationale de France), illustrated in Perkinson, *The Likeness of the King: a Prehistory of Portraiture in Late Medieval France*, 60.

Germany with their distinctive styles, and examples from each region reflect this diversity.[228]

Remarkably, Freckenhorst doorknockers reveal similarities not only to German but also to Italian doorknockers at San Zeno in Verona (ca 1138), Sant'Ambrogio in Milan (end of the eleventh century) and San Marco in Venice (the twelfth century) (figs. 15, 16). However, the nature of these affinities is not enough to associate these examples with the same workshop, it is rather a sign of artistic exchange between the two countries.

Recent scholarship has indicated that written sources contain information on manuscript illuminators, goldsmiths and bronze casters from both sides of the Alps, who were itinerant.[229] Artists' mobility may have been determined by the search for new patrons and commissions.[230] Similar to medieval intellectuals and patrons, these artists aspired to foreign stylistic tendencies and contributed to dissemination of these across Europe. For example, Charlemagne, Archbishop Willigis, Bishop Bernward of Hildesheim and Abbot Suger, whose names are associated with commissions of important bronze objects, were closely familiar with Italian art and culture. I emphasise that their frequent visits to Rome and appreciation of antique and Italian art contributed to the dissemination of new stylistic tendencies to the North of the Alps. This, consequently, reflected in a variety of artworks, and bronze doorknockers were not an exception.

The vast empire of Charlemagne consisted of German and Italian territories, including Saxony and Bavaria, Rome and Ravenna (Map 2). A cultured person himself, the King welcomed scholars and artists from various European regions at his court,

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[228] Kitzinger, *Early Medieval Art in the British Museum and British Library*, 78.

[229] Weinryb, *The Bronze Object in the Middle Ages*, 30-32, 86 and Cannon, 'Sources for the Study of the Role of Art and Architecture within the Economy of the Mendicant Convents of Central Italy: a Preliminary Survey,' 254.

[230] J. Gil, 'La quotidianità dell'orafo altomedievale, tra stanzialità e mobilità,' in *I maestri del metallo: l'intelligenza nelle mani*, ed. Michelle Beghelli, 9-25, (Roma: BraDypUS.net communicating cultural heritage, 2017), 10-11.

making it the centre of political, social and intellectual activity.[231] Charlemagne was a connoisseur of art particularly interested in objects from antiquity. This enriched cultural environment in Aachen and created favourable atmosphere for artistic exchange. For example, the King had a collection of antique bronzes acquired in Rome that were on display in his courtyard; and when the Cathedral of St Mary in Aachen was under construction, he ordered columns and marbles to be brought from Rome and Ravenna.[232] The bronze doors of the king's palatine church were cast in a local workshop.[233] However, the decorative motives of rectangular frames and the naturalistic features of lions at the doorknockers at Aachen Cathedral are reminiscent of the examples from antiquity in so many details that they were even considered to be spolia for a long period of time.[234] This demonstrates that the king appreciated the continuity of the antique tradition, in terms of both style and the technique, with a particular focus on lost-wax bronze casting. Already at the times of Charlemagne, cultural interconnection with Italy went alongside with the increase of interest to and revival of antique tendencies that were abundant in that country.

Artistic and historical past of ancient Rome was appreciated by the intellectuals in the early medieval period, ancient texts were read by scholars and imitated by writers.[235] Thus, ancient literary and cultural tradition assimilated with Christian Rome and integrated into cultural memory of medieval Europe.[236] In the early Middle Ages as well as in the subsequent period, numerous travellers and pilgrims to Rome expressed antiquarian interest in the pagan past and Christian present of the city, which was reflected in guidebooks.[237] In *The Marvels of Rome*, written in the twelfth century,

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[231] Davis-Weyer, *Early Medieval Art, 300–1150: Sources and Documents*, 83 and Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Medieval Europe, 950–1200*, 28.
[232] Einhard, *Life of Emperor Karl the Great*, trans. W. Glaister (London: George Bell and Sons, 1877), 78-80.
[233] Weinryb, 'The Bronze Object in the Middle Ages,' 69-71.
[234] Mende, *Die Bronzetüren des Mittelalters, 800–1200*, 25 and Davis-Weyer, *Early Medieval Art, 300–1150: Sources and Documents*, 83.
[235] Mitchell, 'Literacy Displayed: the Use of Inscriptions at the Monastery of San Vincenzo al Volturno in the Early Ninth Century,' 219.
[236] C. Gantner, *The Resources of the Past in Early Medieval Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 225.
[237] Davis-Weyer, *Early Medieval Art, 300–1150: Sources and Documents*, 105.

Benedict, the canon of St Peter's, described pagan monuments and established links between them and the Christian tradition, for instance, when he discussed the Pantheon.[238] Magister Gregorius, an English traveller with religious background, in his manuscript expressed appreciation of Roman pagan architecture and sculpture: 'I thanked God, who, thought great in his manifestations throughout the earth, yet has magnified there the works of man with immeasurable beauty.'[239]

Needless to say that after visiting Rome, one of the major religious and cultural centres, almost everyone would have held an opinion similar to the one expressed by Magister Gregorius; disregarding whether it was a layman or a high-ranking cleric, an ordinary person or an intellectual. Archbishop Willigis visited Italy several times. There he may have seen late antique works of art, as well as the bronze doors of St Peter's Cathedral.[240] This could not but reflect in his commission of the doors for the Cathedral in Mainz, the inscription at which mentions Charlemagne and indicates continuity of ideas introduced by the emperor. The *Bernward Doors* of Hildesheim Cathedral, first bronze doors decorated with figurative scenes since late antiquity, surpassed the preceding examples.[241] Moreover, the Columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius, which Bishop Bernward may have seen in Rome, inspired him to make a bronze Column with the scenes from the life of Christ placed inside Hildesheim Cathedral.[242] As indicated by his biographer, Bernward of Hildesheim travelled to Rome and actively interacted with the court.[243] Undoubtedly, it influenced the bishop's artistic taste, contributed to reviving of the lost-wax technique and encouraged the development of the prolific Hildesheim bronze casting workshop.

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[238] Benedict the Canon, *Mirabilia*, trans. F. Morgan Nichols (London: Ellis and Elvey, 1889), 39-49.
[239] Davis-Weyer, *Early Medieval Art, 300–1150: Sources and Documents*, 159 and Master Gregory, *Book on the Marvels Which Were Once at Rome or Are Still There*, trans. G. Parks (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1954), 254-267.
[240] Mende, *Die Bronzetüren des Mittelalters, 800–1200*, 26.
[241] Barnet, *Medieval Treasures from Hildesheim*, 11.
[242] Ibid., 14; see also Davis-Weyer, *Early Medieval Art, 300–1150: Sources and Documents*, 122.
[243] Lasko, *Ars Sacra, 800–1200*, 111.

The links between both sides of the Alps become more apparent, when common features of bronze doorknockers produced in Germany and Italy are pointed out. For instance, such features as lions' almond shaped eyes with hollowed pupils and emphasised eyelids are common to Freckenhorst, Paderborn and Hildesheim examples. The hollow eyes of these lions' faces may indicate that they were inlaid. This, in my opinion, also suggests a parallel to ancient bronzes, the eyes of which were commonly inset with bone for irises and black stone for pupils.[244] The lion head doorknockers at Sant'Ambrogio in Milan and San Marco in Venice are among the Italian examples with similar features of eyes and reveal affinities to the pieces from Freckenhorst. The resemblance between the doorknockers at San Marco and Payerne Courthouse and their link to Byzantine tradition should not be left without consideration too.[245]

The doorknockers at Freckenhorst demonstrate some Lombard stylistic motives, which, for instance, are characteristic of one of the popular examples, lion faces at the doors of Sant'Ambrogio in Milan. Stylistic affinities between these two pieces are found in the contours of ears set high at the tops of lions' heads, in the frowning eyebrows, in the positions of their triangular-shaped fangs and in the ways in which the tufts of their manes are modelled. Just like the doorknockers from Freckenhorst and Paderborn, these Milanese examples were produced not as parts of solid bronze doors, but as individual pieces. They were meant to be set at wooden doors of the West portal of the Basilica. The inscriptions that encircle the doorknockers at Sant'Ambrogio are practically illegible and hardly compare to those at the doorknockers from Freckenhorst Church. However, the Milanese pieces are also dated at the end of the eleventh century, and the shapes of the lion heads of these doorknockers strongly indicate the link between them and the bronzes from the North of the Alps.[246] All these similarities establish a closer relation between the Italian and German pieces and reassure that Freckenhorst doorknockers belong to the late eleventh century.

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[244] Mattusch, 'Greece, Etruria and Rome,' 53.
[245] Mende, *Die Türzieher des Mittelalters*, 213, 231.
[246] Mende, *Die Türzieher des Mittelalters*, 213.

I underline that the images of lions at Sant'Ambrogio may also be regarded as an example of interconnection between bronze and stone sculpture. Both dating to the end of the eleventh century, the lions at the doorknockers and at the pulpit inside Sant'Ambrogio bear stylistic similarity (fig. 17).[247] Indeed, there are affinities in the eyes, the ears and the shapes of noses of these lions. Connections between the examples in bronze and stone demonstrate that sculptors in different media indeed collaborated.[248] Besides, the treatment of the eyes, whiskers and ears of the sculpted lions at Sant'Ambrogio pulpit recalls lions' faces at Paderborn bronze doorknockers. This, again, reaffirms an observation on the links between both sides of the Alps.

Another example of exchange between sculptors in stone and bronze reflected in the West façade of San Zeno Cathedral. There is a noticeable stylistic relation between portal sculpture and bronze doors.[249] Moreover, I note that monumental stone sculpture at the portal and the bronze doors demonstrate interconnection in images and artistic ideas. The columns of the porch over Cathedral doors rest on the figures of sculpted lions guards flanking the entrance. It was common to other twelfth-century church portals decorated by the sculptor Nicholaus, whose work is discussed further in Chapter 3. An image of a lion also occurs at the doors of San Zeno in a form of a bronze doorknocker. Its facial type is uncommon to Italian bronze sculpture and reveals stylistic affinities to the pieces from the North of the Alps.[250] When compared to the faces of lions at Freckenhorst doors, this Veronese doorknocker also reveals affinities. The shapes of their ears and noses with broad nostrils, as well as almond shaped eyes and eyelids, and the treatment of lions' manes with short tufts set in rows strongly resemble. Remarkably, a small technical detail, the finely engraved lines indicating eyelashes and whiskers of San Zeno lion recall the same details of the lions from Hildesheim and

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[247] Ibid., 213.
[248] Collaboration between sculptors in stone and bronze, and architects was also the case in later periods. For a detailed discussion on this topic see Payne, *L'architecture parmi les arts: matérialité, transferts et travail artistique dans l'Italie de la Renaissance*, 99.
[249] Mende, *Die Bronzetüren des Mittelalters, 800–1200*, 152.
[250] Mende, 'Türzieher mittelalterlicher Bronzetüren,' 489.

Freckenhorst. Thus, stylistic link between cast bronzes from the regions of Westphalia, Saxony and Northern Italy is apparent by the example of doorknockers.

Next to the lion head doorknocker at San Zeno doors, there is a bronze plaque depicting a sculptor working on a block of stone with a mallet and a chisel (fig. 18). Unaccompanied with an inscription, in earlier publications this figure was regarded as a general image of 'a nameless representative of a class of makers.'[251] But in my opinion, this bronze plaque may represent one of the sculptors who worked on the portal of San Zeno together with Nicholaus. Another plaque, now lost, may have served as a counterpart to it showing a bronze caster to emphasise collaboration between sculptors in various media.[252]

This sculptor's figure in an arched framing clearly belongs to a series of bronze plaques depicting St Peter and St Paul, St Helena and St Margaret, as well as a representative of clergy and a layman. The two latter are identified by their garments. The first figure, probably a bishop or a patron saint, is dressed in clerical vestment, the second, in secular clothes and praying, may be one of the donors of the Cathedral and its doors.[253] Among all these characters, only the sculptor is depicted in the process of work. Following hierarchical principle, his figure appears below the saints, the bishop and the donor. Another plaque at San Zeno doors also shows a maker at work. It is a scene from the Genesis showing a carpenter with an axe and a piece of wood by the Noah's Ark. Considering that the Genesis was of special significance to all artists and artisans, these figures of a sculptor and a woodworker may be interpreted as representations of makers, who worked for San Zeno. These images certainly do not convey physiognomic likeness, but rather serve as iconographic codes, as in this case corporeal resemblance may not have been the aim. In fact, early Christian and early medieval texts interpreted the words that 'God created man in his own image' not in terms of physical appearance (Genesis 1:27). At that period 'image and likeness' were perceived primarily as spiritual and not physical resemblance; Neoplatonic in its origin,

[251] Weinryb, *The Bronze Object in the Middle Ages*, 179.
[252] Mende, *Die Bronzetüren des Mittelalters, 800–1200*, 152.
[253] Ibid., 152.

this idea was assimilated by Christian thinkers and, consequently, by artists and their patrons.[254]

The original positions of the above mentioned plaques showing the donor and the sculptor are uncertain due to the losses caused by an earthquake in 1117. Its drastic consequences on many Veronese churches, including San Zeno, implied subsequent restorations. Apparently, certain fragments of the doors, dated to ca 1080, survived the earthquake and were reused.[255] In the twelfth century, in the course of reconstruction of the Cathedral and its façade, the doors were probably enlarged and the missing plaques were replaced with new ones.[256] It explains the fragmentary and inconsistent character of door decoration and the lack of stylistic uniformity of the plaques. The pair of San Zeno doorknockers was probably cast soon after 1120, and, for this reason, reveals stylistic similarities to the works by the sculptors Wiligelmo and Nicholaus.[257]

Notably, the plaques with the bishop and the donor are found at the right door wing of San Zeno with the lion head doorknocker symbolising Christ. This recalls doorknockers' protective functions towards the faithful seeking shelter in the Lord. The counterpart, a man head doorknocker symbolising a sinner tempted by the devil is set at the left wing; in Christianity, the left side is usually associated with evil (fig. 15). The same devotional principles and beliefs are found in Freckenhorst doorknockers. Their inscription underlines Bernhardus's contribution and presents him as a pious Christian wishing to enter the Heaven.

To conclude, Freckenhorst doorknockers demonstrate a fusion of stylistic features. They fit in the historical background of cultural and professional exchange between both sides of the Alps, which was encouraged by the mobility of artists and support of their patrons. Dissemination of techniques and stylistic features across Europe had an impact on religious art production, which is reflected in the Italian and German examples

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[254] Later in the thirteenth century, however, theologians agreed that body and soul, mind and matter are connected in an individual. For a detailed discussion on this topic see Perkinson, *The Likeness of the King: a Prehistory of Portraiture in Late Medieval France*, 41, 46-47.
[255] Weinryb, *The Bronze Object in the Middle Ages*, 112.
[256] Lasko, *Ars Sacra, 800–1200*, 221.
[257] Mende, *Die Türzieher des Mittelalters*, 232 and Mende, 'Türzieher mittelalterlicher Bronzetüren,' 487-488.

discussed above. Nevertheless, Bernhardus's doorknockers reveal the closest stylistic similarity to the eleventh-century examples from Hildesheim, which supports my suggestion that they may have been produced in ca 1080. Cast in lost-wax, a technique popular in antiquity and revived in the Middle Ages, Freckenhorst doorknockers link ancient and medieval periods also in terms of symbolism of images.

The symbolic nature of lion head doorknockers is rooted in the ancient past and concerns both their imagery and material, bronze. The continuity of the motif of a lion face at doorknockers could be traced from the fifth century BC up to the early Christian period and, subsequently, to the Christian Middle Ages. The earliest doorknockers with the heads of lion, ram and Medusa Gorgon were found at the doors of the Parthenon.[258] Set at the doors of temples or churches, or at city gates such doorknockers performed the function of guards. Lion images were also frequently used at ancient sarcophagi, tombs and sepulchres to mark the division between the world of the living and the dead. A reclining lion with a thick mane at Greek relief at the tomb from Pydna, Kourino is one of the earliest surviving examples (approximately fourth century BC, Louvres, Paris). Lion's masks with rings in their mouths were commonly used also to decorate doorknockers or handles of chests. In the ancient period, a lion was regarded as an embodiment of strength and as a symbol of the sun. For this reason, to recall the solar disk, the manes of lions head doorknockers were often modelled to look like flames.[259]

Likewise, in ancient cultures of the Near East and in Egypt, a lion, strong and invincible, was perceived as the highest animal.[260] Some Syrian and Palestinian examples that were produced to decorate sarcophagi must have been known in Italy.[261] Ancient Greek and Roman lion masks may be regarded as links between Eastern and Western cultures, and between pagan and Christian symbolism. In effect, they anticipated the appearance of lion head representations at the doorknockers of Christian

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[258] Mende, 'Türzieher mittelalterlicher Bronzetüren,' 479.
[259] Vermeule, *Sculpture in Stone and Bronze: Additions to the Collections of Greek, Etruscan, and Roman Art, 1971–1988,* 127.
[260] Bley, ''Bernhardus me fecit': die romanischen Löwenkopf-Türzieher in Freckenhorst,' 189.
[261] Mende, *Die Türzieher des Mittelalters*, 228.

churches. In Europe, Christian artists adopted, rethought and enriched the images of lions and their symbolism.

Since the Early Christian period, lions were often depicted by artists in various media, not only on reliefs decorating sarcophagi, but also on church doors. This may partially be explained by numerous references to lions in the Bible, which was one of the major sources for medieval artists. Among the most common iconographical subjects that include lions were *Samson Tearing the Lion* and *Daniel in the Lion's Den*. The latter scene appears at the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus dated at ca 359 (Rome, Museo della civiltà romana). On the one hand, a naturalistic representation of the two lions flanking Daniel in this relief stylistically recalls animalistic images from antiquity. The voluminous manes and frowned eyebrows, the shapes of their noses and the position of the fangs of these lions are comparable to the images at the sarcophagus from approximately the third century BC (Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale) (fig. 19) On the other hand, these lions reveal affinities to the lion faces at the doorknockers of Aachen Cathedral, the style of manes and anthropomorphic eyes of which, in turn, relate to antique examples.[262]

In various contexts, Lion, the strongest among the beasts, was referred to as a positive symbol of power and royalty (Proverbs 30:30). The throne of Solomon, made of ivory and overlaid with the finest gold, was decorated with multiple images of lions (1 Kings 10:18-20). In prophetic texts of St John, lion is mentioned in relation to the vision of the throne of God (Revelation 4:7). When depicted with an open book of Gospels, Lion is associated with the Evangelist St Mark. However, sometimes it may even be regarded as an image of Christ. In the book of Genesis, the Lion of Judah (as the symbol of the Jewish tribe) is a reference to the descendants of Judah, the fourth son of Jacob, who is mentioned in Christ’s genealogy (Genesis 49:9), and in the Revelation the Lion of Judah is used as a direct reference to Christ (Revelation 5:5).

Symbolism of a lion image is complex and could have multiple meanings, sometimes with negative connotations. In the Gospels of Peter, for example, a devil is compared to

[262] Mende, ‘Türzieher mittelalterlicher Bronzetüren,’ 480.

a roaring lion hunting for the souls (1 Peter 5:8). The ambiguity of lion's image may have resulted in assigning it the role of powerful and protective yet frightening guard that possesses apotropaic qualities of averting evil. In antiquity, paired doorknockers with representations of Gorgon and lion were often placed at the entrances to tombs.[263] Apotropaic symbolism of lion faces may have derived from Ancient Greek Gorgoneions (fig. 20). These carved reliefs, engravings or drawings with faces of Gorgon placed on doors, shields, coins and tombstones were believed to be warding off evil.[264] Both killing and defensive, the head of defeated by Perseus Gorgon was used by this Greek hero as a weapon until he presented the trophy to the goddess Athena to place it on her shield. To an extent, the thick mane of snakes and the tongue protruding between the fangs of Medusa are comparable to lion images.

Akin to the images of Gorgon and no less ambiguous in their nature, lion faces were regarded as possessing defensive power and protecting from demons. For this reason, in the times of antiquity, heads of lions were used to decorate rooftops of temples. In ancient Greece, such lion heads were usually made of terracotta and painted. In addition to their symbolic function, they also had a practical significance as water spouts. Lions' mouths had holes and the protruding tongues were meant to direct rain water away from temples' walls (fig. 21). These elements of exterior architectural sculpture of ancient temples could be paralleled to gargoyles. Similarly, placed in the exteriors of Christian churches, gargoyles functioned as water spouts and also were used to deter the enemies of the Church and warn the unfaithful.

The placement of figures of beasts, including lions, at sacred edifices worked as protective mechanism; in general, since antiquity, animalistic sculpture and especially bronzes were believed to have apotropaic qualities.[265] Literary narratives and religious texts served as sources confirming the popularity of this conception on both sides of the Alps. The legend about the bronze bird cast by the bishop Rotaldus and placed at the façade of San Zeno in Verona to protect the church from evil is one of the examples

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[263] Ibid., 479.
[264] M. Garber, *The Medusa Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 2.
[265] Weinryb, *The Bronze Object in the Middle Ages*, 109, 127-128.

discussed in the next chapter. When producing animalistic figures, bronze casters competed with nature and aimed to surpass it; petrified in bronze and seemingly lifeless, animals, in fact, were slumbering in their new guise.'[266]

Protective and healing qualities were also ascribed to the Brazen Serpent of Moses. A bronze plaque showing the Serpent, Moses, and a group of repining Israelites attacked by poisonous snakes is found at San Zeno doors. This, again, emphasises that the makers of the doors as well as their contemporaries were aware of and valued the exceptional qualities of bronze. According to the Bible, after their Exodus from Egypt the Israelites repined against God and were punished for that. God sent poisonous snakes upon them, and the sinners were dying after being bitten. For those repenting, however, Moses, with the blessing of God, created the Brazen Serpent and placed it on a T-shaped standard; those deserving salvation were healed by just looking at that image (Numbers 21:4-9). Not only this bronze cast of a serpent was its likeness, but it was also its inverted image or a mirror reflection, which abolished its negative features and endowed it with positive, healing, apotropaic qualities. Moreover, the T-shaped standard with the Brazen Serpent lead to complex symbolic associations with the image of crucified Christ and salvation of souls that it brought to the faithful.

Apotropaic qualities and associations with Christ were also generally common to lion head doorknockers. Just like numerous other examples, both the pieces from Freckenhorst and the lion face at the doors of San Zeno in Verona symbolise Christ and deliverance from sins.[267] In this respect, the role of rings held by lions in their teeth also requires interpretation. In pagan Germanic cultures a ring was recognised as a symbol of an oath or law; the earliest mentions of knights taking or reaffirming oaths on rings go back to 877 and 880.[268] Rings at the doors of ancient temples were symbols of asylum that anyone was allowed to claim for should they require it. For instance, a fugitive clasping a ring at the doors of a temple would have been granted protection from his

[266] Droth, *Bronze: the Power of Life and Death*, 26.
[267] Mende, *Die Bronzetüren des Mittelalters, 800–1200*, 151.
[268] Bley, ''Bernhardus me fecit': die romanischen Löwenkopf-Türzieher in Freckenhorst,' 190-191.

chasers. According to the Greek philosopher and historian Strabo (64 or 63 BC – ca 24 AD), temples had rights of asylum, among which the most famous was the temple of Diana at Ephesus.[269] Another Greek historian, Herodotus (ca 484 – ca 425 BC), noted the same about the temple of Heracles in Egypt, which served as an asylum for slaves.[270] Already about the time of the emperor Constantine, Christian monasteries and churches also acquired privileges of being refuges, sometimes providing shelter and protection to debtors or to those, who broke the law; in a sense, these asylum rights were inherited from ancient temples.[271]

The conception of a church as an asylum where the faithful could shelter from sin and devil found its reflection in bronze casting. Decorated with the scenes from the Genesis, the *Bernward Doors* at Hildesheim have a representation of the Hand of God. It appears exactly at the level of the ring of the lion head doorknocker (fig. 22). In this context, the hand at the *Bernward Doors* may be interpreted as if it is going to clasp the ring-handle of the lion head doorknocker claiming for an asylum inside the Church. In Chapter 2, however, this detail is also paralleled to a masterly hand of a bronze caster, who may have used it to demonstrate his aspiration for salvation. It may convey the maker's message that he repulses sinful life and wishes to stay in the church and to be saved by Christ. Medieval artists often expressed piety to God through their work; they believed that manual labour in a combination with contemplation and prayer connects them with the divine and may lift their souls to Heaven.[272] Devotional character of artists' works and self-representations makes a strong reference to the ideas of Theophilus and Rupert of Deutz, which are discussed further in this thesis.

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[269] L. Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 109, following Strabo, *Geography*, (14.1.23), accessed January 23, 2017, http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0197%3Abook%3D14%3Achapter%3D1%3Asection%3D23

[270] K. Rigsby, *Asylia: Territorial Inviolability in the Hellenistic World* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1996), 541.

[271] T. Crocker, *The Complete Dictionary of Arts and Sciences* (New York: Readex microprint, 1969), vol. 1, p. 220 (Asylum) and Bley, ''Bernhardus me fecit': die romanischen Löwenkopf-Türzieher in Freckenhorst,' 191.

[272] Van Engen, 'Theophilus Presbyter and Rupert of Deutz: the Manual Arts and Benedictine Theology,' 151-152.

The interactive nature of the doorknocker at the *Bernward Doors* may also have worked not only for the maker, but also for any person entering the church. When directing their hand to reach the handle of the doorknocker the faithful would have got an impression as if they are reaching the Hand of God to hold it and be saved. Metaphorically, Christ was seen by the faithful as a refuge, as one of the Psalms says ‘The Lord is my rock and my fortress and my deliverer, My God, my rock, in whom I take refuge; My shield and the horn of my salvation, my stronghold’ (Psalm 18:2). Christ was also the one who gave the Law to Moses, and who was commonly referred to as ‘the Alpha and the Omega, the First and the Last, the Beginning and the End’ (Revelation 22:13).

Originally set at the church doors, the Freckenhorst doorknockers were not only handles with a merely practical function, their significance expanded far beyond. In my interpretation, ring-shaped handles of doorknockers may have symbolised the law, and cohesiveness and harmony of their circular shapes recalled the continuity from the Alpha to the Omega, from the Beginning to the End. This indeed strengthens the associations between lion head doorknocker holding a ring in its teeth and Christ the lawgiver and reaffirms that the church was an asylum for the faithful.

Set at church doors, an image of a lion symbolising Christ was meant to make the faithful question if they indeed deserved to enter and obtain salvation and new life in Heaven. This conception is reflected at the *Bernward Doors*, as well as at other doors with lion doorknockers, including those signed by Bernhardus at Freckenhorst. Not only in his inscription Bernhardus makes a petition to God about salvation for people entering the church, but he also mentions himself. The position of the inscription at the ring-shaped handles of the doorknockers ensured that it followed their circular shape and allowed a parallel between Bernhardus’s words and an oath. Being reaffirmed endlessly, like the shape of a circle, an oath would never be broken and Bernhardus’s petition will be reiterated permanently. By encompassing it in a harmonious circular shape, Bernhardus expressed belief that the faithful at Freckenhorst and himself would obtain salvation.

The position of Bernhardus's inscription at the ring-shaped handles of doorknockers is uncommon and makes them stand out among other examples, both from antiquity and the Middle Ages. Inscriptions hardly occur at ancient doorknockers. As for a significant number of medieval examples, such as those at Milan, Trier, Brioude and Oristano, the inscriptions at them, often with references to the Genesis, are found not at the handles, but at broad circular panels around the images of lions. From the practical and technical points of view, this allowed an inscription to be visible and also ensured that it would survive longer. On the contrary, Freckenhorst doorknockers do not have this detail and the inscription is placed at the handles. The latter are, in fact, the most vulnerable elements of doorknockers and are likely to fall off in the course of time. Perhaps, this may explain why inscriptions at ring shaped handles are less common or very few of them survive. In any case, since expensive bronze doors were usually the privilege of the richest churches, the doors of Freckenhorst Church are thought to have been made of wood.[273] Needless to say, this would have made the doorknockers and the inscription at them the central focus of the doors, and emphasise their symbolic function.

The reason why Bernhardus decided to place his inscription exactly at the rings of the doorknockers is open to interpretations. The maker may have been aware of the tradition linking Freckenhorst doorknockers to the ancient practice of taking an oath on a ring or clasping a ring-shaped handle to seek a refuge in a church. But it also may indicate that at the time when Bernhardus was active there was no established convention to follow regarding the placement of inscriptions at doorknockers. Furthermore, it may be related to the reception of bronze as a special material that may animate images or make inscribed petitions sound and reach Christ. The French cleric and theologian Hugh of Fouilloy (ca 1096 – ca 1172), for instance, wrote on the material qualities of bronze to resonate and sound, especially in relation to bells and baptismal fonts. He also noted the ambiguity of bronze objects, which could echo the compunctions of sinners and, simultaneously, serve as receptacles for sin.[274] The essence of the mysterious nature of

[273] Bley, ''Bernhardus me fecit': die romanischen Löwenkopf-Türzieher in Freckenhorst,' 192-193.
[274] Weinryb, *The Bronze Object in the Middle Ages*, 74-75.

bronze consisted in its mythical, apotropaic qualities, as the ancient language of this material kept resonating even in objects, which were fashioned from it later in the course of time.[275]

The qualities of bronze to resonate and sound were used by the maker of a twelfth-century bronze bell. He clearly signed his work with an intention that his name would sound for God, both literally and metaphorically, every time the bell would ring calling to prayer (fig. 23). The mirrored signature at the side of this bronze bell says: RUOPERHT.[276] Similar to other professionals working in bronze, Ruoperht demonstrated an appeal to magico-religious qualities of this material.[277] As Ruoperht might have been a bronze caster with monastic background, the function of the mirrored signature may be interpreted as a humble attempt to conceal his name, yet claim authorship. This signature is a direct appeal to God, because not many people would have been able to see inscriptions at the bells, especially when those were in use.

Ruoperht and Bernhardus operated in religious, monastic communities. Both may have been aware of apotropaic and sonorous qualities of bronze seeing signatures or petitions at bronze objects as powerful means of self-expression and communication. According to an early medieval legend, the quality of bronze to protect from evil influences was known since antiquity. For instance, set at the Capitol, bronze personifications of the Roman provinces 'warned the Romans of uprisings in the

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[275] Droth, *Bronze: the Power of Life and Death*, 34.
[276] The documents of the Benedictine abbey of Herrenchiemsee contain a record that in ca 1135, a craftsman, specialising on bells, Roudbertus Campanarum fusor, was active there. Around this time, the Herrenchiemsee Abbey belonged to Canons Regular, who lived under the Augustinian rule and had their own independent monastic community, which was not controlled by the dioceses. This factor may have encouraged monks to undertake various crafts and offer their skills for the support and development of their monasteries. Although the craftsman's name sounds similar to the one specified at the bell and the bell itself originates from one of the churches in that area, there is no firm evidence that it may have been the same person. See *Monumenta Boica*, vol. 2 (Bavaria: Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1764), 298 and A. Legner, *Ornamenta ecclesiae. Kunst und Künstler der Romanik*, vol. 1 (Cologne: Greven, 1985), 483.
[277] Eliade, *The Forge and the Crucible: the Origins and Structures of Alchemy*, 8.

Empire.'[278] For medieval minds, bronze was resonating, ever-changing composite material that possessed almost magical power.[279]

Similar to magic spells or prayers that require verbal reiteration, the repetitive sound of bronze doorknockers may have been perceived as both a message to God and as a source of evoking apotropaic magic to keep evil away from churches.[280] Keyholes, on the contrary, were considered as vulnerable parts of the doors and channels via which the devil may communicate.[281] The distinct echoing sound of Freckenhorst bronze doorknockers would literally signify that Bernhardus's inscription acquires signification through this sound. Metaphorically, it may be equated to knocking on the doors of Paradise. Like some other bronze casters, the maker of Freckenhorst doorknockers meant them as a manifestation of a petition to Christ and believed that his work may open him the doors to life eternal.[282] An ability to produce a written self-representation at the doorknockers served as a mode of communication.[283] The faithful that used Freckenhorst doorknockers would have noticed the signature and those hearing the sound would have recalled Bernhardus and, supposedly, mentioned him in petitions.

Certainly, the sound of doorknockers was also a means of communication between the faithful on the practical side. It served to letting the priest know that someone entered the church.[284] This would have been relevant to Freckenhorst religious community as it was not numerous. In large cities, however, it would have been less likely that each visitor of a cathedral would have had to knock on the doors to enter.

The position of Bernhardus's petition to the Saviour at doorknockers of church doors was not an accidental choice, as in the medieval period these were assigned various

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[278] Droth, *Bronze: the Power of Life and Death*, 32.
[279] Weinryb, *The Bronze Object in the Middle Ages*, 98-99.
[280] Weinryb, *The Bronze Object in the Middle Ages*, 127.
[281] J. Geddes, 'Wooden Doors Decorated with Iron in the Middle Ages,' in *Le porte di bronzo dall'antichita al secolo XIII*, ed. S. Salomi, 493-505, (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1990), 502.
[282] M. Frazer, 'Church Doors and the Gates of Paradise Reopened,' in *Le porte di bronzo dall'antichita al secolo XIII*, ed. S. Salomi, 271-279, (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1990), 273.
[283] McKitterick, *The Uses of Literacy in Early Medieval Europe*, 4.
[284] Geddes, 'Wooden Doors Decorated with Iron in the Middle Ages,' 503.

symbolic meanings. Whereas a church was perceived as an asylum from sin, liminal areas, like entrance to a church and its doors, were thresholds between secular and sacred spaces.[285] Artists were likely to place their inscriptions at the thresholds of doorways, which were commonly associated with the Gates of Heaven or with the Saviour. As Christ said: 'I am the gate. If anyone enters through Me, he will be saved' (John 10:9). Church doors and doorknockers played important part in certain ceremonies, and artists may have been aware of it. For instance, when consecrating a church, a bishop would knock on the door three times.[286] Bernhardus, evidently, was familiar with these conceptions as well as with the words from the Gospels. Palaeography of the inscription, archaeological and historical evidence suggest that the doorknockers may have been cast between 1084 and 1090, when the consecration of newly refurbished Freckenhorst Church took place. Besides, similar devotional and self-manifestational functions were also characteristic of other doorknockers with artists' self-representations produced around the same period and later.

The demand for and the popularity of bronze doors and doorknockers in the medieval period was interconnected with the revival of popular in antiquity lost-wax casting technique.[287] Likewise, apotropaic and protective functions of lion head doorknockers were rooted in antiquity, but adopted by Christian artists in the Middle Ages.[288] The integration of ancient and medieval conceptions, as well as harmonious synthesis of symbolic and practical functions of lion head doorknockers determined their specific role in the exterior appearance of church doors and justified artists' inscriptions at them as a means to communicate with the faithful and with God. All these aspects are found in Freckenhorst doorknockers. Not only these encompass complex categories of ancient and medieval symbolism, and combine devotional and practical functions, but they also reveal the fusion of German and Italian stylistic features.

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[285] Weinryb, *The Bronze Object in the Middle Ages*, 77, 80.
[286] Geddes, 'Wooden Doors Decorated with Iron in the Middle Ages,' 494.
[287] Weinryb, 'The Bronze Object in the Middle Ages,' 69-71.
[288] Mende, 'Türzieher mittelalterlicher Bronzetüren,' 492.

Due to social and cultural circumstances, medieval artists used signatures and inscriptions as instruments to project identities and express themselves.[289] On the one hand, the analysis of Bernhardus's inscription and its comparison with other examples may indicate that he was the maker of the doorknockers, a bronze caster, possibly with a religious background, respected at Freckenhorst. But on the other hand, there is no firm argument to exclude the possibility that he was the donor. Nevertheless, through his doorknockes Bernhardus demonstrated piety in accordance with religious conventions and knowledge of apotropaic and sonorous qualities of bronze. The absence of conclusive evidence on Bernhardus's social position allows a room for interpretation and hypotheses, which is also applicable to some other case studies. Further enquiries into social positions and self-representations of sculptors in various media continue in Chapter 2.

[289] Van Engen, 'Theophilus Presbyter and Rupert of Deutz: the Manual Arts and Benedictine Theology,' 162.

Chapter 2

Speaking Images, Signed Self-Representations

Image and Status of Medieval Sculptors in the Social Context

The status of early medieval sculptors requires to be examined in relation to such essential aspects as their literacy and awareness of religious and philosophical ideas of the period. I suggest that a stereotypical notion that since the ancient times sculptors' professional statuses depended on and may have been elevated through the value of materials in which they were proficient is disputable and requires reconsideration. In my opinion, sculptors' abilities to read and write increased their self-awareness, enhanced self-actualisation and served to promote their skill. The value of materials should not be underestimated, but it is the skill and proficiency that deserve appreciation first of all. Apparently, by using representations of working tools as the symbols of their trade sculptors aimed to accentuate professional skills and not the media. Hammers, mallets, chisels and other working attributes were crucial iconographic elements of professionals working in three-dimensional arts. Not only had it practical, but also spiritual connotations. In Chapter 2, I use case studies as examples to demonstrate that for sculptors the skill itself was a means of expressing devotion and ensuring salvation. Approaching the case studies in the context of these aspects allows overcoming certain stereotypes formed in previous research.

For instance, I suggest reconsidering the point that due to the special status of precious materials medieval goldsmiths possessed more privileges and trust from their patrons than makers of three-dimensional art objects in other media.[290] The goldsmith Vuolvinus was permitted by his patron to include a self-image and a signature in the silver-gilt *Altar of St Ambrosius* produced for the Cathedral of S. Ambrogio in Milan (ca 840).[291] Further in this chapter, this gesture of Vuolvinus's patron is discussed in detail

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[290] Le Goff, *The Medieval World*, 23.

[291] Hahn provided the best analysis of Milanese Altar of Saint Ambrosius to date and considered it in the context of the period. The signature of the goldsmith Vuolvinus was regarded in relation

and regarded as the sign of respect towards the goldsmith's skill. However, it is necessary to note that the line of distinction between goldsmiths, bronze casters and stone sculptors may have been vague, in both ancient and medieval periods. It was often the case that a maker of three-dimensional art objects worked in various materials and was proficient in different kinds of arts.

The Roman philosopher Pliny the Elder (AD 23 - 79), for instance, wrote that Canachus, 'an artist highly praised among the statuaries in bronze,' also sculpted in marble, and that the sculptor Pasiteles, who was active in Rome during the reign of Julius Caesar, produced sculptures in bronze and marble, silver and ivory.[292] The author also underlined the literacy of Pasiteles, who wrote five books on sculpture and engraving, and noted the exceptional quality of his texts and artworks.[293] In the Middle Ages, St Eloy from an Abbey in Limoges had various specialisations as well. He was a goldsmith, but also worked as a master, minter, treasurer and councillor for Frankish kings, Chlotar II (584 – 629) and Dagobert I (623 – 39).[294] Bernward of Hildesheim, Roger of Helmarshausen and Berenger of Tegernsee Abbey were skilful in both casting bronze and goldsmiths' work.[295]

Speaking about sculptors in stone, it is not always easy to find distinction of their roles too. A twelfth-century sculptor Arnaud Catell was proficient in sculpting, but also had architectural skills.[296] Some medieval sources or inscriptions, such as that of Gennarius at the late seventh-century tombstone at Savigliano, refer to sculptors as 'marmorarios.'[297] These were possibly more skilled in techniques and executed tasks of

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to visual components of the altar. See C. Hahn, 'Narrative on the Golden Altar of Sant'Ambrogio in Milan: Presentation and Reception,' *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 53 (1999): 180.

[292] Pliny the Elder. '*The Natural History*,' ed. J. Bostock, accessed August 30, 2017, http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:abo:phi,0978,001:36:4

[293] Pliny, the Elder, *The Elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art*, 213.

[294] Davis-Weyer, *Early Medieval Art, 300–1150: Sources and Documents*, 69.

[295] For Bernward of Hildesheim and his knowledge of liberal sciences and mechanical arts see Thangmar, *Vita Bernwardi episcopi*, 758; for Berenger of Tegernsee Abbey see Mende, *Die Bronzetüren des Mittelalters, 800–1200*, 26.

[296] Otzet, 'El escultor Arnau Cadell, constructor de claustros,' 165.

[297] For more information on *marmorarii* and their relation to ancient Roman and early Christian traditions see P. Claussen, *Magistri doctissimi Romani: die römischen Marmorkünstler des Mittelalters*. Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1987.

higher level than simple masons, but all of them usually worked together.[298] Moreover, it is most likely that in the Lombard period finishing works, such as painting marble reliefs, were also performed by sculptors from the same marble workshop and not by specialised painters.[299]

Not only precious metals, gold and silver, possessed an important status as media for three-dimensional objects. Already in the ancient period, marble and bronze were also highly valued and appreciated. The owners or commissioners of marble and bronze objects used them as evidence of power, wealth, authority and high status. Decrees and important political statements were sometimes inscribed on bronze plaques. In the Middle Ages, bronze objects were believed to have protective qualities.[300] This reflected in ancient myths and epic poems and denoted a connection between the value of material and literary tradition. For example, the mythological hero Perseus defeated Gorgon by protecting himself with a polished bronze shield. The characters of Greek epic poems, eminent warriors and royal figures, such as Odyssey and Telemachus in the *Odyssey* and Menelaus and Hector in the *Iliad*, had their helmets made of bronze. Hector's helmet was said to be a gift of Apollo. Affiliation of this bronze object with the divine implied the high status of the material, the owner and the maker of the helmet. Ancient authors dedicated attention to sculptors' mastery and professional achievements. Virgil in the *Aeneid* wrote that sculptors may extract living features from the marble.[301] Their creativity and abilities to sculpt marble statues were appreciated by Dionysius the Areopagite.[302]

Greek and Roman authors, their epic poems and treatises were known in the medieval West, which could not but reflect in art.[303] Ancient texts, such as Cicero's *De officiis*,

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[298] Lomartire, 'Commacini e marmorarii: temi e tecniche della scultura tra VII e VIII secolo nella Langobardia maior,' 179.
[299] Ibid., 205.
[300] Weinryb, *The Bronze Object in the Middle Ages*, 109.
[301] Virgil. 'Aeneid,' accessed August 17, 2017, http://dcc.dickinson.edu/vergil-aeneid/vergil-aeneid-vi-801-853
[302] Dodwell, 'The Meaning of 'Sculptor' in the Romanesque Period,' 58.
[303] For further discussion on the appreciation of classical literature in the early medieval period see N. Everett, *Literacy in Lombard Italy, c. 568–774* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 300-305.

laid the foundation for medieval concepts of gesture, which also related to figurative representations.[304] Ovid's *Metamorphoses* was widely imitated in the medieval period.[305] Early and high medieval authors, such as bishop Theodulf of Orleans (ca 750 – 821) or Matthew Paris (ca 1200 – 1259) discussed, read and quoted Ovid.[306] The correspondence between the goldsmith Godefroid de Claire (active in ca 1150) and his patron Abbot Wibald of Stavelot (1098 – 1158) may serve as a good example of artist's literacy and awareness of ancient authors. Polite and respectful yet ironic, these letters reveal a complex relationship between the goldsmith demanding the money and his patron requesting to complete the work soon. Notably, when addressing to the goldsmith, the abbot expressed an appreciation by using phrases such as 'your noble talent and your willing and celebrated hand,' and cited Seneca.[307] This implies that the goldsmith's level of education was sufficient to understand the references to this Roman philosopher.

The impact of ancient mythology, philosophy and literature was prominent in medieval West. Ancient literary sources may have aided sculptors in marble and bronze to retain their statuses from antiquity to the Middle Ages and further. Ancient scholars and medieval authors, such as Pliny or Magister Gregorius, recognised sculptors' talents and exceptional skills and admired bronze casters' knowledge of the lost-wax technique.[308]

First introduced in the ancient times, the lost-wax method has been one of the popular modes of casting three-dimensional bronze objects for centuries. This technique was widely used by artists from various cultures, such as the Etruscans, the Greek and the Romans. Commonly applied in antiquity, lost-wax method was revived in the Middle

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[304] Perkinson, *The Likeness of the King: a Prehistory of Portraiture in Late Medieval France*, 47-48.
[305] Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Medieval Europe, 950–1200*, 47.
[306] J. Clark, *Ovid in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 11, 198.
[307] Davis-Weyer, *Early Medieval Art, 300–1150: Sources and Documents*, 171-172. Epistolae Wibaldis abbatis, *Epistolae C, CI ad a. 1148*, ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1854), 1193-94.
[308] See the description of ancient bronzes provided by Magister Gregorius, who admired the skill of the maker and wrote that the bronze images look as if they are about 'to move or speak.' Magister Gregory, *The Marvels of Rome*, ed. J. Osborne (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1987), 23.

Ages, when the demand for monumental and small bronzes, including bells, cathedral doors and doorknockers increased together with the building of new churches or reconstruction of old ones.[309]

Magical, almost alchemical character was ascribed to the lost-wax method due to a symbolical moment when an image was created not by a man, but due to the meeting of materials.[310] For this reason, in the Middle Ages the production of bronze itself, an alloy consisting of copper in a combination with other metals, was perceived not only as mechanical process, but also as a symbolic action performed by a highly skilful master.[311] Practically in any culture, bronze casters, smiths or 'masters of fire' possessed high social standing through their skills. Akin to alchemists, they were reputed as collaborating with Nature, having sacred knowledge of techniques and capable of changing the modalities of matter.[312] These ideas reflected in bronze casters' inscriptions at doorknockers, including those by Giraldus (early twelfth century, the Church St Julien in Brioude) or by Magisters Nicholaus and Johannes de Bincio (the second half of the thirteenth century, currently at the Trier Cathedral Treasury) discussed in Chapter 1. Cast in the lost-wax method and signed by the man named Bernhardus, Freckenhorst doorknockers were valued as a bronze object and preserved by the faithful over the centuries. Similarly, skills and works of medieval stone sculptors were appreciated by their contemporaries. For example, disregarding the damages, the marble reliefs sculpted and signed by Ursus Magester and Pelegrinus were preserved and reused in the interiors of Santi Pietro e Paolo in Ferentillo and Verona Cathedral, respectively.

A combination of skill and literacy allowed medieval sculptors perpetuate their names and define their professional and social standings in inscriptions. The word 'magister' occurring in the inscription by the makers of Trier doorknockers emphasises the prestige of their statuses. This term was also applied by stone sculptors, including Ursus, who

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[309] Weinryb, 'The Bronze Object in the Middle Ages,' 69.
[310] In the Medieval period, alchemy gained popularity in the intellectual circles. As Weinryb noted, one of the first references to alchemy is found in a treatise on Northern European history, *Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum*, written in the second half of the eleventh century by a German author Adam of Bremen. See Weinryb, *The Bronze Object in the Middle Ages*, 34.
[311] Ibid., 44-45.
[312] Eliade, *The Forge and the Crucible: the Origins and Structures of Alchemy*, 8, 81.

signed his relief at Ferentillo. In the Middle Ages, the ancient term 'sculptor' was practically forgotten and 'magister' was often used instead. However, being a broad term, 'magister' was usually applied not only to sculptors, but, generally, to educated individuals that had leading positions in various spheres. Some sculptors, like Gennarius at Savigliano, occasionally supplemented their title 'magister' with 'marmorarius' to emphasise the specialty. This should not be perceived as a diminutive term. On the contrary, it indicated their consciousness of professional identity, specific qualification and ability to work in marble.[313] While the word 'marmorarius' possibly echoes Roman terms referring to those who directed works on building sites, 'magister' in classical Latin meant preceptor, or the head of school.[314] With regards to master sculptors, it suggested that they had apprentices. The Chapter 144 of the seventh-century written codex of Lombard law, *Edictum Rothari*, is dedicated to masters, their colleagues and apprentices ('Magister commacinus cum collegantes suos'), and the Chapter 145 regulates their relations to the commissioners. This indicates that the statuses of these professionals were legally recognised in the Lombard period.[315]

Apparently, the community of master sculptors and masons was not numerous at that time. Archaeological evidence showed that between the seventh and eighth centuries in Lombardy there was a regression in masonry, specifically in civil architecture, in favour of wooden constructions.[316] Thus, the legacy of working in stone was only retained by a small group of professionals mostly involved in religious architecture and based especially in the areas with stone quarries.[317] The nature of professional activities of Lombard master sculptors determined their special roles. Laymen sculptors were

[313] Lomartire, 'Commacini e marmorarii: temi e tecniche della scultura tra VII e VIII secolo nella Langobardia maior,' 177, 208.
[314] For further discussion on this see Dell'Acqua, 'Ursus 'magester': uno scultore di età longobarda,' 23-24.
[315] Lomartire, 'Commacini e marmorarii: temi e tecniche della scultura tra VII e VIII secolo nella Langobardia maior,' 168-169.
[316] A. Cagnana, 'Le tecniche murarie prima del romanico: evidenze archeologiche, fonti scritte, ipotesi interpretative,' in *Alle origini del romanico: monasteri, edifici religiosi, committenza tra storia e archeologia*, ed. R. Salvarani, (Brescia: Marietti, 2005), 93-122.
[317] Lomartire, 'Commacini e marmorarii: temi e tecniche della scultura tra VII e VIII secolo nella Langobardia maior,' 160.

actively involved in interaction with clergy, which may have resulted in acquisition of basic reading and writing skills by the former. Generally, upon their arrival in Italy laymen Lombards were cultured at a modest level, whereas the clergy was familiar with Latin language and possessed writing skills primarily for religious purposes.[318] Further, northern Italy and the Lombard kingdom experienced an increasing interest in literacy, written culture and literature both in clerical and lay circles.[319]

Master sculptors, like Ursus Magester, enjoyed the royal patronage.'[320] This may explain why they confidently signed their artworks, sometimes placing their names in the inscriptions next to those of the noblemen like duke Hildericus. Inscriptions of early medieval sculptors reflected their professional statuses and specialisations, as well as indicated the existence of hierarchy in their community.

Among other terms that may have been used by sculptors to indicate their status, were 'artifex' and 'opifex.' The first word, *artifex*, defines a practitioner of any art, but in specific contexts it may refer to 'a craftsman in one of the fine arts,' whereas *opifex* (sometimes used disparagingly) suggested manual labour and craftsmanship.[321] Further in this thesis, the works by the eleventh-century bronze caster *Artifex* Berengerus and the twelfth-century stone sculptor Wezilo of Konstanz, who was referred to as *opifex*, are discussed. I argue that the existence of these terms may imply that gradually sculptors were becoming subject to hierarchy according to their specialisations. Consequently, it may have served as premises for discourses on the prevalence of liberal arts over manual arts, which reached their peak in the Renaissance period.

Thus, not only the cost of material, but also such factors as technical complexities of casting metals or sculpting marble were among the factors that served to the elevation of

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[318] Petrucci, *Writers and Readers in Medieval Italy: Studies in the History of Written Culture*, 45, 49.

[319] For a more specific discussion on the levels of literacy among freemen and clergy in the early medieval period and related issues see Mitchell, 'Literacy Displayed: the Use of Inscriptions at the Monastery of San Vincenzo al Volturno in the Early Ninth Century,' 220 and Nelson, 'Literacy in Carolingian Government,' 269. See also a more recent publication: Everett N., *Literacy in Lombard Italy, c. 568–774*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

[320] Christie, *The Lombards: The Ancient Longobards*, 192.

[321] P. Glare, *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (London: Oxford UP, 2006), 176-177, 1253.

sculptors' statuses. Practical experience, theoretical knowledge and spiritual connotations were of equal importance for sculptors. In a combination with literacy, even if at a basic level, sculptors' mastery to produce objects for ecclesiastic use allowed them to perpetuate themselves as devoted Christians and gifted professionals.

Ancient treatises mentioning skilful sculptors in stone and metal may serve as collateral evidence of the importance of their status. However, Pliny in his *Naturalis Historia* noted that already at that period documentary evidence on sculptors had been fragmentary. The Roman author wrote that the art of marble sculpture preceded bronze statuary and painting. He then praised certain marble sculptures, but was not always specific enough about their makers, explaining that not many of them remain to be named.[322]

One of the earliest medieval biographies, *Vita Eligii Episcopi Novomagiensis* was written in the seventh century by St Ouen (609 – 686) bishop of Rouen. It is dedicated to life and work of the goldsmith St Eloy, who is considered a patron of goldsmiths and metalwork artists in general. At first the biographer pictured St Eloy as an aristocratic man wearing expensive garments and emphasised his important status at court, but then described him as a devoted Christian and a saint.[323] 'He was tall with a rosy face. He had a pretty head of hair with curly locks. His hands were honest and his fingers long. He had the face of an angel and a prudent look. At first, he was used to wear gold and gems on his clothes […] and all of the most precious fabrics including all of silk. But [...] beneath he wore a hairshirt next to his flesh and, as he proceeded to perfection, he gave the ornaments for the needs of the poor.'[324]

However, St Eloy's physical appearance, piousness and diligence in reading and prayer were not the only aspects that interested the biographer. St Ouen appreciated St Eloy's outstanding craftsmanship and listed a vast number of pieces that he produced for

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[322] Pliny, the Elder, *The Elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art*, 189, 209.
[323] Davis-Weyer, *Early Medieval Art, 300–1150: Sources and Documents*, 69 and Le Goff, *The Medieval World*, 216.
[324] Medieval History. 'Medieval Sourcebook: The Life of St Eligius, 588 – 660,' accessed May 5, 2017, https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/basis/eligius.asp

patrons.[325] The biographer represented St Eloy as a gifted master proficient in various arts. In addition, the author's approach to goldsmiths' art differed from general and utilitarian attitude of the church, when gold, silver and bronze objects were often melted down in order to reuse precious materials.[326]

Picturing St Eloy as an educated man of varied attainments, this biography, to an extent, laid the foundation for an image of an early medieval artist working in three-dimensional media. In previous research it was considered as an exceptional document, due to the stereotype that early medieval sources hardly contain any mentions of artists.[327] In fact, this may be a distorted impression based on the surviving evidence and not on the actual situation in the past, which unfortunately is indeed difficult to reconstruct.

Just like St Eloy, Rotaldus, a bishop of Verona, possessed artistic talents from God and served as a model for a written source. He is known in relation to St Zeno and the legend on translation of the saint's relics into a new church built under the invocation of the bishop in 865.[328] This text presents Rotaldus of Verona as a pious bishop and a bronze caster proficient in the lost-wax method.

According to the narrative, a procession with the bishop was carrying the relics to place them in a crypt of a newly built church. On the way, they encountered a blackbird instigated by the devil to interrupt the procession, but it was overcome by the bishop. On the way back, the bird was found dead. Rotaldus of Verona decided that it deserved a pardon, because the blackbird died as a result of the work of the devil.[329] The bishop kept a fast for forty days in the end of which he produced a moulded bronze image of a

[325] *Vita Eligii Episcopi Novomagiensis*, ed. W. Krusch (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1902), 688.
[326] Le Goff, *The Medieval World*, 24.
[327] C. Dodwell, introduction to *The Various Arts*, by Theophilus (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), x.
[328] A. Butler, *The Lives of the Saints: Complete Edition* (New York: Catholic Way Publishing, 2015). Accessed November 23, 2016, https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=gBl2BwAAQBAJ&dq=Rotaldus+bishop+Verona&source=gbs_navlinks_s
[329] Weinryb, *The Bronze Object in the Middle Ages*, 113-115.

bird and placed it on the façade of the church.[330] It is noteworthy that in this legend a high ranked member of church possesses skills of a bronze caster, and his work is closely interconnected with strict fasting and prayer. I underline that these literary portraits may have encouraged sculptors to follow conventional spiritual models in their lives and self-representations.[331]

In ancient Athens mechanical arts and crafts, sculpture and material production were considered prestigious and often closely allied with political practise.[332] However, in the medieval period attitudes to the profession of artist were different. Close interconnection between Christian religion and art encouraged some monks to master artistic techniques and specialise in arts. Arts and crafts became integral components of life in medieval monastic communities. Between ca 900 and ca 1100, donors actively extended patronage to monasteries, and objects of religious art produced by monastic craftsmen were in high demand.[333] Some monks were sons of noblemen, which implied that they were not completely illiterate, but mechanical arts that some of them practised were regarded as inferior in aristocratic circles.[334] When legends, such as the one about Rotaldus, a bishop of Verona, were unable to level this dissonance, theologians and practising artists initiated attempts to emphasise that the ability to practise mechanical arts is a gift of God. Generally, an idea of ennobling manual work may have relied on imitation of Christ, who spent only three years in preaching and the rest of his life diligently worked as a craftsman.[335] In the twelfth century, many learned men of the period, including a Benedictine Honorius of Autun (1080 – 1154) and a canon regular

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[330] G. Pighi, *Traslazione e Miracoli di San Zeno: Storia Scritta da un Monaco Zenoniano nel 12. Secolo* (Verona: Vita Veronese, 1977), 30.
[331] Dale, 'Romanesque Sculpted Portraits: Convention, Vision, and Real Presence,' 107.
[332] Long, *Openness, Secrecy, Authorship: Technical Arts and the Culture of Knowledge from Antiquity to the Renaissance*, 16.
[333] Van Engen, 'Theophilus Presbyter and Rupert of Deutz: the Manual Arts and Benedictine Theology,' 148.
[334] Ibid., 155-156; also referring to the aristocratic ethos of monasticism discussed by B. Rosenwein, 'Feudal War and Monastic Peace: Cluniac Liturgy as Ritual Aggression,' *Viator* 2 (1971): 129-157. For more information on artists-monks see Cannon, 'Sources for the Study of the Role of Art and Architecture within the Economy of the Mendicant Convents of Central Italy: a Preliminary Survey,' 254-255.
[335] M. Wolter, *The Principles of Monasticism* (St Louis: Herder, 1962), 461.

Hugh of Saint Victor (ca 1096 – 1141), aimed to justify and express support to mechanical arts in their writings and make craftsmen be recognised as a social entity.[336]

The focus of this chapter section is on exploring to what extent lay and monastic sculptors were literate. However, this is not to substitute the stereotype of the illiterate craftsman with another stereotype of an educated artist and an erudite. The aim of this investigation is rather to understand the ways in which early medieval sculptors manifested their literacy and whether it was reflected through their statuses.

Sculptors' signatures and inscriptions at their works show that in some cases they were not restricted from indicating authorship either together with a patron, in terms of devotional expression, or under other conditions, the nature of which is also explored in this thesis. Written sources produced by some sculptors demonstrate a complex level of professional thinking. The earliest references to sculptors' written work were made by Pliny. He briefly noted that some bronze casters wrote treatises in which they had mentioned their colleagues. Pliny then stated that in some cases these sources may be the only surviving evidence otherwise sculptors would have remained unknown and their work unnoticed.[337] Even this brief mention of sculptors' treatises is of particular interest, because documentary evidence on their intellectual position, literacy and status is scarce. Among the few surviving ancient sources are the treatises of the above mentioned Pasiteles and the *Kanon* in which Polykleitos discussed his aesthetic conception of commensurability and balance in sculpture.[338]

In their written work, both ancient and medieval sculptors reflect on their skills and manifest these in written form intending to share this knowledge with contemporaries and further generations. The treatise *On Stones* by the Greek scholar Theophrastus (ca 371 – ca 287 BC) classified rocks and gems, discussed various types of marble and briefly referred to marble sculpture.[339] Technical terms used by the author relate this text

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[336] Van Engen, 'Theophilus Presbyter and Rupert of Deutz: the Manual Arts and Benedictine Theology,' 155-156.
[337] Pliny, the Elder, *The Elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art*, 55.
[338] K. Clark, *The Nude: a Study in Ideal Form* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956), 63.
[339] Theophrastus, *On Stones*, trans. E. Caley (Columbus, Ohio: The Ohio State University, 1956), 71.

to recipe handbooks and manuals written by sculptors. However, no direct references to these sources were provided by Theophrastus. Moreover, the evidence that it was common practice among ancient sculptors to compose recipe manuals is sparse; writing surfaces, such as papyrus, may have perished. In the ancient past, the Greeks and the Romans handed down craft skills to younger generations by family principle, which may have implied verbal communication and practical learning.[340]

In the Lombard period, as well as in the medieval period in general, verbal and practical collaborative tradition in workshops were essential means of sharing knowledge and techniques. The process of passing down knowledge and teaching apprentices may have been predominantly verbal also among sculptors, but it is difficult to demonstrate with documentary evidence. Sculptors largely belonged to the category of semi-literate laymen, who, as opposed to ecclesiastics, lacked ties with school or book culture.[341] However, it does not mean they were completely illiterate. Advanced skills, such as writing poetry or texts in Latin, were mastered by ecclesiastics and laymen in scriptoria or at court.[342] However, there were other degrees of literacy, like recognising Latin words or phrases, or making simple inscriptions. In the early medieval period literacy was not restricted to the ruling elite, higher clergy and monks, who had full command of Latin, free men, people of lesser status, possessed passive or pragmatic literacy.[343] They were educated to the level they needed for their profession, literacy was practical in use and depended on their roles in social hierarchy.[344]

Unlike stone sculptors, metalwork artists and bronze casters, whose works are also discussed in this thesis, had to understand complex processes of making alloys. This may have required familiarity with specific instructions described in written sources.

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[340] Long, *Openness, Secrecy, Authorship: Technical Arts and the Culture of Knowledge from Antiquity to the Renaissance*, 73, 81.
[341] Petrucci, *Writers and Readers in Medieval Italy: Studies in the History of Written Culture*, 49, 57.
[342] Nelson, 'Literacy in Carolingian Government,' 264, 271.
[343] See Mitchell, 'Literacy Displayed: the Use of Inscriptions at the Monastery of San Vincenzo al Volturno in the Early Ninth Century,' 220 and Nelson, 'Literacy in Carolingian Government,' 269.
[344] Noble, 'Literacy and the Papal Government in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages,' 104, 106-108.

Thus, medieval bronze casters or goldsmiths were assumed to possess a sufficient level of literacy to stay in the profession. Similar to their predecessors from antiquity, they may have been able to make at least short notes of recipes and various practical remarks concerning their work.[345] However, practically no such sources survive, as they were not regarded as important pieces of writing to be preserved in libraries. The connection between the actual practice of metal casting and recipe books remains understudied in contemporary research. An opinion that casting techniques were usually shared verbally, sometimes as legends, because producing alloys was considered as secretive process, requires additional investigation.[346]

The earliest books with artisanal recipes, *Compositiones Variae* (end of the eighth - beginning of the ninth centuries) and *Mappae Clavicula* (ca 1000), were collated in the early medieval period. As a rule, such books were translated from Greek or Arabic and compiled in monastic scriptoria, which emphasised the role of monasteries in accumulating artistic knowledge and being centres of bronze manufacture.[347] The Rule of St Benedict prescribed that monks should 'be occupied at stated hours in manual labour, and again at other hours in sacred reading.'[348] Apparently, some medieval bronze casters affiliated with Benedictine monasteries may have been educated enough to understand recipe books with the instructions on making alloys. Reading treatises on their areas of expertise and gaining theoretical knowledge was as important as practical experience.

Copying of these books was restricted to prevent dissemination of secret alloy recipes outside of a workshop. Moreover, in the medieval period artistic knowledge was mainly transferred verbally, through the collaborative tradition in workshops. Obtaining an understanding of complex techniques with no capacity of practising these would have never ensured professional progress. Most likely, books with artisanal recipes, such as *Compositiones Variae* or treatises written by Theophilus and Eraclius were not meant to

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[345] J. Hawthorne, introduction to *On Divers Arts*, by Theophilus Presbyter (New York: Dover Publications, 1979), xxviii.
[346] Weinryb, *The Bronze Object in the Middle Ages*, 35-36.
[347] Ibid., 35-36.
[348] Benedict, Saint Abbot of Monte Cassino, *The Rule of Saint Benedict*, 111-113.

be used at workshops directly during the working process. Being codifications of ideal knowledge of the world, these sources were passed down to subsequent generations demonstrating the continuity of tradition over time.[349] The instructions in the *Compositiones Variae* are straightforward. It may indicate that they were written down or dictated by the practising masters, artisans and craftsmen. In my opinion, this may have been done in collaboration with literate monks from scriptoria, who may also have helped sculptors to compose inscriptions or perform other work that required literacy skills.

Needless to say that texts written by medieval artists and craftsmen, both lay and monastic, are highly rare. However, most of those known at present are associated with monastic environment and, as it may be distilled from the texts, were written by artists-monks. In his *De Coloribus et Artibus Romanorum* (ca 900) Eraclius, probably an Italian author, demonstrated knowledge of classical sources and admiration of Roman art. He thoroughly studied some Roman objects and their technique having his 'mind's eye fixed upon them day and night.'[350] The treatise is versified, which relates it to the writings on the liberal arts and elevates the significance of the topic chosen by Eraclius.[351] The author have not focused on monumental sculpture, but demonstrated knowledge of variety recipes, discussed pigments, cutting crystals, polishing gems and copper gilding. Addressing to a reader as 'brother' Eraclius emphasised the monastic context and stated that he tried all the techniques and recipes described in his treatise.[352] This may suggest that he was a practising artist and craftsman proficient in various media. Some pieces of technical knowledge and recipes compiled in the treatise were transcribed from Pliny, to whom the author refers in his text.[353] Written by a Christian,

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[349] Long, *Openness, Secrecy, Authorship: Technical Arts and the Culture of Knowledge from Antiquity to the Renaissance*, 82.
[350] Eraclius, *On the Colours and Arts of the Romans*, 182, 186-190.
[351] Davis-Weyer, *Early Medieval Art, 300–1150: Sources and Documents*, 175.
[352] Long, *Openness, Secrecy, Authorship: Technical Arts and the Culture of Knowledge from Antiquity to the Renaissance*, 84.
[353] Eraclius, *On the Colours and Arts of the Romans*, 182, 186-190 and Davis-Weyer, *Early Medieval Art, 300–1150: Sources and Documents*, 175-176.

De Coloribus et Artibus Romanorum linked antiquity and the Middle Ages and emphasised the existence of continuity in artistic tradition.

Another medieval treatise, *De Diversis Artibus*, contributed to preserving recipes and provided thorough descriptions of various artistic techniques, including bronze casting.[354] The authorship of this manuscript, written in the first third of the twelfth century, has been a topic of scholarly debates. The author introduced himself as a humble priest and a monk Theophilus. However, the phrase 'Theophilus qui et Rugerus' added to the title of the mid-twelfth century copy of the manuscript resulted in a hypothesis that the author used a pseudonym. The treatise was written by a twelfth-century goldsmith and metalwork artist Roger from the Benedictine Abbey Helmarshausen, close to Paderborn.[355]

Indeed, this hypothesis may be feasible. Roger's humble intention to conceal his real name yet share his knowledge of artistic techniques may be interpreted as compliance with the Benedictine conventions of openness, or willingness to pass on the skills acquired from God.[356] Well-educated and knowledgeable of Latin, Roger of Helmarshausen included inscriptions in his artworks. One of his portable altars is notable for the application of complex techniques: repoussé, filigree, niello and gem settings. Complementing pictorial elements of the piece, Latin inscriptions with saints' names run in bands above and below the figures depicted at the four sides of the portable altar. Just like in the doorknockers from Freckenhorst these inscriptions are well-integrated and complement the piece.

An indirect reference to the black colour of monastic habit in Theophilus's treatise may imply that he was a Benedictine monk. The author emphasised that the black colour of brazing of horse harness metallic elements produced for monks was suitable to them, presumably referring to the black habit of the Benedictines.[357] Theophilus was

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[354] B. Meissner, *Bronze- und Galvanoplastik: Geschichte, Materialanalyse, Restaurierung* (Dresden: Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Sachsen, 2001), 14.
[355] Dodwell, introduction, xxxix and Barnet, *Medieval Treasures from Hildesheim*, 17.
[356] Long, *Openness, Secrecy, Authorship: Technical Arts and the Culture of Knowledge from Antiquity to the Renaissance*, 86-87.
[357] Theophilus, *The Various Arts*, 166 and Dodwell, introduction, xxxiii-xxxiv.

conversant with theological ideas of the period and intended justifying the work of artists-monks from the theological point of view.[358] Just like Eraclius, he shared knowledge with openness and humility common to the Benedictine principles.[359] This may be interpreted as Theophilus's reaction against proprietary attitudes towards recipes and techniques that arose elsewhere at that period, especially in medieval urban centres of flourishing artistic activities and craftsmanship.[360]

Most importantly, Theophilus demonstrated an in-depth knowledge of materials and various artistic techniques, including the lost-wax method. Similar to Eraclius, he described certain techniques and recipes that were applied by their predecessors in the third century BC and even earlier.[361] Arts and techniques were not a part of the intellectual area of liberal arts, and the probability that medieval scholars would have selected this topic for their enquiries was low.[362] However, it would have been of interest to a practicing master writing a treatise. Detailed Latin descriptions of complex casting processes on such an advanced level indicate that the author of the treatise was an established metalwork artist and a well-educated man. Theophilus's *De Diversis Artibus* summarised practical knowledge and defended the dignity of crafts in writing. This treatise contributed to forming positive attitudes towards artists, craftsmen and mechanical arts in the medieval period.

One aspect that emerges from the examination of fragmentary evidence on Eraclius and Theophilus, and their work is that, apparently, a general image of a bronze caster was similar on both sides of the Alps. Albeit they lived in different European regions, both affiliated with monasteries, were literate, skilful in arts and aimed to express piety through their artistic and written activities. A combination of these features is also found in the Italian legend mentioning Rotaldus of Verona. Medieval bronze casters, including

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[358] Van Engen, 'Theophilus Presbyter and Rupert of Deutz: the Manual Arts and Benedictine Theology,' 149.

[359] Long, *Openness, Secrecy, Authorship: Technical Arts and the Culture of Knowledge from Antiquity to the Renaissance*, 85-88.

[360] Ibid., 88, 71. In addition, as noted by Long, no evidence survives to confirm that secrecy of stonecutting, masonry and related arts existed in antiquity.

[361] Hawthorne, introduction, xxviii.

[362] Dodwell, introduction, xxxvii.

the maker of Freckenhorst doorknockers, may have perceived these texts as media forming models for imitation.

Since antiquity and through the Middle Ages such issues as literacy and social status have been closely interconnected. I emphasise that although in a varying degree, but both lay and monastic sculptors aimed to ensure themselves remembrance in the eyes of God and achieve social recognition. Written self-representations and treatises, only some of which survive, served sculptors as essential instruments in elevating the significance of their profession. Moreover, sculptors may have attempted following conventional examples known from legends or lives of saint artists. The growing number of Benedictine communities, where the combination of manual labour, intellectual and religious activities was strongly encouraged, created favourable conditions for sculptors, disregarding if they were monks or laymen.

Several case studies of Chapter 2 correspond to the ideas of Benedictine authors. In these self-representations, artists expressed their professional and religious identities with inscriptions, figurative elements or a combination of both. Already in the Carolingian period images in churches or at religious objects were regarded as *viva lectio* or 'live reading' to the illiterate, but inscriptions were considered necessary in either case to allow infallible identification of figures.[363] This was equally applicable to representations of saints, donors and makers. Produced in different periods and in various European regions, artists' self-representations discussed in this thesis reveal creativity of their makers and may serve as manifestations of their piety.

The perception of sculptors' creativity, however, was not the same in antiquity and in the medieval period. When discussing bronze statuary, Pliny addressed the question of what is more valuable, the workmanship or the metal, and criticised artists that work for

[363] The valuable role of inscriptions in complementing images was noted in early sources like *Libri Carolini*, which some scholars consider iconophobic. See Perkinson, *The Likeness of the King: a Prehistory of Portraiture in Late Medieval France*, 43-44. For more details on the connection between text and images see Nelson, 'Literacy in Carolingian Government,' 265; R. McKitterick, 'Text and Image in the Carolingian World,' in *The Uses of Literacy in Early Mediaeval Europe*, ed. Rosamond McKitterick, 297-318, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 299.

money and not for fame.[364] The scholar himself considered his books as offerings to Roman gods, credited past authors and stated that authorship includes an act of piety.[365] A concurrent opinion, but in a Christian context, was expressed by Theophilus in *De Diversis Artibus* and by another Benedictine author, Rupert of Deutz (ca 1080 – ca 1129) in the *Commentary on Exodus*. Both believed that Divine Intelligence and artistic talent are gifts of Heaven, which artists should use humbly, not to pursue material rewards.[366] Rupert of Deutz also stated that artists should cherish their skills and apply these not for personal gain, human profit or pleasure, but to the service of the divine.[367] This conception implied that during the pagan times sculptors misused gifted by God artistic skills to conceive images of idols.[368] Idolatry was criticised in the Bible: 'we should not think that the Divine Being is like gold or silver or stone, an image formed by man's skill and imagination' (Acts 17:29). This may have contributed to the decline and gradual disappearance of classical lapidary workshops and techniques after the arrival of the Lombards in Italy.[369]

The establishment of Charlemagne's Empire, however, encouraged the increase in art production on the vast territory of the kingdom. Religious art developed in accordance with Charlemagne's tastes, patronage and his strong support of the observance of the Rule of St Benedict by monks.[370] The king established schools in monasteries and episcopal seats to promote basic knowledge of grammar, music and literature.[371] All spheres of Carolingian civilisation, its art and religion, law and government, closely

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[364] Pliny, the Elder, *The Elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art*, 7.
[365] Long, *Openness, Secrecy, Authorship: Technical Arts and the Culture of Knowledge from Antiquity to the Renaissance*, 41.
[366] Theophilus, *The Various Arts*, 1-4.
[367] Davis-Weyer, *Early Medieval Art, 300–1150: Sources and Documents*, 168.
[368] Dodwell, 'The Meaning of 'Sculptor' in the Romanesque Period,' 58.
[369] Petrucci, *Writers and Readers in Medieval Italy: Studies in the History of Written Culture*, 49.
[370] The Benedictine Rule was widely propagated by Charlemagne and his son, Louis the Pious. For instance, in 817 the Council of Aix-la-Chapelle enforced its general observance in all the nunneries of the empire. See G. Alston. The Benedictine Order. 'The Catholic Encyclopedia, vol. 2,' accessed December 7, 2016, http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/02443a.htm.
[371] Mitchell, 'Literacy Displayed: the Use of Inscriptions at the Monastery of San Vincenzo al Volturno in the Early Ninth Century,' 219.

relied on written word.[372] Although Latin was not mother tongue of the Frankish Empire and little evidence survives on how exactly it was taught, manuscripts produced in scriptoria indicate that educational process existed.[373]

Benedictine monasteries were the centres of literacy, intellectual and artistic activity. For example, the Benedicitne monk Hrabanus Maurus (ca 780 – 856) wrote an encyclopaedia and treatises on grammar, alphabets and letter forms.[374] In his *De laudibus sanctae crucis* Hrabanus Maurus expressed devotion to the Cross and demonstrated interest in an interconnection between Christian symbols and word. Various religious art objects, including manuscripts, wax models and cast bronzes were also produced in the workshops of Benedictine monasteries.[375] Built in the tenth century, the Benedictine Cluny Abbey flourished under the abbot Odilo (994 – 1048). The description of the Abbey refers to a special building on its territory, where goldsmiths, jewellers and glaziers practiced their arts.[376] The eleventh-century chronicler Hariulf described Centula Abbey in France, where everything complied with the Benedictine Rule, and all arts and necessary labours were executed.[377]

In the eleventh-century Hildesheim, the Benedictine monastery of St Michael was associated with a prolific workshop successful in various casting techniques. It was also associated with the revival of the lost-wax method and activities of Bernward of Hildesheim, 'sapiens architectus.'[378] Similar to Rotaldus, the bishop of Verona, and St Eloy, he had a high status in church hierarchy and was proficient in casting metal,

[372] McKitterick, 'Text and Image in the Carolingian World,' 297.
[373] Nelson, 'Literacy in Carolingian Government,' 266.
[374] McKitterick, 'Text and Image in the Carolingian World,' 298.
[375] Weinryb, *The Bronze Object in the Middle Ages*, 50.
[376] B. Albers, *Consuetudines Farfenses*, vol. 2 (Stuttgart: Roth, 1900), 137-139.
[377] Hariulfus Aldenburgensis, *Chronique de l'abbaye de Saint-Riquier*, ed. F. Lot (Paris: Picard, 1894), 54-56.
[378] Not all scholars, however, agree that Bernward was familiar with art production as a maker; some only recognise him as a donor and a member of Saxon nobility, who, however, may have been responsible for designing liturgical objects and the plan of St Maichael's. Barnet mentioned that artists working on Bernward remained anonymous. In my opinion, this suggests parallels with Abbot Suger's activities in Saint-Denis, but may also be compared to the role of a master supervising artists in a workshop. See Barnet, *Medieval Treasures from Hildesheim*, 6-7, 10, 14, 48.

setting precious stones, and in architecture.[379] St Michael's monastery was praised as a centre of learning and literacy already by 954, but during the times of bishop Azelinus (1044 – 1054) no other institution in the kingdom could compete with it.[380] Thus, education and practice of arts and crafts were acknowledged as integral parts of community life in Benedictine monasteries, disregarding where these monasteries were found. Although there existed a few exceptional cases when artists were the authors of treatises, the majority of artists were literate on a very basic level. Thus, the role of the oral and practical workshop tradition of knowledge transfer should not be underestimated. It continued existing and was widely used among artists throughout the medieval period.

As the number of new monasteries started growing, expressions of contemplation and devotion by means of religious art production became common practice among artists-monks.[381] Both Rupert of Deutz and Theophilus believed that each man possesses dignity and creative skills through being an image-likeness to God. Consequently, an ultimate aim of a Benedictine artist-monk was to follow the Rule strictly in order to achieve 'personal sanctification' or 'complete image-likeness to God.'[382] I suggest that this idea may have served to justify sculptors' self-representations. Commonly, in early medieval sculpture the 'individual' was represented as an ideal type, and not as a unique personality.[383] Considering this, artists' self-representations may be interpreted as ideal images showing them at God's service or having achieved personal sanctification to which they humbly aspired in their lives.

Pope St Leo the Great said that those who do not imitate Christ should not be called Christians, and that 'the Master's manner of life would be the pattern for the disciple.'[384] These words, indeed, reflected both the ideals of Christian life and, remarkably, the

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[379] Thangmar, *Vita Bernwardi episcopi*, 758.
[380] Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Medieval Europe, 950–1200*, 47, 214.
[381] P. North, Sacred *Space: House of God, Gate of Heaven* (London: Continuum, 2007), 43.
[382] Van Engen, 'Theophilus Presbyter and Rupert of Deutz: the Manual Arts and Benedictine Theology,' 150-151.
[383] Dale, 'Romanesque Sculpted Portraits: Convention, Vision, and Real Presence,' 101.
[384] Wolter, *The Principles of Monasticism*, 327.

principles according to which any medieval sculpture workshop functioned (if 'master' is interpreted as 'master sculptor'). The motif of imitation of the Divine Creator or *Deus Artifex* and holy persons in sculptors' self-representations is addressed further in Chapter 2, and the relief from Ferentillo signed by Ursus is analysed in this context. This argues that the ideas of imitation of saints and Christ were common not only among monks, whose lives were meant to be 'the greatest possible likeness to the divine,' but also among lay artists.[385]

Bernhardus's inscription at Freckenhorst bronze doorknockers discussed in Chapter 1 reveals features similar to the examples sculpted in stone. It is addressed to Christ and humbly mentions Bernhardus with the *me fecit*-form, showing that this signature at the doorknockers was meant as a devotional act and a religious exercise. Thus, an analysis of case studies in thesis shows that medieval artists working in three-dimensional array and in various media were equally concerned with expressing their religious and professional identities.

Popular in old scholarship, conception of an anonymous medieval artist requires reconsideration. I emphasise that activities and self-representations of medieval sculptors should be understood in the context of medieval society, its philosophical thought and intellectual tendencies. The analysis of selected case studies in corresponding chapters reveals that medieval artists aimed to aspire to the ideals of the period. As a result, they may have enriched their self-representations with corresponding features, of which the most important to them were piety and diligence at work. In other words, they were forming their ideal likenesses in spiritual rather than physiognomic terms, which may explain why there was no strong distinction between the images of saints and living persons in early medieval sculpture and faces were deliberately not individualised.[386]

Spiritual ideals and social models certainly changed over the centuries, and medieval sculptors' self-representations should be interpreted with caution. Nevertheless, the rise in medieval portraiture, including sculptors' self-representations, overlaps with the

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[385] Ibid., 457-458.
[386] Dale, 'Romanesque Sculpted Portraits: Convention, Vision, and Real Presence,' 101.

increasing popularity of biographies and discussions of self in both theological and secular written sources.[387] This thesis cites several treatises from various periods all of which encompass relevant features in portraying such 'ideals.' Among these written sources are the lives of sculptors' patron saints, as well as Bernardus Silvestris's *Cosmographia* and Alan of Lille's *Anticlaudianus*. The latter treatise received ample attention among Alan of Lille's contemporaries. They named him *doctor universalis* and admired his intellect, written work and teaching activities.[388] Bernardus Silvestris's wide influence is also traced in the works of medieval and Renaissance authors.[389]

I consider that the impact of these treatises and exchange of ideas may have contributed to the development of self-consciousness of medieval people, including sculptors. This, of course, was related to a new educational model that had started developing across Europe since the late tenth century; later, in the twelfth century, it served as a basis for monastic education.[390] A relatively uniform curriculum of cathedral schools promoted studying letters and manners, ancient philosophy and theology, harmonising the inner man with the outer man. Combined with active circulation of masters and students between schools, these factors determined the 'unity of learning' across medieval Europe.[391] Interestingly, the principle of mobility was known since the ancient period and practised by sophists, who travelled for teaching in the area of Athens.[392] Notably, all these processes were taking place around the period when the sculptors whose self-representations serve as case studies in this thesis were active. Conceiving self-representations implied reevaluating themselves, thinking of identity and individuality. In my opinion, the makers of my case studies demonstrated awareness of these categories. Among them was Bernhardus, who signed his doorknockers at

[387] Ibid., 103.
[388] G. Evans, *Alan of Lille: The Frontiers of Theology in the Later Twelfth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 169.
[389] B. Stock, *Myth and Science in the Twelfth Century: a Study of Bernard Silvester* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), 11-62.
[390] Dale, 'Romanesque Sculpted Portraits: Convention, Vision, and Real Presence,' 105.
[391] J. Arnold, *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Christianity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 309.
[392] Long, *Openness, Secrecy, Authorship: Technical Arts and the Culture of Knowledge from Antiquity to the Renaissance*, 18.

Freckenhorst Church. Most likely, the Convent and its school at Freckenhorst, developed in the context of the above-mentioned educational tendencies of the period. Quite possibly, not only local but also visiting intellectuals and artists may have contributed to the Convent by introducing new philosophical ideas and works of religious art.

Just like teachers and travelling intellectuals, medieval sculptors were often itinerant.[393] Mobility of sculptors in various European regions and periods is addressed further in this thesis in relation to Ursus, the lay brother Liutpreht, and Pelegrinus, whose inscription directly states he was a sculptor and a pilgrim.[394] The traces of sculptors' mobility are noticed in Italy and other European regions through the written sources and similarity of decorative motifs and schemes used in sculpture.[395] The phenomenon of medieval sculptors' migration from one working site to another may have contributed to circulation and diffusion of patterns. Presumably, sculptors learned from senior colleagues mostly by memorising and obtained knowledge by experience. This non-literate knowledge was considered of lesser significance than literate, but both were regarded by theologians as the gifts of the Spirit.[396]

Already from the late eighth century and onwards an idea that learning is memorising was a widespread educational approach in religious institutions. It was introduced by Eigil, the Abbot of Fulda (ca 750 – 822). In his *Vita Sturmi* (ca 790s), Eigil described the life of St Sturm (ca 705 – 779), the follower of St Boniface and the founder of the Benedictine Abbey in Fulda. According to Eigil, education of St Sturm consisted of memorising and repeating Psalms and other religious texts in order to achieve the

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393 Christie, *The Lombards: The Ancient Longobards*, 191-192 and Weinryb, *The Bronze Object in the Middle Ages*, 175.

394 For a focused discussion on production and dissemination of early medieval objects produced in metal see: Beghelli, M. 'Gli artigiani del metallo nell'Europa altomedievale. Organizzazione manifatturiera, officine, firme e strategie di vendita.' In *I maestri del metallo: l'intelligenza nelle mani*, ed. Michelle Beghelli, 157-190, (Roma: BraDypUS.net communicating cultural heritage, 2017).

395 Lomartire, 'Commacini e marmorarii: temi e tecniche della scultura tra VII e VIII secolo nella Langobardia maior,' 206.

396 Van Engen, 'Theophilus Presbyter and Rupert of Deutz: the Manual Arts and Benedictine Theology,' 154.

understanding of sacred scripture in its spiritual sense.[397] Needless to note that in the Benedictine communities the life and education of St Sturm were regarded as examples for imitation, and affiliating sculptors may have been aware of it.

Learning material by heart and passing it down verbally may be applicable to various fields of knowledge, especially bronze casting and making alloys. One of the earliest metals known to men, bronze has always been perceived as having rich mythology, and its functions were considered of a timeless nature.[398] However, devolving knowledge on bronze casting verbally may not necessarily signify that metalwork artists were completely illiterate. Besides, methods of obtaining knowledge were changing in the course of time. For instance, Theophilus's treatise was one of the sources that marked the new tendencies of compiling and openly sharing information in written form. Nevertheless, *De Diversis Artibus*, and most other treatises written by artists were not meant to be used in workshops as manuals. Their primary function was rather to collect ideal knowledge of the world and preserve recipes and techniques.

The *Vita Sturmi* described an early medieval ideal that a man should have been aiming to reach.[399] St Sturm, apart from being charitable, humble, gentle and versatile, was of handsome appearance, had composed gait, wise thought, prudent speech and upright manners.[400] The origins of this image may be found in antiquity. Cicero in his *De officiis* wrote that harmony between body and soul reflects in deeds and work of the body through beauty and order.[401] Ancient poets (Juvenal) and philosophers (Thales) also referred to the value of education and idea *mens sana in corpore sano* or 'healthy

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[397] Eigil, Abbot of Fulda, *Die Vita Sturmi des Eigil von Fulda. Literarkritisch-historische Untersuchung und Edition*, trans. P. Engelbert (Marburg: N.G. Elwert Kommissionsverlag, 1968), 132-133. Notably, St Sturm, the founder of the Abbey of Fulda, was the follower of St Boniface, the saint to which Freckenhorst Convent was dedicated. This establishes a connection between the two religious institutions.
[398] Droth, *Bronze: the Power of Life and Death*, 54.
[399] Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Medieval Europe, 950–1200*, 24-25.
[400] Eigil, Abbot of Fulda, *Die Vita Sturmi des Eigil von Fulda. Literarkritisch-historische Untersuchung und Edition*, 133.
[401] Dale, 'Romanesque Sculpted Portraits: Convention, Vision, and Real Presence,' 105.

soul in healthy body.'[402] As previously noted, references to antiquity were not uncommon in the eleventh century. Schools attracting vast numbers of students were referred to as 'second Athens,' prominent teachers were called 'noster Plato,' 'noster Socrates,' or 'alter Cicero.'[403] This eloquently pictures the ideals of the medieval period, when some features from antiquity were borrowed, assimilated and enriched with new contexts and meanings.

Similar to the earlier *Vita Sturmi*, Bernardus Silvestris's *Cosmographia* gave an image of a man focusing on the manners, but gait, speech or virtues were not discussed in it.[404] Instead, the *Cosmographia* provided an extensive description of human body, which marks a shift in philosophical thought. According to the twelfth-century *Cosmographia* by Bernardus Silvestris and *Anticlaudianus* by Alan of Lille, a man should possess essential dignity of mind, nobility of soul and perfectibility, which make them *divinus homo* or divine.[405] Again, this medieval model of the perfect man looked back to ancient ideas. To an extent, it may also have anticipated the Renaissance image of an individual with universal talent, competent in various spheres of knowledge. Thus, it is possible to trace continuity in conceptions that existed throughout the centuries but were modified depending on the cultural, religious and philosophical demands of the period.

In the Middle Ages, the body was considered as an *imago* (image) or *similitudo* (likeness) of an ideal type coming from God's image in Christ.[406] A combination of literacy, profound religious belief, diligence and various artistic skills in one person comprised this ideal type of a man that achieved image-likeness to God. The conception itself underwent some changes through the medieval period, but education and virtues have always remained necessary components to it. This ideal type was personified by St Eloy, Eraclius, Theophilus and Bernward of Hildesheim, historical personalities that

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[402] See Juvenal's *Satires* (X.356) or A. Classen, *Mental Health, Spirituality, and Religion in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014), 90.
[403] Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Medieval Europe, 950–1200*, 47.
[404] Ibid., 284.
[405] Ibid., 280-281.
[406] Dale, 'Romanesque Sculpted Portraits: Convention, Vision, and Real Presence,' 103.

were proficient in three-dimensional arts. Having become image-likenesses of God during their lives through religious and creative activities, St Eloy and Bernward of Hildesheim were canonised. It made them examples of imitation for many makers of three-dimensional art objects.

Following the examples of Christ and saints has been an important principle of Christian culture, particularly in the Benedictine Order. Gregory the Great in *The Morals on the Book of Job* stressed the importance of copying or imitating 'not that which is evil, but that which is good.'[407] Literate, proficient in writing and devoted to God, St Gregory the Great was definitely one of the examples of imitation for Benedictine monks. This was especially important for those monks involved in producing manuscripts. However, it is reasonable to suggest that the principle of imitating the good and expressing piety through work may have been applied not only by scribes or manuscript artists, but also by the makers of other kinds of artworks, including three-dimensional. For example, in this thesis I discuss sculptors Ursus, Wezilo and Liutpreht, who affiliated with and worked for the Benedicitne abbeys San Pietro in Valle, Petershausen and St Lambrecht in Styria (Austria), respectively.

I argue that miniatures showing St Gregory the Great at work may have served as conceptual, visual and iconographic sources encouraging artists' self-representations. Apart from direct religious and philosophical connections found in these images, there are also common iconographic features that artists aimed to follow. Gregory the Great is usually depicted sitting in profile and working diligently with his attributes. With some variations, this iconography is traced in manuscripts from different periods. For example, the representations in the *Egino Codex* dated from the ninth century (De Agostini Picture Library) and in the early twelfth-century miniature from the *Epistulae* (Dijon, Abbaye Notre-Dame Cîteaux). The latter represents St Gregory the Great inspired by the Holy Spirit and writing. The motif of imitation is prominent in this piece. St Gregory the Great is flanked by two smaller figures of scribes with working attributes that mirror his pose and are shown attentively listening to him, as if ready to follow his

[407] St Gregory the Great. 'Morals on the Book of Job. Book XXXI,' accessed April 12, 2017. http://www.lectionarycentral.com/gregorymoralia/book31.html

words and imitate his example (fig. 24). This may correspond to St Gregory the Great's idea of imitating the good, because the source of inspiration comes from the Holy Spirit, which is represented as a dove sitting on the saint's shoulder.

Iconographic similarities between the figures of St Gregory the Great and self-representations of scribes or manuscript illuminators may not be accidental. These examples correspond to the Benedictine principles of combining labour and prayer and imitating the good by following the steps of saints. They also recall the figures of Evangelists writing the Gospels. Benedictine monasteries, as medieval centres of literacy, may have played crucial role in spreading these conceptions across Europe by means of copying and transporting illuminated manuscripts. Chapter 1 notes that medieval manuscripts served as sources for sculptors working on religious scenes or ornaments. Undoubtedly, new iconographic motives and religious ideas may have been discovered and adopted by artists working in three-dimensional array when they accessed books. This may not have been an issue even for those with pragmatic level of literacy, because since the Carolingian period text and images in manuscripts were usually firmly connected to facilitate comprehension.[408] Nevertheless, it is necessary to consider that most artists used drawings from pattern books, which is, certainly, different from reading and understanding complex texts.

Albeit evidence concerning early medieval sculptors is usually fragmentary, information distilled from extant written sources, treatises and inscriptions fashions an interesting image. It is a practicing craftsman, a person, who possesses a variety of artistic skills and knows complex techniques, which make their work not solely mechanical, but also creative. In some cases, it is a monk and an intellectual capable of producing not only inscriptions, but also treatises in Latin. It is also a person aiming to perpetuate their name with a signature, yet a humble Christian whose foremost goal is to express piety to God through their work and its results. On the one hand, these features may sound stereotypical and akin to a relatively modern conception of an artist as a highly developed individual and an erudite striving for piety and recognition. But on the

[408] McKitterick, 'Text and Image in the Carolingian World,' 299, 318.

other hand, medieval artists themselves contributed to the formation of this idealised, collective image through their works and self-representations. This, in turn, allows suggesting that they indeed may have wanted to be remembered like this or that they pursued this ideal image. Further discussion of iconographical aspects and imitation of saints is given in this chapter by the examples of case studies.

Piousness, mobility and adaptability to new working sites, awareness of own religious and professional identities and an intention to express these were among the features that I distinguish as characteristic of medieval sculptors disregarding whether they were of lay or monastic background. Ursus, Liutpreht, Pelegrinus, and other sculptors mentioned in this thesis correspond to this model through their activities and work. The combination of sculptors' religious beliefs, literacy, creativity and ability to produce three-dimensional objects may have determined the use of written self-representations. This may appear as a sign of medieval sculptors' vanity. However, their primary goal was not fame. The Benedictine Rule was strict in terms of any manifestations of vanity, but monks produced self-representations, nevertheless. They believed that their souls would achieve salvation not only through sacred reading but also by means of manual labour and practising crafts.[409] Lay sculptors were likely to follow the same conceptions, as they often worked for ecclesiastic patrons and were Christians themselves.

Self-representations at religious art objects were meant to assure their authors remembrance by the contemporaries and further generations. Moreover, signed self-representations were rather meant to distinguish artists from other figures, patrons and saints, which ensured recognisability of personages and contributed to preserving social hierarchy. Nevertheless, the goal of early medieval sculptors, disregarding their lay or monastic background, was to perpetuate themselves in the eyes of God as laborious and pious Christians. The originality of their visual thinking consisted in an ability to demonstrate it through self-representations, which manifested their religious and professional identities.

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[409] Benedict, Saint Abbot of Monte Cassino, *The Rule of Saint Benedict*, 111, 129.

To conclude, social standing of sculptors has been changing from antiquity to the Middle Ages together with the status of their profession. A closer look into the extant biographies of makers of three-dimensional art shows that their literacy and proficiency in a variety of media and techniques may have elevated their social positions. Unlike artists-monks, lay sculptors such as Ursus Magester and Liutpreht, lacked sophisticated education and, most probably, were semi-literate. However, they still could make simple votive signatures, which are discussed further as main case studies.

A Lay Sculptor: Ursus Magester and his eighth-century Signed Self-Portrait at the Church of Santi Pietro e Paolo in Ferentillo (Umbria, Italy)

Of the two case studies in Chapter 2, the relief at the church of Santi Pietro e Paolo in Ferentillo (province of Terni, Umbria) signed by Ursus Magester, is the earlier piece. Currently part of the church altar, this plaque represents two men in an ornate and stylised architectural setting. Produced in the eighth century, as the inscription at the relief suggests, it may include one of the earliest signed self-representations of its maker. Detailed analysis of this piece reveals much about the origins of self-representations in Christian art and suggests connections with examples from other regions and periods.

Early scholarship has only briefly mentioned the relief signed by Ursus along with numerous ancient monuments or religious artefacts from Umbria and local dioceses.[410] Identification of the two male figures and the scene in the relief has been the topic of speculations. Referring to a signature carved next to the male figure, early scholarship traditionally interpreted it as a self-portrait of the sculptor Ursus.[411] The second figure was considered as his apprentice, but the absence of signature identifying this image as such was never noted. Further publications repeatedly referred to the two men as the sculptor Ursus and his patron duke Hildericus of Spoleto (active 739 – 742), whose name appears at the top of the relief.[412]

I emphasise that as opposed to the images of saints, representations of contemporary people are uncommon in early medieval sculpture. Thus, a relief in the church interior depicting a sculptor with an apprentice or patron would have been rather

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[410] Fabbi, A. *Antichità umbre*. Assisi: Pontificio seminario regionale, 1971 and Raspi Serra, J. ‘La diocesi di Spoleto.’ In *Corpus della scultura altomedievale* 2, edited by Joselita Raspi Serra, 15-37. Spoleto: Presso la sede del Centro di studi, 1961. An antiquarian enquiry of De Rossi is more focused. See De Rossi, G. ‘Ferentillo (nell’antico ducato di Spoleto). Abbazia di S. Pietro e suoi monumenti sacri e profane.’ *Bullettino di archeologia cristiana* 2/6 (1875): 155-162.
[411] De Rossi, ‘Ferentillo (nell’antico ducato di Spoleto). Abbazia di S. Pietro e suoi monumenti sacri e profani,’ 161. See also Herzig, E. *Die langobardischen Fragmente in der Abtei S. Pietro in Ferentillo (Umbrien).* Rome: Forzani, 1906.
[412] Le Goff, J. *The Medieval World.* London: Parkgate Books, 1997; see also Dell’Acqua, ‘Ursus ‘magester’: uno scultore di età longobarda,’ 20.

unconventional. Other scholars identifying these two male figures with St Peter and St Paul or with Abraham and Abel (sic) ignored the absence of iconographic evidence and have not presented persuasive arguments.[413]

Neither of these hypotheses from previous publications is based on sound facts and seems convincing. Firstly, I propose a new interpretation of the controversial relief from Ferentillo and identify the two men as ascetics. This is supported with a source describing the clothes and iconography of hermits in Christian art.[414] Secondly, I reinterpret the iconographical scene at the relief in the context of the legend on the foundation of the Abbey of San Pietro in Valle by the two hermits, St Lazarus and St John. However, as noted above, the scene in Ursus's relief has been the matter of scholarly disputes. Due to the lack of primary sources and conclusive evidence the nature of my argument remains hypothetical.

The text of the legend on the foundation of the Abbey recorded by the Italian priest and historian Jacobilli (1598 – 1664) in his *Vite de' santi e beati dell'Umbria* should be considered with caution.[415] This author significantly contributed to the studies on religious history of Umbria, but reliability of some Jacobilli's historiographical books was criticised and debated by his contemporaries and further generations of scholars.[416] *Vite de' santi e beati dell'Umbria*, however, was not presented as the subject of scholarly discussions. The accuracy of material on the lives of saints in this book is

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[413] U. Gnoli, 'Gli antichi altari dell'Umbria,' *Augusta Perusia* (1906): 145 and Fabbi, *Antichità umbre*, 267. Fabbi proposed a hypothesis that the relief represents a scene of sacrifice, in which one of the figures holds a knife and represents Abraham, and the other one is Abel (sic). In my opinion, Fabbi may have probably meant the biblical story about Abraham and Isaac (not Abel).
[414] N. Morfin-Gourvier, 'Costume of the Religious,' in *The Coptic Encyclopedia*, ed. Aziz Suryal Atiya, vol. 2, 650-655, (New York: Macmillan, 1991).
[415] L. Jacobilli, *Vite de' santi e beati dell'Umbria* (Bologna: Forni, 1971), vol. 1, pp. 192, 264.
[416] For instance, Giacomo Laderchi (ca 1678 – 1738) criticised the style of writing and methods that Jacobilli applied in the biography of Pope Saint Pius V. Critique was also directed on Jacobilli's *Bibliotheca Umbriae*. Carlo Cartari, biographer, archivist and a friend of Jacobilli, corrected Latin grammar, quotations and inexact titles of sources that the author used as references in that book. Critical discussion on Jacobilli's work continued in the twentieth century too. See R. Michetti, 'Ludovico Iacobilli erudito umbro del Seicento e le polemiche sulla verità storica,' *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia* 61 (2007): 527-529.

supported by references to early manuscripts and codices found in the margins of the main text.

In addition to a new interpretation of the iconographical scene in the relief, this thesis proposes identification of a male figure with a signature of Ursus next to it. I suggest it may be one of the earliest examples demonstrating the grounds of the conception of sacred identificational portraits, which received further development in religious art at a later date. A 'sacred identificational portrait' is a specific variety of devotional portrait, in which the author depicts himself in the guise of a Biblical character or a saint.[417] Art historians commonly applied this conception to the images of the Biblical character Nichodemus.[418] Having concentrated on late medieval examples, these authors have not questioned if there were prototypes among the earlier pieces. Early medieval artists mostly produced devotional self-representations to establish a connection between themselves and holy figures whose steps they aimed to follow. Thus, sacred identificational portraits may have been a feasible choice for them in building artistic identities.

Scholarship has traditionally referred to patron saints of sculptors and metalwork artists, including Nicodemus, as models for imitation. However, the roles of narratives about holy persons in relation to sculptors' choices of models for their sacred identificational images has not been acknowledged. I approach this topic by establishing links between the periods, which makes references to later comparative material necessary. For instance, an inscription at Benedetto Antelami's (ca 1150 – ca 1230) Deposition relief at Parma Cathedral (1178) associates this sculptor and architect with Nicodemus. According to a legend, which may be traced back to the eighth or eleventh century, Nicodemus had carved the miracle-working crucifix Volto Santo from Lucca.

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[417] This conception was introduced in the following book: F. Polleross, *Das sakrale Identifikationsporträt: ein höfischer Bildtypus vom 13. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*. Worms: Wernersche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1988.

[418] For self-images of sculptors in the guise of Nichodemus see Scholten, 'Johan Gregor van der Schardt and the Moment of Self-Portraiture in Sculpture,' 206 and C. Schleif, 'Nicodemus and Sculptors: Self-Reflexivity in Works by Adam Kraft and Tilman Riemenschneider,' *Art Bulletin* 75 (1993): 608-612.

The early medieval narrative inspired Antelami and further generations of sculptors.[419] I address the life of St Lazarus and argue that in his self-representation Ursus may have associated himself with this saint hermit and expressed devotion to him as to the builder of the first church in Ferentillo.

Further, this chapter concerns with the sculptor's signature 'VRSVS MAGESTER FECIT.' A thorough grammatical study of the first portion of inscription mentioning the duke Hildericus ascertained that he was the only donor of the relief. Ursus's signature, on the contrary, has not received sufficient attention. Supino Martini (2001) confined to a brief note that it belongs to 'an artisan,' which is not entirely correct.[420] In early medieval art, written components usually served as captions identifying and explaining images.[421] To indicate his professional status and skill, Ursus referred to himself as 'magester.' This title was carved exactly in connection to the hand of the man holding a working tool. An emphasis on a masterly hand in relation to the maker's inscription also occurs in the self-image of the goldsmith Vuolvinus.[422] Thus, artists in various media used such approach to represent a masterly hand in a combination with their titles or names. A broader contextualisation of my case study is achieved through stylistic comparisons with other early medieval pieces which were almost completely omitted in most previous publications.[423]

Technical aspects of Ursus's relief were practically overlooked in recent research with the exception of one brief mention. Raspi Serra (1961) observed the traces of slots and indentation of the plaque opining that the relief was not meant for the church altar.[424] I propose that originally the plaque may have functioned as a part of church

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[419] Schleif, 'Nicodemus and Sculptors: Self-Reflexivity in Works by Adam Kraft and Tilman Riemenschneider,' 608-612.

[420] P. Supino Martini, 'Aspetti della cultura grafica dell'Umbria altomedievale,' *Umbria cristiana* 2 (2001): 610.

[421] McKitterick, 'Text and Image in the Carolingian World,' 308-309.

[422] Dietl, *Die Sprache der Signatur: die mittelalterlichen Künstlerinschriften Italiens*, vol. 2, 1004-1005.

[423] J. Raspi Serra, 'La diocesi di Spoleto,' in *Corpus della scultura altomedievale* 2, ed. Joselita Raspi Serra, 13-37, (Spoleto: Presso la sede del Centro di studi, 1961), 19-20 and Dell'Acqua, 'Ursus 'magester': uno scultore di età longobarda,' 24.

[424] Raspi Serra, 'La diocesi di Spoleto,' 19-20.

furniture and, due to its historical and devotional value, was reused later during refurbishments as a detail of an altar.

The front of the current altar of the church of Santi Pietro e Paolo in Ferentillo is built of three marble slabs decorated in low relief. The central rectangular piece contains a signature carved by the author, 'VRSVS MAGESTER FECIT,' and represents two men and three tall objects resembling candlesticks placed in an architectural setting. This plaque is flanked by two narrow vertically oriented lateral panels, the ornaments on which do not match and add asymmetry to the visual appearance of the altar. The carving with a motif of vine at the plaque to the viewer's right contrasts with the three discs on the left, ornamented with the crosses, hexafoil rosettes or stars and pendent leaf-like elements. The back plaque has carvings of cosmological symbols resembling the planets or six-pointed stars, which is uncommon to the iconography of Christian altars. Notably, the reverse sides of all the plaques building the current Ferentillo altar are undecorated (figs. 25-25a).

The motif of a symmetrical four- or six-petal flower or a star, which is abundant in the carved panels from Ferentillo, resembles an ancient symbol, the so-called Flower of Life. This complex geometrical pattern of overlapping circles decorated pagan and Christian edifices. Representations of a six-pointed star were widespread across late Roman Empire; around the fifth century and further, this motif was adopted by Germanic tribes.[425] For example, the six-pointed star at the Buckle from the *Vermand Treasure* is closely comparable to the similar details in Ursus's relief. Eventually adopted in Christian art, this pagan symbol was used in interior and exterior sculpture of churches and in decorative arts. Baptised Franks and Lombards associated it with the Morning Star symbolising Christ's Ascension, because in the Revelation Jesus was referred to as the Morning Star (Rev 22:16). Christians believed that the period between the Ascension and Christ's Second Coming is the 'night,' which will be over as the

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[425] K. Brown, *From Attila to Charlemagne: Arts of the Early Medieval Period in the Metropolitan Museum of Ar*t (New York: Yale University Press, 2000), 74.

Morning Star brings hope to the faithful dispelling the darkness.[426] Thus, decorative motifs in Ursus's relief reveal links between pagan and Christian art and culture.

The style of decorative motifs at the four panels composing the altar at Ferentillo suggests that these originate from the same period. The central panel is prominent due to its carved inscription. Consisting of three parts, the inscription is carved in well-formed majuscule characters with classicising elements. The first portion of the inscription appears in a band at the top of the plaque (fig. 26). It commemorates duke Hildericus of Spoleto (active 739 – 742), which allows concluding that these reliefs were possibly created in the eighth century, during the time of his dukeship:

'+ HILDERICVS DAGILEOPA + IN HONORE'

['+Hildericus Dagileopa + in honour']

Most probably, Hildericus was the donor of the piece. However, it does not necessarily mean that the duke would have been dead at the period when the relief was produced. The second portion of the inscription, in mixed characters, is integrated in the relief and continues to the viewer's left (fig. 26). It runs vertically from the base to the top of the plaque and creates an impression that the person who carved it failed to solve the issue of integrating it in the relief harmoniously:

'S(AN)C(T)I PETRI ET AMORE S(AN)C(T)I LEO / ET S(AN)C(T)I GRIGORII / [P]RO REMEDIO A(NI)M(E)'

['of St Peter, and for love of St Leo and St Gregory, for the salvation of his [Hilderic's] soul.']

[426] A. Garland, *A Testimony of Jesus Christ: a Commentary on the Book of Revelation* (Camano Island, Wash.: SpiritandTruth.org, 2004), 241.

In recent research Supino Martini (2001) disagreed with the argument of De Rossi (1875) and proposed to change the interpretation of the unusual word truncation AM from plural A(NIMAE) M(EAE) to singular A(NI)M(E).[427] This suggests that the piece was commissioned by one person, and confutes the hypotheses that 'DAGILEOPA' might have been another donor, for instance Hildericus's wife.[428]

Apart from a reference to St Peter, the second portion of this inscription mentions St Leo and St Gregory. It possibly refers to the popes Leo I (ca 400 – 461) and St Gregory the Great (ca 540 – 604).[429] There is no doubt that all three saints were of special significance for San Pietro in Valle. The abbey was consecrated to St Peter and followed the Rule of St Benedict. Thus, the memory of St Gregory the Great as a representative of the Benedictine Order, was honoured there. Moreover, this religious community would definitely venerate Saint Pope Leo I (ca 400 – 461) for his confrontational attitude towards heresies, which links to the legend about the abbey and saint hermits. As opposed to the beliefs of the Monophysites, Saint Pope Leo I contributed in Christology by defining Christ as the unity of two natures, divine and human.[430] This chapter discusses further that the flight of St Lazarus and St John from their native Syria to Italy was caused by severe persecutions of Monophysites.

The third portion of the inscription is found next to one of the male figures depicted in the relief and is believed to be the author's signature (fig. 27):

'VR//SVS / MA/GES/TER / FECIT'

['Magister Ursus made it.']

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[427] Supino Martini, 'Aspetti della cultura grafica dell'Umbria altomedievale,' 609.

[428] Also, no evidence was presented by Fabbi to support the idea that Dagileopa may have been duke's pagan name. See Fabbi, *Antichità umbre*, 140.

[429] See Key to Umbria: Spoleto. 'Abbazia di San Pietro in Valle,' accessed May 25, 2015, http://www.keytoumbria.com/Spoleto/S_Pietro_in_Valle.html

[430] L. Davis, *The First Seven Ecumenical Councils (325-787): their History and Theology* (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1990), 342.

In contrast with other textual elements in Ferentillo relief, this signature is closely integrated with the pictorial elements. Further this chapter thoroughly focuses on the connection between the signature and the male figure, and its relation to the iconography of the relief. It is rather unlikely, however, that a secular scene would have been placed at the central panel of a church altar. Representations of human figures and secular motives are considerably rare in sculpture produced in the times when the Lombard Kingdom was flourishing on the territories of present-day Italy.[431]

Traditionally, Lombard altars are decorated exclusively with religious subjects and images of biblical figures. For instance, the front of the *Altar of Ratchis* (ca 744 – 749, Cividale del Friuli, Museo Cristiano), shows an image of Christ in Majesty surrounded by angels (fig. 28).[432] The figures carved on the sides of the altar are all biblical characters too. The only reference to the laity here occurs in a marginal inscription that runs in the band above the reliefs. It refers to Duke Ratchis who commissioned the altar in memory of his father Pemmo. Unlike the inscription mentioning Hildericus, which is divided from the figurative scene by a relatively fine incised line, the text at the *Altar of Ratchis* is clearly placed in the margins. It appears at a decorative frame and is separated from religious carvings, like everything earthly is separated from divine. Notably, in both reliefs donor inscriptions are positioned at the top, and the style of palaeographical characters are also similar. This reaffirms that both examples belong to the eighth century.

The earliest surviving sources on San Pietro in Valle, however, date to 1152, which makes it problematic to reconstruct the original altar and interior of abbey church. These, together with early medieval documentation on the Abbey, may have been destroyed by the Saracens, who plundered churches and monasteries, towns and villages.[433] The ninth century in Italy is known as the period when the Saracens

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[431] Christie, *The Lombards: The Ancient Longobards*, 199.
[432] N. Christie, *From Constantine to Charlemagne: an Archaeology of Italy, AD 300 –800* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2016), 66.
[433] *Encyclopaedia Perthensis, or Universal Dictionary of the Arts, Sciences, Literature*, vol. 15 (Edinburgh: Printed by J. Brown, 1816), 559 and Key to Umbria: Spoleto. 'Abbazia di San Pietro in Valle,' accessed June 6, 2017, http://www.keytoumbria.com/Spoleto/S_Pietro_in_Valle.html

‘committed such ravages that even the bishops were obliged to arm for the defence of the country.’[434] Inevitably, the Duchy of Spoleto and San Pietro in Valle suffered from Saracen attacks along with other Italian regions and numerous abbeys. In 996 the Holy Roman Emperor Otto III (980 – 1002) ordered to restore all churches and monasteries, including San Pietro in Valle, ruined by the barbaric invasions.[435] However, written sources, books and archives, and a vast number of religious art objects were lost forever.

At present, plenty of ancient stone fragments, parts of columns, reliefs and church furniture are displayed in the interior of Santi Pietro e Paolo. Some of these panels and fragments of white marble used to be parts of an old altar.[436] Due to grave damages, these are now objects of archaeological rather than artistic value. The new altar was built from randomly combined and reused slabs. In the past, fragments of earlier churches were commonly reused in reconstructions. The costliness of material was not the only reason; it was also done to preserve religious and cultural memory of previous structures. In fact, a large number of Italian churches have various Lombard decorative elements incorporated in their interior and exterior.[437]

The inconsistency and irregularity of the church altar structure in Santi Pietro e Paolo are the consequences of subsequent restorations, but it is not documented when exactly these took place. The parts of the current altar bear traces of slots. The front plaque has a noticeable rectangular indentation to the viewer’s left, and the reverse side of this plaque is not decorated with any carvings. These details indicate that although now the four reliefs are combined in an altar, previously they may have been joint with another element, currently lost.[438] At present, it is only possible to make suggestions on the original function of the carved panel with Ursus’s signature.

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[434] *London Encyclopaedia or Universal Dictionary of Science, Art, Literature*, vol. 12 (London: Printed for Thomas Tegg, 1829), 231.
[435] M. Sensi, *Itinerari del sacro in Umbria* (Firenze: Octavo, 1998), 155 and Jacobilli, *Vite de’ santi e beati dell’Umbria*, vol. 1, 269.
[436] A. Sansi, *I duchi di Spoleto: appendice al libro degli edifici e dei frammenti storici antichi della medesima città* (Foligno: Stabilimento Tipografico F. Benucci, 1870), 44 (footnote 1).
[437] Christie, *The Lombards: The Ancient Longobards*, 199.
[438] Raspi Serra, ‘La diocesi di Spoleto,’ 19-20.

One of the possibilities is that Ursus's relief may have been initially designed as a partition element in church interior and not as a part of the altar. The plans of Christian basilicas were standardised, but the forms and types of screens dividing architectural space in interiors existed in numerous variations. Just like other early basilicas in Italy, Santi Pietro e Paolo may have had similar structures in its interior to divide the areas reserved for chanters, monks, laity and unbaptised. Plaques similar to the one in Ferentillo usually form *schola cantorum*, *cancelli*, or other structures typical of early medieval Italian church interior. In ancient churches, *schola cantorum* served as a nave screen for chanters, whereas chancel screen, placed between nave and chancel, separated people and clergy.[439] Among the characteristic examples are the *schola cantorum* with an ambo in the basilica San Clemente in Rome, and in Santa Sabina; the latter was restored and consists of ninth-century reliefs (fig. 29).[440]

Schola cantorum, chancel and choir screens are usually decorated with religious carvings of crosses (San Clemente and Santa Sabina in Rome) or with symbolic foliage scrolls and birds drinking from a fountain (Santa Maria Assunta, Torcello, Venice).[441] A Lombard *cancellus* plate (end of the sixth – beginning of the seventh century, Santa Maria della Rossa, Milan) represents a cross flanked by two doves at the top and two lambs beneath the cross beam (fig. 30).[442] The *schola cantorum* in San Clemente in Rome includes sixth-century marble plaques with monograms of the Pope John II (533 – 535).[443] Both sides of these plaques are decorated with carved religious symbols or decorative patterns, which is not the case with Ursus's relief. The case study does not seem to follow any of these decorative traditions. Ursus's main focus was on the

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[439] G. Alston, *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. 'Rood,' accessed June 6, 2017, http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/13181a.htm

[440] Guidobaldi, F. *The Basilica and the Archaeological Area of San Clemente in Rome: a Guide to the Three Levels with Ground Plans*. Rome: Apud S. Clementem, 1990 and M. Webb, *The Churches and Catacombs of Early Christian Rome: a Comprehensive Guide* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2010), 87, 169.

[441] E. Jeffreys, *Byzantine Style, Religion, and Civilization* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 109-110.

[442] M. Hegewisch, *Die Langobarden: das Ende der Völkerwanderung* (Darmstadt: Primus, 2008), 371.

[443] L. Boyle, *Petit guide de St Clement, Rome* (Rome: Kina Italia, 1989), 22-24.

narrative character of the scene with the two men. I propose that the declarative tone of the inscription mentioning Duke Hildericus and the maker's signature may suggest parallels with donors' and sculptors' inscriptions that are commonly found at church doors.

Presumably, the most suitable position for Ursus's relief would have been close by the entrance inside the church. The hierarchy of spaces within any early medieval church was enriched with meanings. Its essential part, narthex, was the place through which the faithful would have passed for liturgy and where the catechumens and unbaptised would have gathered to hear the service.[444] The plan of Santi Pietro e Paolo in Ferentillo shows that there are traces of an earlier and smaller three-nave eighth-century Lombard construction inside the church.[445] Its water stoups of stone are noticeable due to the differences in masonry (fig. 31). Separating baptised and unbaptised, this architectural space may have been divided from the nave with partition elements, carved panels or screens. Hypothetically, one of these may have been the relief depicting saint hermits, naming the donor duke Hildericus and the sculptor Ursus, who worked on church decoration. A relief placed in this area was meant to ensure that everyone entering the church noticed the carvings and inscriptions as the signs of authority and presence of its donor and maker. However, the absence of documentary evidence on the interior of Santi Pietro e Paolo and the fragmentary character of its surviving parts would only allow making hypotheses on its original appearance.

Nevertheless, dedicatory inscriptions of donors and sculptors at portals, doors and entrances to churches are widespread across Europe. In medieval Italy these were commonly positioned over the main doors or flanking it, or in church interior, in the main apse.[446] This thesis refers to inscriptions of Bernhardus (Freckenhorst Church), Gislebertus (Autun Cathedral), Frederick Barbarossa and his wife (Freising Cathedral), Nicholaus (churches in Verona, Ferrara), Willigelmo (Modena Cathedral), etc. In this

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[444] A. Doig, *Liturgy and Architecture from the Early Church to the Middle Ages* (London: Routledge, 2016), 5, 77.
[445] D. Scortecci, 'I Sarcofagi,' *Bollettino per i beni culturali dell'Umbria* 10 (2012): 166.
[446] Mitchell, 'Literacy Displayed: the Use of Inscriptions at the Monastery of San Vincenzo al Volturno in the Early Ninth Century,' 214.

context, the relief signed by Ursus may belong to one of the earliest examples of this long-standing tradition. Historical circumstances, however, determined that the piece was removed from its original position and became a part of church altar, putting the sculptor Ursus in a considerably more prominent place that he probably had estimated for himself.

In order to obtain a better understanding of Ursus's self-representation in the relief of the Church of Santi Pietro e Paolo in Ferentillo, I suggest studying this piece in the context. The history of the foundation of the abbey and its church goes back to the year 575 AD and relates to the Lives of hermits St Lazarus and St John, recorded in *Vite de' santi e beati dell'Umbria*.[447] Their story, in fact, derives from the life of the bishop of Spoleto, St Lawrence the Illuminator (d. 576).[448] Together with other Christians from Syria, he left his country due to Monophysite persecution of Severus of Antioch (465 – 538) and fled to Italy.[449] St Lazarus and St John were among the three hundred Syrians, who accompanied St Lawrence in that flight.[450] Existing in several variants, these legends appear to be composites of earlier texts. Inevitably, it causes confusions in chronology and identification of saints. The main idea of the narrative, however, was passed on to further generations. For instance, the two frescoes inside the Church of

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[447] Raspi Serra, 'La diocesi di Spoleto,' 18.

[448] St Lawrence was known for his preaching and ability to cure the blind. See M. Bunson, *Our Sunday Visitor's Encyclopedia of Saints* (Huntington, Ind.: Our Sunday Visitor Publishing, 2003), 483.

[449] St Lawrence of Spoleto (commemorated on 4 February) should not be confused with St Lawrence of Farfa (8 July). A monk from Farfa Abbey, Gregory of Catino (ca 1060 – 1130) wrote about the latter. See U. Balzani, *Il chronicon Farfense di Catino Gregorio: Precedono La constructio Farfensis e gli scritti di Ugo di Farfa* (Roma: Nella sede dell'instituto Palazzo dei Lincei, 1903), 128 and Key to Umbria: Spoleto. 'St Laurence of Spoleto (4 February) and St Laurence of Farfa (8 July),' accessed July 6, 2017, http://www.keytoumbria.com/Spoleto/St_Laurence.html

[450] There exist two variants of the legend of St Lawrence (BHL 4748b and 4748d), which makes it problematic in terms of chronology. The second variant (BHL 4748d) narrates about the hermits St Lazarus and St John and duke Faroald I, who founded the Abbey of San Pietro in Valle in Ferentillo. Both variants of the legend, in Latin, are found in the book S. Bollandiani, ed., *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina antiquae et mediae aetatis*, vol. 2, K-Z (Brussels: 1911), 525-529. The same was also noted by Jacobilli, *Vite de' santi e beati dell'Umbria*, vol. 1, 192, 264.

Santi Pietro e Paolo depict the dream of Duke Faroald I, which anticipated the foundation of the Abbey, and an encounter between the duke and St Lazarus.[451]

After the flight from Syria, the two hermits settled in the region of Spoleto, where they promoted Christianity among the local people. According to the legend, St Lazarus and St John had built an oratory on the spot of an ancient pagan settlement or temple, leading an ascetic life in the deserted place. After the death of St John, St Lazarus was in distress and continued his prayers alone. Later Duke Faroald I (died in 591/592) saw a dream in which St Peter ordered him to go to the mountains of Spoleto, find St Lazarus and build an abbey and a church.[452] The duke accomplished it in the year 575 AD.[453]

I argue that the identification of the two figures and the interpretation of the scene in Ursus's relief proposed in previous scholarship are disputable. These should be reconsidered with regards to the legend of the foundation of San Pietro in Valle and its church. Although Gnoli suggested that the two figures in the relief might be St Peter and St Paul, there are no iconographical features or attributes to recognise these two men as such.[454] The identification of St Peter and St Paul sculpted at the south entrance to the church, however, leaves no doubt.[455] The two apostles hold their saints' attributes, the key and the sword, respectively (fig. 32).

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[451] These two frescoes are found in the lateral apse on the left. The dating of frescoes inside the church of Santi Pietro e Paolo in Ferentillo is uncertain; some may originate from the eleventh century, while others belong to ca 1400. See Sensi, *Itinerari del sacro in Umbria*, 155.
[452] It is important to distinguish between Faroald I and Faroald II, both of which played an important role in the history of San Pietro in Valle and its Church. The former was the founder of the Abbey, whereas the latter restored it in ca 720. The Dominican monk and scholar Bracceschi (d. 1612), following the manuscript *The Leggendari del Duomo* from the Diocesan Archive of Spoleto, studied the inaccuracies in chronology and the confusion of names in the legend of St Lawrence (BHL 4748d). Bracceschi concluded that the events from the narrative took place in the sixth century, when St Lazarus and St John settled in Spoleto. Jacobilli also noted that the Abbey of San Pietro in Valle was founded for the two hermits by Faroald I in the sixth century. See Bracceschi, G. *Discorsi del R.P.F. Gio. Battista Bracceschi, ... ne' quali si dimostra che due santi Hercolani martiri sieno stati vescovi di Perugia, et si descrivono le vite loro, et di alcuni santi di Spoleti, et ... le antichita et le laudi di dettà città*. Camerino: F. Gioiosi, 1586 and Jacobilli, *Vite de' santi e beati dell'Umbria*, vol. 1, 265, 267-268.
[453] Sansi, *I duchi di Spoleto: appendice al libro degli edifici e dei frammenti storici antichi della medesima città*, 42.
[454] Gnoli, 'Gli antichi altari dell'Umbria,' 145.
[455] Little research was done on these two sculptures at the South portal of SS Pietro e Paolo in Ferentillo. The relatively primitive style of sculptures and the fashion of St Paul's ankle length

The pieces of clothing of the two men depicted in Ursus's relief, such as loincloths and caps with rounded tops, allow suggesting that the figures may be identified as ascetics. In this thesis, the man to the viewer's right is proposed to be read as St John, and the one next to him as St Lazarus. Loincloths made of leather, horsehair or linen were worn by ascetics in Syria, from where, according to the legend, the two hermits had arrived at Spoleto.[456] The so-called caps or headgears of the two men slightly differ in their designs and require specific discussion and identification. In my opinion, due to their unusual forms, these details may not be interpreted as halos or helmets with absolute certainty.[457] For instance, the halos of angels and Christ at the *Altar of Ratchis* are plain and round and reveal little affinities to the headgears of the proposed St Lazarus and St John. Moreover, visual comparisons with archaeological artefacts, Lombard helmets, and representations of warrioirs' helmets in Lombard metalwork have not demonstrated similarities to the headgears of the proposed St John and St Lazarus.[458]

I suggest that these headgears may represent another typical attribute of hermits, namely a cap, similar to those of children, protecting from sun or rain. Ascetics' caps also symbolised the innocent nature, simplicity and 'childlike spirit' of those wearing.[459] Notably, the headgear of the proposed St Lazarus is broader than the one of the proposed St John. It also has a peculiar flap and protects the back of St Lazarus's head, which may relate to the physical work that the man is performing with instruments (presumably, sculpting, as it is discussed later in this chapter). The two male figures in Ferentillo relief

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pointed shoes may indicate the dating of ca 1100. Long toed shoes were common in Europe from the beginning of the twelfth century and reached the peak of popularity in the late medieval period. See F. Grew, *Shoes and Pattens* (Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 2013), 4.

[456] See Morfin-Gourvier, 'Costume of the Religious,' 650-655.

[457] The headgear of the proposed St Lazarus has an angular flap, but due to irregularity of its shape it may hardly be considered as a type of halo (a square halo). In Christian iconography, a square halo usually indicates an attempt to depict likeness of a figure and emphasise that it is a donor of the piece or a person honoured by the donor and their contemporaries. See J. Osborne, 'The Portrait of Pope Leo IV in San Clemente, Rome: a Re-examination of the so-called 'Square' Nimbus, in Medieval Art,' *Papers of the British School at Rome* 47 (1979): 58-65. This may be a possibility, considering Ursus's signature carved next to the figure.

[458] See M. Hegewisch, *Die Langobarden: das Ende der Völkerwanderung* (Darmstadt: Primus, 2008), figs. 4 and 6, pp. 29, 32 and G. Menis, G. *I Longobardi* (Milan: Electa, 1990), 190-192.

[459] Morfin-Gourvier, 'Costume of the Religious,' 650-655.

are recognisable as saint hermits due to their loincloths and caps, iconographical features of ascetics. St Lazarus and St John were venerated in Ferentillo as the legendary founders and builders of the first church.[460] Thus, inside the church, it would be reasonable to find the scenes with the ascetics referring to the foundation legend of Santi Pietro e Paolo. This chapter presents a hypothesis to interpret the scene, the symbols and attributes of the proposed ascetics depicted in the Ferentillo relief.

Among the two figures that are suggested to be read as hermits, St John is depicted to the viewer's right with the motif of vine next to him. Widely used in Christianity, this symbol of Jesus refers to Eucharist and underlines the connection of the anachoret to Christ. Above the figure, there are two birds, supposedly doves, the symbols of souls, drinking from a chalice.[461] They are shown either in a niche or carved on a structure that recalls a tomb tablet. Representations of two birds drinking from a fountain are frequently seen in northern Italian art from the fifth to the seventh century; this motif is commonly found on Lombard brooches and cameos.[462] An image of two doves flanking a chalice is also found in the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia in Ravenna, it dates to the fifth century. After the raids on Ravenna implemented by duke Faroald I and the Lombard king Liutprand (712 – 744), this motif may have become more popular in Spoleto.

In Christianity, birds drinking from a chalice commonly symbolise the souls of believers drinking the water of life to gain immortality. The chalice is often associated with the New Testament and the communion cup. However, ancient sarcophagi are also frequently decorated with the same motif. I suggest that in Ursus's relief, this feature might be either a reference to religious unity between the two hermits and God, or a funerary message, recalling that St John died leaving St Lazarus alone in a labour of

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[460] Sansi made a very brief reference to the anachorets, however, no further arguments in support of this idea were provided by the author. See Sansi, *I duchi di Spoleto: appendice al libro degli edifici e dei frammenti storici antichi della medesima città*, 44.

[461] M. Garver, 'Symbolic Animals of Perugia and Spoleto,' *The Burlington Magazine* 32 (1918): 157.

[462] M. Ross, *Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Mediaeval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection*, vol. 2 (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2005), 124.

devotion. In any case, the presence of this ancient motif in the relief produced by a Christian sculptor denotes his familiarity with symbols that were used in both pagan and Christian art.

As the legend says, the two hermits had built an oratory in place of an ancient pagan site. This may explain the reason why unchristian objects, such as fragments of a column and about six ancient sarcophagi are still present in the church of Santi Pietro e Paolo in Ferentillo.[463] These were reused by the Christians to keep the remains of St Lazarus and St John, Faroald II (duke of Spoleto from ca 703), and other personalities that contributed to the history of the Abbey of San Pietro in Valle.[464] This was not the only case when Roman spolia was used in Spoleto and nearby territories (Map 3). Classicising in its form and ornamentation, the oratory Tempietto sul Clitunno has Christian inscriptions on its side-porches and was, in fact, built by Lombard aristocracy about the second half of the seventh century.[465]

According to my hypothesis, the Ferentillo relief may represent the scene from the legend. Namely, St Lazarus and St John founding the Benedictine church in Ferentillo 'in honour of St Peter, and for love of St Leo and St Gregory,' as the inscription carved to the left from the figure of the hermit says. A semicircular arched construction in the background above the head of the proposed St Lazarus recalls either a window or a tympanum of a church portal decorated with three medallions. Being one of the founders of Santi Pietro e Paolo, St Lazarus is probably shown in the process of work, carving the ornaments to decorate the newly-built chapel. The sharp end of an object that he holds in his left hand points at the surface of a panel with a six-petal star carved on it.

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[463] For more information on the Roman sarcophagi in Ferentillo see Pietrangeli, C. 'I sarcophagi romani dell'abbazia longobarda di Ferentillo.' *Atti del Congresso internazionale di studi longobardi* 1 (1952): 451-462.

[464] Reusing of ancient sarcophagi was, apparently, common practice in Benedictine centres, including the Abbey San Pietro in Valle. See Scortecci, 'I Sarcofagi,' 164-165 and Umbria: Arte, Cultura e Storia. 'Sarcofagi romani,' accessed July 1, 2017, http://www.umbria.website/content/sarcofagi-romani-ferentillo#footnoteref2_odt3y2o

[465] Mitchell, 'Literacy Displayed: the Use of Inscriptions at the Monastery of San Vincenzo al Volturno in the Early Ninth Century,' 214.

With regards to this, the hypothesis proposing that the figure to the viewers' left is Abraham holding a knife ready to sacrifice Abel (sic! Isaac) needs correction.[466] Firstly, there are no details indicating age difference between the figures that, according to the Bible were the father and the son. The shapes of faces of the two men in the relief are different, but both have beards and appear to be of almost equal age. Secondly, the object held by the proposed St Lazarus is rather a working tool than a weapon and resembles a sculptor's chisel, or *scalptrum*.[467] Indeed, it hardly compares to representations of swords or daggers from the same period. It is thinner and shorter than a sword and has no hilt, or a sword handle.

By contrast, the blade of a sword that a fallen warrior at the Lombard silver bowl (end of the fifth – beginning of the sixth c., Trento, Castello del Buonconsiglio) holds in his right hand is broader, and such details as a hilt and a handle are also easily noticeable.[468] One the figures represented at the principal face of the *Casket of Mumma* (seventh century) has a sword at the belt (fig. 33). The long blade and hand guard distinguish this sword from the object in Ferentillo relief. The top of the sword's handle ends with a pommel, a round element preventing it slipping from the hand during the fight. Notably, exactly the same details are also found at the sword of St Paul sculpted at the South portal of Santi Pietro e Paolo in Ferentillo. A Lombard capital in the interior of the church of San Sigismondo a Rivolta shows a man killing a boar with a dagger.[469] Unlike the tool represented in Ursus's relief, which seems to be sharp only at the point, this short knife has a broader double-edged blade. In other sculpted scenes with swordsmen, at the sarcophagus of Saints Sergius and Bacchus (sixth century, Museo di Castelvecchio, Verona) and at the high altar relief the *Martyrdom of Saints Abdon and Sennen* (twelfth century, Santa Maria Assunta, Parma) the swords have broader blades and their shapes differ from the one of the tool held by the proposed St Lazarus.

[466] Fabbi, *Antichità umbre*, 267.
[467] Everett, *Literacy in Lombard Italy, c. 568–774*, 253-254.
[468] Hegewisch, *Die Langobarden: das Ende der Völkerwanderung*, 362.
[469] S. Chierici, *Italia romanica. La Lombardia,* vol. 1 (Milano: Jaca Book, 1991), 85.

Notably, all these men hold their weapons in their right hands. The male figure at the *Casket of Mumma* carries the sword on the left side, which suggests using the right hand to draw it for a faster attack. The figure in Ferentillo relief, on the contrary, holds the pointed instrument with the left hand, which is uncommon for sword-fighters. It is, however, typical of sculptors to work holding a chisel in the left hand and a hammer in the right.[470] Moreover, the man's grip of the tool is not menacing, its sharp end points directly at the construction with a six-pointed star.

The two men identified in this thesis as the hermits St Lazarus and St John, followers of the Rule of St Benedict, are, most probably, shown in supplication, as if following the words from the Bible: '[t]herefore I want the men in every place to pray, lifting up holy hands, without wrath and dissension' (1 Timothy 2:8). The position of arms raised in prayer is also called *orans* and translates from Latin as 'praying.' Notably, the proposed St Lazarus is also depicted holding working tools. This fully reflects the Rule of St Benedict, which encouraged daily manual labour and prayer and stated that idleness was the enemy of soul.[471] The necessity of both prayer and work was underlined by the archbishop and scholar St Isidore of Seville (ca 560 – 636).[472] In the *Sententiae* (III, 7.18) he stated that '[t]o pray without working is to lift up one's heart without lifting up one's hands; to work without praying is to lift up one's hands without lifting up one's heart; therefore it is necessary both to pray and to work.'[473] Thus, since the earliest period, the Benedictines were concerned with interconnection between prayer and work, and their nature and purpose.[474] These fundamental conceptions reflected in early medieval religious art, which may also be relevant to Ursus's relief sculpted for the Benedictine Abbey of San Pietro in Valle and its church.

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[470] This was confirmed by Alexander Stoddart, the Queen's Sculptor in Ordinary in Scotland, in an interview taken by the author of this thesis during a visit to the sculptor's studio.
[471] Benedict, Saint Abbot of Monte Cassino, *The Rule of Saint Benedict*, 111.
[472] M. Meeuws, 'Ora et Labora: devise benedictine?' *Collectanea Cisterciensia* 54 (1992): 200-201.
[473] Isidore of Seville. 'Iisidori Hispalensis Episcopi Sententiae Liber Tertius,' accessed June 17, 2017, http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/isidore/sententiae3.shtml
[474] For an extensive discussion on this topic see G. Wainwright, 'Ora et labora: Benedictines and Wesleyans at Prayer and at Work,' in *Methodists in Dialogue*, ed. Geoffrey Wainwright (Nashville, Tenn.: Kingswood Books, 1995), 97.

Iconography of the *orans* figure standing with their arms close to the sides and bent at the elbows, hands outstretched and palms facing up, is found in both pagan and Christian art from Egypt to Rome; it is especially popular in early Christian literature and catacomb painting.[475] The *orans* figures are also found in early medieval sculpture. The seventh-century sarcophagus at St Paul's Crypt of the Benedictine abbey in Jouarre represents enthroned Christ and numerous figures with their arms upraised.[476] This creates an effect that they support the sarcophagus, but in fact these are the *orans* figures in prayer. The fragment of a Lombard ambo (the end of the seventh – beginning of the eighth century, Museo della Canonica del Duomo, Novara) depicts a scene identified as *Daniel at the Lions' Den* (fig. 34).[477] According to the popular Biblical story, Daniel's devotion to God saved him from death. Flanked by two lions, Daniel makes the *orans* gesture, just like the proposed St Lazarus and St John in Ferentillo relief.

The poses and iconography of the *orans* figures from Ferentillo and Novara also reveal close similarities to the images at the three walrus ivories decorating a reliquary from St Ludgerus Church Treasury in Essen (fig. 35). The plaques have frontal representations of men standing upright and with their feet facing outwards, two of them make the *orans* gesture. Notably, the flared loincloths of these figures are similar to those of the images in Ursus's relief. Mounted at the thirteenth-century oak reliquary, these ivory plaques along with rectangular ornamented panels, apparently, originate from an earlier piece which is now lost.[478] These fragments were possibly reused and combined randomly, which explains why this reliquary has no system in its iconographical programme.

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[475] M. Barasch, *The Language of Art: Studies in Interpretation* (New York: New York University Press, 1997), 62.

[476] No contemporary written sources confirm the identification of this sarcophagus with the remains of Agilbert, the bishop of Paris (died in ca 680–691). Nevertheless, the placement of the sarcophagus *ad sanctos* indicated that it belongs to an important figure. See B. Effros, *Caring for Body and Soul: Burial and the Afterlife in the Merovingian World* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2010), 124-125.

[477] Hegewisch, *Die Langobarden: das Ende der Völkerwanderung*, 373.

[478] In 1981 the reliquary was restored at the Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum in Mainz. However, there is still no certainty regarding the origin of the ivories. See Schatzkammer St Ludgerus. 'Werdener Reliquienkasten,' accessed June 9, 2017, http://www.schatzkammer-werden.de/fraenkischer-tragaltar/

The figure at the central ivory plaque has its hands broken off. However, the cruciform halo with the letters R/E/X, the wounds at the feet and the details of outstretched arms allow identifying it as Crucified Christ. The winged figure at the smaller plaque to the viewer's right may represent an angel, and the one to the viewer's left may depict Christ as well. He has a cruciform halo and demonstrates the holy wounds, which are indicated by small openings made with the same drilling technique as the eyes of the figures. A similar drilling technique was applied at the above-mentioned Lombard *cancellus* relief with the Cross from Santa Maria della Rossa in Milan. Like the ivory, it shows two birds and, possibly, two lambs flanking Christ.

The figures in Ursus's relief and at the ivories are equally striking due to their expressive fixed gaze. This effect is achieved by a combination of their big eyes, schematic facial features and eye pupils made in drilling technique. Both pieces were executed in a simple manner of carving and have similar decorative motifs of four-pointed stars enclosed in circles. The affinities in iconographical, stylistic and technical features found in both examples may suggest that the ivories were produced between the seventh and the eighth centuries on the territories of present-day Italy. The ivories were reused at a later date, which demonstrates an intention to keep continuity in Christian art. Moreover, the history of their mobility underlines religious and cultural links between Italy and Germany that were maintained throughout the centuries.

Following the discussion on the attributes, which the proposed St Lazarus holds in his hands, another object requires consideration. Taking into account that the instrument in his left hand may be identified as a chisel, it would be most logical to interpret the tool in his right hand as a simplified mallet.[479] The object has a short handle attached to a circular plate with the letters VR carved on it. Another similar piece with the letters SVS is shown to the figure's left and seems to have been carelessly thrown away.

Representations of sculptors with their working instruments are considerably rare in early medieval art. This makes it difficult to provide comparable examples of early

[479] According to Le Goff, Ursus holds 'a mallet and a chisel in either hand.' See Le Goff, *The Medieval World*, 216.

depictions of sculptors' mallets in order to build a case for identification of the attribute held by the proposed St Lazarus. One of the rare examples is a Lombard relief from Novara representing a man with a working tool (end of the seventh – beginning of the eighth century, Museo della Canonica del Duomo, Novara) (fig. 38).[480] The figure at Novara relief has no halo and, most probably, is not a holy person. The way in which the man is built and his pose, full of confidence, may imply that he is used to physically demanding work, such as sculpting. However, the working tool of the man in the Novara relief resembles a hammer, which differs in shape from the instrument depicted by Ursus.

Considering the lack of comparative material, using *argumentum a contrario* may help to avoid misleading parallels between the attribute, which in this thesis is suggested to be read as a sculpor's mallet, and pieces of similar shapes, such as handled bronze mirrors or clubs. Thus, I test my hypothesis by means of visual comparisons with identified Lombard archaeological findings from around the same area.[481] In my opinion, the presence of mirrors in Ursus's relief, where every detail is deeply symbolic, is questionable and hardly corresponds to the narrative.[482] As noted above, it is also unlikely that the sculptor represented the proposed St Lazarus holding weaponry, a sword, a knife or a club. Representations of men with clubs in Lombard art are rare, whereas images of warriors with swords and spears are very common.[483] Moreover, the construction of a typical ancient war club with a long handle and small heavy head does not compare to the objects at Ferentillo relief. Clubs depicted in later stone and bronze

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[480] Hegewisch, *Die Langobarden: das Ende der Völkerwanderung*, 373.

[481] See Menis, G. *I Longobardi*. Milan: Electa, 1990.

[482] Bronze mirrors were put in ancient graves with their owners, usually women of high status. Such artifacts may also have been found in Ferentillo, because the oratory was built on the place of an ancient pagan settlement. At that period the area was controlled by the Lombards, among which some became Christians, while the others retained pagan beliefs. In the course of their migration in Italy in 568–569, the Lombards undertook vigorous and victorious military campaigns that permitted them to control large areas in central and southern Italy. See P. Crabtree, *Medieval Archaeology: an Encyclopedia* (New York: Garland Pub., 2001), 207-208 and T. Moore, *Atlantic Europe in the First Millennium BC: Crossing the Divide* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 478-480.

[483] See figures in Hegewisch, *Die Langobarden: das Ende der Völkerwanderung*, 25, 29, 32 and Menis, *I Longobardi*, 57, 190, 404.

reliefs retain standard proportions. For example, the clubs at a bronze plaque with Cain killing Abel (before 1138, San Zeno Cathedral, Verona), at an ambo relief showing Samson fighting a lion (twelfth century, Santa Maria in Valle Porclaneta, Abruzzo) and at a capital with the martyrdom of St Just (eleventh or twelfth century, Église Saint Just de Valcabrère, Haute-Garonne) have long handles and relatively small heads.

This thesis suggests interpreting the two objects with short handles in Ursus's relief as sculptor's working tools, most likely, mallets with the help of which the proposed St Lazarus carved the numerous regular roundels at the architectural elements surrounding him. Although a mallet is normally not circular, it might be a simplification by Ursus, whose style is schematic, if not primitive. There exist a wide range of sculptors' mallets of different shapes, and it may be one of these.[484]

One of the earliest representations of a sculptor with a hammer may have originated in the ancient period. In his *Pericles*, Plutarch shared an anecdote about the Greek sculptor Phidias (ca 480 BC – 430 BC), who associated himself with one of the men in a carved battle scene with the Amazons.[485] This relief decorated the shield of the goddess Athena at the Parthenon (fig. 36). I suggest that Phidias's self-portrait may have played a role in the establishment of sculptors' iconography, which received further development in art.

In the Middle Ages, a representation of a figure with a hammer or a mallet was commonly associated with physical work and labours, or with patron saints of sculptors and metalwork artists. Among the examples are an image of a sculptor at work surrounded with working tools at the relief from the Church of San Lorenzo in Vallegrascia (eleventh century), an allegorical figure of the month August at Parma

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[484] This is according to verbal communication with the sculptor Alexander Stoddart and professor Kees van der Ploeg. Both find it feasible that the man in the relief holds a mallet and a chisel. Stoddart also noted that the way in which the figure holds the mallet, placing his thumb along the index finger, indicates that it may have been an experienced sculptor, who knew the ways to minimise injuries at work.

[485] Plutarch. 'Pericles,' accessed June 15, 2017, http://classics.mit.edu/Plutarch/pericles.html

Baptistery (late twelfth century) and a sculptor sitting in profile and working with a mallet and a chisel at San Zeno Cathedral doors (ca 1138), etc. (figs. 18, 37).[486]

The continuity of this iconographical motif is traced in later works produced in various regions across Europe.[487] In the course of time images of sculptors and metalwork artists became closely associated with working tools. It is feasible to talk about formed iconography, as these motifs, encoded with meanings, were repeated by artists throughout the centuries making the images of sculptors at work recognisable to viewers. Apparently, it also reflected in a motif of mythology. A concept about the divine 'hidden smith and master of the workshop, who causes form, structure, dimension and color to exist' is illustrated in medieval miniatures representing Nature at work.[488] Since the medieval period the work of a smith was metaphorically associated with the natural process of creation, and his tools were believed to have magical and religious power.[489] The legendary master blacksmith Wayland is shown at the front of the Northumbrian whale's bone Franks Casket in profile, working with a hammer and surrounded by other tools (eighth-century, the British Museum).[490] The movement and pose of Nature creating a man with a hammer recalls figures of sculptors or metalwork artists.

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[486] For more early medieval examples of this iconography see Otzet, 'El escultor Arnau Cadell, constructor de claustros,' 163.

[487] Villard de Honnecourt in his portfolio of drawings (ca 1220–1240) represented figures of standard iconography, such as kneeling donors or the Virgin and Child; I emphasise that the representations of a man working with a hammer follow traditional iconography of sculptors (MS fr. 19093, fol. 19v, Bibliothèque nationale de France). See also the stained glass showing sculptors carving statues of kings at the Donor Panel at Chartres Cathedral, France (1230), the images of saint sculptors and their disciples at the capitals of the Doge's Palace in Venice (ca 1300), Andrea Pisano's image of Phidias at work as allegorical representation of Sculpture (1336, relief from the Campanile, Florence), Pieter Coeke van Aelst's *Deposition* (16th c. Metropolitan Museum of Fine Arts, New York), Heinrich Iselin's Self-portrait with working tools carved at a choir stall (ca 1510, Closter of St Georgconstance, Rosgartenmuseum), a Self-portrait of the Master of the Poehelde choir stalls (2nd half of the 16th century, Niedersachsisches Landesmuseum, Hanover).

[488] E. Kris, *Legend Myth and Magic in the Image of the Artist* (London: Yale University Press, 1979), 52. Kris refers to O. Crollius (probably following Paracelsus) and to Schlegel, 1915, 11. See also the miniature *Nature at Work* (beginning of the 14th c., British Library, London).

[489] Droth, *Bronze: the Power of Life and Death*, 28.

[490] Becker, A. *Franks Casket: Zu den Bildern und Inschriften des Runenkästchens von Auzon*. Regensburg: H. Carl, 1973.

A fragment of a Lombard ambo from Novara, whish was mentioned earlier in this chapter, has a carved image of a bearded man with long hair dressed in a belted garment (fig. 38).[491] Assuming the pose of self-assurance, he stands upright, his left arm akimbo, and raises the right hand holding an attribute that resembles a hammer. Among the saints often represented with hammers are St Eloy (ca 590 – 660), the English bishop St Dunstan (909 – 988), the biblical character Nicodemus and the Four Crowned Martyrs.[492] However, fragmentary character of Novara plate does not allow certain identification of this man with a saint or a biblical character from a religious scene.

Providing an interpretation of other elements, found in Ursus's relief, may ensure a better understanding of the scene, carved by the sculptor. The two figures which are considered in this thesis as St Lazarus and St John raise their arms in a gesture of prayer. They stand among the three objects that radiate rays of light in the shape of stylised ornamented crosses inscribed in discs.[493] Perhaps the sculptor used these objects to create an atmosphere of a church interior. Previous scholarship has not expressed unanimous opinion whether the three pieces represent crosses, candlesticks or *flabella*. Comparisons between these three objects and the examples found in museum collections or represented in medieval manuscripts and reliefs may serve in identifying the pieces depicted in the case study from Ferentillo. In my opinion, the scene with the proposed St Lazarus and St John may include a reference to veneration of Christian relics. Fabbi

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[491] Hegewisch, *Die Langobarden: das Ende der Völkerwanderung*, 373.
[492] Nicodemus as the patron saint of sculptors will be discussed further. The patron of goldsmiths, blacksmiths and metalwork artists in general, St Eloy, is usually shown with an anvil and a hammer. Likewise, the attributes of St Dunstan, the patron of goldsmiths, are a hammer and tongs, with which, according to the legend, he clamped the Devil by the nose. See J. Cherry, *Goldsmiths* (London: British Museum Press, 1992), 24. The Four Crowned Martyrs receive only a brief reference in this chapter as the legend of these saint sculptors was most popular in late medieval and Renaissance periods. According to the legend, the Four Crowned Martyrs were executed by Diocletian, because they refused to make him a pagan statue and worship the Roman gods. See De Voragine, J. *Legenda aurea sanctorum*. Lugduni, 1495. The sculptor Nanni di Banco, who belonged to the Florentine guild Maestri di Pietra e Legname, produced life-sized marble statues of the guild's patron saints, *The Four Crowned Martyrs* at the Orsanmichele. At the feet of the four martyrs, flanked by the coats of arms, there is a relief showing sculptors engaged in work.
[493] Dell'Acqua, 'Ursus 'magester': uno scultore di età longobarda,' 20.

has mentioned these three objects as *flabella*, liturgical fans, or girandoles and suggested that they might symbolise solar discs from Germanic mythology.[494] Indeed the legend about St Columcille's *flabellum* says, 'fans belonging to holy men were treasured as relics in the same way as their books, bells and croziers.'[495]

However, several factors indicate that the three objects in Ursus's relief are unlikely to be flabella. Firstly, the stems of the three pieces are considerably larger than the two male figures of the proposed hermits. Occasionally, representations of fans occur in manuscripts, including the *Book of Kells*, and in stone carvings.[496] In the miniatures, *flabella* are usually held by angels and are commensurate. Considering the examples surviving at present, a typical liturgical fan would be approximately 30 cm in diameter with a handle not longer than one meter, such as the Cologne *flabellum* (twelfth century, the State Hermitage Museum) or the *Flabellum* of Tournus measuring 23.5 cm (ninth century, Museo nazionale del Bargello).[497] Secondly, the cross shape tops of the three objects at Ferentillo relief do not compare with the disc of the *Flabellum* of Tournus, made of parchment or with the solid silver cast disc of the Liturgical Fan from a Coptic church in Syria (41 x 22 cm, late 700s to early 800s, Brooklyn Museum) (fig. 39).[498] Thirdly, not only the cross shape tops and the size of the objects in Ferentillo relief prevent from acknowledging them as *flabella*, but also their quantity. Traditionally, only two *flabella* would be placed behind the High Altar, as two deacons would use them to protect the consecrated bread and wine from dust and insects. Ferentillo relief depicts no altar and three objects instead of two, which are displayed not as liturgical fans would normally be set.

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[494] Fabbi, *Antichità umbre*, 267.
[495] H. Richardson, 'Remarks on the Liturgical Fan, Flabellum or Rhipidion,' in *The Age of Migrating Ideas*, ed. R. Michael Spearman, 27-34, (Edinburgh: Alan Sutton Publishing, 1993), 30-31.
[496] Richardson, 'Remarks on the Liturgical Fan, Flabellum or Rhipidion,' 27.
[497] Legner, *Ornamenta ecclesiae. Kunst und Künstler der Romanik,* vol. 1, 470; D. Gaborit-Chopin, *Flabellum di Tournus* (Firenze: Museo nazionale del Bargello, 1988), 58.
[498] Gaborit-Chopin, *Flabellum di Tournus*, 58.

Flabella are often shown 'with frond- or feather-like appendages around the fan plate'.[499] Notably, the narrow lateral plate set vertically to the viewer's left at the current Ferentillo church altar represents three discs decorated with pending leaf-like elements, which indeed may be *flabella*. The top *flabellum* is decorated with a cross, whereas two other discs have the motif of hexafoil stars or rosettes also occurring elsewhere in the relief. This may indicate that the sculptor distinguished between the three objects on standards in the central relief and *flabella* with frond appendages on another plaque and, thus, depicted them differently.

Ornamentation of the three pieces at Ferentillo relief varies, which may indicate that the sculptor Ursus attempted to depict authentic objects and showed attention to detail. He was also particularly precise in carving the forked supports of the shafts of the three objects. An image of a strikingly similar piece is found at a large plate which is currently a part of a pillar in the interior of S. Sigismondo a Rivolta d'Adda (fig. 40). Likewise, it consists of a disc with a cross set on a long shaft standing on a forked support. Built in the early medieval period, S. Sigismondo a Rivolta was drastically restored at a later date.[500] Thus, it is uncertain whether this plate originally belongs to this pillar or was a part of a different structure in church interior. Similar to the Irish cross-slab from Fahan Mura (mid-seventh century) depicting two male figures flanking a large cross, the scene carved at Ferentillo relief may refer to veneration of the three crosses. Such scenes carved in stone were highly important for establishing and consolidating Christianity in early medieval Europe. In either case, the dominant compositional role of the three objects, which are most likely crosses, and the way in which they are depicted in the relief emphasise their special significance for the church of Santi Pietro e Paolo in Ferentillo.

According to my hypothesis, the relief signed by Ursus may represent the scene from the legend on the foundation of a church by the hermits St Lazarus and St John 'in honour of St Peter, and for love of St Leo and St Gregory,' as the inscription carved in

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[499] Newman, 'Iconographical Analysis of the Marigold Stone, Carndonagh, Inishowen, Co. Donegal,' 178-179.
[500] Chierici, *Italia romanica. La Lombardia,* vol. 1, 81-84.

the relief reads. Correspondingly, the three tall crosses depicted in the relief may be objects of veneration, as the proposed St Lazarus and St John are shown in prayer, raising their arms in the *orans* gesture.

The figure of the proposed St Lazarus holding attributes, which are interpreted in this thesis as a mallet and a chisel, requires a closer discussion in relation to Ursus's signature. Along with pictorial elements, written components add new levels of meaning to Ferentillo relief. Balancing between professional confidence, self-assurance and Christian humility, the sculptor prominently placed his signature, 'VR/SVS MA/GES/TER FECIT,' in the relief. Ursus specified his title and carved his name in capital letters. At the same time, he turned his name into a pictorial puzzle. By splitting it in two syllables, VR and SVS, each written on one of the two roundels flanking the head of a man in the relief, the sculptor established a connection between the name and the figure. This, practically, integrated the man's face in line with the carved name. Ursus achieved an effect of involving a viewer into a closer examination of his image and signature, which are supposed to be 'read' in relation to each other. It may be interpreted either as the sculptor's strong wish to claim authorship, or as a humble gesture because Ursus's name would not be noticed immediately. This contrasts with later examples discussed in this thesis; the inscriptions of Master Nicholaus at Italian church portals or that of Pelegrinus demonstrate self-laudatory tone.

The term *magester* in Ursus's signature emphasises that the sculptor possessed an important professional status of a master. As mentioned above, the professional community of master sculptors and masons was not numerous in the Lombard period. However, as some sculptors' inscriptions show, it was hierarchical and well-organised by a set of rules. For instance, an inscription at the seventh-century grave slab at S. Vittoria d'Alba mentions 'magister Kalmarus cum discipulo suo Iohanne.'[501] A portion of an extensive inscription at the column of a ciborium of San Giorgio at S. Ambrogio in Valpolicella (ca 750) starts with a cross and mentions the sculptor Ursus, presumably a namesake, and his two apprentices: 'VRSVS MAGESTER / CVM DISCEPOLIS /

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[501] A. Crosetto, 'Scolpire la pietra. Scultori e cavatori nell'Alto Medioevo,' *Bulletin d'Etudes Préhistoriques et Archéologiques Alpines* 24 (2013), 364.

SVIS IVVINTIANO / ET IVVIANO EDI / FICAVET HANC CIVORIVM / VERGONDVS / THEODAL / FOSCARI.'[502]

Both inscriptions from Ferentillo and Valpolicella spell the sculptors' titles as 'magester.'[503] The Valpolicella inscription, however, gives the names of the master and his apprentices in plain text with no additional pictorial elements. Documentation on the both sculptures is scarce and the pieces themselves are fragmentary. Thus, it remains the matter of discussion whether it was the same sculptor Ursus, who worked in Valpolicella and Ferentillo, or these masters were namesakes.[504] Visual analysis reveals little similarities between these two pieces, which may suggest they were produced by different sculptors. The ornamental motifs at Ferentillo plaque are less elaborate than those at the Valpolicella ciborium. The technique of carving appears less advanced too. Moreover, the text of the Valpolicella inscription is carved in a more systematic way, it is consistent in the use of capital letters, and the style of its palaeographical characters differs from that of Ferentillo relief.

The first portion of the Valpolicella inscription begins with the name of the donor, King Liutprand. The number of carved inscriptions increased during and after his reign; Liutprand and other rulers used artistic patronage and inscriptions as royal propaganda, to demonstrate their benevolence and authority, to express piety and political ambitions.[505] Consequently, to make his royal presence and power more prominent in Spoleto, Liutprand may have sent his artists, including the sculptor Ursus, to work for

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[502] A. Brugnoli, 'L'iscrizione del ciborio di San Giorgio di Valpolicella,' *Annuario Storico della Valpolicella* 28 (2011-2012): 13-44.
[503] Gennarius in his signature at the tombstone of Gudiris at Savigliano also used the word 'magester.' According to Dell'Acqua, 'magester' is an ancient variant of the word magister, which occurs in Quintilian's treatise in the first century AD. See Dell'Acqua, 'Ursus 'magester': uno scultore di età longobarda,' 23.
[504] Raspi Serra, Cattaneo and Dell'Acqua, for example, have not found stylistic resemblance between the altar front from San Pietro in Ferentillo and the ciborium from San Giorgio in Valpolicella. Dell'Acqua also stated that during that period the name Ursus was quite common. See Raspi Serra, 'La diocesi di Spoleto,' 24 and Dell'Acqua, 'Ursus 'magester': uno scultore di età longobarda,' 24.
[505] Everett, *Literacy in Lombard Italy, c. 568–774*, 253-254.

the church of Santi Pietro e Paolo. In fact, Liutprand visited Spoleto in 739, where he decided that Hildericus would be the duke.[506]

The *Leges Langobardorum*, primary source from Liutprand's reign, says that the king controlled the prices for masters' work and supervised their journeys.[507] Despite being free men, equipped with tools and staff, *magistri* were restricted with their travels to no longer than three years away from home, which was probably related to their obligations to work for the court.[508] Liutprand's legislative attempts to regulate the affairs of *magistri* indicates the king's interest in their work.[509] Working on the commissions from the royalty and nobility, master sculptors signed their work not only for devotion. Their signatures may have served as guarantees of quality and ensured them receipt of payment. The set of rules *Memoratorio de mercedes commacinorum* controlled prices and quality of work performed by *magistri* (masters), *marmorarios* ('marble-workers') and others.[510] The existence of this document suggests that already in the Lombard period there was an organised community of masters, who travelled for commissions and were proficient in building and crafts, sculpted in various materials and were capable to make inscriptions.[511]

Early scholarship criticised Lombard inscriptions as lacking accuracy of style and regularity of characters as opposed to the examples from antiquity.[512] Furthermore, it

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[506] See L. Hartmann, *Geschichte Italiens im Mittelalter*, vol. 2 (Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1969), 137-138 and S. Leader, *The Cathedral Builders: The Story of a Great Masonic Guild* (New York, C. Scribner's Sons, 1899), 125. Liutprand's royal assistance in restoring the church of Santa Mustiola and his attempts in establishing alliance with the duke and bishop of Chiusi were recorded in another inscription. See Everett, *Literacy in Lombard Italy, c. 568–774*, 254.
[507] Institut für Mittelalterforschung: Leges Langobardorum. 'Memoratorio de mercedes commacinorum,' accessed June 19, 2017, https://www.oeaw.ac.at/imafo/ressourcen/quellen-zur-langobardengeschichte/leges-langobardorum/item-memoratorio-de-mercedes-commancinorum/ and Christie, *The Lombards: The Ancient Longobards*, 191-192.
[508] Lomartire, 'Commacini e marmorarii: temi e tecniche della scultura tra VII e VIII secolo nella Langobardia maior,' 169-170.
[509] Everett, *Literacy in Lombard Italy, c. 568–774*, 253.
[510] Institut für Mittelalterforschung: Leges Langobardorum. 'Memoratorio de mercedes commacinorum,' accessed June 19, 2017, https://www.oeaw.ac.at/imafo/ressourcen/quellen-zur-langobardengeschichte/leges-langobardorum/item-memoratorio-de-mercedes-commancinorum/ and Christie, *The Lombards: The Ancient Longobards*, 191.
[511] Christie, *The Lombards: The Ancient Longobards*, 191.
[512] G. Bognetti, L'età longobarda, vol. 3 (Milan: Giuffre, 1967), 204-215.

stated that the arrival of the Lombards in Italy caused the decline of cultural life, literacy and ancient lapidary workshops that produced classical Roman epigraphy.[513] Consequently, the 'triangular cut' technique ensuring a sense of depth and chiaroscuro effect was substituted by simple and flat epigraphy of Lombard stonecutters, unfamiliar with Roman lapidary tradition. Indeed, the technique of Lombard inscriptions, including the one at Ferentillo relief which was incised or scratched in stone, is simple. However, a conception stating that the Lombards 'robbed Italy of literacy' and culture was challenged in recent publications; literacy played fundamental role throughout the medieval period and was important in the Lombard state.[514]

The Lombards, often seen as pagans and barbarians, adopted the features of Roman and Christian cultural traditions.[515] This is witnessed through some examples, including the systematically designed and accurately carved epitaph at a tombstone commissioned by King Liutprand for the Abbot Cumianus in Bobbio (fig. 41).[516] The paleographical characters of this text are harmoniously arranged and hold a prominent position at the slab. Apparently, Lombard ruling classes may have requested sculptors to imitate epigraphic models from antiquity in carved inscriptions to express grandeur and power.[517] The inscription finishes with the sculptor's signature 'FECIT IOHANNES MAGISTER,' but no documentary evidence survives to provide more information on the maker. Nevertheless, this slab with an epitaph demonstrates that the Lombard royalty

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[513] Petrucci, *Writers and Readers in Medieval Italy: Studies in the History of Written Culture*, 48-49, 51.

[514] Everett noted that the Lombards may have been invited to Italy by the general of the Byzantine Emperor Justinian I Narses, who sent them a letter. Everett, *Literacy in Lombard Italy, c. 568–774*, 4-9, 66.

[515] The seventh-century text *Origo Gentis Langobardorum* narrating about the ethnic identity of the Lombards denoted the intersections of oral and literal traditions, and of barbarian and Roman-Christian culture. See Everett, *Literacy in Lombard Italy, c. 568–774*, 88.

[516] The tradition of funerary inscriptions and calligraphy was carefully cultivated in early medieval Italy. The examples are found in the ninth-century monastery San Vincenzo al Volturno. See Mitchell, 'Literacy Displayed: the Use of Inscriptions at the Monastery of San Vincenzo al Volturno in the Early Ninth Century,' 198.

[517] Petrucci, Writers and Readers in Medieval Italy: Studies in the History of Written Culture, 52-53.

supported literary culture in Bobbio and appointed master sculptors to acknowledge this connection.[518]

The question whether these inscriptions were composed by sculptors themselves is questionable and remains the matter of discussion.[519] For instance, the Valpolicella ciborium inscription mentions the deacon Gondelmus. It is uncertain whether he composed the inscription, dictated the text or carved it instead of the sculptor.[520] Due to their modest level of literacy, laymen Lombard sculptors were almost certainly provided with texts of inscriptions by their patrons, usually clergymen. The latter, possibly, instructed sculptors about graphic rendering and designs, whereas the final practical step of working with material may have been entirely on sculptors.[521]

The inscription at Ferentillo relief differs from the examples at Valpolicella and Bobbio. It is written in mixed characters and in irregular lines, which may create an impression that the one who carved it had little experience in integrating text in the relief. Notably, some other pieces from about the same period have inscriptions on them arranged in the same chaotic manner. The late seventh-century tombstone from Museo Civico in Savigliano has a large cross with volutes at the base which is literally covered with an inscription in memory of presbyter Gudiris (fig. 42). The signature of Gennarius *magester marmorarius* is found at the upper part of the plate, above the right part of the cross beam. The style of palaeographical characters of this inscription, especially of the letters S, T, E, R and G, reveals close similarities to those at the plate in Ferentillo.

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[518] Everett, *Literacy in Lombard Italy, c. 568–774*, 253.

[519] It is uncertain to what extent sculptors were responsible for designs and texts of their inscriptions. Dietl, 'Italienische Bildhauerinschriften: Selbstdarstellung und Schriftlichkeit mittelalterlicher Künstler,' 202. See also Mineo on the methods sculptors applied to transfer inscriptions. E. Mineo, 'L'artiste lettré? Compétence graphique et textuelle de l'artiste roman à travers les signatures épigraphiques,' in *Entre la letra y el pincel: el artista medieval: leyenda, identidad y estatus*, ed. Manuel Antonio Castiñeiras Gonzalez (Alicante: Círculo Rojo, 2017), 78, 80-81.

[520] Dell'Acqua, 'Ursus 'magester': uno scultore di età longobarda,' 24.

[521] Petrucci, *Writers and Readers in Medieval Italy: Studies in the History of Written Culture*, 49.

Interestingly, another portion of inscription at the upper left part of the Savigliano tombstone mentions a person who received anathema for removing the plate.[522] This arrangement of inscriptions mentioning the two people, on the right and on the left sides of the cross, brings associations with the two Biblical thieves, who were crucified on each side of Jesus. Among them two, the penitent was the one to Christ's right. By placing his name on the right side of the cross, I suggest, the sculptor Gennarius may have meant it as a parallel and demonstrated his aspirations for salvation.

Apparently, similar tendencies of making inscriptions at artworks in mixed characters and not in well-ordered lines are also found on the North side of the Alps. Moreover, it occurs not only in stone sculpture, but also in goldsmiths' work (fig. 43). A Merovingian fibula from the second half of the seventh century, discovered in Wittislingen (Bavaria), has a Latin inscription at the underside: 'VFFILA VIVAT IN DEO FILIX / INOCENS FVNERE CARPA / QUIA VIVERE DVM POTVI / FVI FIDELISSIMA-PAVSA IN DEO. WIGERIG FECIT.' Similar to Gennarius's inscription, it is commemorative and mentions a noblewoman Uffila, who was buried with this brooch: 'Uffila live happily in god / Innocent I was carried away by death / As long as I have been living / I was a faithful believer. Wigerig created this.'[523] The style of palaeographical characters at this fibula, particularly of A, E, S and G, shows affinities to the same features in the inscriptions by Ursus at Ferentillo and by Gennarius at Savigliano.

An image of a serpent, probably symbolising the underworld, is placed in the center of the underside and breaks logical structure of this text. The chaotic character of the inscription contrasts with the regularity of an abstract ornament at the front side of the fibula. Decorated with semi-precious stones and filigree, it includes a popular motif of eagles. Traditionally associated with the sun and the sky, the eagles contrast with the serpent at the underside of the fibula. Thus this piece allegorically embodies a complete

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[522] C. Novellis, *Storia di Savigliano e dell'Abbazia di S. Pietro* (Torino: Fratelli Favale, 1844), 17-18.

[523] H. Schutz, *Tools, Weapon and Ornaments: Germanic Material Culture in Pre-Carolingian Central Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 233 and B. Effros, *Merovingian Mortuary Archaeology and the Making of the Early Middle Ages* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2003), 113-114.

circle of life and death in miniature, and figural images in it harmoniously coexist with text.

The last portion of inscription at Witteslingen fibula is the signature of its maker, Wigerig. The lack of order in the arrangement of the inscription may indicate that either the goldsmith was not restricted by any traditional schemes as those were not yet formed by then, or that it was made intentionally. In a way, these may also demonstrate that Christians rejected classical Roman epigraphy, which evoked associations with pagan culture. The idea of Uffila's faithfulness to God and commemorative character of the inscription indicate a wish for good afterlife, which connects it to the inscriptions by Ursus and Gennarius.

In Ursus's relief, the first portion of inscription mentioning duke Hildericus is given in well-formed majuscule characters with classicising elements, which differ from irregularly carved sculptor's signature in mixed characters. These differences in the forms of palaeographic charecters allow distinguishing between the official part of the inscription, referring to authority and power (duke Hildericus), and the 'unofficial' portion of the inscription, mentioning the maker of the relief. The simple technique of carving, the use of mixed characters and the irregularity of inscriptions in these three examples discussed above relate them to pilgrims' graffiti with their varied, handmade-looking characters (fig. 44).[524]

As noted earlier, sculptors possessed pragmatic literacy and most probably were instructed by their well-educated patrons on the content and designs of official or religious inscriptions, including the one commemorating Hildericus. However, these instructions may not have covered unofficial or marginal inscriptions. I propose a hypothesis that for personal devotional inscriptions or signatures semi-literate sculptors may have followed the examples of pilgrims' graffiti found in churches. Albeit direct

[524] A parallel may also be made with the abbreviated names inscribed at floor tiles (ca 800) from San Vincenzo al Volturno. Among these, abbreviations 'VR,' possibly for 'Ursus,' are found. Mitchell suggested that the names belong if not to the donors of the monastery, then to the monks, who produced the tiles. However, I consider that most likely the tiles were made for pilgrims visiting the monastery and donated by them with devotional intentions. See Mitchell, 'Literacy Displayed: the Use of Inscriptions at the Monastery of San Vincenzo al Volturno in the Early Ninth Century,' 201-204.

evidence confirming it is lacking, the simplicity of carving techniques and general visual resemblance of some pilgrims' and sculptors' inscriptions permit establishing parallels. Although pilgrims' and sculptors' inscriptions belong to slightly different categories, in some cases they pursue the same purposes. For instance, they express piety to God and may follow the same formulae when requesting for petitions ('pray for X').

Everett noted the rarity of early medieval devotional graffiti, but gave several examples that may support my hypothesis. Among the numerous graffiti incised on the walls of the grotta di San Michele at Monte Sant'Angelo (between ca 800 and 869/875, Gargano peninsula, Italy) there is a group of five names inscribed by Sabilo. Notably, the name Sabilo appears at the end of a list with *fecit*. This verb is less common in pilgrims' signatures than in those of artists and donors, but its presence in Sabilo's inscription may suggest that *fecit* was used in a much wider community. Notably, Sabilo's neatly carved characters and relatively deep V-cut distinguish these graffiti from other examples and reveal a professional hand familiar with stone carving. Another group of names was incised by Gaidemari, who also possessed epigraphic and carving skills. It includes the names of noblemen suggesting the carver's affiliation with Beneventan ducal court.[525] These examples may not serve as evidence of stone-carver's literacy, but demonstrate their familiarity with the tradition of pilgrim's graffiti and its devotional function.

Generally, pilgrims' graffiti belong to a specific category of inscriptions, but closer affinities between them and some sculptors' signatures are revealed through comparative analysis. In fact, their content, grammatical structure of some formulae used (such as 'pray for X') and, in most cases, marginal placement, demonstrate similaities. For pilgrims and sculptors, making these inscriptions meant integrating their names in religious community and relating to written tradition, which incorporated earlier

[525] Everett, *Literacy in Lombard Italy, c. 568–774*, 269-271.

devotional practice and cultural memory.[526] Devotional component and requests for petitions are equally central for signatures of pilgrims and medieval sculptors.

The vast network of pilgrim routes in the Christian world determined broad geography of pilgrims' graffiti. Dissemination of cultural and devotional tradition united various Christian sites in Italy, Germany, Greece, Egypt and other countries. The earliest examples of Christian graffiti originate from the ancient period, third to seventh centuries. For instance, archaeological evidence showed that graffiti were cut into a choir screen of an early Christian church in Trier, which was destroyed in the fifth century.[527] This allows parallels with Ursus's signature at Ferentillo relief, formerly a part of a church screen. The church of Santi Pietro e Paolo in Ferentillo may have attracted pilgrims to venerate the relics of the local hermits St Lazarus and St John.[528] Their relics were put in an ancient sarcophagus, which was turned into an altar and placed on the left hand side in the church.[529]

Similar to pilgrims' graffiti, sculptors' inscriptions are strictly site-related and occur at architectural supports, sacred or liminal spaces. Devotional graffiti, for instance, are found at entrances and columns of the Parthenon church or at the Crypt of the Popes in Rome, where they were inscribed at eye level to be more noticeable.[530] Likewise, sculptors in stone and bronze placed signatures at carved column capitals and reliefs,

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[526] A. Yasin, 'Prayers on Site: the Materiality of Devotional Graffiti and the Production of Early Christian Sacred Space,' in *The Twelfth Century Renaissance: a Reader*, ed. A. Novikoff, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016), 40.
[527] This church was discovered under the Liebfrauenkirche at Trier, and the graffiti were found during excavations among the debris of the ancient building. See Yasin, 'Prayers on Site: the Materiality of Devotional Graffiti and the Production of Early Christian Sacred Space,' 39.
[528] The pilgrims walked in a procession around the altar on the left hand side in the church, and through a narrow gallery behind it. To enter this gallery they had to bend down; to exit it, they had to pass through a narrow but high door. This circuit symbolised the journey of a soul to God and was, in a way, a ritual of purification. See S. Torlini. 'Abbazia San Pietro in Valle. La Chiesa Abbaziale,' accessed July 5, 2017, http://www.sanpietroinvalle.com/la-chiesa-abbaziale/ At present, it still remains popular among pilgrims. See A. Nizzi, *Da Foligno a piedi. Sulle vie dei pellegrini dell'Italia centrale* (Foligno: Youcanprint, 2015), 60 and Cammino di Assisi. 'Via Francigena - Way to Rome,' accessed July 5, 2017, http://www.camminodiassisi.it/EN/Via-francigena.html
[529] Scortecci, 'I Sarcofagi,' 166.
[530] Yasin, 'Prayers on Site: the Materiality of Devotional Graffiti and the Production of Early Christian Sacred Space,' 51-52.

doorknockers and church doors. Among these are signatures of Liutpreht and Gofridus at column capitals, Bernhardus's inscription at doorknockers and signatures of Wezilo of Konstanz and Barisanus of Trani at church tympanum and doors, respectively. Unlike pilgrims, sculptors, by reason of their profession, possessed more possibilities and skills to express themselves in devotional inscriptions. They also had broader opportunities in deciding where to integrate their signatures in church interior or exterior and who would be able to access them. Both sculptors and pilgrims aimed to manifest their presence at a sacred site if not bodily, than through their material inscriptions.[531] While the former indicated their professional and artistic contributions, the latter declared an accomplishment of a pilgrimage.

Inevitably, medieval sculptors were members of Christian community. Many of them travelled for work and, in a way, may have perceived themselves as pilgrims. An early medieval legend narrates on two angels, who presented themselves to a patron as goldsmiths-pilgrims and miraculously produced a cross.[532] Thus, artists' written self-representations may have developed in accordance with the tradition of pilgrims' graffiti. Likewise, these contained requests for their authors to be mentioned in prayers and often addressed to a broad audience of the faithful, including pilgrims. Grammatical and structural affinities of these inscriptions, however, may only be used as additional features in support of the hypothesis presented in this thesis. For example, *Artifex* Berengerus requested a prayer from the readers of his inscription at the doors of Mainz Cathedral, and Liutpreht placed his signature at a column in Freising Cathedral Crypt, frequently visited by pilgrims. Similar to pilgrims' inscriptions, those of sculptors perpetuated their authors as devoted Christians in the eyes of contemporaries and subsequent generations. Apart from using inscriptions to communicate with the faithful, some sculptors like Pelegrinus addressed directly to the divine. Similar request for prayer and salvation, 'Peter and Paul, pray for Victore,' is expressed in a devotional graffiti at the catacombs of San Sebastiano.

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[531] Ibid., 44.
[532] Beghelli, 'Gli artigiani del metallo nell'Europa altomedievale. Organizzazione manifatturiera, officine, firme e strategie di vendita,' 158.

Grammatical structure, vocabulary and standard formulae of some sculptors' devotional inscriptions are closely comparable to the same components of devotional graffiti. Both may mention titles of their authors. This was especially frequent in the seventh- and eighth-century Italian graffiti indicating ecclesiastical titles.[533] Similarly, early medieval sculptors' professional titles, like those of Ursus (*magester*) and Gennarius (*magester marmorarius*) are known from their signatures. Pilgrims' graffiti at the holy sites mostly consist of names, but sometimes include longer texts. Like sculptors, pilgrims generally apply standardised formulae addressing to saints, usually to the apostles Peter and Paul, with imperatives and vocatives ('may you live in God' or 'pray for X').[534] This is also indicative of the devotional inscription by the sculptor Pelegrinus at his relief depicting St Peter and St Paul. Among other related examples are the carved names 'WEZIL' at the relief from the Eastern portal of the Church of Petershausen Abbey, 'HEIMO' at a column capital inside the Basilica of Our Lady in Maastricht, or 'LIVTPREHT' at a column capital at Freising Cathedral Crypt. Simple and standardised, pilgrims' and sculptors' inscriptions were understandable even to illiterate or semi-literate members of Christian community.

Another graffiti formula consists of a pilgrim's name preceded by the first-person 'ego' (or 'ἐγὼ' in Greek), which reinforces the sense of the author's presence. Such examples ('I, Dioskoros' and 'I, Josaias') are found at the wall of St Stephen's Church built and consecrated in the sixth century inside the temple of Isis at Philae in Egypt.[535] This form also occurs in Gennarius's inscription at Savigliano tombstone. The sculptor introduced himself by starting with 'ego' and finished with his professional title, which ensured his inscription a confident tone. Almost three centuries later, the sculptor Pelegrinus, whose name translates as 'a pilgrim' and speaks for itself, also used the form 'ego' in his inscription.[536] Well-integrated in the relief, his inscription visually differs

[533] Yasin, 'Prayers on Site: the Materiality of Devotional Graffiti and the Production of Early Christian Sacred Space,' 46.
[534] Ibid., 42, 44.
[535] Ibid., 43.
[536] Artists' signatures with the word *ego* are not particularly common. Among the few examples is also the extensive inscription by the Italian bronze caster Bonanus Pisanus at the doors of Pisa Cathedral (1180). The content of the inscription is known at present, although the doors were

from irregular and varied characters of Christian graffiti. However, in his inscription the sculptor openly introduces himself as a pilgrim and uses grammatical formulae and spiritual ideas that recall pilgrims' graffiti.[537]

Religious inscriptions, such as citations from the Gospels or Psalms, at liturgical objects or church portals are usually well-integrated and carved prominently in regular characters. Sculptors' and pilgrims' inscriptions, on the contrary, appear in the margins and may sometimes be difficult to access and read. In some cases, sculptors intentionally aimed to make their signatures less prominent and understandable by turning them in pictorial puzzles. Addressed directly to God, these inscriptions were not made for earthly recognition or interaction with human audience. Nevertheless, they may have attracted attention of the faithful, as it required longer time to decipher these inscriptions and graffiti.

This ambiguous approach was undertaken by Ursus, who split his name in two syllables, VR and SVS, by inscribing them at the two roundels flanking the head of a male figure in the relief. Wezilo of Konstanz (active ca 1173 – 1180) used a similar motif in his signature. To conceal his identity, the sculptor divided his name in two syllables, 'WE-ZIL.' This signature appears at the centre of tympanum lintel of Petershausen Abbey Church. Aiming to obtain a blessing and salvation, Wezilo placed his name at the feet of the Virgin Mary *Orans*, who is flanked by the twelve apostles (fig. 45).[538] Visual appearance and arrangement of this signature recall devotional

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destroyed by fire in 1595. The inscription reads: 'JANVA PERFICITUR VARIA CONSTRVCTA DECORE EX QVO VIRGINEVM CHRISTVS DESCENDIT IN ALVVM ANNO MCLXXX EGO BONANVS PISANVS MEA ARTE HANC PORTAM VNO ANNO PERFECI TEMPORE DOMINI BENEDICTI OPERARII ISTIVS ECCLESIE.' In the portion with his name, the sculptor confidently emphasises the high level of his skill. It translates as: 'I Bonanus, by my art, made this door in one year.' See R. Salvarani, *Matilde di Canossa, il papato, l'impero: storia, arte, cultura alle origini del romanico* (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana, 2008), 301; White, 'The Bronze Doors of Bonanus and the Development of Dramatic Narrative,' 158.

[537] Produced in the end of the eleventh or beginning of twelfth century in Verona, the halt of pilgrims, Pelegrinus's relief with Christ, St Peter and St Paul is discussed later in this thesis.

[538] Sculpted between 1173 and 1180, the tympanum itself represents the Ascension of Christ. See Legner, *Der Artifex: Künstler im Mittelalter und ihre Selbstdarstellung: eine illustrierte Anthologie*, 279.

graffiti. Its characters are angular in shape, the letter Z is mirrored, and L is carved at an angle. This adds asymmetry to the sculptor's signature, almost turning it into an epigraphic puzzle. As a result, the word would not stand out immediately, and it is more difficult to recognise it is a name at first sight. At the same time, once noticed, it attracts readers' attention and requires their focus. This may have been done purposely, to make the faithful entering the church think of Wezilo and mention him in a petition.

By contrast, the official inscriptions at this tympanum are easily legible, similar to the one commemorating Hildericus in Ursus's relief. They correspond to the religious scenes and follow hierarchical principle.[539] Notably, the inscription at apostles' feet encourages every individual entering the church to pray for salvation: 'These masters [= the disciples and Mary], like Christ, will take away our sins. Let *each of us*, venerating them, pray that we not be damned.'[540] These words indeed demonstrate the existence of the notion of individuality in the mentality of twelfth-century Christians. Wezilo's votive signature reveals its original function through this idea.

The monastery chronicle refers to Wezilo of Konstanz as *Exclericus* and *Opifex*.[541] The first term means he was a clergyman, whereas the second, *opifex*, denotes his proficiency in manual arts, sculpting and craftsmanship.[542] However, in his signature the sculptor omitted any references to his professional or social standing. Wezilo intended establishing direct devotional association to the Virgin by positioning his signature next to her figure. The ambiguous form of this signature is comparable to the one of Ursus. Both sculptors carved their names at prominent spots, yet attempted to conceal them by turning into pictorial or epigraphic puzzles, balancing between Christian humility and self-manifestation.

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[539] The topmost inscription, on the rim of mandorla, relates to Christ, and the second inscription is dedicated to the apostles. The third one runs in a band under their feet and encourages every individual that would enter the church through the portal to pray for salvation.
[540] While *exclericus* refers to a churchman, the word *opifex* combines *opus* ('an artwork') and *facio* ('to work'). Thus, Wezilo was the worker responsible for art production. See Kendall, *The Allegory of the Church: Romanesque Portals and their Verse Inscriptions*, 252-253.
[541] U. Kalbaum, *Romanische Türstürze und Tympana in Südwestdeutschland: Studien zu ihrer Form, Funktion und Ikonographie* (Munster: Waxmann, 2011), 255.
[542] R. Schork, *Latin and Roman Culture in Joyce* (Gainesville: UP of Florida, 1997), 155.

A comparable approach was undertaken in Freising by Liutpreht, who carved his name at a column capital and broke it into two syllables, 'LIVT' and 'PREHT,' by an abacus angle. Either of these syllables has a meaning and may be used as an independent word. Thus, the sculptor's name was not easy to distinguish and understand at first sight. He wanted his name and his face to be read and recognised by specific visitors of the Crypt. It was legible only to priests or pious pilgrims facing the sarcophagus of St Corbinian for a prayer.[543] Ursus's self-representation is divided from the examples by Wezilo and Liutpreht by a considerable geographical distance and a time span of almost four centuries. However, all three Abbeys, San Pietro in Valle, Petershausen and St Lambrecht in Styria (Austria), with which, respectively, Ursus, Wezilo and Liutpreht affiliated, were Benedictine.[544] This coincidence may explain the affinities of the ways in which the three sculptors decided to or were allowed expressing piety and presenting their identities. Self-representation and devotional expression were closely linked in the subsequent periods too. By contrast with their predecessors, late medieval artists increasingly signed their works to indicate authorship and underlined their skill more prominently.[545]

At first glance, the ways in which some sculptors' signatures are arranged may create an impression that due to the lack of space the authors had to break the words down into syllables. Perhaps, in some cases that was the reason, indeed. However, visual analysis of the case studies produced by Wezilo, Liutpreht and Ursus shows that sculptors had enough space to place their signatures. For this reason, I suggest that these sculptors have purposely chosen another approach in order to integrate their names and claim authorship. Tendencies to conceal full names are observed in Christian epigraphy, visual and manuscript culture from the fourth century onwards. The faithful applied it to protect themselves from various magical threats and supernatural adversaries.[546]

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[543] This example is analysed in detail separately, as it is another case study in this thesis.
[544] Petershausen Abbey was founded by the Bishop Gebhard of Constance in 983 and settled by Benedictine monks. Just like San Pietro in Valle, it was consecrated to St Peter, whereas its church was dedicated to St Gregory the Great.
[545] Rubin, 'Signposts of Invention: Artists' Signatures in Italian Renaissance Art,' 568.
[546] Garipzanov, *Graphic Signs of Identity, Faith, and Power in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, 9.

Personal monograms or abbreviations instead of full names were usually used in public places, in books, at seals or fibulae to request divine assistance. Combined with Christian symbols, these signs served individuals as personal tokens for salvation and protection.[547] Wax seals, *signum* or *segno*, ensured validity of notarial documents in ancient Rome and were associated with authority also in the early medieval period.[548] Thus, when artists are concerned, abbreviated signatures may be regarded not only as votive gestures but, in some cases, also as the early manifestations of professional authority.

Apparently, goldsmiths, including the above-mentioned Wigerig, similar to stone sculptors, may have intentionally split their signatures into syllables to convert them into epigraphic puzzles. Decorated with cloisonné enamel, inlay, semi-precious stones and pearls, the Reliquary of St Maurice (ca 700, Abbey of Saint-Maurice d'Agaune, Treasury) has an inscription of its makers, Undiho and Ello (fig. 46). Like Wigerig's inscription, at the first glance it may appear a random set of letters, each enclosed in a square cell formed by a grid of filigree threads. This inscription begins in the upper right corner of the plate, which is unusual for Latin language, always read from left to right. The spaces between the words are missing, which complicates comprehension: 'TEVDERIGVS PRESBITER IN HONORE SCI MAVRICII FIERI IVSSIT AMEN NORDOALAVS ET RIHLINDIS ORDENARVNT FABRICARE VNDIHO ET ELLO FICERVNT.' Moreover, some of the words are broken in the middle by the nail-heads indicating the spots where the metal plaques attach to the wooden core of the reliquary. Nevertheless, upon closer consideration, the inscription translates: 'Theuderich the priest ordered its creation in honour of Saint Maurice. Amen. Nordoalaus and Rihlindis ordered its manufacture. Undiho and Ello made it.' The style of palaeographical characters, specifically of R, E, and A resembles the ones in Ursus's relief, whereas the angular letterforms of O reveal striking affinities to Gennarius's inscription at Savigliano.

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[547] Ibid., 9, 11.
[548] Rubin, 'Signposts of Invention: Artists' Signatures in Italian Renaissance Art,' 571.

Similar to other artists discussed in this chapter, the makers of this Merovingian reliquary may have aimed to make their names less prominent. Undiho and Ello transformed the inscription into an epigraphic puzzle, or rather in an ornamental pattern. It entirely covers the side of the reliquary, making the text dominate the space. I have proposed that such design was chosen to conceal the makers' names and, thus, expresses humility. This, however, may have had an opposite effect on those who could access the reliquary, engaging them in examining and deciphering the inscription to discover the names of the makers.

I suggest that metalwork artists and sculptors, including Ursus, used votive signatures to communicate with the divine and represent themselves as devotees in the face of God. At the same time, written self-representations of this kind may have served as manifestations of identity and authorship. The analysis presented above indicates that a tradition of written self-representations originated in the ancient times and developed continuously throughout the centuries. Being written testimonies of artists' presence at sacred sites, their signatures correlate to pilgrims' graffiti in a variety of aspects. Similar to most Lombard master sculptors, Ursus may often have travelled for work, and the site in Ferentillo was one of the destinations. The interpretation of Ursus's signed relief, proposed in this thesis, suggests that the sculptor expressed devotion to the local hermits, St Lazarus and St John. Akin to pilgrims' graffiti, Ursus's signature integrated his figure into cultural memory. Ferentillo relief remains a valuable Lombard artefact manifesting Ursus's status and identity.

The position of Ursus's signature in the relief and its relation to other pictorial elements in it require a thorough analysis. Similar to the way in which saints' names are usually indicated in religious scenes, the master's name is split in two syllables and flanks the head of a bearded man depicted in the relief to the viewer's left. This may imply that the name refers directly to this male figure and that it is the sculptor Ursus himself. However, a closer consideration of the details in the relief shows that the name is carved on the two objects, which in this thesis are interpreted as sculptor's mallets. The man holds one of these in his right hand. The following portion of the signature, 'MAGESTER FECIT,' is carved next to the man's left hand with a chisel. In my

opinion, the position of the signature emphasises the action of carving itself and acknowledges the sculptor's skill and contribution. Ursus may have aimed to ensure self-manifestation through working tools and build a firm association between them, his name and professional title.

Parallels like this originate from the ancient period. Roman and Gallo-Roman craftsmen used their tools as emblems in their votive reliefs.[549] Emblematic images of sculptors' tools are also found at corbels of early medieval cathedrals. These may be interpreted as allegorical representations of sculptors or their profession. Thus, following the steps of his predecessors and contemporaries, Ursus may have used this motif in his relief to manifest professional identity.

Besides, the emphasis on artists' hand as an instrument of creative power was not uncommon in medieval art.[550] Inscriptions indicating names and professional statuses of artists working in various media are commonly found next to their arms or along the working tools. A German monk and manuscript artist Rufillus from Weissenau Abbey in Ravensburg represented himself in an enlarged initial R, the first letter of his name (fig. 47).[551] Surrounded with pots of pigments and other typical attributes of a medieval scriptorium, the artist-monk is shown in profile with his tools, diligently working to finish the initial. This self-image follows the iconography of an artist at work discussed in this chapter. Notably, the signature, 'FR RVFILLVS,' is placed exactly above the artists' right hand holding a working tool. An initial D in another manuscript depicts a tonsured figure in profile wearing a monastic habit. The name 'RVFILLVS' is written directly above the initial in the margins of the manuscript. This time the monk pictured himself as a scribe, with working tools in both hands. The striking similarity of the facial features of these two signed self-images leaves no doubts that it is the same artist-monk depicted. There also exist artists' self-representations with working tools produced

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[549] Kenaan-Kedar, *Marginal Sculpture in Medieval France: Towards the Deciphering of an Enigmatic Pictorial Language*, 30.
[550] Dietl, 'In arte peritus. Zur Topik Mittelalterlicher Künstlerinschriften in Italien bis zur Zeit Giovanni Pisanos,' 94.
[551] Legner, *Der Artifex: Künstler im Mittelalter und ihre Selbstdarstellung: eine illustrierte Anthologie*, 72.

earlier than these two late twelfth-century images. The continuity of the motif was maintained by following the tradition and looking back at earlier examples.

The signed self-image of Ursus is akin to the above-mentioned miniatures as it also shows an artist at work. Among the examples nearly contemporary to it is the signed self-representation of the German goldsmith Vuolvinus in the *Altar of St Ambrosius* (ca 840). Vuolvinus depicted himself and his patron Angilbert II (archbishop of Milan 824 – 859) crowned by the saint.[552] The character of this self-representation allows stating with certainty that the skillful master was highly respected by his powerful patron.

Unlike the altar from Ferentillo, Vuolvinus's piece has a traditional image of Christ in Majesty and the scenes from the Life of Christ at the front side facing the faithful. The signed representations of the goldsmith Vuolvinus and his patron are found on the other side of the altar, humbly concealed from general audience. The signature emphasises that Vuolvinus was master goldsmith: 'VVOL/VI/NV(S) / MA//GIS/T(ER) PHA//BER.' Although it may seem that the words are chaotically split in syllables to fit the signature, the goldsmith was systematic in underlining his professional status, because the word 'magister' is cast exactly along Vuolvinus's right arm (fig. 48).[553] The goldsmith's figure and posture demonstrate humility and piety, but the inscription underlines his professional status and skill. A similar approach is found in the self-representation of Ursus, also a master of Germanic origin. In their self-images both artists established associations between a masterly hand, status and skill.

Subsequently, the conception of a masterly hand and its creative power is traced in artists' self-representations produced in various media across Europe. Artists' contemporaries may also have been aware of this idea. For instance, in the twelfth century, abbot Wibald of Stavelot used an epithet 'willing and celebrated hand,' when addressing to his goldsmith in a letter.[554] One of the scenes at the *Bernward Doors* of Hildesheim Cathedral (ca 1015) depicts Cain and Abel bringing offerings. The Hand of

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[552] Lasko, *Ars Sacra, 800–1200*, 42.
[553] Dietl, *Die Sprache der Signatur: die mittelalterlichen Künstlerinschriften Italiens*, vol. 2, 1004-1005.
[554] Davis-Weyer, *Early Medieval Art, 300–1150: Sources and Documents*, 171.

God appears above them and exactly in the area of a doorknocker as if it is going to clasp it and open the door to salvation.[555] This is highly symbolic and may be interpreted as a parallel to the masterly hand of a bronze caster. This feature strongly relates to Gofridus's capital showing the *Adoration of the Magi* and the blessing Hand of God (twelfth century, the Collégiale Saint-Pierre in Chauvigny, France). Placed in the most sacred part of the church, at the central column of the apse, exactly over the main altar, this capital is signed: 'GOFRIDVS / ME FECIT.'[556] The name is noticeable from nave and choir, which demonstrates Gofridus's intention to ensure his presence at liturgies and remembrance in priests' petitions to God.[557]

Notably, Gofridus's signature is carved in a band and flanks the Virgin Mary (fig. 49). It recalls the way in which Ursus's name is arranged on both sides of the male figure identified in this thesis as St Lazarus. Ursus and Gofridus clearly aimed to express devotion to the hermit saint and the Virgin, respectively. While Ursus carved 'MAGESTER FECIT' in his relief next to the hand with a chisel, Gofridus in his capital placed the words that express an action, 'ME FECIT,' above the blessing hand to the viewer's right. Both implied a parallel between the manual work of a sculptor and a masterly hand.[558] Images and inscriptions in both the French and in the Italian example are strongly interconnected, as these two countries belonged to the same cultural world. By representing themselves through their work, both Ursus and Gofridus emphased the action of creation, and this reference contains ennobling connotation towards sculptors' art.

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[555] Signatures and self-images of bronze casters are often found at doorknockers or church doors. It was discussed in detail in Chapter 1 by the example of the case study, the Doorknockers of Freckenhorst Church signed by their maker Bernhardus.
[556] P. Claussen, 'Kathedralgotik und Anonymität 1130-1250,' in *Beiträge zur mittelalterlichen Kunst Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte, 46-47*, ed. Gerhard Schmidt, (Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 1993-1994), 146 (footnote 18) and Kenaan-Kedar, *Marginal Sculpture in Medieval France: Towards the Deciphering of an Enigmatic Pictorial Language*, 42. In the book by Kenaan-Kedar, Gofridus was mistakingly named Godefridus.
[557] E. Hall, *The Arnolfini Betrothal: Medieval Marriage and the Enigma of Van Eyck's Double Portrait* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 159.
[558] Notably, twelfth-century documentation about Collégiale Saint-Pierre in Chauvigny thoroughly lists the names of nobility and donors, but Gofridus is not mentioned among them. This may serve in support of an argument that he was an artist, who sculpted the capital.

Moreover, representations of the blessing Hand of God in relation to the *me fecit*-signatures allude not only to artists' work, but also to the biblical story of Divine Creation. In some medieval miniatures *Deus Artifex* is depicted creating the world with a compass. The God, who made the first man out of clay, was perceived as an artist, or a sculptor shaping three-dimensional images.[559] Connections may also be established with representations of Nature as a female figure creating a man by using an anvil and a hammer. In his treatise, the twelfth-century author Hugh of Saint Victor called Nature 'an artificer' possessing a 'power to beget sensible objects.'[560]

To construct and present their identities in art, medieval sculptors and metalwork artists operated with conceptions of unquestionable models for imitation, such as the Divine Creator or patron saints. Artists worked on self-identifications with these models not to express vanity, but rather to establish devotional associations. In fact, similar cases also took place in the ancient period. For instance, Phidias thoughtfully identified himself with the mythological figure, Daedalus, in the battle scene with the Amazons decorating the shield of a statue of the goddess Athena. This ancient example links to a specific type of medieval sacred identificational self-portrait. Similar to Phidias, medieval artists included a strong self-referential aspect in their self-representations and associated themselves with biblical characters and holy figures.[561] To an extent, it is comparable to donor images in religious paintings, which were making biblical scenes more plausible to the worshipper due to the presence of contemporaries.[562] To

[559] As Kris noted, this biblical creation story has parallels in the analogous Babylonian myth. Kris, *Legend Myth and Magic in the Image of the Artist*, 52. For example, in his inscription at the doors of Mainz Cathedral, the bronze caster Berengerus referred to himself as an *artifex*. See also *God as Deus Artifex*, illumination from the *Bible moralise* (1220-1230, Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2554).
[560] These ideas were also popular at a later period. See, for instance, the miniature *Nature at Work* (beginning of the 14th c., The British Library, London), *The Personification of Nature Making Birds, Animals, and People*, from the *Romance of the Rose* (ca 1405, The J. Paul Getty Museum) and the bronze plaque at the doors of St Peter's Basilica in Rome (1445) by Filarete, where the sculptor depicted himself with a compass, like *Deus Artifex*.
[561] F. Polleross, *Das sakrale Identifikationsporträt: ein höfischer Bildtypus vom 13. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*. Worms: Wernersche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1988.
[562] Woods-Marsden, *Renaissance Self-Portraiture: the Visual Construction of Identity and the Social Status of the Artist*, 48.

distinguish themselves from the rest of the figures in religious scenes, artists may have used inscriptions as a reference, represented themselves with working tools and wearing medieval garments.

It was not accidental that Phidias represented himself in the guise of Daedalus, a skillful craftsman known for his creativity. According to Plutarch, Phidias's contemporaries became outraged when they recognised the sculptor's figure at the shield of the goddess. For them, it was a sign of vanity, and the sculptor was put in prison.[563] With regards to this, it is reasonable to question how Phidias's contemporaries had recognised him in Daedalus. The resemblance that they had noted might be rather formal, because Phidias's figure is relatively small and facial features are lacking sufficient detail for identification. It seems that the old bald-headed man stands out among the figures of other Greek warriors largely due to a hammer in his hands. In this scene it is a weapon, but it also recalls a sculptor's attribute. Perhaps the way Daedalus raises his hammer to fight an Amazon reminded Phidias's contemporaries typical movements performed by a sculptor during work. Subsequently, it has become a part of sculptors' iconography. Therefore, associations with a sculptor's hammer determined identification of this figure with the sculptor Phidias.

In Christian art, from the medieval period and further, the biblical character and sculptors' patron saint Nicodemus often served as a model for sacred identification.[564] Sculptors and metalwork artists also aspired to the patronage of the Four Crowned Martyrs or St Eloy and St Dunstan. Yet, perhaps, depicting themselves in the guise of Nicodemus, who has never been canonised, was more appropriate and prevented possible accusations in profanity. Nevertheless, Nicodemus was mentioned in the Bible

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[563] Plutarch. 'Pericles,' accessed June 15, 2017, http://classics.mit.edu/Plutarch/pericles.html and Calabrese, *Artists' Self-Portraits*, 35. When mentioning this anecdote, Calabrese noted that the imprisonment of Phidias may rather have been a political gesture against Pericles than the result of contemporaries' outrage caused by the self-portrait. Pericles was not only Phidias's patron and friend, but also a prominent political figure that possessed numerous rivals. Therefore, the condemnation of Phidias may signify antagonistic feelings towards his protector.

[564] Similarly, painters often identified themselves with Saint Luke, who was believed to make the first and only true-to-life portrait of the Virgin and Child. See J. Chapuis, *Tilman Riemenschneider, ca 1460–1531* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 216.

several times, and almost always in relation to Jesus; either as being involved in a conversation with him, or as being present at Christ's burial (John 19:39).

Sculptors' self-identifications with Nicodemus were also connected to an early medieval legend. It claimed that Nicodemus was the carver of the miracle-working crucifix Volto Santo. The legend exists in several variants. One of the versions says that the crucifix was created by Nicodemus after a mystical revelation obtained from Christ; the other narrates that Nicodemus carved the body of Christ and angels completed the face.[565] According to the Latin text of the legend, the Volto Santo had arrived to the Basilica of San Ferdinando at Lucca in 742. At present this date is debated as an error that was made by an editor of the text in ca 1100.[566] Nevertheless, several details of the narrative indicate that its original nucleus dates from the eighth century.[567] The Volto Santo attracted numerous pilgrims to Lucca and was widely venerated by the faithful, not excepting medieval sculptors. The image of Nicodemus was especially popular in the late medieval period, when the veneration of Christ's body and corresponding religious scenes reached its peak.[568] However, references to this biblical figure may also be traced at a later period. Apparently, as a role-model Nicodemus was popular among European sculptors working in various media, including stone, metal and wood.[569]

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[565] The Volto Santo is originally carved in wood, but stone sculptors also venerate the relic and its maker, Nicodemus. See P. Lazzarini, *Il Volto Santo di Lucca: 782–1982* (Lucca: Fazzi, 1982), 54-58.

[566] See the legend by Leboinus, *De inventione, revelatione ac translatione sanctissimi vultus venerabilis* (1525) and G. Guerra. 'Il Volto Santo e la Sindone,' accessed July 13, 2017, http://www.paginecattoliche.it/modules.php?name=News&file=article&sid=788

[567] A. Guerra, *Notizie storiche del Volto Santo di Lucca* (Lucca: Tipografia arcivescovile S. Paolino, 1881), 305-322.

[568] According to the Bible, Nicodemus brought a large quantity of aromatic substances for Christ's burial. Schleif, 'Nicodemus and Sculptors: Self-Reflexivity in Works by Adam Kraft and Tilman Riemenschneider,' 619.

[569] See, for instance, Niccolo dell'Arca's Nicodemus in the Lamentation scene (1480s, S Maria della Vita, Bologna) in polychromed terracotta; the Deposition by Pieter Coecke van Aelst (16th c., Metropolitan Museum of Fine Arts, New York) cast in metal; Baccio Bandinelli's Pietà with Nicodemus (16th c., Basilica della Santissima Annunziata, Florence) in marble or Michelangelo's Pietà (ca 1550, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Florence). Apparently, painters were also aware of sculptors' piety for Nicodemus and thus, sometimes included representations of sculptors as Nicodemus in painted Biblical scenes of Deposition. For instance, Vasari identifies the sculptor and architect Michelozzo di Bartolomeo Michelozzi depicted as Nicodemus in the fresco of Fra Angelico in San Marco in Florence. (See G. Vasari. 'Michelozzo

Albeit sacred identificational portraits are rare in early medieval art, the conception itself may have originated around the same time when the legend on Nicodemus and the Volto Santo appeared in Christian world. An eleventh-century plate from the church of San Lorenzo at Vallegrascia represents a male figure wearing an ankle-length robe.[570] This man is identifiable as a sculptor because he holds a hammer in his left hand and is surrounded by detailed representations of multiple working instruments of different shapes. To be more precise, these tools resemble mortise axes, various kinds of woodworking chisels and gouges used by wood sculptors.[571] In old scholarship, this figure was associated with Noah producing the Ark.[572] In my opinion, this identification is unreliable, as there are no other Old Testament scenes in the relief and no images of the Ark itself; the identification with Joseph the Carpenter is unlikely too, because the traditional attributes of this saint (a staff with lily blossoms, or a rod of spikenard, etc.) are not found in the scene.[573] Besides, the relief is peculiar due to numerous representations of crosses depicted next to the male figure, which in this thesis is interpreted as a sculptor and the maker of these crosses. This brings associations with Nicodemus, a Biblical figure and a character of medieval legends, in which he was considered as the maker of monumental wooden crucifixes Volto Santo and the Batlló Majesty.[574] A Latin cross with a longer descending arm is shown at the top left corner;

Michelozzi (1396-1472),' accessed July 16, 2017, http://members.efn.org/~acd/vite/VasariMichelozzo.html), or the Deposition by Caravaggio (ca 1602-1604, Vatican Museum, Rome), in which Nicodemus has the features of Michelangelo.

[570] Dietl, *Die Sprache der Signatur: die mittelalterlichen Künstlerinschriften Italiens*, vol. 3, 1716-1717.

[571] A gouge is a tool with a curved cutting edge, it is applied to make hollows and curves; a straight-edge chisel is used for lines. Medieval mortise axes and chisels of similar shapes were discovered in the course of archaeological excavations. See S. King. 'Wildwood Archaeology 2014,' accessed July 13, 2017, https://www.stuartking.co.uk/index.php/wildwood-archaeology-2014/

[572] No suggestions were proposed by Dietl to identify the figure with the hammer, but he noted that Sensi interpreted the scene as Noah producing the Ark. Dietl, *Die Sprache der Signatur: die mittelalterlichen Künstlerinschriften Italiens*, vol. 3, 1716.

[573] A. van Aarde, 'The carpenter's son (Mt 13:55): Joseph and Jesus in the Gospel of Matthew and other texts,' Neotestamentica 34 (2000): 173-190.

[574] G. Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, vol. 2 (Greenwich, CT: New York Graphic Society, 1972), 144-145, 472-473.

two Greek crosses with arms of equal length are at the right. Two lambs bearing crosses are shown next to the scene with the sculptor. Another Greek cross appears in the centre of the Nativity scene.

At the upper right, directly above the sculptor's tools, appears the blessing Hand of God, which is not coincidental. It touches the left ear of the sculptor, who reaches to the Hand with his right arm to obtain the blessing before work. The man is definitely not shown in the process of work, as he holds the hammer in his left hand. In the oldest version of the legend Nicodemus sculpted the Crucifix by virtue of divine inspiration, which this scene at Vallegrascia relief, I suggest, may possibly illustrate.[575] The associations with the legend about Nicodemus, the maker of the miraculous crucifix, are reinforced by the Crucifixion scene. Positioned exactly above the image of the wood sculptor, it dominates the relief. The images of mythological beasts carved in the lower row emphasise that the maker of the Vallegrascia relief may have been interested in legends and myths. The panel represents a three-headed sea monster, a griffin, a chimaera and a lion.

Signature incised along the sculptor's right arm relates this panel to the signed self-image of Ursus and other examples with a similar motif discussed in this chapter. The irregular style of palaeographical characters and the simple technique of the signature in Vallegrascia relief reveal affinities to pilgrims' graffiti. The reading of this signature is problematic. Neither of the two previous interpretations, 'MA [GI] ST [RI] / GUITONIO ET / ATTO' and 'MAGISTER (GVITANIA?) ET ACTA,' are convincing, whereas the recent reading reveals the fragmentary character of the signature: 'MA/GIST(ER) / OIO (?) // ATTO.'[576] In any case, both signatures from Ferentillo and Vallegrascia may be associated with the idea of sculptor's masterly hand. This could

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[575] As the legend says, 'sanctissimum Vultum non sua sed arte divina disculpsit.' See Lazzarini, *Il Volto Santo di Lucca: 782–1982*, 54-58.

[576] The first two variants were proposed by Sensi, who corrected himself in the course of research. Dietl's reading of this inscription is more accurate, although it reflects its fragmentary character. Dietl, *Die Sprache der Signatur: die mittelalterlichen Künstlerinschriften Italiens*, vol. 3, 1717.

demonstrate medieval sculptors' awareness of this motif, as well as their familiarity with the conception about *Deus Artifex* and the narrative on Nicodemus.

In the course of time, the references to Nicodemus became more common among sculptors. Usually associated with the iconography of Deposition, Lamentation or Entombment, Nicodemus was often shown assisting in removing Christ's body from the cross and preparing it for burial.[577] Among the popular examples is Benedetto Antelami's Nicodemus in the *Deposition* relief (1178, Duomo, Parma).[578] Just like in Ursus's panel, an inscription in Antelami's piece plays an important role in identifying the sculptor. In the original inscription, 'ANTELAMI DICTVS SCVLPTOR FVIT HIC BENEDICTVS,' the name of the author, Antelami, is carved exactly above the image of Nicodemus. It may be interpreted as 'The sculptor called Antelami is this blessed one.'[579] The first name of the sculptor, Benedictus, translates from Latin as blessed, and he emphasises it in the inscription. Demonstrating the features of sacred identificational portraits, the representation of Nicodemus stands out in this scene. His figure is of a smaller scale and is not as static as other images. Nicodemus seems to be involved in the process of deposition from the Cross more actively than others, removing a nail from Christ's left hand.

The signatures of Ursus and Benedetto Antelami indicate authorship and convey devotional messages. Moreover, I consider that in their works both sculptors followed the idea of sacred identification with saints, which in the medieval period was regarded as one of the possibilities to manifest identity. Just like in the case of Antelami, Ursus's signature is carved next to the male figure. However, it may not refer to it directly. The position of an artist's name next to an image or flanking it would not necessarily mean

[577] Chapuis, *Tilman Riemenschneider, ca 1460–1531*, 216.
[578] Symbolical is the fact that the relics of Nicodemus were kept in Parma, where Antelami was working. The specific connection of this sculptor to the legend on Nicodemus is also supported by the fact that the current replacement version of the Volto Santo is attributed to the circle of Antelami. Recent technical analyses demonstrated that the current Volto Santo is dated 'before 1260.' See G. Fanti, *Cento prove sulla Sindone: un giudizio probabilistico sull'autenticità* (Padova: EMP, 1999), 141-143 and Schleif, 'Nicodemus and Sculptors: Self-Reflexivity in Works by Adam Kraft and Tilman Riemenschneider,' 608-612.
[579] For a discussion on this and further references see Schleif, 'Nicodemus and Sculptors: Self-Reflexivity in Works by Adam Kraft and Tilman Riemenschneider,' 612.

that the author of the signature and the represented figure are the same person. The devotional signatures of Gofridus or Wezilo of Konstanz next to the images of the Virgin serve as examples in support of this argument. Consequently, Ursus's signature associated with the figure of the proposed St Lazarus and sculptor's working tools in his hands allow a suggestion that the master sculptor may have meant to identify himself with the ascetic.

Essentially, by placing his signature next to the figure which is assumed to be St Lazarus, Ursus may have acknowledged that he sees the hermit's deeds and life as examples to imitatate. This intention may be interpreted as the reflection of humility and piety towards the ascetic, and not as blasphemy. In effect, by working as a sculptor at the church of Santi Pietro e Paolo, Ursus continued the deed of St Lazarus, who, according to the previously discussed legend, had built the oratory on that place many centuries ago.[580] I propose that Ursus may have perceived his work as a way to express devotion and as a possibility to follow the steps of the hermit, similar to the Benedictines 'copying' or imitating St Gregory the Great. Thus, the relief at Ferentillo may contain one of the earliest portraits of sacred identification. Popular in late medieval Europe, the devotional gesture of sacred identification, in fact, may have been introduced in Italy in the Lombard period by sculptors of Germanic origin. It may denote the long-standing roots of cultural and artistic exchange between Italy and Germany that have been enriching both regions.

Conclusive arguments on Ursus's relief may not be made due to the lack of archival evidence, but in this chapter section I propose several hypotheses and use the inscription as a valuable component aiding in interpreting the scene. Currently an altar frontal, the relief may have originally been a partition element in the interior of the ancient Lombard church. Considering that most Lombard reliefs are preserved in fragments, it is

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[580] De Rossi and Raspi Serra specified that there is another signature of Ursus in the interior of the church of Santi Pietro e Paolo in Ferentillo. However, these scholars have not provided a photograph of this signature in their publications. The sculptor's signature *Ursus M(agister)* is found at the foot of a lateral pillar. See De Rossi, 'Ferentillo (nell'antico ducato di Spoleto). Abbazia di S. Pietro e suoi monumenti sacri e profani,' 160 and Raspi Serra, 'La diocesi di Spoleto,' 25. This might confirm that Ursus was involved in work on other elements of the church interior, or, perhaps, in a renovation project.

problematic to judge whether sculptors' self-representations were common at that period. However, I suggest that the case of Ursus may illustrate that Lombard master sculptors produced self-representations in written and pictorial forms and reflected on the ways in which they may express their professional identity and devotion.

The Ferentillo relief with Ursus's self-representation and the second case study in Chapter 2 are divided by time and geography. However, the connection between these two objects produced for ecclesiastical use lies primarily in the combination of a name and a figure, which in this thesis are interpreted as authors' signatures and self-images.

A Sculptor Lay Brother: Liutpreht and his late eleventh-century Signed Capital at Freising Cathedral Crypt

This chapter section proceeds exploring common features that may be continuously traced in sculptors' self-representations and analyses correlations between their written and pictorial elements. I base my argument on the analysis of the case studies and related pieces, but the issue is open to interpretations, which may vary from one example to another.

The vaults of Freising Cathedral crypt are supported by twenty-five free-standing columns and twenty-one semi-columns. Some of the capitals and bases of these columns are decorated and impress with their diversity. Among the variety floral motifs, birds and fantastic creatures found at the capitals, several feature representations of men. Only a capital of an Eastern column from the Northern row has an inscription. Carved in Roman majuscule, it reads 'LIVT // PREHT,' which is a male name found in Christian tradition.[581] The name is positioned at the abacus and appears exactly above the representation of a bearded man at the same capital. This chapter section interprets it as a sculptor's name. Visual analysis and comparisons with other signed capitals strengthen arguments presented in support of the idea that an image of a man below relates to the signature and may indeed be Liutpreht's self-representation.[582]

Exploring chaotic at first sight sculptural decoration of the crypt, this chapter section considers Liutpreht's capital as its essential part. The carvings at column capitals are interpreted as a sculpted narrative, which conveys the motif of transformation of soul from sinful to pious and reaches its culmination in Liuptreht's capital. Connections are

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[581] For further explanations of Old German names see L. Steub, *Die oberdeutschen Familiennamen*, vol. 2 (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1870), 66 and C. Yonge, *History of Christian Names*, vol. 2 (London: Macmillian, 1884), 430.

[582] According to verbal communication with Tobias Kunz, is very likely to be a name of the sculptor or architect. The scholar, however, considered that the figure under the signature does not necessarily relate to it and represent the artist. I am grateful to Tobias Kunz and Volker Krahn from the Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst at the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin for their advice and support.

made between the meaning of Liutpreht's name and the way in which it is positioned and seen at the capital.

Seufert's survey on inscriptions from Freising (2010) was the first to discuss the signature 'LIVT // PREHT.' However, apart from suggesting a dating after 1159, when reconstruction works began in Freising Cathedral and its crypt after the great fire, this book has not expressed independent ideas and referred to previous scholarship.[583] In early literature, 'LIVT // PREHT' was commonly interpreted as a signature of a professional, who was involved in producing sculptural decoration for the crypt. However, authorities were not agreed about his rank and role in religious community, some suggesting he was a stonemason, others arguing he was a master sculptor.[584]

Generally covering a wide range of objects and sites, most nineteenth- or early twentieth-century books have hardly referred to archival resources on Liutpreht or discussed his signed capital in detail. Often the authors of these early publications were not art historians specialising on medieval sculpture, which may explain incoherency of their methodologies. For example, some authors relied on common views that it was unusual for the names of medieval sculptors to be revealed, as many of them were churchmen.[585] However, not all of them followed this misconception, a few noted that twelfth-century chronicles and annals mention laymen artists, including Liutpreht.[586]

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[583] I. Seufert, *Die Inschriften der Stadt Freising* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2010), 8-9.
[584] Von Bezold (1892) and Dehio (1908) considered Liutpreht was a stonemason, Sighart (1862) wrote he was a master sculptor. See G. Von Bezold, *Die Kunstdenkmale des Königreiches Bayern* (Munich: Jos. Albert, 1892), 354; Dehio, *Handbuch der deutschen Kunstdenkmäler*, 132 and J. Sighart, *Geschichte der bildenden künste im königreich Bayern von den anfängen bis zur gegenwart* (Munich: J.G. Cotta, 1862), 153, 185.
[585] Sighart, *Geschichte der bildenden künste im königreich Bayern von den anfängen bis zur gegenwart*, 153, 185. In his book, Sighart mentioned Liutpreht twice and both times the name was misspelled as Luitpreht. However there is no doubt that the author refers to Liutpreht from Freising Cathedral.
[586] Dohme provided a short list of laymen artists and noted locations and approximate dates for some names. See R. Dohme, *Kunst und Künstler des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit. Biographien und Charakteristiken,*vol. 1, part 1 (Leipzig: E.A. Seemann, 1877), 51. A more consistent list is found in the *Register of German medieval architects and cathedral builders* (1868) by a clergyman, art historian and archaeologist Otte. He briefly mentioned Liutpreht and his signed capital at Freising Cathedral crypt and dated it from ca 1200. See H. Otte, *Handbuch der kirchlichen Kunst-archäologie des deutschen Mittelalters* (Leipzig: T.O. Weigel, 1868), 636.

Stylistic comparisons, undertaken in old scholarship to discuss sculpture in the crypt of Freising Cathedral were usually subjective and unsupported with documentary evidence.[587] Thus, the outcomes of analyses presented in those publications require reconsideration.[588] Having applied iconographic approach, Gerstenberg (1966) observed the development of masters' images towards individuality and claimed that the representation of Liutpreht is a characteristic example.[589] Again, this book and some other publications from the following decades echoed certain statements from old scholarship.[590] Overall, surveys after the 1980s demonstrated a momentum towards questioning Liutpreht's professional status and identity, and suggested the dating of his capital at ca 1180.[591] Similar to earlier books these publications have not referred to any evidence in support of their arguments. For this reason, this thesis suggests that the dating of the capital requires additional research.

Questions on Liutpreht remaining without a certain answer in the scholarship to date are the central issue for my investigation. Uncritical repetition that Liutpreht was a stonemason or a master from Freising, who carved his signed self-representation at the

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[587] Albeit Karlinger referred to Sighart when discussing Liutpreht's capital, he also expressed his own views on its style. Karlinger distinguished a number of sculptures at Freising cathedral that show affinities to Liutpreht's capital and united them in a group with a provisional name *opus liutpreht*. See H. Karlinger, *Die romanische Steinplastik in Altbayern und Salzburg, 1050–1260* (Augsburg: B. Filser, 1924), 58.

[588] For example, building an argument exclusively on the basis of stylistic analysis, Riehl suggested that Liutpreht was a master from Bavaria, who had been appointed to work at Freising Cathedral together with other local stonemasons. See B. Riehl, *Geschichte der Stein- und Holzplastik in Ober-Bayern vom 12. bis zur Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Munich: Verl. d. k. Akad. in Komm. Franz, 1903), 5.

[589] K. Gerstenberg, *Die Deutschen Baumeisterbildnisse Des Mittelalters. Jahresgabe Des Deutschen Vereins Für Kunstwissenschaft* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag Für Kunstwissenschaft, 1966), 19, 79.

[590] C. Lecouteux, 'Der Drache,' *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum* 108 (1979): 27 (footnote 54) and S. Benker, *Freising: 1250 Jahre geistliche Stadt* (Munich: E. Wewel, 1989), 402.

[591] For instance, instead of unconditionally following assumptions from previous publications, Keller cautiously noted that it is uncertain whether Liutpreht was a stonemason or an architect of the crypt. See H. Keller, *Blick vom Monte Cavo: kleine Schriften* (Frankfurt am Main: Insel, 1984), 440. Similar to Sighart, he misspelled Liutpreht's name as Luitpreht. Dietl listed Liutpreht as a sculptor or a foreman with a question mark, whereas Legner assumed he may have been an *artifex* or a stonemason that sculpted the famous *Beast Pillar* in the crypt. See Dietl, *Die Sprache der Signatur: die mittelalterlichen Künstlerinschriften Italiens*, vol. 4, 1868 and Legner, *Der Artifex: Künstler im Mittelalter und ihre Selbstdarstellung: eine illustrierte Anthologie*, 293.

capital in the crypt, needs to be examined afresh. Historical documents, including those on sculpture at Freising Cathedral, are of limited availability as most archives were lost in the fire of 1159. To avoid speculations and limitations of one-sided approach, this thesis does not rely exclusively on visual evidence, but applies an effective combination of methods. For instance, stylistic and iconographic analyses allow a broader contextualisation of Freising Cathedral crypt sculptural decoration and emphasise artistic and cultural connections between Germany, Italy, France and other European regions. In this chapter, stylistic and iconographic features of the male image at the capital are regarded in relation to the signature 'LIVT // PREHT.' I question whether the omission of the *me fecit*-formula in this case may be an indication of sculptors' illiteracy or a sign of their devotional intentions prevailing over a claim of authorship. Combined with documentary evidence available, this ensures new findings. A broader search in related written sources eventually results in finding Liutpreht's namesake, a lay brother, who may be identified with the sculptor. A medieval obituary of the Benedictine Abbey of St Lambrecht in Styria (the territory of present-day Austria, relatively close to Freising), listed the lay brother Liutpreht among the members of the religious community.[592]

Specialised literature on *conversi* is limited, but some sources, although fragmentary, contain evidence on lay brothers, their activities, and garb.[593] Wolter (1962), for instance, was informative regarding lay brothers' spiritual and everyday roles in monasteries and provided citations of theologians about it.[594] Recent scholarship indicated that both monks and lay brothers worked for monasteries with which they affiliated as architects and engineers, masons and sculptors; and it allowed these institutions saving money.[595] However, none of these sources focused on lay brothers as

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[592] Altmann Altinger, 'Die zwei ältesten Nekrologien von Kremsmünster,' 22, 128.
[593] Hélyot named sculpting and stonemasonry as typical activities of lay brothers. See P. Hélyot, *Dictionnaire des ordres religieux ou, Histoire des ordres monastiques, religieux et militaires, et des congrégations séculières* (Paris: Chez l'éditeur, 1863), 462. The differences between habit, hair and beards or churchmen and laymen were described by Constable, G. 'Beards in History: Symbols, Modes, Perceptions.' *Odysseus* (1994): 165-181 and C. Nugent, *Churches and Churchmen in Medieval Europe* (London: Hambledon Press, 1999), 246.
[594] Wolter, M. *The Principles of Monasticism*. St Louis: Herder, 1962.
[595] Cannon, 'Sources for the Study of the Role of Art and Architecture within the Economy of the Mendicant Convents of Central Italy: a Preliminary Survey,' 255.

individuals and discussed whether they expressed themselves visually. This chapter section adds considerably to understanding Liutpreht as a possible representative of lay brothers, which permits a more satisfactory interpretation of his self-representation.

Historical material on Freising Cathedral and its crypt allows deepening contextualisation of the case study and permits narrowing down the chronological frame for Liutpreht's capital to the period between 1159 and 1205.[596] This is supported by comparative material. I link Liutpreht's capital to other twelfth-century examples with sculptors' self-representations, which underlines that these were not uncommon.[597] This approach helps supporting my suggestions on the dating of the case study and tells more about artistic connections between medieval Bavaria, Rhine-Meuse Valley, Italy and other European regions. Addressed in old scholarship, this issue has hardly received further attention in recent publications on Freising Cathedral crypt and its sculptural ensemble. This thesis reviews observations from old scholarship to emphasise the valuable role of cultural exchange between both sides of the Alps.[598] Although it is difficult to claim with certainty that individual Bavarian masons visited Northern Italy, I provide extensive stylistic comparisons to demonstrate affinities between Lombard decorative ornaments and those in Freising Cathedral crypt.

Thus, an approach undertaken in this thesis facilitates perceiving the capital with Liutpreht's signature and his proposed self-representation in its complexity. The analysis of interaction between pictorial and written elements of this capital, namely between the representation of a bearded man and the name placed directly above it, offers an interpretation of the whole sculptural ensemble of the crypt. A coherent study of the

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[596] Fischer, J. *Der Freisinger Dom: Beiträge zu seiner Geschichte. Festschrift zum 1200 jährigen Jubiläum der Translation des hl. Korbinian.* Freising: Historischer Verein Freising, 1967 and Benker, S. *Freising: 1250 Jahre geistliche Stadt*. Munich: E. Wewel, 1989.

[597] Den Hartog, E. 'In the Midst of the Nations... The Iconography of the Choir Capitals in the Church of Our Lady in Maastricht.' *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 62 (1999): 320-365; Seewaldt, P. 'Ein romanischer Kapitellzyklus aus Trier.' *Trierer Zeitschrift* 50 (1987): 321-325 and Seewaldt, P. 'Fundstücke: von der Urgeschichte bis zur Neuzeit,' *Schriftenreihe des Rheinischen Landesmuseums Trier* 36 (2008): 150-170.

[598] Karlinger specifically noted stylistic similarities between the capitals from the crypt of St Corbinian and S. Ambrogio in Milan. See Karlinger, *Die romanische Steinplastik in Altbayern und Salzburg, 1050–1260*, 61 and Riehl, *Geschichte der Stein- und Holzplastik in Ober-Bayern vom 12. bis zur Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts*, 5-6.

history of Freising Cathedral and its crypt allows reconstructing the original appearance of the latter and acknowledges the roles of certain historical and religious personalities at Freising.

In fact, interior rearrangements that took place in the crypt of Freising Cathedral complicate the understanding of the role of the capital signed 'LIVT // PREHT' in the sculptural ensemble. These changes occurred in the course of time, after the medieval period, when Freising Cathedral and its crypt were valuable devotional and pilgrimage centres. The Cathedral flourished largely due to the beneficial influence of religious personalities. In the first instance, the contribution of the Benedictines to the history of Freising Cathedral and its crypt requires specific attention. They actively encouraged cultural and artistic exchange, development of religious traditions and elevation of the status of Freising as a pilgrimage centre.[599]

Freising Cathedral, also known as the Cathedral of St Mary and St Corbinian, hosts the relics of the latter saint in its crypt.[600] In *Vita Corbiniani* and other sources St Corbinian (ca 680 – 730) was referred to as a Benedictine monk.[601] Written by the saint's hagiographer, Bishop Arbeo (723 – 784), the *Vita Corbiniani* demonstrated that St Corbinian was a crucial figure in religious life of Bavaria. This saint of Frankish origin founded a Benedictine monastery and a school on a mountain near Freising in ca

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[599] Fischer, *Der Freisinger Dom: Beiträge zu seiner Geschichte. Festschrift zum 1200 jährigen Jubiläum der Translation des hl. Korbinian*, 200.

[600] The original name of the Cathedral was St Mary's. This is how the bishop Arbeo referred to it in his records when noting that he held a service there. However, the Cathedral's name changed overtime. A document from 765 registered a donation to the church of St Mary and St Corbinian in Freising. This addition to the Cathedral's name may have been the result of the translation of St Corbinian's relics into it. The earliest documentary evidence mentioning the grave of St Corbinian in this Cathedral is, however, from 769. For further discussion on this topic see S. Benker, 'Der Dom im ersten Jahrtausend,' in *Der Freisinger Dom. Beiträge zu seiner Geschichte*, ed. J. A. Fischer, 1-43, (Freising: Historischer Verein Freising, 1967), 2, 6-7.

[601] I. Wood, *The Missionary Life: Saints and the Evangelisation of Europe, 400–1050* (New York: Longman, 2001), 154. See also V. Lothar, *Vom Werden eines Heiligen: Eine Untersuchung der Vita Corbiniani des Bischofs Arbeo von Freising* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2000), 76, and Arbeo, Bishop of Freising. *Vita Corbiniani*. Translated by Centre Traditio Litterarum Occidentalium. Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2010; H. Glaser, *Vita Corbiniani: Bischof Arbeo von Freising und die Lebensgeschichte del hl. Korbinian*. Munich: Schnell & Steiner, 1983.

716.[602] The diocese in Freising was officially established only in 739 by Saint Boniface (ca 672 – 754), but St Corbinian is considered as the first bishop and the founder of Freising Church.[603] He was widely venerated as a patron saint of the city, due to his substantial input into promoting Christianity in Freising and neighbouring territories.

Moreover, Arbeo, Benedictine himself, made fundamental steps in turning Freising into a thriving religious centre. I suggest that Arbeo's experience of living and studying in Lombardy, Northern Italy, may have assisted him in enriching Bavarian culture with foreign tendencies. In ca 765/769, he translated the relics of St Corbinian from Merano in South Tyrol to Freising.[604] It was a significant undertaking in establishing veneration of the saint's relics and a new milestone in religious history of Freising and Old Bavaria.[605] To host the relics of the saint, Arbeo built the *Sepulchrum Corbiniani* in 769; it was placed behind the High Altar in the crypt which expands exactly below the choirstalls and the High Altar of the Cathedral.[606]

The replacements of the Sarcophagus of St Corbinitan that occurred in the course of time are difficult to trace as documentation is lacking. However, Benker and Bauer concluded that the Sarcophagus may have been moved to the crypt in the twelfth century and installed there between the second and third Eastern columns; this place in the crypt corresponds to the High Altar and locates the Sarcophagus exactly underneath it (fig. 50).[607] Essentially, even after being transferred to the crypt, the Sarcophagus maintained its connection to the altar of the upper church.

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[602] C. Herbermann, *The Catholic Encyclopedia: An International Work of Reference on the Constitution, Doctrine, Discipline, and History of the Catholic Church*, vol. 10 (New York: Gilmary Society, 1913), 631.

[603] U. Götz, *Kunst in Freising unter Fürstbischof Johann Franz Eckher, 1696–1727*: Ausdrucksformen geistlicher Herrschaft (Munich: Schnell & Steiner, 1992), 28.

[604] K. Becher, *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 1 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1953), accessed October 31, 2015, http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/sfz1167.html.

[605] Benker, 'Der Dom im ersten Jahrtausend,' 42.

[606] Benker, *Freising: 1250 Jahre geistliche Stadt*, 402.

[607] Benker, 'Der Dom im ersten Jahrtausend,' 39 and A. Bauer, 'Der Dom Als Wallfahrtskirche,' in *Der Freisinger Dom. Beiträge zu seiner Geschichte*, ed. J. A. Fischer, 259-282, (Freising: Historischer Verein Freising, 1967), 259.

The approximate date when the Sarcophagus of St Corbinian was moved relates to a record about the saint's relics miracle that happened in the crypt around 1170.[608] The Bavarian historian Veit Arnpeck (1440 – 1505) cited a legend about a boy infected with rabies, who was cured immediately after his father laid him on St Corbinian's sarcophagus, which was standing in the crypt.[609] Undoubtedly, this legend contributed to attracting pilgrims to Freising and especially to the Cathedral which hosted the saint's relics.

The graves of several other Bishops of Freising, including Hitto (ca 810 – 835) and Erchanbert (835/836 – 854) were also translated to the crypt after it was constructed.[610] The burial places of St Corbinian and Hitto, the sixth Bishop of Freising, are closely connected. The exact date when bishop Hitto was reburied in the crypt is unknown, but it has certainly happened by the fifteenth century, as Arnpeck mentions it in his work.[611]

The relocation of St Corbinian's sarcophagus and the graves of early bishops to the crypt may have been caused by religious, political and practical reasons. The tension and rivalry for power between bishops and dukes determined that the former were seeking to confirm the importance of their status through paying homage to their predecessors and venerating their relics.[612] Among other reasons for relics relocation may have been an intention to protect the sacred and preserve the spiritual core of Freising Cathedral. Notwithstanding the dramatic consequences of a fire that occurred in 1159 and tragically coincided with the feast of Palm Sunday, the Cathedral had to maintain its status of a pilgrimage centre.

It is hard to underestimate the extent of damage that the city of Freising and its Cathedral suffered on account of the fire. It caused serious destruction of the interior and

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[608] According to this book, the Sarcophagus remained at that spot until 1708. See Benker, 'Der Dom im ersten Jahrtausend,' 39.
[609] G. Leidinger, *Veit Arnpeck, Saemtliche Chroniken*. *Quellen und Eroerterungen zur bayerischen Geschichte*, vol.3 (Munich: Rieger, 1915), 882. This case was also mentioned several times in the book by Fisher, *Der Freisinger Dom. Beiträge zu seiner Geschichte.*
[610] Benker, 'Der Dom im ersten Jahrtausend,' 41.
[611] Leidinger, *Veit Arnpeck, Saemtliche Chroniken*. *Quellen und Eroerterungen zur bayerischen Geschichte*, vol.3, 859.
[612] Götz, *Kunst in Freising unter Fürstbischof Johann Franz Eckher, 1696–1727*: *Ausdrucksformen geistlicher Herrschaft*, 28.

of the whole building of Freising Cathedral, of which only the outer walls and the lower level of the tower partially remained.[613] Historical accounts also report that a large number of other churches, devotional pieces, books and archives were destroyed, which was a serious loss for religious culture of the bishopric.[614]

Bishop Albert I of Harthausen (ca 1158 – 1184), also known as Adalbert, succeeded Otto I (1137 – 1158). He undertook a considerable effort to rebuild the Cathedral and its crypt and to keep the status of Freising as a spiritual centre and pilgrimage destination. The new crypt was intentionally built bigger than the old one, so that it would accommodate more worshippers. Albert I's mission was carried on by bishop Otto II (1184 – 1220), who, similarly to his predecessors, widely supported the pilgrimage to St Corbinian's relics. The reconstruction of Freising Cathedral was completed under his supervision in 1205.

The building of the new crypt started after the fire of 1159 and was partially completed in a fairly short time span by 1161. Apparently, this was determined by the necessity to accommodate saints' relics that survived the great fire. Due to grave damages of the Cathedral structure, the relics of St Nonnosus, St Lantbert of Freising and St Corbininan had to be transferred to the newly built crypt. As evidence indicates, already in 1161 the relics of the sixth-century Benedictine monk St Nonnosus were buried inside the crypt under the auspices of Bishop Albert I and Archbishop Eberhard of Salzburg (ca 1085 – 1164).[615] Notably, the veneration of St Nonnosus, a monk at San Silvestre (on Monte Soratte), denotes religious ties between Italy and Bavaria.

During the construction of the crypt, some materials were reused, which facilitated the process and quickened it. This may also explain why not all the columns in the interior of the new crypt are decorated. The height of old undecorated columns was adjusted to support the vaults; most likely these columns belonged to the cathedral or

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[613] J. Fischer, 'Die zeitgenössischen Berichte über den großen Brand von 1159,' in *Der Freisinger Dom. Beiträge zu seiner Geschichte*, ed. J. A. Fischer, 65-97, (Freising: Historischer Verein Freising, 1967), 90.
[614] Ibid., 89-90.
[615] J. Engel, *Das Schisma Barbarossas im Bistum und Hochstift Freising (1159–77)* (Munich: Max Hueber, 1930), 39.

crypt from before 1159.[616] The columns with carved capitals, including the one with Liutpreht's signature, may have been produced after 1159, during reconstruction of the crypt. An idea of incorporating the columns of the previous crypt unaltered, without adding new carvings, prevailed over the principles of uniformity and consistency of decoration. It also marked the common tendency to preserve continuity of religious tradition and cultural memory at Freising Cathedral.

As a result, the new enlarged crypt incorporated a part of devotional history of the earlier edifice. This sacred space became the focal point of Freising Cathedral, where the relics of saints and high ranked church officials were piously assembled for veneration. It was an important step towards proclaiming the city of Freising as a pilgrimage destination and Christian site for the faithful to express devotion.

The crypt of Freising Cathedral was designed to house a great number of relics. Since the medieval period, it has been a centrepiece for Bavarian religious community. While the citizens of Freising were probably preoccupied with reconstruction of their homes after the great fire of 1159, powerful patrons gathered funds to reconstruct the Cathedral and its crypt. Among the historical personalities that extended patronage of Freising Cathedral and generously supported its restoration were Frederick Barbarossa (1120 – 1190) and his wife Beatrice of Burgundy (1143 – 1184). This royal couple is prominently perpetuated at the Cathedral portal. Both patrons are depicted with corresponding inscriptions specifying their names and titles. According to common practice in the medieval period, signatures or initials ensured recognition of the sitters without a failure.[617] Notably, one of the capitals in Freising Cathedral crypt includes the same combination of a man and a signature; a detailed discussion of this capital with the proposed signed self-representation of Liutpreht is given further in this chapter.

The inscription above Beatrice of Burgundy includes the Roman numerals specifying the date 1161. On the one hand, it is tempting to suggest that this is the year when the

[616] Fischer, 'Die zeitgenössischen Berichte über den großen Brand von 1159,' 90.
[617] Perkinson, 'Rethinking the Origins of Portraiture,' 149.

portal was founded or completed.[618] On the other hand, the process of Cathedral reconstruction initiated only at 1159, was too time-consuming to end already at 1161. This text may rather be an eighteenth-century addition in replication of the old inscription above Frederick Barbarossa (fig. 51).[619] Indeed, at first glance the style of the letterforms is similar, but a closer comparison reveals that the former inscription rather imitates the latter. The fine lines of the letters in the inscription mentioning Beatrice of Burgundy are carved not as deeply as those of Frederick Barbarossa's inscription, which may support the argument that it was added later. Moreover, stylistic differences are noticeable in the palaeographical characters A, E and C. Interestingly, the accurately spaced and proportioned Roman majuscule letterforms of Liutpreht's signature reveal similarities to those of Barbarossa's inscription, which may indicate that both were carved around the same period, between 1159 and 1205.

The unaltered medieval details of Freising Cathedral portal demonstrate close affinities to sculpture of the crypt. Most likely these were produced by the same group of sculptors and originate from the same period.[620] However, the original appearance of medieval portal is currently difficult to reconstruct as it was distorted by subsequent renovations. The garments of the donors were probably altered in the fourteenth century.[621] Sculpted in limestone and plaster, the figures at the portal were subject to numerous repairs, including those that occurred in the eighteenth century.[622] The left

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[618] Sighart, *Geschichte der bildenden künste im königreich Bayern von den anfängen bis zur gegenwart*, 154-155.

[619] J. Schlecht, *Monumentale Inschriften im Freisinger Dome*, vol. 5 (Freising: Datterer, 1900), 23-24. Following Schlecht, Karlinger named the date 1161 in the inscription meaningless and noted that it could have been added during the later restoration. See Karlinger, *Die romanische Steinplastik in Altbayern und Salzburg, 1050–1260*, 58.

[620] Benker, *Freising: 1250 Jahre geistliche Stadt*, 385. The same opinion was expressed by Karlinger. See Karlinger, *Die romanische Steinplastik in Altbayern und Salzburg, 1050–1260*, 62.

[621] Sighart, *Geschichte der bildenden künste im königreich Bayern von den anfängen bis zur gegenwart*, 179; the same opinion was expressed by Karlinger, *Die romanische Steinplastik in Altbayern und Salzburg, 1050–1260*, 58. No additional information on this topic was provided in Benker's recent book. See Benker, *Freising: 1250 Jahre geistliche Stadt*, 385.

[622] A. Landsberg, *Die romanische bau-ornamentik in Südbayern* (Munich: Wolf, 1917), 7 and Karlinger, *Die romanische Steinplastik in Altbayern und Salzburg, 1050–1260*, 58, 141 (footnote 147).

knee, the left shoulder and the right hand of Frederick Barbarossa are later additions, just like the right hand and the garment of Beatrice of Burgundy, which were remodelled in the eighteenth century.[623]An etching of the portal from Meichelbeck's *Historia Frisingensis* (1724) represents it after the restoration of 1723-24, but it is not detailed enough to reveal the features of the donor figures and related inscriptions.

An inscription identifying the third figure standing next to Frederick Barbarossa may have been lost in the course of time. Benker briefly considered it as a bishop, Sighart and Götz, in turn, assumed that it is Albert I.[624] This bishop played a key role in several reconstruction projects, including Freising Cathedral and its crypt and a Benedictine monastery in Moosburg with a church of St Kastulus. The tympanum of the West façade of the latter, restored in ca 1171, depicts Albert I.[625] Considering his contribution and involvement in reconstruction of Freising Cathedral, it would be reasonable to have Albert I's image at its portal too. However, the figure depicted next to Frederick Barbarossa does not correspond to conventional iconography of bishops and reveals no affinities to the image of Albert I at the tympanum of St Kastulus (fig. 52).

At Moosburg, Albert I is identified by an inscription, which appears along his figure in the relief. Wearing traditional garment and a mitre, the bishop is shown as a donor. He holds a model of a church and kneels before the patron saint and Christ. On the contrary, the headgear and the garment of the figure at the portal in Freising have nothing in common with bishop's vestments. The figure's pose with the uncovered right leg does not associate with clergy either. An attribute that this figure has in their right hand hardly resembles a bishop's croisier with its shape, length and the manner in which is it held. Most likely, this image has become unidentifiable as a result of poor restorations or unskilled remodelling.

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[623] Karlinger, *Die romanische Steinplastik in Altbayern und Salzburg, 1050–1260*, 58.

[624] Sighart, *Geschichte der bildenden künste im königreich Bayern von den anfängen bis zur gegenwart*, 154-155 and Götz, *Kunst in Freising unter Fürstbischof Johann Franz Eckher, 1696–1727: Ausdrucksformen geistlicher Herrschaft*, 252.

[625] M. Hensch, 'Archäologische Untersuchungen in und um die ehemalige Stiftskirche St. Kastulus in Moosburg, Lkr. Freising,' *Archäologie im Landkreis Freising* 11 (2011): 97-103.

As noted previously, images of donors are easily identifiable through inscriptions and iconographic features. Emperor Frederick Barbarossa and his wife are shown crowned and with royal attributes. The bishop Albert I at Moosburg is also recognisable by his vestment, the headgear and the crosier. The prominent position of these figures at church portals or tympana emphasises the important contributions that these personalities accomplished. Although no immediately recognisable figures of royal donors or bishops are found in the crypt of Freising Cathedral, there is a capital with an image of a man and a signature 'LIVT // PREHT.' Early scholarship suggested that the signature perpetuates the name of a master sculptor, who wished to express piety and underline his contribution to the work on the Cathedral and its crypt.[626]

However, previous scholarly opinion on Liutpreht is largely of speculative character unsupported by documentary evidence, visual analysis or strong arguments. His signed capital requires thorough research and detailed analysis in order to understand whether the image indeed belongs to a sculptor and not to a donor, an architect or a simple stonemason. No iconographic attribute identifies the man at Liutpreht's capital as a member of royalty or clergy. In fact, at first sight it may seem that there are no significant iconographic details at all. However, I argue that an interpretation of sculptural ensemble of the crypt proposed in this thesis and a consideration of the male image at the signed capital in this context may reveal more about the identity of Liutpreht.

The columns in the crypt of St Corbinian vary in dimension, shape and design; some of them have decorated socles and capitals. The number of those with undecorated capitals slightly prevails over the examples with carvings. Apparently, the decorated columns were created between 1159 and 1205, when the crypt was reconstructed and enlarged.[627] The diversity in decoration of the capitals in the crypt of Freising Cathedral is akin to the principle applied at the portal of St Kastulus (ca 1171), where the

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[626] Gerstenberg, *Die Deutschen Baumeisterbildnisse Des Mittelalters. Jahresgabe Des Deutschen Vereins Für Kunstwissenschaft*, 19.

[627] As Fischer noted, the simpler columns in the new lower church might be the details of the cathedral or the crypt from before 1159. See Fischer, 'Die zeitgenössischen Berichte über den großen Brand von 1159,' 90.

ornamental carvings at the jamb columns and archivolts are not uniform too. The floral motifs at Moosburg portal, especially the vines at the capital of a semi-column with two flautists, show stylistic affinities to the same features of capitals at Freising crypt (figs. 11, 12). These similarities may be explained by the proximity of Moosburg and Freising and the coinciding time frames of work on these two projects, both of which were under the guidance of the bishop Albert I.

In this chapter part I propose an interpretation of the sculptural decoration of Freising Cathedral crypt based on visual analysis of the carved capitals and their positions in the interior. At first sight, it may seem difficult to understand the logic of masons and trace a systematic principle in the arrangement of undecorated and ornate columns in the crypt. However, in a sense, it is a matter of interpretation of the pattern, according to which the columns were set. I consider that the placement of ornate and simple columns structures the space in the crypt and forms polar zones. To an extent, these zones counter each other and suggest a path to the visitors.

Most of the columns with carvings at the capitals concentrate around *the Beast Pillar*, as if emphasising its importance in that part of the hall. The subjects of the carvings at these capitals are notable for their diversity and mythological, if not pagan connotations. Embellished with foliage and floral motifs, they create an atmosphere of a magical forest inhabited with various creatures, fantastic birds, griffins and anthropomorphic characters. Some of them peer through the branches or hold entwining them floral stems that may symbolise the bonds of sin or paganism. Considering the semi-darkness of the hall with its flickering light of candles, it is possible to envisage what effect such decoration may have had on the medieval pilgrims descending into the crypt.

Having found themselves downstairs, among these fantastic creatures of underworld, the faithful would have headed to the Eastern part of the crypt to venerate the sarcophagus and altar of St Corbinian, as well as relics of other saint bishops. Notably, the amount of undecorated columns, which create an atmosphere of serenity and would not destruct the visitors from prayers, prevails in that area.

However, there are exceptions at that part of the crypt, namely, the capitals with four telamon-like figures and with a signature ‘LIVT // PREHT.’ The telamon capital belongs

to a column of the central row. Its shaft is built of four tree-like colonnettes; depicted among the vines, the telamons are positioned at the four angles of the capital (fig. 53). These telamon images resemble the slouching figures of flautists at the side of the portal of St Kastulus in Moosburg (fig. 54). Similarly, these have short necks, broad faces with large almond-shaped eyes and are sculpted bending their knees to follow the capital structure.

The four telamon figures face the saints' sarcophagi with relics and undergo stages of metamorphoses form trees into humans. Already with anthropomorphic heads and torsos, some have human hands and prudishly cover their loins. However, those who have their arms raised like tree branches to support the column have no fingers and their legs finish with leaves instead of feet. Exposed to the sacred, they develop from earthly and sinful to spiritual and pious beings. It is not incidental that the first column of the central row is dedicated to such subject. The motifs of vine and transformation at this capital reveal the central idea of the sculptural programme in the crypt, a spiritual journey to God and salvation undertaken by all Christians in their lives.

Similar motifs are found in the carvings at another capital. Semi-figures of men have floral stems sprouting from their heads and entwining them (fig. 55). These male images among vines relate to the motif of a green man, usually shown as a stylised face with leaves growing out of it and symbolising rebirth and new life. The metaphorical idea of spiritual rebirth occurs in the Bible and may have inspired clergy and laymen involved in the works on the crypt. According to the Bible, one night Christ was visited by a Pharisee and a member of the Sanhedrin assemblies Nicodemus, who later, in the medieval period, was considered as the patron of sculptors.[628] In a conversation, Jesus told him: 'Truly, truly, I tell you, no one can see the kingdom of God unless he is born again' (John 3:3). Nicodemus asked, how is it possible for an old man to be born again, and Christ explained that it may happen through Christian sacraments.[629] This reference

[628] Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, vol. 2, 144-145, 472-473.

[629] The image of Nicodemus, a patron and role-model of sculptors, is coherently discussed in another chapter section of Chapter 2. The legend about Nicodemus and the miraculous crucifix Volto Santo was popular in the medieval period. Some sculptors depicted themselves in the guise of Nicodemus and associated themselves with him.

to transformation of soul of an older man evokes parallels with lay brothers or *conversi*. Unlike monks, these faithful were mostly involved in manual labour, including sculpting, and were 'converted' to the service of God at monasteries at a mature age.[630]

The idea of metamorphosis to obtain salvation, I suggest, finds its logical culmination in Liutpreht's capital. The floral stems at this capital transform from bonds to gracefully curved vines with a bunch of grapes; held by the youngest of the two bearded men, these grapes allude to Eucharist (fig. 56). The column with this capital is in the closest proximity to the sarcophagus of St Corbinian, which may indicate votive intentions. Presumably, the bearded men personify individuals that reached a certain state of their spiritual transformation and endeavours in accepting God. Both men at this capital look considerably more mature than telamon figures at the column nearby. Notably, the man holding a bunch of grapes has long and voluminous hair and a shorter beard. Unlike the image of his counterpart, this figure looks younger. The oldest of the two men, bold and with a longer beard, has the Christian male name 'LIVT // PREHT' carved directly above his head. The position of the name makes firm associations with the figurative representation. In my opinion, the characteristic, individualised features of this figure, namely the bold head and the long beard, and the thoughtful facial expression distinguish this image from others at the carved capitals in the crypt. Besides, these features underline the man's age bringing associations with lay brothers, who usually worked at monasteries being mature men. These features may not be sufficient to consider this figure as an image of a real person, but the signature 'LIVT // PREHT' may indeed refer to a donor or a sculptor, who contributed to the reconstruction of the crypt. The role of this signature has been overlooked in research to date. Apart from brief comments on the style of its palaeographical characters, no enquiries were made on the connection between this signature and pictorial elements of the capital.

Placed directly above the image of the bold bearded man, the name 'LIVT // PREHT' is broken into two syllables. The reasons for this division require a closer investigation. It recalls the carved signatures 'VR // SVS' at San Pietro in Valle and 'WE // ZIL' at

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[630] Wolter, *The Principles of Monasticism*, 480-481.

Petershausen Abbey discussed in Chapter 2. At San Pietro in Valle, the two syllables of the name 'VR // SVS' are flanking the male figure, whereas the second portion of the signature 'MA/GES/TER // FECIT' is also broken into several syllables to be integrated exactly along the man's working tool, which emphasises his professional status. At Petershausen Abbey, the name 'WE // ZIL' is also split into syllables. Visual analysis of both examples shows that there is enough space in these reliefs to fit short inscriptions. Consequently, Ursus and Wezilo could have arranged their signatures not as 'epigraphic puzzles.' However, just like Liutpreht, the sculptors have chosen to do otherwise, and, in my opinion, there existed reasons for that. I suggest that breaking the names in syllables to make them illegible may be considered as a gesture of self-abasement performed by the bearers of these names.

Notably, all the three Christian centres, San Pietro in Valle, Petershausen Abbey and Freising Cathedal, were associated with the Benedictines. The degrees of humility described in the Rule of St Benedict instruct about being humble. The sixth and the seventh degrees of humility, for instance, suggest that to become closer to the divine monks should think of themselves as bad and unworthy workmen, people of less account than others.[631] Following this spiritual idea, Ursus, Wezilo and Liutpreht may have purposely positioned their devotional self-representations in direct relation to the images of holy figures. As the Psalm 72 reads: 'I was senseless and ignorant; I was a brute beast before you. Yet I am always with you; you hold me by my right hand' (Ps 72:22-23).

However, the signature at Liutpreht's capital also demonstrates an architectonic feature. Split in half by the angle of the abacus, it follows the structure of the capital. Notably, there is enough space at the abacus and on the sides of the capital to fit Liutpreht's signature, but the sculptor has chosen to place it exactly at the angle of the abacus so that it appears split in two syllables. This establishes a closer connection between the signature and the male figure, which is also placed at the corner of the capital. Remarkably enough, the column with Liutpreht's signature is located next to the sacred object in the crypt, the sarcophagus of St Corbinian. More precisely, when facing

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[631] Benedict, Saint Abbot of Monte Cassino, *The Rule of Saint Benedict*, 45.

the sarcophagus, the viewer would see the column to their right and exactly at an angle making Liutpreht's face and signature clearly visible. The height of the column is not too high and would allow it. Thus, Liutpreht may have purposely selected a very specific audience to see his name. Apparently, it may have been carved noticeable for priests or pilgrims making petitions in front of the sarcophagus and altar of St Corbinian. This could have guaranteed that Liutpreht would be remembered, and that his devotion to St Corbinian would be expressed permanently, securing him a place in Heaven (fig. 57).

Conversely, people randomly wondering in the crypt would rather notice fragments of his name 'LIVT' or 'PREHT,' depending upon the direction from which they approached the column. This attempt to conceal the name from a wider audience may be regarded as a gesture of humility. Besides, it may also be interpreted as Liuptreht's intention to protect his name written in public place from being misused or targeted by magical practices. This was common in Christian epigraphy and visual culture already since the fourth century, when abbreviated names or monograms were used as asking for divine assistance.[632]

It is unlikely that by carving his name at the capital Liutpreht intended to gain recognition and popularity among people. His signature does not include family name or status, and is discreetly positioned at a capital in the dark crypt. Indeed, by placing his self-representation next to the sarcophagus of St Corbinian, Liutpreht may rather have been concerned with the salvation of his soul and devotional expression. An intention to demonstrate it in such an exceptional and spiritual way, combining piety and artistic creativity, may suggest that Liutpreht affiliated with a monastic community and was an artist. In the Middle Ages, devoting themselves to crafts or fine arts, painting and sculpture, in fact, was not uncommon to monks or laymen related to monasteries, and many orders allowed it.[633]

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[632] Garipzanov, *Graphic Signs of Identity, Faith, and Power in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, 9.
[633] Wolter, *The Principles of Monasticism*, 462.

The Christian male name Liutpreht may be interpreted as 'the light (brightness) of people.' The first part of the name, 'liut' stands for 'people.'[634] It brings associations with pilgrims or the faithful visiting the crypt. The Old German 'preht' may be translated as 'the bright and glorious.'[635] The meaning of this name interconnects with the symbolism of light and associates with pious life and God. As Jesus said: 'I am the light of the world. Whoever follows me will never walk in darkness, but will have the light of life' (John 8:12). In the darkness of the crypt this would have had an even more profound symbolic significance. For instance, historical documents reported that the bishop of Freising Konrad III of Sendliger (1314 – 1322) made a donation so that for two weeks special services were held at the altar of St Corbinian in the crypt and the light was maintained even during the night.[636]

The name Liutpreht seems to be familiar to the region of Old Bavaria. References to persons called Liutpreht occur in several medieval legal documents from that area, but this name is not cited frequently. The *Neue historische Abhandlungen der Baierischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* described an agreement from around 993. A certain nobleman and a bishop resolved a dispute about land and rights to hunt in the area between Wels and Lambach by dividing the property. Liutpreht appeared among the thirty-five people, friends of the nobleman and the bishop, who were invited to witness the agreement.[637]

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[634] For the explanation on the word building of the German name Liutpreht (literally *folkesglanz*) see Steub, *Die oberdeutschen Familiennamen*, vol. 2, 15, 66. In an Online Etymology Dictionary the meaning of 'liut' in both Old and Middle High German are similar and translate as 'leute' or 'volk' (people). See The Tower of Babel. An Etymological Database Project. 'Germanic Etymology,' accessed December 8, 2015, http://starling.rinet.ru/cgi-bin/etymology.cgi?single=1&basename=%2Fdata%2Fie%2Fgermet&text_number=+++457&root=config. The same meaning is confirmed in another source: S. Crist. 'Germanic Lexicon Project,' accessed July 25, 2017, http://web.ff.cuni.cz/cgi-bin/uaa_slovnik/gmc_search_v3?cmd=formquery2&query=liut&startrow=1

[635] Steub, *Die oberdeutschen Familiennamen*, vol. 2, 94. Also, for interpretations of Old German names see Yonge, *History of Christian Names*, vol. 2, 430.

[636] Bauer, 'Der Dom Als Wallfahrtskirche,' 263.

[637] The territories in question, Wels and Lambach (at present, Austria) are relatively close to Freising. See Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften. *Neue historische Abhandlungen der Baierischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, vol. 1 (Munich: Akademischen. Bücherverlage, 1803), 16.

Another Liutpreht signed a document from 1082 as a witness. It was a will, in which Wezilo von Asleihishausen and his wife stated that they donate certain goods to the Benedictine Abbey Weihenstephan.[638] Founded by Bishop Hitto of Freising in the ninth century, this abbey is situated in close proximity to Freising. According to the document, Liutpreht belonged to the community of this monastery and was asked to be a witness along with several noblemen and churchmen.

It is hardly probable, however, that these two documents and the carved signature at Freising Cathedral crypt refer to the same Liutpreht. Albeit both historical documents relate to the areas relatively close to Freising, they date to the tenth and eleventh centuries, respectively. The signature 'LIVT // PREHT,' as discussed above, most likely appeared in Freising Cathedral crypt between 1159 and 1205, during the renovation works.

A search for the name Liutpreht in the sources and documents from the relevant period leads to the *First Necrolog* of Kremsmünster Abbey. Covering the time span from the beginning of the twelfth until the end of the thirteenth century, it thoroughly listed the names of the faithful affiliated with Benedictine abbeys in that area. The *Necrolog* mentioned only one Liutpreht among the people commemorated and honoured by the Abbey. The name was noted with the corresponding date of 1 May, which is, thus, the date of Liutpreht's death. He was listed among the *conversi* or lay brothers of the Benedictine Abbey of St Lambrecht in Styria.[639]

Not only this manuscript mentioned Liutpreht, but it also commemorated the bishops of Freising, Otto I and Otto II, and some of their relatives, giving precise dates of their lives and deaths.[640] This *Necrolog* also listed clergy and lay brothers from a number of

[638] This document was discovered by a teacher Gerhard Schober while he was conducting research on the history of the village of Osseltshausen that is close to Freising. The document has a date 1082–1086 on it: 'Wezilo von Asleihishausen gives to the altar of the holy Stephan certain goods, which he owns in this village (namely Osseltshausen) in memory of him and his wife, as well as all departed believing souls, at the time of their death, with the condition that abbot Erchanger allows them to use these goods during their lifetime…' See Dorfgemeinschaft Osseltshausen. 'Die Urkundliche Festlegung,' accessed December 8, 2015. http://www.osseltshausen.de/dorf/geschichte.html.
[639] Altmann Altinger, 'Die zwei ältesten Nekrologien von Kremsmünster,' 22, 128.
[640] Ibid., 44, 89.

monasteries in the neighbouring areas. It indicates firm connections and collaboration between the Benedictine abbeys in this region. This may be explained by the common Rule that they followed, geographical proximity and historical bonds. For instance, founded in the eighth century by Duke of Bavaria Tassilo II, Kremsmünster Abbey was first formed with the monks originating from Lower Bavaria.[641]

The period covered by the *Necrolog* coincides with the time of restoration works in Freising Cathedral crypt. I suggest that the name Liutpreht in the manuscript and in the crypt may refer to the same person, who was active at that particular period and in that specific area. In addition, a long-standing tradition of connections between the Benedictine abbeys around Freising makes it feasible that Liutpreht travelled from St Lambrecht in Styria to Freising to participate in works on the Cathedral. Listed in the *Necrolog* among the *conversi*, and not regular monks, Liutpreht was likely to have been involved in manual labour, such as sculpting.[642] Through the value of his skill, he may have travelled for work and had freedom in manifesting authorship with a signature. Some monastic chronicles, in fact, noted that lay brothers were respected for their skills to build, sculpt or produce stained-glass.[643]

A class of lay brothers (also referred to as *conversi*, converse brothers, lay religious or 'bearded monks') was established around the eleventh century to help monks with domestic duties and heavier works.[644] Introduced in the Abbey of Hirsau in the Black Forest (founded in ca 1050), the institution of lay brothers was, at first, rejected by older abbeys as a novelty.[645] Nevertheless, in the course of time lay brothers integrated into the monastic family, because a wide range of monasteries across Europe started using

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[641] D. Hunter Blair, *The Catholic Encyclopedia: An International Work of Reference on the Constitution, Doctrine, Discipline, and History of the Catholic Church*, vol. 8 (New York: Gilmary Society, 1913), 701.
[642] This also relates to the above-mentioned remark by Dohme that Liutpreht was a layman artist. Dohme, *Kunst und Künstler des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit. Biographien und Charakteristiken* vol. 1, part 1, 51.
[643] Cannon, 'Sources for the Study of the Role of Art and Architecture within the Economy of the Mendicant Convents of Central Italy: a Preliminary Survey,' 229.
[644] Wolter, *The Principles of Monasticism*, 460.
[645] S. Hilpisch, *Benedictinism through Changing Centuries* (Collegeville: St. John's Abbey Press, 1958), 62-63; Nugent, *Churches and Churchmen in Medieval Europe*, 245.

their services. Italian Benedictine monk St John Gualbert (ca 985 – 1073) wrote that he admitted lay brothers in his community and noted that they differed from the monks only with their garment and vow of silence, which they could not observe fully. Heimo, monk of Hirschau (d. 1091) also described cases when lay brothers were appointed for external affairs at monasteries, and that they imitated monks in the reformation of their lives.[646] A document by Pope Innocent granting the Cistercians the privilege of exemption from paying tithes on their farms (1132) mentioned the converse brothers as different from monks.[647] Unlike monks in the Cistercian Congregation, lay brothers were not living contemplative solitary lives. They lived outside of cloisters, worked at farms, cultivated fields and took care of sick monks, guests and the poor.

The selection for lay brothers was strict. Monasteries could admit unlettered men older than twenty five, with approval of the bishop.[648] In the *General Chapter of the Cistercian Order* (1188), for instance, abbots were advised not to accept for the lay brotherhood those, who may be better in the office of monks than manual labour. However, following the principle that ‘there is an appointed time for everything’ (Eccles. 3:1), lay brothers, in addition to manual labour, still shared spiritual work at monasteries. This aided them in overcoming vices, advancing in prayer, patience, obedience and humility.[649] Lay brothers may not have become monks, clerics or priests. However, they still had to pronounce simple vows, pray an Office, venerate sacred relics and comply with the advice of their spiritual director appointed by the abbot to train them in religion.[650]

In the twelfth century, the abbeys for men may have had nearly double of lay brothers as monks.[651] The relations between the numerous community of lay brothers and monks, their habit, duties and responsibilities were controlled by the Rule. Depending on the monastery and order, there may have been slight variations. However, in any case priests

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[646] Wolter, *The Principles of Monasticism*, 510-511.
[647] Ibid., 510.
[648] Ibid., 480-481.
[649] Ibid., 482, 486.
[650] Ibid., 460-461, 482-483.
[651] M. Schaus, *Women and Gender in Medieval Europe* (London: Routledge, 2016), 170.

and monks were meant to offer the *conversi* brotherhood in the religious family and not to treat them harshly.[652] The *Usus conversorum* (the *Use of the Lay Brothers*), prescribed that *conversi* dedicated themselves to hard manual labour and could not enjoy the privileges of regular monks.[653] Usually skilled in crafts, lay brothers were not educated enough to contribute to religious and intellectual life of monasteries.

The garb of lay brothers differed from that of monks; it was simpler, usually brown in colour and with a shorter scapular.[654] The image of a man with the corresponding signature 'LIVT // PREHT' at the capital only shows his face and the right hand. Thus, it is impossible to identify him as a lay brother by his garment. However, this figure has a beard, which certainly indicates he was not a monk, but a layman. Indeed, lay brothers were distinct from monks or choir religious not only by their habit; they had beards and were not allowed to wear a *tonsure*, typical monks' attribute. To distinguish them from actual monks, who shaved beards clean, some medieval sources referred to lay brothers as *laici barbati* or 'bearded monks.'[655]

In his *Apologia de Barbis*, the French abbot Burchard of Bellevaux discussed cultural, social and religious significance of beards. Written in the second half of the twelfth century, this text was addressed primarily to lay brothers, who, unlike clerics that shaved faces, were supposed to have beards.[656] The fact that the *Apologia de Barbis* was written for lay brothers already assumes that they were not completely illiterate. Notably, this treatise was written around the time when Liutpreht was active and when rebuilding of Freising Cathedral crypt was in progress. The image with the corresponding name 'LIVT // PREHT' at the capital depicts a mature man with a beard. These vital iconographic details allow suggesting that this column capital in Freising Cathedral crypt indeed may depict a layman or a lay religious. Just like any lay brother,

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[652] Wolter, *The Principles of Monasticism*, 486.
[653] W. Johnston, *Encyclopedia of Monasticism* (London: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2000), 748.
[654] Wolter, *The Principles of Monasticism*, 485.
[655] Nugent, *Churches and Churchmen in Medieval Europe*, 246.
[656] For more information on this topic see Constable, G. 'Beards in History: Symbols, Modes, Perceptions.' *Odysseus* (1994): 165-181 and T. Olsen, 'Spotlight: The Wars Over Christian Beards,' *Christianity Today* 57 (2013): 11.

this man must have renounced the world and entered religious life being already an adult.[657]

Sculptural decoration of the portal and the crypt of Freising Cathedral includes other numerous representations of men, young and mature, bearded and beardless, which could easily be interpreted as decorative elements of the so-called marginal sculpture, because none of these is a signed representation (fig. 51). However, the capital of the proposed sculptor Liutpreht is notable for the combination of an image and a signature. This thesis suggests interpreting the sculpted figure of the bold bearded man with the corresponding signature 'LIVT // PREHT' not as a decorative mask, but as a signed self-representation of a lay brother, who may have contributed to the sculptural ensemble of the crypt. Assuming that Liutpreht was indeed a lay brother, he, most certainly, followed the common rules and cultural codes of the community to which he belonged. Thus, hypothetically the overall idea of sculptural decoration in the crypt, which in this thesis is interpreted as the conversion from a pagan (or a sinner) to a pious Christian aspiring to salvation, may have interconnected with Liutpreht's personal life choices.

As noted above, lay brothers often worked as architects, masons, carpenters and sculptors.[658] This completes the image of the bearded man at the signed capital and allows considering that he may have been the same Liutpreht, appointed as a sculptor for the period of reconstruction of Freising Cathedral and its crypt and later listed among the *conversi* in the *Necrolog* of Kremsmünster Abbey. I suggest that working at Freising Cathedral crypt may have been of special significance for Liutpreht, and a signed self-image at the column capital close to the sarcophagus of St Corbinian may have served to perpetuate his devotion and contribution as a sculptor.

The choice of placing self-representations at crucial structural elements of buildings, capitals and columns, as symbols of strength and firmness, was not accidental for

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[657] In the Benedictine Order, the lay brothers*, laici barbati* or *conversi* (converted) were those, who renounced the world in adult life. They were primarily engaged in manual labour for a monastery. See L. Toke, The Catholic Encyclopedia, 'Lay Brothers,' accessed June 7, 2017, http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/09093a.htm.

[658] Hélyot, *Dictionnaire des ordres religieux ou, Histoire des ordres monastiques, religieux et militaires, et des congrégations séculières*, 462 and Johnston, *Encyclopedia of Monasticism*, 748.

sculptors and stonemasons. It underlined the value of their professional contribution and emphasised their skill, because the ability to produce a cylindrical element from a slab of stone is a difficult technical solution.[659] Besides, sculptors' self-representations placed at column capitals are known since antiquity, and the inclusion of working tools as direct references to the profession of sculpture was not always the case. Pliny wrote about artists Saurus and Batrachus, who built temples at their own expense, but were not allowed to inscribe their names at the buildings. To achieve their goal and ensure themselves remembrance, they placed allegorical self-representations, a lizard and a frog, emblematical of their names, at the spirals of temple columns.[660] Similar cases occurred in various European regions in the Middle Ages. This thesis suggests considering the capital at Freising Cathedral crypt as one of the twelfth-century examples with a sculptor's self-representation and proceeds with further discussion of the piece.

Learning more about the stone that the sculptor used to produce sculptural decoration of Freising Cathedral crypt may reveal important information on the signed capital and other elements of the ensemble, as well as on their subsequent restorations (similar to the case of Freising Cathedral portal). As mentioned previously, the decorated twelfth-century columns and earlier undecorated examples at Freising crypt are not uniform in shapes and dimensions.[661] Moreover, it is uncertain whether all were produced from the same kind of stone. While Dietl has not discussed the stone used for the columns, Von Bezold and Seufert suggested that it was tuff.[662]

Two sides of Liutpreht's capital (the ones oriented to southwest and northwest) have human figures carved on them. Two other sides of the capital are only decorated with semi-circular garland-like elements finishing with tendrils (fig. 58). The figure of a man

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[659] Lomartire, 'Commacini e marmorarii: temi e tecniche della scultura tra VII e VIII secolo nella Langobardia maior,' 183.

[660] Pliny the Elder. '*The Natural History*,' ed. J. Bostock, accessed August 30, 2017, http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:abo:phi,0978,001:36:4

[661] Benker, *Freising: 1250 Jahre geistliche Stadt*, 402.

[662] Dietl, *Die Sprache der Signatur: die mittelalterlichen Künstlerinschriften Italiens*, vol. 4, 1868; Von Bezold, *Die Kunstdenkmale des Königreiches Bayern*, 354 and Seufert, *Die Inschriften der Stadt Freising,* 8.

with the signature ‘LIVT // PREHT’ has damages to the nose, it also lacks its chest and the left hand. The stone in this part of the capital is uneven and looks abraded, in contrast to the smoothly polished surface at the upper right (fig. 59). It may be the result of a damage that have occurred in the course of time. Decorative elements at the capital, such as the vine at the bottom right to the figure, were affected too.

Visual analysis of Liutpreht’s capital indicates that the junction between the garland-like band and a figure of a man holding grapes looks unusual, especially in the area of the figure’s right arm. The vine stem in the man’s hands develops to his right but stops when it reaches the garland. These details may be the results of an early restoration. Partial loss of the garland in the area where it meets the male image and a slightly inaccurate rendering of the part to the man’s right may also relate to these later alternations. However, documentation on such restorations is lacking, and the surviving sources are fragmentary. As a result, tracing the changes to sculptural decoration in the crypt, and to Liutprecht’s capital specifically, is problematic. I consider that this case study requires a thorough technical analysis, which goes beyond this thesis and may be a topic for further investigation.

Due to the losses at the signed capital, it is unclear what kind of attribute the proposed Liutpreht held in his right hand. Nineteenth-century illustrations would not help in reconstructing the original appearance of Liutpreht’s capital.[663] In Von Bezold’s book (1892), most capitals were represented relatively accurately, with the exception of Liutpreht’s capital.[664] The man who is identified as Liutpreht is represented up to the waist. The vine around his right shoulder, exactly the part that is lost at present, reveals details resembling dragon’s leg and wing. The author may have added these imaginary details to compensate for the losses at the bottom right to the figure (fig. 60). In addition,

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[663] The book by Quaglio (1816) has the earliest images of the crypt and representations of several column capitals, but the one signed by Liutpreht was not included. Quaglio, D. *Denkmahle der Baukunst des Mittelalters im Koenigreiche Baiern.* Munich: Verlag der lithogr. Anstalt bey der Feyertagsschule, 1816.

[664] Von Bezold, *Die Kunstdenkmale des Königreiches Bayern*, fig. 40. The copyright on the images from this book belongs to Bayerisches Landesamt für Denkmalpflege. I am grateful to Markus Hundemer, Roland Götz and Martin Walko for advice on relevant literature and for providing the images.

this image shows the capital from only one side, which would not allow checking if the figure's left arm on the other side was in place at the time when this illustration was made. At the illustration from Karlinger's book (1924), for example, it may look like the right hand of the figure clasps an instrument or working tool, which was broken off.[665] However, having studied recent high resolution photographs of the object, I suggest that the damaged element was rather a continuation of the floral stem, similar to that of the other male figure on the other side of the same capital.

As opposed to official sculpted scenes, usually traditional Biblical subjects at facades and portals, decorated capitals often relate to the category of the so-called marginal sculpture, which is never found at prominent places in churches.[666] Unrestricted by the canon when working on it, sculptors had room for creativity and sometimes used column capitals in pursuing their devotional aspirations and self-representational ambitions. For example, a capital with sculptors at work (second half of the twelfth century) is found at the cloister of Girona Cathedral in Spain (fig. 61). Following typical iconography of sculptors, two men are depicted sitting in profile and diligently working on stone slabs with their hammers; squares are shown next to each figure. Supposedly, the scene represents a young apprentice and a master sculptor. The older man wears a cap and has a beard, similar to Liutpreht. To the left of the apprentice, a man in cleric's habit, probably a bishop and their patron, observes the process with a blessing gesture. This scene at the capital is not accompanied with any inscriptions. But in my opinion it does illustrate the form of collaboration between medieval patrons and sculptors in terms of producing objects for religious use.

A capital from the church of St Servatius in Maastricht (ca 1140 – 1150) represents several sculptors at work. Each figure is shown as a representative of the profession of sculpture, but possesses individual features (fig. 62). Remarkably, the sculptors depicted themselves not just performing mechanical labour, but in the process of making an inscription. At least the scene at this capital may be interpreted like that. By applying

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[665] Karlinger, *Die romanische Steinplastik in Altbayern und Salzburg, 1050–1260*, 58-64.
[666] N. Kenaan-Kedar, 'The Margins of Society in Marginal Romanesque Sculpture,' *Gesta* 31 (1992): 15.

their working tools, two sculptors carve the word 'OPERARII' on a slab of stone, while two others carry a block with the word 'LAPIS' on it, which is a direct reference to material in which they work. Interestingly, the word 'OPERARII' used at this capital corresponds to the terminology applied by St Isidore of Seville in his *Sententiae*. When writing about the necessity of both praying and working, St Isidore also referred to physical activity with the same verb 'operari,' and not 'laborare' (VII, 7.18).[667] Having placed the capital in the church interior, these sculptors demonstrated their intention to be remembered by the faithful for their contribution to the decoration of the church. Similar to the makers of some other case studies discussed in this thesis, the sculptors from St Servatius in Maastricht may have believed that their work would ensure them salvation.

Although the inscription does not specify sculptors' names, it clearly states their profession. The palaeographical characters in it are closely comparable to those at Liutpreht's capital and at the portal of Freising Cathedral. Moreover, I suggest that Liutpreht's capital demonstrates the same close relation between pictorial and written content. It is revealed through the way the name 'LIVT // PREHT' is arranged above the figure of a man. His thoughtful facial expression, the gaze seeking eye contact with the viewers and the position of the capital in relation to the sarcophagus of St Corbinian reaffirm this connection.

Firm relation between names and pictorial representations is also demonstrated in the capital from the church of Our Lady in Maastricht (ca 1150 – 1160).[668] It represents a female saint and a man offering her a capital with floral motifs (fig. 63). Similar to the Freising capital, the names are placed directly above the two figures to identify the female saint as the Virgin Mary, 'SMA // RIA,' and the man as 'HEIMO.' The name 'SMA // RIA' is traditionally split in two syllables flanking the figure of the Virgin to enhance identification of the saint. The spacing of both names is very precise and

[667] Meeuws, 'Ora et Labora: devise benedictine?' 200-201.

[668] The style of the capitals at the church of Our Lady in Maastricht is more evolved, which allows dating them to a later period. See Den Hartog, 'In the Midst of the Nations... The Iconography of the Choir Capitals in the Church of Our Lady in Maastricht,' 356.

accurate, they are carved at a scroll, which is arranged at the top of the veneration scene. The man by the name Heimo presents a capital to the Virgin genuflecting on his left knee, which is a common gesture of deep respect in Christianity. In Roman Catholic Church a genuflection is made during the Mass, when the words ‘et incarnatus est de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria Virgine, et homo factus est’ from the statement of religious belief, or the Credo are pronounced.[669] Presumably, the scene at the capital pictures exactly this moment to underline Heimo’s devotion to the Virgin, the patroness of this church in Maastricht.

Similar to the capital with the proposed self-representation of Liutpreht, this example is positioned in a sacred area, in the ambulatory at the East end, close to the High Altar. This space normally serves as a processional way. The close proximity of the capital to the altar ensured permanence of Heimo’s devotional expression and his perpetual presence at liturgies in the church. The same approach is characteristic of Gofridus, who placed his written self-representation at a capital of the central column at the apse, exactly above the High Altar (ca 1140, Collégiale Saint-Pierre in Chauvigny, Vienne, in France).[670] I underline that the capital simultaneously reveals Gofridus’s devotional intentions and indicates authorship. Similar to Heimo or Gofridus, the image of a man, which in this thesis is interpreted as a self-representation of the sculptor Liutpreht, is placed at a capital of a column standing close to the place of veneration, the sarcophagus of St Corbinian at Freising Cathedral crypt.

Archival materials on the church of Our Lady in Maastricht are fragmentary, and almost nothing is known on clergy or patrons of the capitals.[671] However, Heimo’s offering represents him as a labourer of God and may commemorate his activities in building the church, sculpting the capitals or financing the process. Stylistic evidence demonstrates that between 1140 and 1170 a workshop of sculptors, possibly from

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[669] Credo in unum Deum, Patrem omnipotentem, [...] Qui propter nos homines et propter nostram salutem descendit de cœlis. Et incarnatus est de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria Virgine, et homo factus est.

[670] R. Oursel, *Haut-Poitou roman* (La Pierre-qui-Vire: Zodiaque, 1975), 210.

[671] Den Hartog, ‘In the Midst of the Nations... The Iconography of the Choir Capitals in the Church of Our Lady in Maastricht,’ 340-342, 356.

Northern Italy, was active in Maastricht and responsible for sculptural decoration in St Servatius and the church of Our Lady.[672] The two capitals at the churches in Maastricht were produced about the same time with Liutpreht's capital in Freising. Apparently, at that period capitals with self-images in church interiors may have been not only patrons' special privilege. Sculptors also used these as opportunities to express personal devotion and represent themselves.

Just like in the above-mentioned examples, an author's inscription at the capital with allegorical images of the Rivers of Paradise, Geon and Fison (ca 1140, the Landemuseum, Trier) plays a valuable role. Stylistically it relates to the pieces produced in the areas of Meuse and Lower Rhine, whereas the dating to the middle of the twelfth century is determined by the affinities to other capitals found in a Benedictine church in that region.[673]

At this capital, the Rivers are personified as two male half-figures pouring water from jugs that they hold in both hands (fig. 64). The style and the curve of the floral motif and water streams between them are not as refined and detailed as decorative elements of the capitals from Freising Cathedral crypt, but still reveal some affinities. Similar to the image identified as Liutpreht at Freising, the two male figures are positioned on the corners of this capital, and their facial features, especially eyes and eyelids look alike. Moreover, the sculptor introduced the names of the Rivers in the same way as at the capital in Freising Cathedral crypt. The words 'GE // ON' and 'FIS // ON' follow the structure of the capital and are broken into two syllables by the angle of its abacus. Both names make a strong association with the respective figures, as they are carved directly above them.

The inscription 'ADAM FECIT ME' at this capital refers to the maker, and not to the founder or the commissioner.[674] Adam's approach in placing his inscription differs from

[672] E. Den Hartog, *Romanesque Sculpture in Maastricht* (Maastricht: Bonnefantenmuseum, 2002), 101-118, 327.
[673] Seewaldt, 'Ein romanischer Kapitellzyklus aus Trier,' 325.
[674] H. Eichler, 'Ein Kapitell mit Künstlerinschrift und andere Beiträge zur Plastik des 12. Jahrhunderts in Trier,' *Trierer Zeitschrift* 10 (1935): 79-80; Seewaldt, 'Fundstücke: von der Urgeschichte bis zur Neuzeit,' 166 and Dietl, 'Italienische Bildhauerinschriften: Selbstdarstellung und Schriftlichkeit mittelalterlicher Künstler,' 210.

the one demonstrated at Liutpreht's capital. The letters at the capital from Landemuseum in Trier are carved and spaced not as accurately as at the capital from Freising Cathedral. At Liutpreht's capital, the sculptor had plenty of space, but still split the name into syllables. The specific word order at Adam's capital accentuates the personal pronoun 'ME.' Unlike all other portions of this inscription, it is not carved in a straight line at the top of the capital, but appears exactly above the figure of a bearded man, the River Geon. On the one hand, this may make an impression that the sculptor's primary goal was to carve the names of the Rivers accurately, whereas fitting his personal signature may have been not as important for him. As a result, he has not planned the space at the capital properly. On the other hand, the personal pronoun 'ME' stands out because it does not fit in one line with the rest of the inscription, and it draws additional attention to the author. The reason why the sculptor carved it this way may be a subject for interpretations. It could have been his emphasis on the self, an intention to obtaine divine blessing, or simply a lack of space at the capital that resulted in a failure to position the inscription properly. In either case, carved between the personifications of the Rivers, flowing out of Paradise and connecting the Heaven and the Earth, the written self-representation of the maker strongly reflects his aspirations for remission of sins and directs his path to God.[675]

The other side of the capital does not represent, as it may be expected, two other rivers, Tigris and Euphrates. These might have been depicted on a correlative capital from the same ensemble. Two animalistic figures sculpted at the two other corners of the capital were previously interpreted as the Lion and the Eagle, the symbols of the Evangelists St Mark and St John, with the corresponding inscriptions, 'MAR // CVS' and 'AVIS MARIS.'[676] However, it may rather be a misinterpretation. In fact, the inscription above the winged animal identified as the Lion is damaged. The other

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[675] Seewaldt, 'Fundstücke: von der Urgeschichte bis zur Neuzeit,' 166 and Dietl, 'Italienische Bildhauerinschriften: Selbstdarstellung und Schriftlichkeit mittelalterlicher Künstler,' 210. H. Maguire, 'The Nile and the Rivers of Paradise,' in *Image and Imagination in Byzantine Art*, ed. Henry Maguire, 1-17, (Ashgate: Burlington, 2007), 2.

[676] Seewaldt, 'Fundstücke: von der Urgeschichte bis zur Neuzeit,' 166 and Dietl, 'Italienische Bildhauerinschriften: Selbstdarstellung und Schriftlichkeit mittelalterlicher Künstler,' 210.

inscription, above the proposed Eagle may be translated as 'a sea bird,' which hardly relates to Evangelists' symbols. Interestingly, Heimo's capital also has representations of animals at its other side. These were interpreted as symbolical images of vices, overcoming which would ensure obtaining a place in Heaven.'[677] The creatures at Adam's capital may have a similar meaning, which again relates to the maker's intentions to reject the sin and obtain the life eternal.

Apart from common religious ideas, the capitals at Trier and Freising both reveal Lombard stylistic features, just like the examples from Maastricht relate to Northern Italian tradition.[678] Stylistic connections between sculpture from Bavaria and Lombardy are notable through the images of kneeling sirens at the twelfth-century baptismal font from Cremona Cathedral (fig. 65).[679] Their silhouettes and poses, the style of carving of their hands and fingers and especially the facial features recall the telamon images at one of the capitals at Freising Cathedral crypt. These figures also resemble the flautist at the exterior decoration of St Kastulus in Moosburg. Images with facial features similar to the examples from Cremona are also found elsewhere at the portal of Freising Cathedral and in the crypt. The face of the male figure at Liutpreht's capital in not an exception too.

The entwining ornamental and floral motifs and eagles at capitals at Freising Cathedral crypt demonstrate affinities to those at S. Ambrogio and at the collection of the Sforza Castle in Milan. The latter object (ca 1075) may be linked to the capitals by Liuptreht and Adam with the comparable floral decoration and an inscription in Roman majuscule 'IVLIANVS ME FECIT' carved at the top.[680] This Milanese example demonstrates that already by the eleventh century Lombard sculptors developed their characteristic style and applied inscriptions at capitals to claim authorship. These self-referential tendencies may have been adopted by sculptors through cultural exchange

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[677] Den Hartog, 'In the Midst of the Nations... The Iconography of the Choir Capitals in the Church of Our Lady in Maastricht,' 341.
[678] Ibid., 339.
[679] Karlinger, *Die romanische Steinplastik in Altbayern und Salzburg, 1050–1260*, 60.
[680] Dietl, *Die Sprache der Signatur: die mittelalterlichen Künstlerinschriften Italiens*, vol. 2, 999-1000.

between both sides of the Alps and transmitted further to other European regions along with the fashion for Lombard decorative elements.

Unlike Liutpreht or Heimo, who signed their capitals only with names, some Italian sculptors were at times wordier in expressing their petitions for salvation. The capital from S Pietro in Romena (1152) represents St Peter with the keys of Paradise and has a citation from the Gospel of Matthew. This connects to the case study in Chapter 3, the *Traditio Legis* relief with an image of St Peter holding keys and an inscription by the sculptor Pelegrinus, in which he expresses a concern for the salvation of his soul. A capital at Museo Nazionale di S Matteo in Pisa (1180) includes a votive inscription in Roman majuscule: 'MAGISTER IO(H)ANNES C[VM] / DISCIPVLO SVO LEONARDO FE/CIT HOC OPVS AD HONO/REM D(E)I ET S(AN)C(T)I PETRI APOSTOL[I].'[681] The floral stems between the figures at the capitals from Pisa, Freising and Trier are positioned similarly. Moreover, the motif of figures sculpted at the corners of the capitals by Liutpreht and Adam is also characteristic of both examples from Romena and Pisa.

Apart from formal resemblance, pictorial and written elements of the capitals from Freising, Romena and Pisa show considerable stylistic difference. Also, the text at the two Italian capitals relates to the pictorial elements but does not interconnect with them as strongly as at the capitals by Liutpreht and Adam. Apparently, German sculptors may have adopted some ideas from Italian signed capitals, but at the same time developed own approaches in relating written and figurative details.

Overall, the analysis of these capitals produced by sculptors of German and Italian origin in the territories of Bavaria, Rhine-Meuse and Northern Italy reveals connection through stylistic motifs. Strong votive and self-referential aspects in these capitals indicate that Italian and German sculptors reflected on identity and self-representation and combined epigraphic and pictorial means to express piety. Cultural exchange and mobility of medieval sculptors may have contributed to the dissemination of these ideas within specific regions and across Europe.

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[681] Ibid., vol. 3, 1511-1513 and 1249-1251.

Thus, the analysis of Liutpreht's capital in the context of comparable twelfth-century examples reveals stylistic similarities and common devotional ideas pursued by sculptors on both sides of the Alps. Signed capitals were placed in close proximity to altars or relics in church interiors, and the capital signed by Liutpreht corresponds to these tendencies. The case study of this chapter section also sheds the light on the social standing of nonmonastic sculptors in the twelfth century. Nearly ignored in contemporary research, the class of lay religious, of which Liutpreht may have been a representative, in fact, played an important role in medieval monasteries.

Chapter 3

Devotion and Self-Representation

Earthly Fame or Life Eternal? Content and Function of Sculptors' Written Self-Representations

Having discussed sculptors' self-representations in relation to the social context and to the literacy of their makers in the first and the second chapters, this thesis proceeds with further analysis and explores content and functions of written self-representations in stone and bronze. Chapter 3 enquires into common features and distinguishes specific details in the inscriptions produced by sculptors-monks and laymen. The main case study here is a relief sculpted and signed by Pelegrinus, but Chapter 3 also considers additional aspects concerning several previously discussed pieces. An analysis of these examples demonstrates that sculptors' written self-representations are integral parts of objects on which they were carved or cast, and questions whether these inscriptions may also be regarded as coming from the literary tradition.[682]

Commemorative function of signatures and inscriptions in relation to materials like stone or bronze may be traced back to antiquity. In the past, people believed in a strong connection between the name and the named; mentioning a person in a necrologue or obituary was equated to their physical presence.[683] These books, however, could easily have been lost or destroyed in fire. Words or names carved in stone or cast in metal, on the contrary, remained intact through the long-lasting qualities of these materials. The Ten Commandments were cut on stone tablets to perpetuate the words of God for generations ahead (Exodus 34:28). Associated with power and wealth since antiquity, bronze was used to produce plaques with inscriptions manifesting authority and constancy of rulers' words.[684] It was common practice to add inscriptions specifying names of gods, athletes, philosophers and statesmen at the bases of statues cast in their

[682] Dietl, 'In arte peritus. Zur Topik Mittelalterlicher Künstlerinschriften in Italien bis zur Zeit Giovanni Pisanos,' 123.
[683] Bley, ''Bernhardus me fecit': die romanischen Löwenkopf-Türzieher in Freckenhorst,' 194.
[684] Weinryb, *The Bronze Object in the Middle Ages*, 77.

honour. In the *Orationes*, the Greek philosopher Dio Chrysostom (ca 40 CE – ca 115 CE) indicated that bronze statues were often reused, and that it was sufficient to change an inscription at the base of a statue to dedicate it to another individual.[685] The links between gods and man and their representations were also noted by Pliny the Elder, who wrote that from figures of gods bronze eventually came to be used for images of men.[686] In antiquity, statues of individuals were cast only to commemorate people with outstanding achievements, such as successful athletes, the winners of the Olympic Games, who were considered deserving immortality.[687]

Chapter 2 notes that in Christianity, on the contrary, all the faithful are believed to be image-likenesses to God and have immortal souls.[688] To an extent, this may have determined a different approach to self-representations in Christian culture. Namely, it may explain why medieval sculptors used the power of the word inscribed in stone or bronze not only to commemorate themselves in signatures and inscriptions, but also to express devotion. They composed inscriptions in a form of petitions to ensure themselves remembrance by God and the faithful, and to introduce themselves as skilled professionals and pious Christians deserving salvation.

Moreover, in the Middle Ages, names served as 'orthographic fingerprints.'[689] Names and words of petitions acquired materiality and special significance if they were carved or engraved at objects produced for religious use. The significance of words was determined culturally, as the widely-cited line from the New Testament says: 'In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God' (John 1:1). The idea on relation between God, Christ, human and word puzzled the minds of medieval theologians and religious thinkers.

St Augustine (ca 354 – 430) proposed a concept that enjoyed wide recognition in the early medieval period. Following the ideas of Roman grammarians, he differentiated

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685 Mattusch, 'Greece, Etruria and Rome,' 51.
686 Pliny, the Elder, *The Elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art*, 13.
687 Ibid., 15.
688 Van Engen, 'Theophilus Presbyter and Rupert of Deutz: the Manual Arts and Benedictine Theology,' 150-151.
689 Seidel, *Legends in Limestone: Lazarus, Gislebertus, and the Cathedral of Autun*, 14.

between the word as a sound and as a conception with spiritual character. St Augustine linked the word to Christ and saw it as a means of communication with the world and pronouncing the divine message to it. After the twelfth century, however, St Thomas Aquinas (ca 1225 – 1274) distinguished the divine word from the human word and challenged St Augustine's exegesis of St John's words.[690] Nevertheless, the coexistence of the divine and human word is seen in medieval works of religious art. Some of these objects have sculptors' signatures or petitions to the faithful for a prayer. These personal requests are often integrated with quotations from the Gospels or religious inscriptions, such as the one carved by Pelegrinus in his relief.

Stone fragments with texts carved at them served as manifestations of devotion and religious belief, and for this reason they were valued and reused. In the twelfth century, some papal thrones in Rome were made with inclusion of stone parts inscribed by early Christian martyrs.[691] Similarly, sculptors' devotional self-representations integrated in pieces of religious art may also have elevated spiritual value of these objects in the eyes of the faithful. It may have been the matter of honour for sculptors' contemporaries and their descendants to preserve these objects not only for expensive materials in which they were executed, but also as manifestations of artists' petitions to God. This may also explain why the fragments with sculptors' self-representations, like Pelegrinus's relief, were continuously reused during subsequent church reconstructions.

Incorporating Roman building blocks or fragments of ancient Christian churches in newly refurbished edifices was indeed common practice in the medieval period.[692] This is characteristic of the history of some German and Italian churches directly related to the case studies of this thesis. For instance, Bernhardus's signed doorknockers, the subject of Chapter 1, were appreciated by the local community, subsequently reused at several doors of Freckenhorst Church and, eventually, became a part of the church

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[690] H. Kleinschmidt, *Understanding the Middle Ages: the Transformation of Ideas and Attitudes in the Medieval World* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2008), 197-199.
[691] A. Novikoff, *The Twelfth Century Renaissance: a Reader* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016), 4.
[692] R. Brilliant, *Reuse Value: Spolia and Appropriation in Art and Architecture from Constantine to Sherrie Levine* (London: Routledge, 2016), 84.

treasury. The crypt of Freising Cathedral, which is discussed in Chapter 2, was rebuilt after the great fire of 1159 with incorporation of columns remaining from its earlier structure. This tradition is indeed rooted in distant past, because another case study of Chapter 2, the eighth-century relief by Ursus Magester at Ferentillo, was reused too, as a part of church altar. Finally, this line of argument continues in Chapter 3 by exploring the relief with an extensive inscription of the sculptor Pelegrinus. This case study was one of the fragments reused in the interior of Verona Cathedral, which underwent reconstruction after serious damages in the earthquake of 1117. Surviving fragments of religious edifices or consecrated objects were considered as mediums of historical, cultural and spiritual memory. Incorporating these artefacts in newly built churches was meant to enrich these structures with religious contexts. It was crucial for maintaining of the continuity of devotional tradition.

The discussion in this chapter section is directed towards interpreting the content and defining the functions of sculptors' devotional self-representations. At the same time, it focuses on a different set of issues which have not been sufficiently covered earlier in this thesis. Namely, this chapter stablishes parallels between the relevant examples in stone and bronze and finds common motifs that the makers of these pieces applied to express themselves. In the absence of documentary evidence analysing the content of inscriptions may, in fact, be revealing about the authors' backgrounds and approximate periods when they were active.

Artists' and artisans' names were rarely documented in written sources, and their inscriptions are usually the only surviving evidence about them.[693] Some signatures consist only of a name, which is not followed by titles, patronymics or statements of professional excellence. I suggest that in some cases this may have been done by sculptors in order to express humility and demonstrate that they pursued votive intentions rather than were guided by a desire for personal fame. In Chapter 2, votive signatures are discussed by the examples of the twelfth-century stone sculptor Wezilo of Konstanz and Liutpreht, who is considered as the sculptor of Freising Cathedral crypt.

[693] Kendall, *The Allegory of the Church: Romanesque Portals and their Verse Inscriptions*, 172 and Oursel, *Floraison de la sculpture romane. Le coeur et la main*, vol. 2, p. 13.

The latter signed a column capital at Freising Cathedral crypt, whereas the former inscribed his name, 'WEZIL,' at the feet of the Virgin depicted at the lintel of the portal of Petershausen Abbey Church (fig. 45).[694] Both sculptors omitted references to their social statuses and have not shown particular concerns of being distinguished or praised by their contemporaries. This may be related to a belief that all the actions are everywhere visible to the divine and that God knows who serves him.[695]

Unlike Liutpreht and Wezilo, the goldsmith Vuolvinus managed to combine his self-image with a signature, and balance between confident self-manifestation and humble expression of piety. In his *Altar of St Ambrosius* (ca 840), mentioned in Chapter 2, Vuolvinus depicted his patron Angilbert II and himself crowned by St Ambrosius (fig. 48). An inscription next to the humble figure of the goldsmith specified his name and professional status: 'VVOL/VI/NV(S) / MA//GIS/T(ER) PHA//BER.' Notably, the images of the artist and his patron and the corresponding inscriptions with their names were placed at the functioning doors of the *fenestrella*, a small opening in an altar that allows relics within to be seen. Due to the sacred significance of *fenestrella*, it was particularly important for Vuolvinus to fit his name and title exactly at the door. The goldsmith solved the issue of the lack of space by splitting his name and title into numerous syllables. The same was also done for the figure of Angilbert II and their patron saints. The doors of *fenestrella* symbolise the Gates of Heaven, through which Vuolvinus and Angilbert II enter Paradise.[696] As the Psalm says: 'Open to me the gates of righteousness: I will go into them, and I will praise the Lord' (Ps. 118:19).

Some of the case studies in this thesis demonstrate that the same motif of the doors as the Gates of Heaven was also commonly used by medieval bronze casters. Sculptors aspired for salvation and related their self-representations with the idea of crossing a threshold or liminal area, leading from earthly and sinful space to sacred space. For

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[694] Kalbaum, *Romanische Türstürze und Tympana in Südwestdeutschland: Studien zu ihrer Form, Funktion und Ikonographie*, 255.
[695] Benedict, Saint Abbot of Monte Cassino, *The Rule of Saint Benedict*, 39.
[696] Similar to the eighth-century tomb of St Peter, the *Altar of St Amrosius* at S. Ambrogio in Milan has doors and possesses the status of a tomb of the bishop Ambrose and martyrs. Hahn, 'Narrative on the Golden Altar of Sant'Ambrogio in Milan: Presentation and Reception,' 180.

instance, the subject of Chapter 1, the bronze doorknockers signed by Bernhardus, ensured his nominal presence at Freckenhorst Church and guaranteed him remembrance after death. In his inscription at the doorknockers, Bernhardus paralleled the church doors to the Gates of Paradise, which, in a metaphorical way, he wished to enter. The faithful passing through the doors of Freckenhorst Church would have noticed the signature at the doorknocker and inwardly pronounce Bernhardus's name. In a sense, this may be interpreted as a petition for Bernhardus's soul to enter the Heaven.

Similar to the signatures of Liutpreht and Wezilo, Bernhardus's inscription establishes a firm association between the person and the doorknockers, and it has a strong votive implication. Unlike Vuolvinus, whose signature emphasises his professional status and introduces him as a master goldsmith, Bernhardus humbly specified his name with no titles. In addition, Bernhardus expressed concerns for all people entering the church, as if it was his duty to pray for the faithful. This allowed a tentative suggestion in Chapter 1 that Bernhardus may have been of religious background. Names of sculptors would have been known within small religious communities. Wezilo, for instance, affiliated with a monastery and local monks would have been aware of his sculpted work. Similarly, Bernhardus's name may have been known to anyone in a small community like Freckenhorst. This may be another reason why sometimes there was no need for artists to include additional details in their signatures.

As discussed above, by placing their devotional self-representations at liminal areas, such as church doors or the functioning doors of the *fenestrella*, Bernhardus and Vuolvinus paralleled these doors with the Gates of Paradise and implied the action of crossing the threshold from earthly life to Heaven and salvation. In the works by Barisanus da Trani or Pelegrinus, the conception of a metaphorical journey of a soul to God is paralleled with actual pilgrimage for spiritual purposes. Travelling sculptors may have perceived themselves as pilgrims, for whom producing artworks for religious use was a means to perpetuate their piety while being in foreign countries.[697] This is equally

[697] In Chapter 2, I indicate possible connections between pilgrims' devotional graffiti and sculptors' signatures.

characteristic of sculptors active in various media and on both sides of the Alps. For instance, a self-image of the twelfth-century bronze caster Barisanus da Trani, placed at the doors of Monreale Cathedral, is accompanied with a signature: 'BARISANVS TRANE(…) ME FECIT.' The family name, Da Trani, indicates Barisanus's origin from a town in southern Italy. Similarly, at cathedral doors in his native Trani, Barisanus depicted himself with a signature 'BARISANVS TRANENSIS.' The artist is shown kneeling in supplication before St Nicholas Pelegrinus, a pilgrim and a patron saint of the city of Trani, who was canonised in 1098 by Pope Urban II[698] (fig. 5).

Recent scholarship referred to Barisanus's self-representations as 'artisan's image marks' and connected these with an emergence of brand names in medieval bronze casting.[699] However, this thesis interprets Barisanus's signed self-images not only as a means of indicating authorship, but also as petitions to St Nicholas. In his self-representations at church doors Barisanus represented himself in supplication. Just like Bernhardus and Vuolvinus, he visualised the journey of his soul through the Gates of Heaven. A strikingly similar motif of a metaphorical pilgrimage is found in the written self-representation of the stone sculptor Pelegrinus, whose name speaks for itself. His signature, carved at the *Traditio Legis* relief, expresses an aspiration to reach the Heaven.

The authors of the above-mentioned self-representations succeeded in putting emphasis on their professional skills, but at the same time never demonstrated vanity and always showed their awareness of hierarchy. In both cases, the figures of Barisanus are shown kneeling and in a smaller scale than the images of the saint. Pelegrinus's extensive inscription begins with a reference to God at the top of the relief, whereas the name of the sculptor humbly appears at its base, in the last portion of the inscription.

A similar hierarchical principle is evident in an inscription of the eleventh-century bronze caster *Artifex* Berengerus, the maker of the main doors of Mainz Cathedral (fig. 66). His inscription reads: 'POSTQVA(M) MAGNV(S) IMP(ERATOR) KAROLVS

[698] Originally from Greece, St Nicholas Pelegrinus went on a pilgrimage to Italy, but died in Trani at the age of nineteen.
[699] Weinryb, *The Bronze Object in the Middle Ages*, 179-180.

SVVM ESSE IVRI DEDIT NATVRAE // WILLIGISVS ARCHEP(ISCOPV)S EX METALLI SPECIE VALVAS EFFECERAT PRIMVS // BERENGERVS HVIVT OPERIS ARTIFEX LECTOR VT P(RO) EO D(EV)M ROGES POSTVLAT SVPPLEX.'[700] It is translated as: 'After Charlemagne gave his life back to nature // Bishop Willigis the First had these door panels made out of splendid metals // The supplicant Berenger, the maker of this work, asks reader, that you pray to God for him.'[701] The inscription mentions the king Charlemagne, the donor of the doors archbishop Willigis (975 – 1011), and the maker, Berengerus. In ca 1000 a metalwork artist and a goldsmith, the namesake of Berengerus, was active in Tegernsee Abbey.[702] Dedicated to the Roman martyr St Quirinus, the Abbey was one of the major Benedictine monasteries in Bavaria. However, there is no evidence confirming that the maker of the bronze doors at Mainz and Berengerus from Tegernsee Abbey was the same person.

The bronze caster's name is placed at the lower border of the left wing of the door, which corresponds to the lowest hierarchical level. To see the first portion of the inscription mentioning the king Charlemagne, the faithful would have had to look up, at the top border of the doors. The important status of the donor, Willigis, is emphasised with the prominent position of his name, at the middle border of the door; it would be noticed immediately by those entering the Cathedral. The archbishop's wealth is manifested through the value of bronze as material, a 'splendid metal' as indicated in the inscription. This indicates specific attitude towards bronze as material, which was usually applied not only due to technological considerations and availability, but primarily due to cultural considerations.[703]

Nevertheless, the name of Berengerus, humbly placed at the lower border of the doors, also catches attention of those entering the church. Perhaps, the bronze caster was

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[700] Legner, *Der Artifex: Künstler im Mittelalter und ihre Selbstdarstellung: eine illustrierte Anthologie*, 284.
[701] Weinryb, *The Bronze Object in the Middle Ages*, 25.
[702] Mende, *Die Bronzetüren des Mittelalters, 800–1200*, 26.
[703] Fontijn, *Sacrificial Landscapes: Cultural Biographies of Persons, Objects and 'Natural' Places in the Bronze Age of the Southern Netherlands, C. 2300-600 BC*, 28.

seeking for the gaze of those humble faithful, who would cast their eyes down. In fact, among the personalities mentioned in the inscription it is only Berengerus, who has the privilege to address the viewers directly and ask them to pray for his soul. He underlined eminence of his skill by referring to himself as *artifex*. Indeed, only a highly proficient master would have been able to produce single-cast bronze doors like those at Mainz Cathedral.

The written self-representation of Berengerus belongs to the eleventh century just like the Freckenhorst doorknockers signed by Bernhardus. Written in the genre of petition, both inscriptions demonstrate affinities in the content and, in my opinion, combine self-assurance and humility. Their authors express piety and hopes for remembrance in prayers and salvation.

A select number of early medieval sculptors' signatures and inscriptions discussed above are interpreted in this thesis as votive self-representations, in which their authors express devotion or request for a petition. Consequently, the purpose of these inscriptions was not solely to indicate authorship, but also to represent sculptors as pious Christians in the eyes of God and the faithful. Some of these examples are humbly concealed by their authors and may not stand out immediately. At the same time, they may be noticeable to those entering the church or praying inside. In the absence of documentary evidence, these devotional self-representations preserve the memory about their makers, perpetuating them as pious Christians.

In order to introduce these devotional inscriptions in a broader context, several medieval bronze casters' written self-representations with pronounced secular connotations are discussed in this chapter too. Notably, some of these examples have not lost their religious component entirely. They may contain references to the Genesis, but usually they are not addressed to God or request petitions. For instance, the inscriptions at the doorknockers signed by Giraldus (early twelfth century, the Church St Julien in Brioude) and by Magisters Nicholaus and Johannes de Bincio (the second half of the thirteenth century, currently at the Trier Cathedral Treasury), which I discuss in Chapter 1, demonstrate a characteristic level of intellectual reflection (figs. 6, 7). When referring to the art of bronze casting in their inscriptions, the authors related it to alchemical or

philosophical ideas. I suggest that the examples from Brioude and Trier belong to the genre of sculptors' written self-representations, which started gaining popularity from approximately the twelfth century onwards. Bernhardus's written self-representation at the Freckenhorst doorknockers, on the contrary, is given in a form of a petition to Christ for the faithful. In this thesis it is considered as an example of devotional inscriptions, which may have been more common before the twelfth century.

Giraldus's inscription at Brioude doorknockers runs in a circular band around the two faces. Given in majuscule and cast in hollow relief, some words in this inscription have no pronounced distinction between each other. Notably, the palaeographical characters of similar style are found in the twelfth-century inscriptions naming Pelegrinus, Nicholaus and Liutpreht, who were active on the territories of present-day Italy and Germany. However, palaeographic affinities may not be used for precise dating, they rather demonstrate regional differences or similarities.

The first doorknocker in the pair from Brioude has a zoomorphic face, but it is unlikely that it depicts a lion. The features of the face, its shape, and especially the teeth, demonstrate no affinities to lion faces at other medieval doorknockers discussed in this thesis. Scholarship proposed a hypothesis that the second doorknocker represents a demonic face and interpreted the inscription as a warning of damnation awaiting the sinners.[704] However, I consider it unconvincing and suggest that the features and the shape of this face are rather anthropomorphic. Also the facial expression, the mouth, teeth, ears, eyebrows and the eyes may hardly bring associations with a demon.

The text of the whole inscription may serve as a key in interpreting the idea, which the bronze caster Giraldus may have wanted to reflect in the images at his doorknockers. Considering the content of the inscription, I suggest that the two faces at these doorknockers represent the motif of transformation or enlivening from bestial and sinful to Christian life. These changes are anticipated in the first portion of the inscription corresponding to the zoomorphic face: 'I am born without life, the breath of your mouth

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[704] Mende, *Die Türzieher des Mittelalters* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1981), 211-212.

gives me life.'[705] The idea of obtaining life with the breath of God is found in the Genesis. Giraldus may have implied a parallel between God's act of breathing life into Adam and working process of a bronze caster, who first creates wax models and then casts an image in bronze making it come to life.[706] Continuing at the second doorknocker, the inscription sounds as a warning to the faithful who might become the victims of devil's temptations: 'The deceitful world carries out those who have been taken as prisoners by the bewitching mouth. Giraldus made me.' The references to the Genesis in the inscription and the contrast between the zoomorphic and anthropomorphic faces at the doorknockers may signify that a sinful soul may turn to faithful life and gradually overcome its bestial nature with the help of God.

In the Brioude doorknockers, the text of the inscription closely interacts with the images and complements them without catching instant attention. The portion with the author's signature, 'GIRAL(D)VS ME FECIT' may suggest a self-ironic association with the grotesque anthropomorphic face, exactly above which the signature is positioned. Given in smaller characters than the main inscription, Giraldus's signature, nevertheless, is noticeable due to its placing. This may demonstrate the maker's contemplation on the content of the inscription and his hopes that by means of casting bronze with dedication it is possible to 'mould' or 'cast' their soul and become a faithful Christian.

Pictorial or textual references to the Genesis and the motif of transformation are common in the decoration of church doors and doorknockers; the cases at Brioude, Verona or Hildesheim may serve as good examples. The bronze doors at San Zeno in Verona are also known for the zoomorphic and anthropomorphic faces at the doorknockers. Similar to Brioude doorknockers, the ones at San Zeno doors also express ideas of devil's temptation and transformation to pious life. One of the Veronese doorknockers represents a bearded man that falls in sin. Two snakes, symbolising demonic creatures, encircle his head and whisper evil words in his ears or bite them.[707]

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[705] Refer to Chapter 1 of this thesis for the original version of this inscription in Latin.
[706] Weinryb, *The Bronze Object in the Middle Ages*, 52-53.
[707] Mende, *Die Türzieher des Mittelalters*, 232.

The other doorknocker shows a zoomorphic grinning face with hair resembling a lion's mane (fig. 15).

The ideas of devotional expression through work and spiritual transformation during this process were also used by stone sculptors. The capital at Freising Cathedral crypt signed by Liutpreht, who in this thesis is considered as a lay brother and a sculptor, also has representations of two faces. Notably, this capital used to be placed next to the sarcophagus of St Corbinian in the Crypt. In Chapter 2, the faces at the capital are interpreted as the stages of the sculptor's transformation from a sinner to a pious Christian. At his capital, Liutpreht has not carved an extensive inscription with a petition for his soul. Instead, I suggest, he expressed his aspirations for salvation by means of visual language and a short signature.

Giraldus makes no requests for a petition in his inscription, but religious connotations are present in it through the references to the Genesis and the motifs of enlivening and breathing life into man. The words from the Genesis about the divine creation of man in the likeness of God were often cited by medieval theologians and writers like Rupert of Deutz and Theophilus.[708] These ideas may have encouraged the image of an *artifex* to emerge. Producing objects from bronze, the enlivened materlial, the maker may have 'aligned himself with nature and perceived himself as a sort of Creator.'[709] Relevant conceptions were becoming widespread in the intellectual environment of the eleventh and twelfth centuries through treatises.[710] The treatise *De Diversis Artibus*, for example, was widely available to artists and it was copied several times. Bronze casters, whose creative activities were paralleled to the act of Biblical creation, reflected on these texts by means of figural imagery and inscriptions.[711]

The analysis of case studies shows that purely devotional artists' inscriptions became less common in the course of time. Instead, sculptors working in various media started

[708] Van Engen, 'Theophilus Presbyter and Rupert of Deutz: the Manual Arts and Benedictine Theology,' 150-151; Theophilus, *The Various Arts*, 1-2.
[709] Droth, *Bronze: the Power of Life and Death*, 26.
[710] Parallels that artists made between their professional activities and the labours of the Divine Creator (or *Deus Artifex*) from the Genesis are thoroughly discussed in Chapter 2.
[711] Weinryb, *The Bronze Object in the Middle Ages*, 50.

introducing secular component in their inscriptions. Bronze casters, for instance, focused on the symbolism of lost-wax casting and specific qualities of bronze as material. The inscription at the thirteenth-century doorknockers from Trier completely abandons religious references. It is dedicated to the techniques applied by masters working in bronze: 'That which the wax gives, the fire removes and the bronze returns to you. Magister Nicholaus and Magister Johannes de Bincio made us.'[712]

The ways in which the inscriptions at Trier and Brioude doorknockers encircle the images of lions are similar. However, the makers of Trier doorknockers clearly dedicated less attention to lion faces. Instead, they underlined the role of the inscription, which runs in two lines around the images of lions, by making it more prominent. Cast in raised volume, the inscription at Trier doorknockers occupies more space than those at Brioude or Freckenhorst doorknockers. The palaeographical style of characters in the Trier inscription is more complex and ornate, which distinguishes it from the examples produced before the twelfth century; moreover, the division between the words is clear, which is common to later inscriptions.[713]

Bronze has always been valued as a living material and commonly associated with magical transformations and metamorphoses in both Western and non-European cultures. The authors of this thirteenth-century inscription demonstrate deep reflection on the creative process of casting by relating it to the moment of animation through making. Sculptors considered this process as (re-)animation, or even resurrection at the culmination of casting.[714] In other words, the labours of the maker 'replaced the work of Time.'[715] The bronze casters Nicholaus and Johannes de Bincio give a succinct yet deep definition to the lost-wax method in their inscription. They use first-person plural in its last portion, as if the phrase is pronounced by the lion head doorknockers themselves: 'MAGISTER NICOLAVS ET MAGISTER IOHANNES DE BINCIO NOS

[712] Refer to Chapter 1 of this thesis for the original version of this inscription in Latin.
[713] Favreau, *Études d'épigraphie médiévale: recueil d'articles de Robert Favreau rassemblés à l'occasion de son départ à la retraite*, 76-77.
[714] Droth, *Bronze: the Power of Life and Death*, 24.
[715] Eliade, *The Forge and the Crucible: the Origins and Structures of Alchemy*, 8.

FECERONT.'[716] The *me fecit*-signatures at bronze objects directly relate to the conception of enlivening through the casting process, when pieces start 'speaking' for themselves and introduce their makers in inscriptions. Thus, bronze casting may have encouraged the *me fecit*-signing practice to originate and develop.

By means of their sacred labour, bronze casters, just like alchemists, pursue the transformation of matter so that it comes alive.[717] Inscriptions at the doorknockers at Brioude and Trier contain the *me fecit*-signatures, which establish firm associations between the objects and their makers.[718] In both cases the formula 'X *me* fecit' makes an impression that lions at bronze doorknockers are living creatures, who introduce the skilful bronze casters to the viewers. In other words, the humble makers of these doorknockers have not proclaimed authorship themselves, but indicated it through the words of their oeuvres. In artists' inscriptions, the *me fecit*-signatures serve as a finishing touch to a piece. They mark the end of the makers' activity and the moment when the pieces awaken to life. This conception emphasised the special connection between artists and their pieces and justified bronze casters' ability and eligibility to make inscriptions that ensured them remembrance.

The voices of bronze casters, their presence and manifestation of self in art were becoming more pronounced in the course of time. Previous scholarship suggested that signatures of makers, especially in bronze casting, started associating with brand names from the twelfth century onwards.[719] Indeed, the interest in makers' creativity, masterly techniques and authorship started prevailing over devotional expression. The comparison of bronze casters' inscriptions in this chapter section shows that from the tenth to the thirteenth century secular tendencies and aspirations for earthly fame in their content, as opposed to religious ideas, were increasing. However, my analysis of case studies also demonstrates that previous devotional traditions and the expression of hopes for life eternal have not disappeared from makers' inscriptions entirely.

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[716] Weinryb, 'The Bronze Object in the Middle Ages,' 69, 78.
[717] Eliade, *The Forge and the Crucible: the Origins and Structures of Alchemy*, 8-9.
[718] See Chapter 1 for a detailed discussion on the *me fecit*-formula in artists' inscriptions.
[719] Weinryb, *The Bronze Object in the Middle Ages*, 179-180.

Similar to the case of bronze casters' inscriptions, written self-representations of stone sculptors were not always limited to religious content. Secular tendencies of these inscriptions may have been determined by the backgrounds of sculptors, depending on whether they were monks or laymen. Benedictine artists-monks, for instance, were allowed to practise their crafts with the permission of the abbot, who was in the position to remove them from work, in case they became unhumble.[720] The Rule prescribed that monks should esteem themselves according to the work that was given to them, and it was considered as one of the degrees of humility.[721] Lay artists, on the contrary, had fewer restrictions in self-expression.

The community of lay artists was growing rapidly due to the social and economic changes in medieval society.[722] The development of medieval cities as urban centres with merchant culture encouraged the establishment of guilds of artists and craftsmen.[723] These professional associations functioned differently from medieval monastic workshops, which resulted in the changes of attitudes towards the issues of authorship, artistic knowledge and labour.

The new features, for instance, reflected in the inscription of the sculptor Arnaud Catell, who was active in Spain (fig. 67). Similar to other case studies in this chapter section, Catell's written self-representation indicates his name, profession and notes permanency of his work. In contrast with Pelegrinus's inscription, which is discussed further in this chapter, the one by Catell contains no religious implications, petitions or allegories and serves a practical function. Carved at a capital at the Spanish cloister Sant Cugat del Vallès, it reads: 'HEC EST ARNALLI / SCULTORIS FORMA CATELLI / QUI CLAUSTRUM TALE / CONSTRUXIT PERPETUALE.' Arnaud Catell was indeed a sculptor and appears in documents from 1190, 1206 and 1207.[724] Notably,

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[720] Benedict, Saint Abbot of Monte Cassino, *The Rule of Saint Benedict*, 129.
[721] Ibid., 45.
[722] Davis-Weyer, *Early Medieval Art, 300–1150: Sources and Documents*, 167.
[723] Long, *Openness, Secrecy, Authorship: Technical Arts and the Culture of Knowledge from Antiquity to the Renaissance*, 87-88.
[724] Catell's work for the cloister may have started in 1190. The two documents that the sculptor signed in 1206 and 1207 as a witness are related to economic affairs in which the cloister Sant

Catell also possessed architectural skills, but in this inscription he refers to himself exclusively as a sculptor. Evidence on his social standing may be deduced from his will, which Catell dictated in Girona in 1221. Although the document suffered from humidity, it conveys valuable facts about Catell's income, donations that he made and bequest of his property in Girona and Sant Cugat to his family members.[725]

Catell's self-representation is different from those of artists-monks, who were supposed to 'do nothing except what is commended by the common rule of the monastery.'[726] As a literate laymen artist, Catell may have had more freedom in self-representation. The sculptor's signature is complemented with a self-image showing him in the process of work and wearing a secular costume. This self-representation distinguishes Catell from artists-monks and underlines that he was a lay sculptor. Being one of the latest self-representations discussed in this chapter section, Catell's inscription demonstrates more secular tendencies than earlier examples by Pelegrinus, Nicholaus and Wiligelmo. The activities and lives of these sculptors are not as well documented as those of Catell. Their inscriptions are straightforward in claiming authorship and express sculptors' religious aspirations.

Literacy of medieval sculptors and of the potential readers of their inscriptions may not have been equal or high enough. However, general meaning of standard recognisable formulae, like *me fecit*, would have been understandable even to uneducated people.[727] Comparison between the content of the portal inscriptions of Wiligelmo and Nicholaus and of the main case study, the written self-representation by Pelegrinus, is revealing about the purposes pursued by these sculptors.[728] All these examples state their authors'

Cugat del Vallès was one of the parties. See Otzet, 'El escultor Arnau Cadell, constructor de claustros,' 163 and M. Baby-Pabion, *L'Art médiéval en France* (Paris: Publibook, 2016), 62.

[725] For more details and further literature see Otzet, 'El escultor Arnau Cadell, constructor de claustros,' 164-165. For the transcription of the document and a short commentary see J. Marquès i Planagumà, 'L'escultor Arnau Cadell i el claustre de la Catedral de Girona,' in *Miscel lània Litúrgica Catalana* 16 (2008): 163-167.

[726] Benedict, Saint Abbot of Monte Cassino, *The Rule of Saint Benedict*, 47.

[727] Dietl, 'Italienische Bildhauerinschriften: Selbstdarstellung und Schriftlichkeit mittelalterlicher Künstler,' 202.

[728] Moreover, a closer analysis of Pelegrinus's inscription is introduced in the following chapter section.

professional titles and emphasise their talents by using specific verbs, such as *sculpere* (to sculpt) or *celare* (to carve).[729] This certainly identifies these personalities as sculptors. Moreover, the fact that sculptors use words directly referring to their profession may indicate their intention to elevate its status and secure for themselves a higher social position.

Comparative approach combined with the analysis of the palaeographical style of characters in these inscriptions may be revealing in terms of dating of Pelegrinus's written self-representation. In fact, its palaeographical style of characters shows little similarity to early examples, such as the inscriptions at the eighth-century relief by Ursus Magester or the ninth-century plaque from Biblioteca Capitolare in Verona (fig. 68). The narrow tall letters in the inscription at the plaque are closely grouped; the style of the character G in it is common to inscriptions from about the second half of the eighth and ninth centuries.[730] In Pelegrinus's relief, on the contrary, the letter G is curved like in most eleventh- and twelfth-century examples (fig. 69). The same palaeographical element is found in the dated inscriptions of patriarch Pellegrino at S. Elena in Verona (ca 1140) and in that of Wiligelmo at Modena Cathedral (1099) (fig. 70, 71).

However, the differences between Pelegrinus's and Wiligelmo's inscriptions are more prominent than the similarities. The overall palaeographical style, especially the letters O, R and A are different. Punctuation was used by both Pelegrinus and Wiligelmo, but the inscription by the latter has no clear distinction between the words and there are mistakes in Latin.[731] Unlike the examples from the earlier periods, twelfth-century inscriptions have better punctuation and more distinguished spaces between the words.[732] These features are equally characteristic of both the inscription by Pelegrinus and Nicholaus at Verona Cathedral portal, which is dated to the twelfth century. Both

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[729] Kendall, *The Allegory of the Church: Romanesque Portals and their Verse Inscriptions*, 172 and Oursel, *Floraison de la sculpture romane. Le coeur et la main*, vol. 2, p. 16-17.
[730] Favreau, *Études d'épigraphie médiévale: recueil d'articles de Robert Favreau rassemblés à l'occasion de son départ à la retraite*, 38.
[731] Ibid., 131-132.
[732] Ibid., 76-77.

examples use mixed characters and include uncial letters, for instance, M and E.[733] In these two inscriptions, uncial palaeographical characters are not identical, but there are affinities in other letters, such as A and G.

In their written self-representations Wiligelmo, Nicholaus and Pelegrinus underline their proficiency. Wiligelmo's inscription, for instance, distinguishes him from other sculptors: 'INTER SCVLTORES QVAN/TO SIS DIGNVS ONORE CLA/RET SCVLTURA NV[N]C WILIGELME TVA.'[734] Similarly, written in Leonine hexameter at the portals of churches at Ferrara (1135) and Verona (1138, 1139) the extensive inscriptions by Nicholaus strongly emphasise high qualification of the master (fig. 72).[735]

It may seem that religious aspects are of lesser importance to these sculptors, but, in fact, devotional and self-representational functions of their inscriptions closely interconnect. In his inscription at the portal of San Zeno Cathedral, Nicholaus declared that his ability to sculpt well would secure him a place in Heaven: 'ARTIFICEM GNARVM QVI SCVLPSERIT HEC NICOLAVM / OMNES LAVDEMVS CRISTVM / DomiNuMQue ROGEMVS / CELORVm REGNVM SIBI DONET VT IPSE SVPerNVm.'[736] This echoes Pelegrinus's words: 'SVM PELE/GRINVS EGO / QVI TALIA // SIC BENE SCVLPO'; 'QVEM DEVS IN / ALTVM FACIA[T] / CONSCENDERE CELV(M).' Both authors use words directly related to the profession of sculpture and express hopes for salvation in return of their skilful work.

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[733] C. La Rocca, *Pacifico di Verona: il passato carolingio nella costruzione della memoria urbana* (Roma: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 1995), 151.
[734] Kendall, *The Allegory of the Church: Romanesque Portals and their Verse Inscriptions*, 174.
[735] The dates in the inscriptions are considered with caution, as they may indicate not the time when the words were actually inscribed, but mark occasions when the funds were given by donors or when churches or religious objects were consecrated. For dates and related information see Dietl, 'In arte peritus. Zur Topik Mittelalterlicher Künstlerinschriften in Italien bis zur Zeit Giovanni Pisanos,' 83. In addition, it is worth mentioning that some scholars expressed uncertainty whether Nicholaus composed his inscription himself or only carved it using the text written by another person. For details refer to Favreau, *Études d'épigraphie médiévale: recueil d'articles de Robert Favreau rassemblés à l'occasion de son départ à la retraite*, 135.
[736] Kendall, *The Allegory of the Church: Romanesque Portals and their Verse Inscriptions*, 179, 294.

The position of sculptors' inscriptions and the ways in which these are integrated in their works or architectural ensembles should not be left without consideration. The characters of the main part of Wiligelmo's inscription are larger than those in the last sentence containing the sculptor's signature. A similar approach was also applied by Pelegrinus, who carved the portion of inscription with his signature in a marginal position, at the base of the relief.

Notably, the first portion of Pelegrinus's inscription is positioned prominently at the top of the relief and mentions Christ. This allows drawing a parallel between it and the first portion of Nicholaus's inscription at the West portal of Verona Cathedral: '+HIC DOMINVS MAGNVS LEO CRISTVS CERNITVR AGNVS.' It translates as 'Here the Lord, the great lion Christ, is seen as a lamb.'[737] The second portion of this inscription is entirely secular and refers to Nicholaus. It continues at the porch, which shelters the tympanum: '+ARTIFICEM GNARVM QVI SCVLPSERIT HEC NICOLAVM. HVNC CONCVRRENTES LAVDANT PER SECVLA GENTES.' Meaning: 'The peoples coming to visit forever praise him – Nicholaus, the skilled craftsman who sculpted this.'[738] This manifestation expresses the sculptor's pride of his proficiency. Perhaps, for this reason it was placed separately from the religious inscriptions and holy figures at the tympanum.

Nicholaus's inscription at Verona Cathedral portal is addressed to people, and not to God. This may create an impression that the author was primarily concerned with perpetuating his skill and obtaining earthly fame.[739] Pelegrinus, on the contrary, phrased his inscription in a form of a petition to God. I suggest that as a predecessor of Nicholaus, he may have been restricted to expressions of piety by the conventions of his times. Pelegrinus managed to combine praise to his work with an expression of his hopes for salvation. Both sculptors proclaimed a spirit of self-manifestation in their inscriptions. However, Nicholaus's inscription may have been composed later than the

[737] Ibid., 292-293.
[738] Ibid., 293.
[739] Favreau, *Études d'épigraphie médiévale: recueil d'articles de Robert Favreau rassemblés à l'occasion de son départ à la retraite*, 31.

one by Pelegrinus, because it is significantly wordier and demonstrates a higher level of self-assurance.

Pelegrinus humbly placed his signature at St Peter's feet. The sculptor carved it at a rectangular base of the relief resembling a stone, which supports the porch with the holy figures. As the Bible says: 'you are Peter, and on this rock I will build My church, and the gates of Hades will not prevail against it. I will give you the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven' (Matthew 16:18-19). Pelegrinus may have piously implied a connection between a stone sculptor working in churches with the apostle, who founded the Church as a community. In an allegorical sense, the apostle's attribute, the keys, are sometimes paralleled to a mason's piece of equipment, the three-legged lewis, also known as St Peter's keys.[740]

The analysis of the case studies in this thesis indicates that sculptors' inscriptions usually combine religious and secular features and shows that the *me fecit*-signatures were not the only possibility for sculptors to claim authorship and express themselves. Along with the references to professional distinction, sculptors' inscriptions express contemplation and devotion.[741] They serve their authors as a means of communication with contemporaries and subsequent generations. I propose that the tone and the prominent position of sculptors' portal inscriptions may not necessarily mean that their authors were of high social standing. On the contrary, sculptors may have wished to elevate their statuses by means of assertive inscriptions at portals or reliefs, the function of which consisted in conveying civic memory of the personalities that they mentioned.[742]

On the one hand, activities such as sculpting or copying manuscripts were classified as mechanical or low-ranked forms of work. Thus, artists humbled themselves by indicating in their inscriptions that they undertook these activities. On the other hand, the

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[740] Sculptors and masons use a lewis as a lifting appliance to move and lift large stones. I am grateful to the sculptor Alexander Stoddart, who advised me to elaborate on this parallel.
[741] North, Sacred *Space: House of God, Gate of Heaven*, 43.
[742] S. Gerevini, 'Written in Stone: Civic Memory and Monumental Writing in the Cathedral of San Lorenzo in Genoa,' in *The Twelfth Century Renaissance: a Reader*, ed. A. Novikoff, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016), 205.

results of their work were highly valued religious objects for ecclesiastic use. Applied by sculptors in an intention to perpetuate their names for God and the faithful, these written self-representations, I suggest, demonstrate humility, devotion and professional competence of their authors. Appreciation of sculptors' work may have extended to the appreciation of their skills, potentially leading to the elevation of their statuses.

Discussion in this chapter section suggests an alternative to the general and stereotypical concept of medieval sculptors' anonymity, which was popular in early literature. The examples discussed above show that the standard idea on sculptors' anonymity may not be applied to all cases. When using opportunities to sign their work and claim authorship, sculptors may have pursued a variety of purposes. These may have depended on their lay or monastic background, level of literacy, relationship with the patron and other social circumstances. Thus an idea expressed by previous scholarship that medieval artists aimed to acquire personal recognition is not entirely correct.[743] The variety of examples discussed above reassures that each case of sculptors' self-expression should be regarded individually, similar to the relief by Pelegrinus.

[743] Kendall, *The Allegory of the Church: Romanesque Portals and their Verse Inscriptions*, 171.

'Sum Pelegrinus Ego…'
An Artist-Traveller Pelegrinus and his late eleventh-century *Traditio Legis* Relief (Verona, Italy)

A large collection of Romanesque sculpture at the Museo di Castelvecchio in Verona includes a relief notable for its iconography, style and carved inscription with a signature of its maker, the medieval sculptor Pelegrinus.[744] The relief was discovered by a canon and antiquarian Dionisi (1724 – 1808), who considered that this rare piece of Christian monument was sculpted by Pelegrinus during reconstruction of Verona Cathedral.[745] However, the Cathedral was rebuilt and refurbished several times over the centuries. Tracing when Pelegrinus's relief was fist mentioned in the interior and when was it removed may help defining the approximate dating of my case study. This may also reveal whether the relief was a part of an early construction damaged in the earthquake in 1117, or it was created later in the course of reconstruction.

The earliest known source on Pelegrinus's relief is Dionisi's *Osservazioni* (1767), which was subsequently cited by other authors.[746] In old scholarship, which generally interpreted the medieval period as the time of decline in arts, the relief was criticised for crudeness and primitiveness.[747] Inferiority of the sculptor's skill was mentioned too, and reiterated in further publications.[748] Scholarship from the second half of the twentieth

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[744] Founded by Antonio Avena (1882 – 1967) in 1924, Museo di Castelvecchio accepted the relief and other exhibits from the Museo Maffei. See A. Avena, *Il museo di Castelvecchio a Verona* (Roma: La Libreria dello Stato, 1937), 33.
[745] G. Dionisi, *Osservazioni sopra un'antica cristiana scultura ritrovata nel recinto della cattedral di Verona* (Verona: Moroni, 1767), iv-v, xxv-xxvi.
[746] J. Seroux d'Agincourt, *Histoire de l'art par les monumens, depuis sa décadence au IVe siècle jusqu'à son renouvellement au XIVe*, vol. 3 (Paris: Treuttel et Würtz, 1823), 19-20; D. Zannandreis, *Le vite dei pittori, scultori e architetti veronesi* (Verona: G. Franchini, 1891), 15; Dietl, *Die Sprache der Signatur: die mittelalterlichen Künstlerinschriften Italiens*, vol. 3, 1771.
[747] Early scholarship regarded the relief as a ninth-century piece. J. Seroux d'Agincourt, *Histoire de l'art par les monumens, depuis sa décadence au IVe siècle jusqu'à son renouvellement au XIVe* (Paris: Treuttel et Würtz, 1823), vol. 2, p. 53 and vol. 3, pp. 19-20. In this book Dionisi's name is misprinted as Dionigi, and the publication date of his *Osservazioni* is given wrong (1768 instead of 1767).
[748] A. Kingsley Porter, *Lombard Architecture*, vol. 1 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1917), 286; G. De Francovich, 'La corrente comasca nella cultura romanica europea,' *Rivista del R. Istituto d'archeologia e storia dell'arte* 5 (1937): 276-277.

century considered that Pelegrinus's work was underestimated, but the reliance on outdated information has not assisted any progress in enquiries.[749]

Previous scholarship noted a combination of Byzantine, Lombard, Venetian and Islamic features in Pelegrinus's work.[750] Stylistic aspects are not primary focus of this chapter, but they may be informative about the sculptor's background. Scholarship indicated a link between Pelegrinus's relief and the art from Como-Lombard area around 1100 (that spread to Milan by 1115 – 1120).[751] However, without thorough stylistic comparisons this argument is based on limited evidence.

This chapter, on the contrary, finds that affinities between the relief from the Museo di Castelvecchio and several Veronese twelfth-century sculpted pieces are more convincing.[752] Details of architectural sculpture at the church of San Giovanni in Valle, two capitals at the portal of Duomo representing the Angel and the Virgin of Annunciation and the three holy water basins supported by caryatides in the interior of Verona Cathedral demonstrate close similarities to Pelegrinus's relief.[753] Previous scholarship considered that these sculptures were produced by an established workshop of local artists that may be associated with Pelegrinus, but these suggestions were not

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[749] C. Verzár Bornstein, *Portals and Politics in the Early Italian City-State: the Sculpture of Nicholaus in Context* (Parma: Univ. degli Studi di Parma, Ist. di Storia dell'Arte, 1988), 79; A. Romanini, 'L' Arte romanica,' in *Verona e il suo territorio*, vol. 2, ed. Carlo Guido Mor (Verona: Istituto per gli studi storici veronesi, 1964), 709-710; E. Arslan, *La pittura e la scultura veronese dal secolo VIII al secolo XIII* (Milan: Fratelli Bocca, 1943), 88; A. Bartoli, 'Il complesso romanico,' in *La cattedrale di Verona nelle sue vicende edilizie dal secolo IV al secolo XVI*, ed. P. Brugnoli (Venice: Arsenale, 1987), 153; Verzár Bornstein, *Portals and Politics in the Early Italian City-State*, 79, 88; L. Fabbri, 'La chiesa di San Giovanni in Valle a Verona: un'architettura di prestigio tra novità e tradizione nella Verona di dodicesimo secolo,' *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 13/1 (2007): 152.

[750] Arslan, *La pittura e la scultura veronese dal secolo VIII al secolo XIII*, 89-91; Romanini, 'L' Arte romanica,' vol. 2, p. 712; Verzár Bornstein, *Portals and politics in the early Italian City-State*, 88.

[751] Bartoli, 'Il complesso romanico,' 132.

[752] In the twentieth century, the scholars Arslan (1943), Romanini (1964), Bartoli (1987), Verzár Bornstein (1988), Zumiani (1999) briefly referred to Pelegrinus and his style in their publications. Arslan, *La pittura e la scultura veronese dal secolo VIII al secolo XIII*, 89; Fabbri, 'La chiesa di San Giovanni in Valle a Verona: un'architettura di prestigio tra novità e tradizione nella Verona di dodicesimo secolo,' 152-154, Romanini, 'L' Arte romanica,' vol. 2, 712.

[753] E. Guzzo, *La cattedrale di Verona* (Verona: PAF, 1993), 14.

confirmed with documentary evidence.[754] In my opinion, the similarities between these sculptures may also indicate that they were actually carved by the same hand. Only a few sculptures closely related to Pelegrinus's style survive to date. On the one hand, this may be the result of an earthquake in Verona, which is discussed further. On the other hand, the sculptures may have been created by a travelling sculptor, who worked in Verona within a certain period and on specific commissions. I consider that Pelegrinus's relief has been overlooked in previous publications, which only used it for brief comparisons while discussing other more popular sculptures.

Historical evidence for the sculptor Pelegrinus and his work is lacking. Thus, Chapter 3 emphasises that any attempts of identification should be made with caution. I suggest that the name Pelegrinus may be a pseudonym and that it strongly associates with travelling artists and cultural exchange. Chapter 3 presents the results of a careful study of biographies and registers of historical personalities, who were known under the name of Pelegrinus. This allows making hypotheses on the sculptor's origin and social background. Revision of the dating of the case study facilitates enquiries in this direction.

In early scholarship, most arguments on Pelegrinus's relief and its dating were largely based on stylistic comparisons with cathedral sculpture by Wiligelmo and Nicholaus, because both have left dated inscriptions at church portals.[755] This chapter indicates that dating based solely on stylistic grounds may not be entirely accurate. I propose that Pelegrinus's relief may have been produced earlier than it was suggested by publications from previous decades.[756] Chapter 3 explores the case study by considering

[754] Bartoli, 'Il complesso romanico,'153.
[755] De Francovich claimed that Pelegrinus's sculpture was produced in the first decades of the twelfth century because it reveals no affinities to sculpture by Nicholaus. Bartoli considered that Pelegrinus worked around the same period than Wiligelmo, who was active in ca 1099. See De Francovich, 'La corrente comasca nella cultura romanica europea,' 277 and Bartoli, 'Il complesso romanico,' 132, 135, 153. Wiligelmo's inscription at Modena Cathedral states the date 1099, Nicholaus's portal inscriptions specify dates: 1114 – 1120 at Sacra di san Michele, 1132 – 1135 at Ferrara, 1123 – 1138 at San Zeno in Verona and 1139 – 1140 at Verona Cathedral. See Kendall, *The Allegory of the Church: Romanesque Portals and their Verse Inscriptions*, 174-175.
[756] Following Toesca, Arslan wrote that Pelegrinus was active in the first half of the twelfth century, whereas Kendall, following Verzár Bornstein, gave dates 1120 – 1126. This precise

it in the context of the history of Verona Cathedral and an earthquake of 1117. Historical evidence presented here facilitates rectifying the dating of the relief and reveals more about the maker.

Thus, this thesis emphasises that the role of Pelegrinus and his sculpture may be more significant than previously acknowledged. Pelegrinus is presented not as a sculptor, who worked after Wiligelmo and before Nicholaus, but as a master, whose work is valuable in itself.

Carved from a rectangular piece of marble and shaped in a form of an arch, Pelegrinus's relief measures 71 x 116 x 29.5 cm (fig. 73).[757] The piece represents three figures in arched niches, which are united by an architectural setting and supported by half-columns on either side. A shoulder-length figure in the centre represents Christ Blessing. He holds an open book and is flanked by two apostles, easily identifiable by short inscriptions: 'S(ANCTVS) PE/TRVS' and 'S(AN)C(TV)S PAVLVS.' St Peter with the keys and St Paul with a book stand to the left and to the right sides of Christ, respectively.

Another longer inscription, masterly integrated in the relief, competes with pictorial elements in its importance or at least plays a no less significant role than the sculpted images. Its first portion, in a band above the figures, identifies Christ and delivers his words, which continue in the second portion of the inscription over the semi-circular arch:

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dating, however, has not been justified. P. Toesca, *Storia dell'arte italiana: I. Il medioevo* (Turin: Unione Tipografico-Editrice Torinese, 1927), 886; Arslan, *La pittura e la scultura veronese dal secolo VIII al secolo XIII*, 89; Kendall, *The Allegory of the Church: Romanesque Portals and their Verse Inscriptions*, 338; Verzár Bornstein, *Portals and Politics in the Early Italian City-State*, 79, 88.

[757] The museum catalogue has precise measurements of the relief. See Salvarani, *Matilde di Canossa, il papato, l'impero: storia, arte, cultura alle origini del romanico*, 300. Dietl dated the relief to ca 1120 – 1130, provided the measurements and noted the material, Parian marble, with a question mark. This type of marble is valued for its whiteness and smooth texture. See Dietl, *Die Sprache der Signatur: die mittelalterlichen Künstlerinschriften Italiens*, vol. 3, 1771-1772.

'+SVM DEVS ET FACTOR // CELI TERRIQVE CREATOR'; '+HOS EGO PLASMAVI HOS DIGNE S(AN)C(T)IFICAVI ET SIBI DONORVM CONCESSI IVRA MEORVM.'

['I am God and the maker of Heaven and creator of the Earth. I have moulded (formed) these men (i.e. Peter and Paul). I have sanctified these men, I have made these men saints, and I have granted the rights of my gifts to them.'][758]

The next portion of the inscription is divided in two parts; both appear at the bottom of the columns in the relief and convey a message from the sculptor (fig. 69):

'+SVM PELE/GRINVS EGO / QVI TALIA // SIC BENE SCVLPO'; 'QVEM DEVS IN / ALTVM FACIA[T] / CONSCENDERE CELV(M).'

['I am Pelegrinus who skilfully sculpts this. May God see to it that I ascend to Heaven.'][759]

Textual elements in this relief are noteworthy for their profound meaning and accurately carved characters. The length of the inscription and its grammatical and compositional accuracy may indicate that the sculptor understood Latin. This, in turn, complements the above discussion of written self-representations and establishes parallels to Bernhardus's inscription and some other examples studied in Chapter 1. Produced in stone and bronze, respectively, and originating from distinct European

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[758] The Latin word *plasmavi* has no direct relation to the verb 'to sculpt,' but it may be translated as 'to mould' or 'to form.' It may be associated with sculpting in clay and recalls a myth about divine creation of a man. The presence of this verb in the inscription certainly establishes an interesting parallel between the act of God's creation and sculptor's work, implying that both actions are manual but, at the same time, creative. These myth and parallel were commonly used by sculptors to elevate the importance of the profession of sculpture.

[759] I am grateful to my teacher of Latin language, Dr Patricia Brignall, for her kind support and help with my translations from Latin into English.

regions, these case studies nevertheless reveal affinities through the pious content and spiritual ideas expressed by their authors.

Pelegrinus's inscription contains the word *sculpo*, directly related to the profession of sculpture, which makes it of specific relevance to Chapter 3. Similarly, master sculptors Wiligelmo and Nicholaus praised their skill in inscriptions with poetic tone and used words *scultura*, *sculpserit*, *scultore*.[760] This chapter proposes, however, that the roles of these two masters were exaggerated in previous scholarship. Other sculptors, including Pelegrinus and Arnaud Catell, who was active in Spain, also produced written self-representations proudly claiming authorship. An analysis of Pelegrinus's inscription presented further in this chapter suggests that its content relates to the ideas of man's essential dignity and perfectibility expressed in Bernardus Silvestris's *Cosmographia* and Alan of Lille's *Anticlaudianus*.[761]

Wiligelmo and Nicholaus carved their self-representations at church portals, which were traditionally used for inscriptions. Catell has also chosen a common place for his inscription, at a capital in a cloister, which links it to signed capitals discussed in Chapter 2. Pelegrinus, on the contrary, placed his inscription at a relief, which used to be a part of church interior. Enquiries on this case study would expand our knowledge of sculptors' choices for positioning self-representations. Documentary evidence on Catell, his inscription and social status were discussed in recent publications.[762] However, the same aspects concerning Pelegrinus have never been the subjects of thorough art-historical enquiries.

Apart from analysing Pelegrinus's inscription, this chapter also focuses on iconography, the *Traditio Legis* scene in the relief. In previous scholarship, this rare

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[760] Kendall, *The Allegory of the Church: Romanesque Portals and their Verse Inscriptions*, 174-176; see also Verzár Bornstein, C. *Portals and Politics in the Early Italian City-State: the Sculpture of Nicholaus in Context*. Parma: Univ. degli Studi di Parma, Ist. di Storia dell'Arte, 1988; Frugoni, C. *Wiligelmo. Le sculture del Duomo di Modena*. Modena: Franco Cosimo Panini Editore, 1996.
[761] Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Medieval Europe, 950–1200*, 281.
[762] Otzet, 'El escultor Arnau Cadell, constructor de claustros,' 160-168 and Baby-Pabion, *L'Art médiéval en France*, 62.

scene showing Christ the Lawgiver with apostles was classified as *Traditio Legis* or *Donatio Clavis*, but has not been sufficiently studied.[763] Comparisons between Pelegrinus's relief and other works of religious art with similar iconography show that the sculptor has not followed the conventions and omitted some details. A thorough discussion of this scene in relation to Pelegrinus's inscription offers an interpretation of the sculptor's written self-representation. Moreover, hypothetical suggestions are made to estimate the function of this case study as a possible part of a sculptural ensemble in church interior.

Verona Cathedral has a complex history of dramatic damages and subsequent reconstructions, which may explain the diversity of architectural and decorative elements incorporated in it. Since the *Traditio Legis* relief is a former part of Verona Cathedral interior, it would be enlightening to explore more about this sculpture in the context of the history of this church. I consider the reconstructions held in ca 780 (by archdeacon Pacifico), ca 975 (by bishop Roterio), and also possibly after the flood in 1097, and after the earthquake in 1117 as the milestones in the history of Verona Cathedral.[764] These were propitious moments for creating new sculptural ensembles in the interior, one of which may have included Pelegrinus's relief. However, documentation on the period in question is poorly preserved living the room for investigations and speculations.

Initially known as S. Maria Matricolare and consecrated in the fourth century, the church was rebuilt and enlarged by the bishop Rotaldo (802 – 840).[765] In the seventh

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[763] Romanini and Verzár Bornstein classified the scene as the *Traditio Legis*. Valenzano, however, was more specific naming it *Donatio Clavis* and *Traditio Legis*. Romanini, 'L' Arte romanica,' vol. 2, 709-710; Verzár Bornstein, *Portals and Politics in the Early Italian City-State*, 79, 88. G.Valenzano, 'Ezzelini: signori della Marca nel cuore dell'Impero di Federico II,' in *Cultura architettonica e decorazione lapidea nelle citta Marca tra 12 e 13 secolo*, ed. Carlo Bertelli and Giovanni Marcadella (Milan: Skira, 2001), 91.
[764] Kingsley Porter, *Lombard Architecture*, vol. 3, 468.
[765] G. Biancolini, *Serie cronologica dei vescovi e governatori di Verona* (Verona: D. Ramanzini, 1760), 4. The manuscript by Canobbio indicated that bishop Rotaldo actively supported the local Christian community in Verona with donations and established secular clergy at the Cathedral from 813. See A. Canobbio. *Tavola di quanto è flato raccolto intorno alla nobiltà, antichità, e fatti di Verona*. Verona, 1587.

century, it suffered destruction either from an earthquake or fire.[766] In 780 the church was reconstructed, enlarged and acquired a status of cathedral; interior refurbishment was arranged by archdeacon Pacifico, whose dated epitaph is found inside.[767] The bishop Roterio started new reconstruction works in 970s. In his letters to contemporaries, Roterio indicated that the Cathedral required refurbishment after the fire, which occurred in the beginning of the tenth century. The floods of 1097 and 1153 also caused significant damage to the building, which was reconstructed again in 1189.[768]

The gravest damages to the Cathedral, however, were caused by an earthquake on 3 January 1117. This earthquake with an epicentre in Verona affected numerous churches not only in the city, but also in surrounding areas (fig. 74).[769] Among the primary sources mentioning it is a stone from a wall of the bell tower of the Church of San Mauro in Costozza (in Vicenza, relatively close to Verona). The stone has the years of three medieval earthquakes carved on it, including the one from 1117, which is the earliest. Also, the precise date of the earthquake, 3 January 1117, was mentioned in a document from the first half of the twelfth century, in which a man was witnessing possession of certain lands.[770]

Large reconstruction projects of churches and monasteries were commenced across the area affected by this earthquake.[771] The works on Verona Cathedral were initiated by

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[766] See L. Simeoni, *Verona: guida storico-artistica della città e provincial* (Verona: C.A. Baroni, 1909), 79 and A. Veneto. 'Edifici religiosi tardoantichi presso la Cattedrale - Verona.' Accessed February 12, 2016, http://www.archeoveneto.it/portale/wp-content/filemaker/stampa_scheda_estesa.php?recid=67
[767] Kingsley Porter, *Lombard Architecture*, vol. 3, 466-467.
[768] Kingsley Porter's sources on Verona Cathedral are Canobbio (1587) and Biancolini (1749). See Kingsley Porter, *Lombard Architecture*, vol. 3, 468.
[769] Catalogo parametrico dei terremoti italiani. 'Consultazione per finestre temporali, 217 a. C. – 1690.' Accessed April 4, 2016, http://emidius.mi.ingv.it/CPTI04/finestra217_1690.html. See also: Simeoni, *Verona: guida storico-artistica della città e provincial*, 80; Zumiani. 'La Chiesa di san Giovanni in Valle a Verona,' 2. Accessed February 14, 2016, http://www.webalice.it/arch.ezorzi/gallery/indagini_sgvalle/SanGiovinValle.pdf; M. Agostini, '*Sum Pelegrinus ego qui talia sic bene sculpo*: Il Magister Pelegrinus e la Cattedrale di Verona,' in *La Cattedrale di Verona tra storia e arte*, ed. M. Agostini (Verona: 2006), 56.
[770] E. Guidoboni, 'I grandi terremoti medievali in Italia,' *Le Scienze* 4 (1991): 32-33.
[771] G. Solinas, *Storia di Verona* (Verona: Centro Rinascita Editore, 1981), 244.

the bishop Bernardo (1119/1122 – 1135) in about 1120.[772] In 1187 the Cathedral was consecrated, but the works in it continued and were not finished until 1193.[773] Later, between the second half of the fifteenth and the second half of the sixteenth centuries, another reconstruction of the Cathedral took place and side chapels, semi-circular choir screen and new vaults were added.[774] According to early sources, the old choir screen was removed in 1534, but no descriptions of it survive, which makes it uncertain whether Pelegrinus's relief was indeed a part of that construction.[775] During refurbishments in the Cathedral around 1160s or earlier, the relief, similar to other examples discussed in the previous chapters of this thesis, may have been extracted from its original position and reused.[776] In the medieval period, it was common practice to reuse pieces of religious art to ensure that previously accumulated devotional emanations were passed to refurbished churches. Moreover, stone fragments were usually reused also for the reasons of economy; Parian marble, of which Pelegrinus's relief is made, was an expensive material.[777]

The history of the case study may be traced in the course of interior refurbishments in Verona Cathedral. This chapter suggests a closer look into Dionisi's *Osservazioni* as the earliest surviving written source on the *Traditio Legis* relief. A canon at Verona Cathedral and an antiquarian, Dionisi was well-informed on the history of the church and its refurbishments. He also had access to and researched the local archives in

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[772] Agostini, '*Sum Pelegrinus ego qui talia sic bene sculpo*: Il Magister Pelegrinus e la Cattedrale di Verona,' 56. See also Verona. 'Duomo. Santa Maria Assunta.' Accessed February 12, 2016, http://churchesofvenice.co.uk/verona.htm and Cattedrale di Verona. 'Storia.' Accessed April 4, 2016, http://www.cattedralediverona.it/cattedrale.html#_storia/storia10
[773] See Simeoni, *Verona: guida storico-artistica della città e provincial*, 80 and Kingsley Porter, *Lombard Architecture*, vol. 3, 478-479.
[774] Simeoni, *Verona: guida storico-artistica della città e provincial*, 80-81.
[775] G. Biancolini, *Notizie storiche delle chiese di Verona*, vol. 1 (Verona: Per Alessandro Scolari, 1749), 143-144, 154-155 and Kingsley Porter, *Lombard Architecture*, vol. 3, 472.
[776] Agostini, '*Sum Pelegrinus ego qui talia sic bene sculpo*: Il Magister Pelegrinus e la Cattedrale di Verona,' 60; Zannandreis, *Le vite dei pittori, scultori e architetti veronesi*, 15.
[777] Dietl indicated that the material of the relief is Parian marble, with a question mark. Following Dionisi, Agostini noted that the relief and another piece resembling an architrave are both of Parian marble, and both are fragments of the original piece of church furniture. Dietl, *Die Sprache der Signatur: die mittelalterlichen Künstlerinschriften Italiens*, vol. 3, 1772 and Agostini, '*Sum Pelegrinus ego qui talia sic bene sculpo*: Il Magister Pelegrinus e la Cattedrale di Verona,' 59.

Verona, which allows considering Dionisi's *Osservazioni* as an informative source on the Cathedral and its relief.[778] Dionisi's treatise, however, is treated in this thesis with caution, as well as certain hypotheses on the *Traditio Legis* relief proposed in subsequent scholarship. Some of the latter require correction, for instance, due to a misinterpretation of Pelegrinus's inscription as a praise to pope Urban III (1185 – 1187), the relief was dated to 1187.[779] Urban III came to Verona in 1185 and the local clergy took the opportunity to consecrate the church on 13 September 1187 while he was staying in the city.[780] However, Pelegrinus's inscription has no date or any other direct reference to the pope. The position, the tone and the content of the inscription rather suggest a strong association with the figure of Christ, which dominates in the relief. In addition, biographical facts about Urban III show that the year 1187 was unlikely to have been chosen for patronage of arts. In autumn 1187, Urban III left Verona due to disagreements with the Veronese based on political complications.[781] He headed to Venice, but died on the way, in Ferrara on 20 October 1187.[782] Thus, a hypothesis relating Pelegrinus's relief to Urban III and dating it to 1187 is unconvincing.

It follows from Dionisi's *Osservazioni* that the piece existed before the consecration of the Cathedral in 1187. The author of this eighteenth-century source suggested that

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[778] Dionisi, *Osservazioni sopra un'antica cristiana scultura ritrovata nel recinto della cattedral di Verona*, xxviii-xxxi. See also Dionisi's work based on his archival research in Archivio di Stato di Verona: *Codex diplomaticus veronensis, seu vetera quae in veronensis ecclesiae capitulo ut ubique per vetera habentur anecdota eaque selectiora diplomata ac monimenta per centurias distributa*.

[779] Urban III succeeded the late Pope Lucius III (ca 1100 – 1185). The portion of inscription in question is: 'HOS EGO PLASMAVI. HOS DIGNE S(AN)C(T)IFICAVI. ET SIBI DONORVM. CONCESSI IVRA MEORVM.' According to Kingsley Porter it translates: 'These I fashioned and these I consecrated since they were worthy, and I granted them the right to use gifts made to me.' Kingsley Porter, *Lombard Architecture*, vol. 3, 470-471, 478; De Francovich, 'La corrente comasca nella cultura romanica europea,' 276.

[780] Kingsley Porter gives this date following Dionisi and Ughelli. See Kingsley Porter, *Lombard Architecture*, vol. 3, 469, 471; the same date of consecration is indicated at the official website of Verona Cathedral. Cattedrale di Verona. 'Storia.' Accessed March 31, 2016, http://www.cattedralediverona.it/cattedrale.html#_storia/storia10

[781] Presumably, it happened shortly after he consecrated the Cathedral in September 1178. D. R. Webster. Pope Urban III. 'The Catholic Encyclopedia, vol. 15.' Accessed February 6, 2016, http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/15211a.htm.

[782] Treccani, la cultura italiana. 'Urbano III.' Accessed April 1, 2016, http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/urbano-iii_(Enciclopedia-dei-Papi)/

from the ninth until the fifteenth century the relief was in the Cathedral, and that it used to be a part of a ciborium over an altar, which is currently lost.[783] However, it is preferable to be cautious about information in this source. Previous publications contain no evidence of documented alternations to church interior in the early twelfth century, shortly before the earthquake. Moreover, it is unlikely that the pieces of church furniture, like Pelegrinus's relief, would have been needed immediately after the earthquake, in 1120s, at the initial stage of the Cathedral's reconstruction. The works would normally have been commenced with major architectural parts of the building and its walls. As it is known from an inscription of the sculptor Nicholaus, the Cathedral exterior and the West portal specifically were not finished until approximately 1139.[784] Reconstruction of interior would have been conveyed at a later stage. For instance, it is documented that the high altar and the sacristy were rebuilt in 1158 and 1160 respectively, but Pelegrinus's relief was not noted in this context.[785]

Church furniture that existed in the cathedral interior before 1117 would have been damaged by the strong earthquake, which occurred in Verona in that year.[786] Pieces of church furniture would naturally have been less resistant to natural disasters than solid cathedral walls. This may explain why no other fragments related to the case study of Chapter 3 survive.[787] The only exception is the piece of an architrave or a lintel of Parian marble with carvings, which was noted by Dionisi.[788] This eighteenth-century author

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[783] Dionisi, *Osservazioni sopra un'antica cristiana scultura ritrovata nel recinto della cattedral di Verona*, iv-v.
[784] Kendall, *The Allegory of the Church: Romanesque Portals and their Verse Inscriptions*, 175 and Simeoni, *Verona: guida storico-artistica della città e provincial*, 82.
[785] Kingsley Porter, *Lombard Architecture*, vol. 3, 469-470.
[786] Guidoboni, 'I grandi terremoti medioevali in Italia,' 34.
[787] Old drawings and engravings representing the relief are of little avail in reconstructing its original appearance. Dionisi's book includes a rather stylised reproduction, but the sculptor's inscription in it is copied quite accurately. A reproduction in Seroux d'Agincourt's book is not detailed enough and represents the figures and the inscription with inaccuracies.
[788] The current location of this fragment remains unknown. Dionisi, *Osservazioni sopra un'antica cristiana scultura ritrovata nel recinto della cattedral di Verona*, iv-v. At present, the relief by Pelegrinus is in a good condition, and apart from several chips and minor damages it has no obvious cracks or restorations. This may be determined largely due to the efforts of the antiquarian Maffei, in whose collection the relief was later transferred. Maffei valued authenticity of sculptures and was not a supporter of extensive restonrations. For more details

stated that the *Traditio Legis* relief was reused in the Cathedral in the course of refurbishments. Dionisi suggested that the relief used to be a part of a ciborium over a church altar, and specified in another source that he found the relief mounted on the wall of the Cappella del Santissimo Sacramento and heard the chime of a bell while extracting it.[789] Built by the bishop Guido Memo (1409 – 1438) in 1435, this chapel was refurbished in 1762, which coincides with the time when Dionisi discovered the sculpture. Already by 1767 the relief was transferred by Dionisi to his residence in the House of Canons, where for about twenty years the sculpture served as a support of an altar in a private oratory.[790]

The reason for transferring the relief from the Cathedral remained undocumented. Presumably, at that period the piece may have lost its relevancy to the newly refurbished interior of Verona Cathedral. Nevertheless, it anticipated the relief's transformation from a church object to a museum exhibit.[791] In 1782 the relief enriched the collection of sculpted pieces with epigraphic elements at the Museo Maffei, where it was set in the atrium.[792] Currently at the Museo del Castelvecchio, Pelegrinus's relief is still appreciated for its carved inscription.

The analysis of Pelegrinus's inscription is preceeded in this thesis by a discussion of iconography presented in the piece. As noted above, the scene shown in Pelegrinus's

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see F. Haskell, *History and its Images: Art and the Interpretation of the Past* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 177.

[789] Agostini, '*Sum Pelegrinus ego qui talia sic bene sculpo*: Il Magister Pelegrinus e la Cattedrale di Verona,' 60; Dionisi, *Osservazioni sopra un'antica cristiana scultura ritrovata nel recinto della cattedral di Verona*, iv-v.

[790] Dionisi, *Osservazioni sopra un'antica cristiana scultura ritrovata nel recinto della cattedral di Verona*, iv. Further publications referred to Dionisi as a primary source: Kingsley Porter, *Lombard Architecture*, vol. 3, 477. Dietl also cited Gaetano Marini (1742 – 1815), who recorded the piece as installed in canon's house ('infixa in canonicalibus aedibus'). Dietl, *Die Sprache der Signatur: die mittelalterlichen Künstlerinschriften Italiens*, vol. 3, 1771; Agostini, '*Sum Pelegrinus ego qui talia sic bene sculpo*: Il Magister Pelegrinus e la Cattedrale di Verona,' 60.

[791] The donation of the relief to Museo Maffei was recorded by Dionisi. Agostini, '*Sum Pelegrinus ego qui talia sic bene sculpo*: Il Magister Pelegrinus e la Cattedrale di Verona,' 60.

[792] Zannandreis, *Le vite dei pittori, scultori e architetti veronesi*, 15; Kingsley Porter, *Lombard Architecture*, vol. 3, 477. Unlike Zannandreis, who wrote that the relief was in the museum's atrium, Simeoni stated that the piece was found in the vestibule. Placing the piece in the vestibule may have protected it from weather conditions. For more details see Simeoni, *Verona: guida storico-artistica della città e provincial*, 179-180.

relief was considered in previous publications as the *Traditio Legis*, but no details or sources for this iconography were discussed.[793] In fact, this subject has no Scriptural basis, and its other name, the *Transmission of the Law*, was introduced by the nineteenth-century scholars.[794] Usually, the scene depicts the two apostles, St Peter and St Paul, flanking Christ and receiving from him the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven and the scroll, respectively. It would be more correct to call the scene *Traditio Legis et Donatio Clavis*, indicating both attributes that Christ gives to St Peter and St Paul.

From the fourth and fifth centuries onwards, the *Traditio Legis* was a popular subject in early Christian art, primarily in Italian frescoes and mosaics. Its origins, however, may be traced in Roman imperial iconography showing emperors handing decrees to their officials. The *Traditio Legis* occurs in funerary and ecclesiastical contexts, at sarcophagi and edifices.[795] In some variations, Christ it depicted young and beardless, just like in the fourth-century mosaic in the Basilica of San Lorenzo in Milan or in the seventh-century example from the Mausoleo di Santa Costanza in Rome (fig. 75). St Peter is shown in a humble bow receiving a scroll from Christ, while St Paul approaches them with a pious gesture as if in response to Christ's blessing. Representations of Christ's and apostles' attributes also vary. Namely, a scroll may be depicted instead of a book, and in certain cases the keys of St Peter may not be included.

In the *Traditio Legis*, Christ is usually depicted seated on a throne. Recent scholarship suggested that the scenes with Christ standing are a different variant of portrayal of his divinity.[796] For instance, in frescoes from Castel Sant'Elia in Nepi (early twelfth century) and San Silvestro in Tivoli (ca 1200) Christ is shown as a mature

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[793] R. Jullian, *L'Éveil de la sculpture italienne. La sculpture romane dans l'Italie du nord* (Paris: Van Oest, 1945), 130; Romanini, 'L' Arte romanica,' vol. 2, 709; Verzár Bornstein, *Portals and Politics in the Early Italian City-State*, 79, 88; Valenzano, 'Ezzelini: signori della Marca nel cuore dell'Impero di Federico II,' 91; Agostini, '*Sum Pelegrinus ego qui talia sic bene sculpo*: Il Magister Pelegrinus e la Cattedrale di Verona,' 58.

[794] R. Hvalvik, 'Christ Proclaiming His Law to the Apostles: the *Traditio Legis*-Motif in Early Christian Art and Literature,' in *The New Testament and Early Christian Literature in Greco-Roman Context*, ed. D. E. Aune (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 405.

[795] Hvalvik, 'Christ Proclaiming His Law to the Apostles: the *Traditio Legis*-Motif in Early Christian Art and Literature,' 405-406.

[796] I. Foletti, 'Roma, l'Oriente e il mito della Traditio legis,' *Opuscula historiae atrium* 62 (2013): 32.

bearded man.[797] In the fresco from Tivoli St Paul holds a scroll, whereas St Peter is depicted receiving his scroll from Christ, and a surviving fragment of an inscription on it says: 'DOMINVS…'[798] Notably, the fresco form Nepi is painted in the apse and closely relates to the main altar with a ciborium built over it (fig. 76).[799]

In his relief, Pelegrinus accurately followed iconography showing St Peter with keys and St Paul with a book. The image of Christ making a blessing gesture and holding an open book in his left hand closely links to the iconography of *Christ in Majesty*, from which *Traditio Legis* derives. It is unclear whether Christ stands or sits, because his half-figure is placed above the arched part of the relief. The rectangular detail behind Christ may be interpreted as the back of a throne, as in traditional scenes. In addition, it also serves practical function, creating an even background to carve Christ's cruciform halo.[800] Thus, a hypothesis that this detail may be read as a square halo, which is sometimes used for the living, but in this particular case alludes to Resurrection, does not sound convincing.[801]

Similar to Pelegrinus's relief, the figure of bearded Christ from a fresco at San Pietro al Monte in Civate (the end of the eleventh or beginning of the twelfth century) appears above an arched gate.[802] This may directly link to the words of Jesus, who compared himself with a gate to salvation (John 10:9). As I have already noted in relation to the case study of Chapter 1, an artist may have understood the process of work on such

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[797] C. Dodwell, *The Pictorial Arts of the West, 800–1200* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 161.
[798] Most likely, the text of the inscription was 'DOMINUS LEGEM DAT,' which is common to the *Traditio Legis* scenes.
[799] The link between the *Traditio Legis* and ciboria requires a detailed consideration, and it is discussed further.
[800] Pelegrinus sculpted St Peter and St Paul against an even background, which allowed him to use drilling technique to show their halos. This is not the case with the Christ, whose image is larger than the niche behind him. The sculptor solved the issue of difference in depths between the upper border of the niche and the background by including the rectangular detail behind Christ.
[801] Salvarani, *Matilde di Canossa, il papato, l'impero: storia, arte, cultura alle origini del romanico*, 300. For more information on a square halo see Osborne, 'The Portrait of Pope Leo IV in San Clemente, Rome: a Re-examination of the so-called 'Square' Nimbus, in Medieval Art,' 58-65.
[802] Chierici, *Italia romanica. La Lombardia,* vol. 1, 193.

piece as a way to personal salvation. The Civate fresco represents St Peter and St Paul receiving the keys and a scroll from Christ (fig. 77).[803] In this Benedictine Abbey, the ciborium over an altar also has a relief with the *Traditio Legis* (fig. 78). In both cases, Christ is shown with a cruciform halo. Similar to the fresco at Nepi, this iconographic subject relates to a ciborium and is closely connected to the most sacred part of the church.

When sculpting his *Traditio Legis* relief, Pelegrinus may have referred to the examples in monumental painting, where this scene is quite common. He may also have been familiar with sculpted versions. For instance, a similar hierarchic representation of three men in an architectural setting supported by columns is found in an ivory *Diptych of the Lampadii* (beginning of the fifth century, Museo di Santa Giulia, Brescia). Just like the figure of Christ in Pelegrinus's relief, the image of the senator is shown in the centre, flanked by two smaller male figures (fig. 79). The decoration of the arch and the architectural setting with niches and columns in Pelegrinus's relief compare to the same details at the sarcophagus with the *Traditio Legis* (the third quarter of the fourth century, Musée de l'Arles chrétienne). The figures at the sarcophagus are also placed in niches (fig. 80). The image of the standing Christ has no halo and reveals strong affinities to classical sculptures. St Peter holds a cross (partially damaged) in his left hand and is shown in a movement, ready to take the scroll from Christ. St Paul humbly stands to the Christ's right.

In the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus (the fourth century, the Museum of Saint Peter's Basilica, Vatican), the figures of Christ and the two apostles form a harmonious composition (fig. 81). Youthful beardless Christ sits on his throne and hands over the Law to St Peter, while St Paul stands by.[804] The right hand of Christ is broken off; the apostle to the Christ's right holds an attribute, possibly a scroll, in his left hand. The way in which an inscription is arranged above the sculpted scenes of the sarcophagus recalls the well-integrated inscription in Pelegrinus's relief.

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[803] Foletti and Quadri, 'Roma, l'Oriente e il mito della Traditio legis,' 24.
[804] J. Hall, *A History of Ideas and Images in Italian Art* (New York: Harper & Row, 1983), 80.

Through the ways in which the movement of apostles is depicted, the case study of Chapter 3 reveals affinities to the *Traditio Legis* at another sarcophagus (the middle of the fifth century, Basilica of Sant'Apollinare in Classe, Ravenna). St Peter and St Paul turn to the enthroned Christ, who holds an open book in his left hand. Both apostles make a step extending their arms, demonstrating obedience and eagerness to receive Christ's blessing (fig. 82).[805] Just like at the sarcophagus from Arles, St Peter is shown with a Cross. St Paul, depicted to the viewer's left, receives the scroll from Christ. Unlike Pelegrinus's relief, the *Traditio Legis* scenes at the sarcophagi from Arles, Vatican or Ravenna have no images with halos.

Pelegrinus's relief relates to fundamental iconography with a long history in European Christian art, but at the same time also demonstrates the development of the scene *Traditio Legis*. Having introduced slight iconographic changes, Pelegrinus expressed himself as a progressively thinking sculptor. For example, frescoes, mosaics and reliefs with the *Traditio Legis* usually depict the two apostles piously looking at Christ in the process of receiving the keys and the scroll. Pelegrinus, on the contrary, sculpted St Peter and St Paul already possessing these attributes and clasping them to their hearts, to emphasise the significance of the moment. In a museum setting, it appears that the two apostles and Christ establish eye contact with the viewers.[806]

Textual message and images in Pelegrinus's relief interrelate, enhancing the effect from one another. The first portion of the carved inscription in is given as direct speech of Christ, who explains about granting his gifts to the apostles. This facilitates understanding of the iconography of the *Traditio Legis*. Other reliefs with the same iconography, on the contrary, are often accompanied with the words 'DOMINUS LEGEM DAT,' meaning 'the Lord gives the Law.'

Carved in Romanesque majuscule characters and skilfully integrated in the relief, the long inscription by Pelegrinus reveals religious and philosophical meanings of the iconographic subject. In the last portion of the inscription, the sculptor conveys his

[805] Foletti, 'Roma, l'Oriente e il mito della Traditio legis,' 23.
[806] My hypotheses on the original position of Pelegrinus's relief in church interior are presented further.

message from the first person and introduces himself. For this reason, I suggest considering this inscription as a written self-representation of Pelegrinus. In addition, I emphasise that this approach allows the sculptor drawing a parallel between himself and God the Creator.[807]

The author's self-introduction is divided in two parts; both appear at the bottom of the columns, as if supporting the whole relief. The first portion is carved under the column to the viewer's left: '+SVM PELE/GRINVS EGO / QVI TALIA // SIC BENE SCVLPO,' and continues under another column to the viewer's right: 'QVEM DEVS IN / ALTVM FACIA[T] / CONSCENDERE CELV(M).' Pelegrinus confidently stated that his piece is of high artistic quality. Moreover, this inscription, like the examples discussed in previous chapters, demonstrates the sculptor's belief that his work would secure him the joy of Paradise and the mercy of God.[808] Similarly, Wiligelmo's inscription at Modena Cathedral pays honours to the sculptor and expresses hopes for immortality of his oeuvre and soul.[809] To reinforce this meaning, Wiligelmo's inscription is flanked by the prophets Enoch and Elijah, who were elevated to heaven thus trampling the death and obtaining immortality.

Pelegrinus's inscription and a question on the degree of his literacy have hardly been subjects of discussion in old scholarship. However, recently the inscription at Pelegrinus's relief was compared to a poem written in Leonine hexameter, which assigns the sculpture a significance of a literary monument.[810] The maker of this relief masterly achieved technical and conceptual connections between the inscription and figurative elements. This, I suggest, could support an argument that the sculptor may have possessed at least basic level of literacy sufficient to understand Latin and carve inscriptions. For instance, the same drilling technique that was used to depict apostles'

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[807] Kendall, *The allegory of the Church: Romanesque Portals and their Verse Inscriptions*, 179, 338.
[808] Agostini, '*Sum Pelegrinus ego qui talia sic bene sculpo*: Il Magister Pelegrinus e la Cattedrale di Verona,' 58.
[809] Favreau, *Études d'épigraphie médiévale: recueil d'articles de Robert Favreau rassemblés à l'occasion de son départ à la retraite*, 131-132.
[810] Agostini, '*Sum Pelegrinus ego qui talia sic bene sculpo*: Il Magister Pelegrinus e la Cattedrale di Verona,' 57, 58.

halos and the pupils of their eyes was applied for the letters O, E, M, V, S, I, T, etc. This may indicate that no other professional was appointed to work specifically on the inscription. The drilling technique ensured accuracy when carving the letters and created a specific decorative effect of the palaeographical characters. This was not a commonly used method, but another example occurs in the epitaph of Ranerius (1134, the Cathedral of Lucca), especially in the letters E, I and G (fig. 83). In Pelegrinus's relief, however, this feature is more consistent and the division between the words is more accurate. Considering the relative geographical proximity of Lucca and Verona, technical and palaeographical similarities, apparent in these two examples, become easily explicable.

Nevertheless, the link between the inscription and the figures in the relief demonstrates that Pelegrinus executed the work, but may not serve as a direct evidence of the sculptor's literacy. It is essential to be cautious when assuming that Pelegrinus may have composed the inscription without additional help, because detailed documentary evidence on the sculptor's background is missing. As mentioned earlier in Chapter 1, it is uncertain to what extent sculptors were responsible for designs and texts of their inscriptions.[811] Recent scholarship suggested that abilities to read and write were not necessary for sculptors, who may have simply copied the letters from texts or used templates to make inscriptions.[812] However, knowledge on this subject remains fragmentary to date. The case that sculptors used texts or templates for copying may not exclude their literacy, or semiliteracy, and ability to make these templates themselves.

In Chpater 2 I mention that medieval sculptors may not have always been the authors of inscriptions included in their works; some of them may have followed the instructions of educated patrons or advisers. However, documented cases proving otherwise exist and were presented in scholarship. For instance, a monk from Saint-Gall Tuotilo was a sculptor, a painter and a musician and often decorated his works with various

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[811] Dietl, 'Italienische Bildhauerinschriften: Selbstdarstellung und Schriftlichkeit mittelalterlicher Künstler,' 202.

[812] E. Mineo, 'L'artiste lettré? Compétence graphique et textuelle de l'artiste roman à travers les signatures épigraphiques,' in *Entre la letra y el pincel: el artista medieval: leyenda, identidad y estatus*, ed. Manuel Antonio Castiñeiras Gonzalez (Alicante: Círculo Rojo, 2017), 78, 80-81.

inscriptions.[813] The high quality of execution, rather small spaces between the letters and correct division between the words may indicate that the carver of the inscription at the *Traditio Legis* relief understood Latin.[814] The possibility that similar to the monk-sculptor at Saint-Gall Tuotilo, Pelegrinus may have been literate enough to compose written self-representations could not be excluded. Besides, Verona, with its cultural atmosphere of the centre of rhetoric and poetry was a favourable place for the enhancement of literacy. However, I suggest that the question whether the maker of the inscription at the *Traditio Legis* relief had knowledge of Latin or was an illiterate copyist should remain open for discussion, as giving a definitive answer is hardly possible.

Due to the lack of documentary evidence on the sculptor Pelegrinus, in this chapter I work with various sources and historical documents, which at least allow makeing hypotheses on his identity. Dionisi considered the *Traditio Legis* relief as a valuable piece produced by the maker of Italian origin, probably from Verona or its countryside.[815] This assumption was made by the author as a result of his thorough research in an attempt to identify the sculptor. In this chapter I continue studies on the matter of Pelegrinus's identity building upon my thorough translations from Dionisi's treatise *Osservazioni sopra un'antica cristiana scultura ritrovata nel recinto della cattedral di Verona*, in which the author shares the results of his search in Veronese archives. In fact, Dionisi succeeded to find several Pelegrinus's namesakes. The author noted that early eleventh-century sources on the Guild of the Notaries (*Uffizio di Notajo*) included evidence on a man of noble activities by the name Pelegrinus, who played an important role in the city government and was involved with notarial concerns of the church.[816] Dionisi also referred to the man *Peregrinum Teutonicum de Civitate Veronae*,

[813] Favreau, *Études d'épigraphie médiévale: recueil d'articles de Robert Favreau rassemblés à l'occasion de son départ à la retraite*, 134.
[814] Agostini, '*Sum Pelegrinus ego qui talia sic bene sculpo*: Il Magister Pelegrinus e la Cattedrale di Verona,' 57.
[815] Stylistic analysis of Pelegrinus's relief indicated that Dionisi's dating of this work between the late eighth and early ninth centuries is hardly probable. Dionisi, *Osservazioni sopra un'antica cristiana scultura ritrovata nel recinto della cattedral di Verona*, iv-v, xxv-xxvi.
[816] Dionisi, *Osservazioni sopra un'antica cristiana scultura ritrovata nel recinto della cattedral di Verona*, xxviii-xxxi. Later Dionisi published another work based on his archival research in Archivio di Stato di Verona: *Codex diplomaticus veronensis, seu vetera quae in veronensis*

which indicates that it was probably a person of Germanic origin residing in Italian Verona. The author specified that the name Pelegrinus was common at those times and suggested that all the namesakes may have descended from the same family line. Further, the antiquarian wrote that the documents dated after 1100 refer to numerous personalities with the same name, Pelegrinus, often abbots or monks. Among them Dionisi noted Maestro Alberto, probably Pelegrinus's son or descendant. As the inscription in the church says, Alberto was the main priest and the bishop, and died in 1231.[817]

Thus, despite certain chronological and documentary discrepancies, Dionisi attempted reconstructing genealogical tree of Pelegrinus's family and assumed that the earliest of them was the maker of the *Traditio Legis* relief. However, archival documents that were available to Dionisi gave no direct evidence on Pelegrinus, who was proficient in arts and sculpting. In fact, nothing is known about life and work of the sculptor Pelegrinus, and the signed relief at the Museo di Castelvecchio seems to be the only surviving evidence of the sculptor's existence. This suggests investigating whether Pelegrinus may have been a travelling sculptor, who worked in Verona by invitation, and, thus, was not mentioned in the archives as the citizen.

To collect more evidence for an identification of the sculptor Pelegrinus, this thesis presents the results of a thorough search through several biographical dictionaries and volumes compiling medieval historical documents.[818] These sources contain biographical references on saints, bishops and philosophers named Pelegrinus (with variations Pellegrino, Pelerin, Pelegrin, Piligrim, Peregrin, Peregrinus, Peregrini, etc.), who were active approximately between the first and the sixteenth centuries. None of

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ecclesiae capitulo ut ubique per vetera habentur anecdota eaque selectiora diplomata ac monimenta per centurias distributa.

[817] Dionisi, *Osservazioni sopra un'antica cristiana scultura ritrovata nel recinto della cattedral di Verona*, xxx. Here Dionisi also mentioned Biancolini's publications, which are used for reference in this thesis as well.

[818] J. Fabricius, *Bibliotheca latina mediae et infimae aetatis*, vol. 5 (Florence: Baracchi, 1858), 215; U. Chevalier, *Répertoire des sources historiques du moyen âge* (Paris: A. Picard et fils, 1905-07), 1756-1757; C. Fabian, *Personennamen des Mittelalters* (Munich: Saur, 2000), 110, 296, 298, 541.

these volumes had any records on the sculptor. Only one recent biographical index of medieval personalities (2010) briefly mentioned the sculptor Pelegrinus redirecting the readers to an earlier source by Thieme and Becker, which, in turn, provided facts of common knowledge and outdated references.[819] Notably, among the namesake artists listed by Thieme and Becker, Pelegrinus was the only twelfth-century sculptor.

The search in the biographical dictionaries revealed that quite often the name Pelegrinus was used as a pseudonym in addition to an actual name, which may be the reason why identifying the maker of the *Traditio Legis* relief is difficult. This observation encouraged a broader search for hypothetical identifications with personalities, who were active in various fields, including arts, and known under this pseudonym. However, the only twelfth-century Pelegrinus, who met the citeria of my search in biographical dictionaries and indexes, is Peregrinus Hirsaugiensis, a Benedictine monk from Hirsau Abbey in Germany; and there is no evidence that he visited Verona and was proficient in sculpting.[820]

Further in this chapter I compile information on personalities, who were active in medieval Verona under the name Pelegrinus and question whether one of these persons may be identified as the sculptor. Historical documents indicated that among the numerous members of clergy, Magister Pellegrini, the chaplain of the apostolic legate, attended a sumptuous ceremony at Verona Cathedral in August 1193. However, previous scholarship noted that this source 'absolutely excludes Dionisi's identification of this Pellegrini with the Pellegrini who sculpted the fragment of church-furniture.'[821]

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[819] B. Wispelwey, *Biographical Index of the Middle Ages* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010), 858-859; U. Thieme and F. Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart* (Leipzig: Verlag von E. A. Seemann, 1932), vol. 26, p. 362. This dictionary also referred to an outdated publication: Zannandreis, D. *Le vite dei pittori, scultori e architetti veronesi*. Verona: G. Franchini, 1891; Simeoni, L. *Verona: guida storico-artistica*. Verona: R. Cabianca, 1913.

[820] Founded in 830, this abbey is in close proximity to the town Calw (currently state of Baden-Württemberg). Chevalier, *Répertoire des sources historiques du moyen âge*, 1756; Fabricius, *Bibliotheca latina mediae et infimae aetatis*, vol. 5, 215; Wispelwey, *Biographical Index of the Middle Ages*, 858-859.

[821] Kingsley Porter cited the full document about the ceremony, which took place in August 1193 in Verona Cathedral, but have not provided a proper reference for it. Written, signed and dated by Marcius Hostiarius, this document in Latin lists the names and titles of clerics, who

Indeed, the style of Pelegrinus's relief, its iconography and certain features of the inscription show that it was created earlier than 1193, when the chaplain was active. Another namesake and possible contemporary of the sculptor was Pellegrinus I, the Patriarch of Aquileia in northern Italy between 1130 and 1161.[822] However, no evidence of his artistic activities survives; he was primarily responsible for important political and religious decisions, and consecrations of churches.[823]

The attempts to draw parallels between the sculptor Pelegrinus and his other namesakes have not showed convincing results. For instance, there is no sufficient evidence to establish any connection between the sculptor Pelegrinus and a noble family Pellegrini recorded in the late fourteenth century in the area called Pelligrina (currently related to the commune Isola della Scala, the province of Verona).[824] An identification of Pelegrinus with Pellegrino de Porto from Mantova, an architect active in the last quarter of the fifteenth century, is also unlikely due to the chronological discrepancy.[825]

The *Notizie storiche delle chiese di Verona* (1749) mentioned the name Pellegrino (an Italian variant of the Latin name Pelegrinus) several times in relation to the history of churches situated in close proximity to Verona. However, it is uncertain from the text whether it implied only one person or several namesakes, who were active in the first half of the twelfth century. In each case, it is a representative of Veronese religious community, who possessed sufficient authority. For instance, the name of the abbot at the monastery of Santi Pietro e Vito di Calaverna (close to Trento) was Pellegrino (succeeded by Rodolfo in 1159). The location of this monastery close to the Alps and German-speaking territories determined that the monks there were of Germanic origin,

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attended the ceremony at Verona Cathedral: 'Magistri Willelmi, Pelegrini, Siginulfi, Capellanorum suprascriti.' Kingsley Porter, *Lombard Architecture*, vol. 3, 471-472.

[822] Treccani, la cultura italiana. 'Pellegrino I patriarca di Aquileia.' Accessed May 4, 2016, http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/pellegrino-i-patriarca-di-aquileia/

[823] S. Ferrari, 'La "domus canonicorum" del duomo di Verona,' in *Medioevo: la chiesa e il palazzo*, ed. Carlo Quintavalle (Parma: Fondazione Cariparma, 2007), 292.

[824] Salvarani, *Matilde di Canossa, il papato, l'impero: storia, arte, cultura alle origini del romanico*, 301; Agostini, '*Sum Pelegrinus ego qui talia sic bene sculpo*: Il Magister Pelegrinus e la Cattedrale di Verona,' 56.

[825] *Biographical Index of the Middle Ages*, 858.

as it is seen from their names, mentioned in documents from around 1145.[826] The absence of further evidence on this person, however, would not allow associating him with the sculptor Pelegrinus.

Among all the sculptor's namesakes, a cleric or priest Pelegrinus, who worked with the Veronese bishop Bernardo, deserves a closer investigation. Together they conveyed reforms of morals among the clergy and significantly contributed to restorations of churches and ecclesiastical heritage in Verona after the earthquake of 1117.[827] Scholarship stated that the structure of San Giovanni in Valle was erected already in 1120 and, as noted above, convincingly suggested an attribution of certain interior and exterior sculptures to the maker of the *Traditio Legis* relief.[828]

In 1127, the bishop Bernardo invited 'a secular priest Pellegrino' and several Canons Regular, who followed the Rule of St Augustin, to reform the Benedictine monastery San Giorgio in Braida, which entered the stage of spiritual degradation as the monks led dissolute lives.[829] Historical sources and recent scholarship provided little evidence on this person, but noted that, in addition to reforms, he was supposed to restore the buildings in San Giorgio in Braida.[830] Thus, this secular priest also demonstrated competence as an architect and a sculptor. I consider that it may have been the same Pelegrinus, who earlier assisted the bishop at San Giovanni in Valle and whose work there reveals strong stylistic affinities to the *Traditio Legis* relief. The period of his work at San Giovanni in Valle and his involvement in reconstruction of other churches in

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[826] Biancolini, *Notizie storiche delle chiese di Verona*, vol. 2, 568-569.
[827] Guidoboni, 'I grandi terremoti medievali in Italia,' 32-33.
[828] The author refers to the sculptor as 'Peregrinus,' and not 'Pelegrinus.' D. Zumiani. 'La Chiesa di san Giovanni in Valle a Verona.' (1999): 7, 13, 15. Accessed April 20, 2016, http://www.webalice.it/arch.ezorzi/gallery/indagini_sgvalle/SanGiovinValle.pdf; Agostini, '*Sum Pelegrinus ego qui talia sic bene sculpo*: Il Magister Pelegrinus e la Cattedrale di Verona,' 56.
[829] In terms of his discussion of the churches San Michele and San Pancrazio, Biancolini noted that on 12 April 1108 D. Pellegrino and D. Enrcio, priests of the Church of San Siro, made an exchange agreement with monks in Verona Castle. However, Biancolini has not specified if it was the same Pellegrino, who was appointed in San Giorgio in Braida by bishop Bernardo later on. See Biancolini, *Notizie storiche delle chiese di Verona*, vol. 2, 482, 484-485 and A. Passuello, 'Il monastero benedettino di S. Giorgio in Braida a Verona: nuove prospettive di ricerca sulla rifabbrica romanica (sec. XII),' *Benedictina* 61 (2014): 323.
[830] Agostini, '*Sum Pelegrinus ego qui talia sic bene sculpo*: Il Magister Pelegrinus e la Cattedrale di Verona,' 56.

Verona coincide. Hypothetically, this identification is possible. Moreover, the ecclesiastic background of the bishop Bernardo's assistant suggests literacy, which may have been sufficient to compose an inscription. Comparisons between sculpture from San Giorgio in Braida, San Giovanni in Valle and the *Traditio Legis* relief would have strengthened the argument. However, in the sixteenth century San Giorgio in Braida was largely rebuilt. Its bell tower, the only surviving twelfth-century construction, has not retained any specific sculptural decoration.

The documents mentioning the 'secular priest Pellegrino' have not specified from where he was invited to Verona by the bishop Bernardo. The name Pellegrino indeed suggests he that this person was a traveller and had to overcome distances, both geographical and cultural, in order to settle in Italy. Pelegrinus or Peregrinus (there exist more variants, including Peregrine in English and Pellegrino in Italian) is the name of Latin origin and translates as 'a pilgrim, a traveller or a person from a foreign country.' It was used by the Romans to distinguish people who were not citizens of Rome. In relation to artists, this name accurately reflects that sometimes they travelled for commissions. Indeed, the name 'PELEGRINVS' in the relief also assumes a pilgrimage. It could be either a metaphorical pilgrimage through life, or the one from life on Earth to heavenly Jerusalem.[831]

I suggest the words 'SVM PELEGRINVS EGO' in the sculptor's signature may be taken literally. The name Pelegrinus may have been a pseudonym, which fully corresponds to the sculptor's intention to express humility by concealing his real name and calling himself a pilgrim. In the medieval period, undertaking a pilgrimage and travelling in general was dangerous. Thus, it is understandable why the sculptor may have wanted to emphasise that he accomplished a pilgrimage in his life. Yet by concealing his name, he achieved it in a humble way.

Medieval Verona was a halt for pilgrims, who were wishing to visit its Cathedral and other churches, including San Zeno Maggiore, famous for the relics of bishop Zeno and

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[831] Agostini, '*Sum Pelegrinus ego qui talia sic bene sculpo*: Il Magister Pelegrinus e la Cattedrale di Verona,' 57.

a tomb of the Lombard King Pepin (781 – 810).[832] Specific location of Verona facilitated the establishment of interaction between Northern Italian and German centres of political, religious, artistic and cultural life. Some representatives of German nobility were margraves of Verona; for instance, from 1061 until 1077 it was Berthold I (ca 1000 – 1078). Notably, he supported the abbot Wilhelm von Hirsau to a great extent and was buried in Hirsau Abbey as he extended his patronage to it.

In the medieval period the city of Verona was a part of the March of Verona and Aquileia, a frontier district of the Holy Roman Empire. Travelers and pilgrims from Germany, who were heading to Rome, must have used the principal Alpine passes that were leading through this important geographical area. For instance, similar to many of his educated contemporaries, Henry of Blois (ca 1098 – 1171) is known for his visits to Rome to collect antique statues.[833] Both abbot Desiderius (ca 1026 – 1087) and John of Salisbury (ca 1120 – 1180) were in Rome on official missions and expressed interest in ancient objects of art and architecture.[834] The former was building a church at Monte Cassino, and went to Rome specifically to buy 'huge quantities of [ancient] columns, bases, epistyles, and marble of different colors,' he was also impressed by the craftsmanship of the bronze doors of Amalfi Cathedral and wanted to arrange similar gates for Monte Cassino.[835] The numerous guidebooks to Rome included both pagan and Christian monuments and were available not only to political and religious elite, but also to broader audience. Travellers equally showed admiration for ancient and Christian heritage; they copied and shared Latin inscriptions found at Roman monuments, which undoubtedly promoted literacy.[836]

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[832] Hourihane, *The Grove Encyclopedia of Medieval Art and Architecture*, vol. 1, 260.
[833] The sculptures were transported to Winchester, where he served as a bishop. J. Saresberiensis, *Historia Pontificalis quae supersunt*, ed. R. Poole (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927), 81f.
[834] J. Saresberiensis, *Frivolities of Courtiers and Footprints of Philosophers*. Translated by J. Pike. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1938.
[835] Leo of Ostia, *The Chronicle of Montecassino*, trans. Herbert Bloch (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947), 4-10.
[836] Davis-Weyer, *Early Medieval Art, 300–1150: Sources and Documents*, 105.

From the tenth century onwards education became more secular and focused on the conceptions of human talent, but it was still mostly for the members of clergy.[837] As previously mentioned in Chapter 1, the numbers of travelling clerics increased from mid-tenth century, and it only intensified over the eleventh and twelfth centuries. They travelled not only for synods and councils, but also to educate and gain more knowledge at local cathedral schools.[838] The tradition of lay education in Italy may have determined a less fundamental distinction between lay and clerical than it was north of the Alps.[839] There were precedents when Italian masters travelled to or were invited to teach in Germany.[840] It was a fairly reasonable travel distance and there existed strong connections between the two regions.[841]

Travelling and pilgrimage, in particular, contributed to establishing cultural connections between nations and regions in Christian medieval world.[842] A crucial role in the context of this flourishing exchange between Italy and Germany belonged to travelling intellectuals and artists. The circumstances of exchange between the countries discussed above fascilitate understanding that the figure of 'a secular priest Pellegrino' invited by the bishop Bernardo to Verona would fit in the cultural background of that period. The issues with retrieving biographical data on this secular priest and the sculptor Pelegrinus would not allow identifying them as the same person with absolute certainty. But considering that both namesakes were active in Verona in the same period and in the same sphere, the possibility that it was the same person could not be excluded completely.

The analysis of Pelegrinus's relief and inscription demonstrate that the maker was a proficient sculptor devoted to God. A combination of these features in one person

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[837] Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Medieval Europe, 950–1200*, 42.
[838] M. Miller, 'Reform, Clerical Culture and Politics,' in *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Christianity*, ed. J. Arnold (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 309.
[839] Nugent, Brooke, *Churches and Churchmen in Medieval Europe*, 249.
[840] Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Medieval Europe, 950–1200*, 47.
[841] Some aspects of cultural and religious connections between Italy and Germany are discussed in previous chapters of this thesis.
[842] Bull, 'Pilgrimage,' 203.

corresponds to the essential qualities of dignity and perfectibility discussed by Pelegrinus's contemporaries, the philosopher Bernardus Silvestris and the theologian Alan of Lille. For example, the word *ego* in Pelegrinus's inscription may be interpreted as demonstrating the sculptor's self-awareness and dignity. His perfectibility may consist in his proficiency in the art of sculpture, a skill that was meant to ensure him salvation, as the inscription in the relief says. In their written works Bernardus Silvestris and Alan of Lille emphasised that education may help to overcome vice and elevate a man to god-like status.[843] In accordance with these ideas, Pelegrinus's inscription expresses piety and humility, and, at the same time, establishes parallels between the sculptor and the Divine Creator. This allows associating Pelegrinus with other historical figures, such as Theophilus or Bernward of Hildesheim, whose literacy and proficiency in arts and crafts were mentioned elsewhere in this thesis.[844] Pelegrinus's inscription perpetuates the memory of the sculptor throughout the centuries and serves as his self-representation until present days.

While discussing history, iconography and palaeography of the *Traditio Legis* relief, this chapter have not focused on detailed stylistic observations as these are not its main focus. However, occasional references to stylistic features may serve in support of my argument on the dating of the case study to the late eleventh or early twelfth centuries. Previous scholarship has sufficiently discussed Pelegrinus's style in the context of sculpture by Wiligelmo and Nicholaus, but failed to make comparisons with a broader circle of examples. In my opinion, suggestions made in early publications require a thorough reconsideration and may become a subject of a separate enquiry.

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[843] In Bernardus Silvestris's *Cosmographia* a man is considered in the context of the universe, and education is seen as the model of fashioning of this universe. See Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Medieval Europe, 950–1200*, 281-283. This may have anticipated the Renaissance conception of *homo universalis* with a man as the centre of the universe.

[844] Thangmar, *Vita Bernwardi episcopi*, 758; Theophilus. *The Various Arts*. Translated by C. Dodwell. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986. To an extent, these medieval personalities may be compared to the eminent representatives of the Renaissance, Alberti, Leonardo and Michelangelo, who embodied the ideal of a universal man excelling in various spheres, arts and sciences, writing and music.

In fact, even the results of a brief visual analysis contradict with the ideas expressed in previous scholarship.[845] In my opinion, it is problematic to trace connections or continuity between the primitive style of the *Traditio Legis* relief and sculpture carved by Wiligelmo or Nicholaus. Pelegrinus's simple manner, however, should not be associated with the lack of sculptor's skill, because an unexperienced worker would not have received a commission for Verona Cathedral.

A chronological gap between Pelegrinus and the two sculptors may be the reason of stylistic differences and may also explain why there are only a few similarities. Both Wiligelmo and Pelegrinus used drilling technique for the pupils in the eyes of the figures, which gave the images static fixed gaze. Blind arcades supported by half columns were applied by these two sculptors to organise space and figures in their reliefs. However, architectural setting and decorative motifs in the *Traditio Legis* relief demonstrate no similarity to the same elements produced by Wiligelmo in Modena. The paired floral stems with swirling points and acanthus leaves at Pelegrinus's relief recall Lombard decorative motifs.[846]

The heavy bodies of Pelegrinus's Christ and apostles, their big heads, short legs and small feet have little in common with Wiligelmo's figures at the West façade of Modena Cathedral (fig. 88). Christ carved by Wiligelmo is well-proportioned, except that his feet and hands are quite large. His facial type, the shape of his head and the style of his hair and beard show little affinities to the images in the *Traditio Legis* relief. When depicting the figures' movement and folds of clothes, Wiligelmo showed a better understanding of space and depth than Pelegrinus. This makes Wiligelmo's images look less static and

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[845] Arslan, *La pittura e la scultura veronese dal secolo VIII al secolo XIII*, 88-89, Bartoli, 'Il complesso romanico,' 132 and Salvarani, *Matilde di Canossa, il papato, l'impero: storia, arte, cultura alle origini del romanico*, 301.

[846] These motifs may have been introduced by Lombard sculptors that came to Verona for work in the ninth century. See, for example, the capitals at San Zeno in Bardolino (Verona), Santa Maria del Tiglio, in the crypt of the Baptistery Galliano and in the crypt of the Duomo Vecchio in Brescia. For more details refer to Arslan, *La pittura e la scultura veronese dal secolo VIII al secolo XIII*, 12-13; S. Chierici, *Lombardie romane* (Yonne: Zodiaque, 1978), 350. Dissemination of these motifs appears to be broad and is not restricted to the territory of Italy. Similar decorative elements are found in the capitals of columns in the interiors of early medieval churches in France, such as Saint-Savin or Saint-Hilaire in Poitiers. See Y. Labande-Mailfert, *Poitou roman* (Yonne: Zodiaque, 1962), 73, 161; figs. 6, 58.

recalls the male figures carved by Nicholaus in Verona. Unlike Pelegrinus, who followed a certain type, Nicholaus endowed his prophets with individual facial features and emotional expressions (fig. 89). Their hands with scrolls look natural, the flowing folds of their garments and the elegant curls of hair and beards are distinct from the same features of Pelegrinus's figures.

As it was pointed out in the beginning of this chapter, the sculpture signed by Pelegrinus has very few direct stylistic parallels. The robust figures in the *Traditio Legis* relief bear strong affinities to the images of an Angel and the Virgin of Annunciation at the portal of Verona Cathedral and to the caryatides at the holy water basins in its interior (fig. 90, 91).[847] The shapes of their small feet and hands, and the simple style of folds of their ankle-length tunics reveal affinities. Especially striking are the similarities of facial features and poses of these figures, half turned and with knees slightly bent. An Angel at the pulpit at Sant'Ambrogio in Milan makes a similar movement (fig. 92). Having his head and torso sculpted frontally, the figure turns to the side, which is indicated with a movement of hands. This Angel and a figure of a man resemble Pelegrinus's Christ and apostles with their stiffness, static gazes of wide-opened eyes, crudely carved large hands and simple style of folds of their garments.

However, the outlines of the figures carved by Pelegrinus, their cylindrical legs and peculiar small feet, broad faces with high cheekbones and the style of folds of the garments demonstrate closer similarities to the images at the West portal of San Donnino in Fidenza. Similar to Pelegrinus, sculptors in Fidenza applied drilling technique to depict the pupils of eyes and decorative patterns at figures' garments. Moreover, palaeographical characters G, E, M, R and A in Pelegrinus's relief show stylistic resemblance to the same letters in inscriptions carved at the portal of San Donnino (figs. 93, 94). The proximity of Fidenza to Verona may explain common stylistic features in sculpture. However, the details and the style of Fidenza reliefs, which scholarship has

[847] Guzzo, *La cattedrale di Verona*, 14.

associated with the circle of Benedetto Antelami, are more elaborate.[848] In the Middle Ages, Fidenza used to be a part of *Via Romea Francigena*, which encouraged cultural exchange between the neighbouring cities.

Just like Verona Cathedral, San Donnino in Fidenza suffered the earthquake of 1117. Although Fidenza is not in the immediate proximity to Verona, which was the epicentre of the earthquake, San Donnino was badly damaged too (fig. 74).[849] This church was rebuilt several times over the centuries, but it is difficult to reconstruct its original appearance due to the lack of documentation. In 1106 San Donnino was consecrated by Pasquale II in relation to one of the major reconstructions, which occurred in early 1100.[850]

Although my visual analysis shows that Pelegrinus's figures find closest stylistic parallels in Italian sculpture, there are also comparable examples found outside Italy. The figures of Christ, St Peter and St Paul carved by Pelegrinus show stylistic affinities to the relief *Christ in Majesty* at the South portal of the Church of St Candid and St Corbinian of Innichen Abbey in the province of Bolzano, South Tyrol (fig. 95). Among the common features of these images are the primitively and plainly fashioned folds of garments, overall stiffness of poses, thick ankles and small feet, static eye gaze and the pupils executed in drilling technique. The similarities between the two pieces may suggest that they were sculpted around the same period, but dating of Innichen relief is problematic, because documentation on the history of this Benedictine abbey and its

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[848] W. Sauerländer, *Romanesque Art: Problems and Monuments*, vol. 2 (London: The Pindar Press, 2004), 538. See also Y. Kojima, *Storia di una cattedrale: il Duomo di San Donnino a Fidenza* (Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2006), 90.

[849] Guidoboni, 'I grandi terremoti medioevali in Italia,' 34. On this map, Guidoboni demonstrated the territories affected in the earthquake in 1117. Verona and its suburbs are marked in red as an epicenter, where the maximum destructive effect occurred; the areas marked in orange, including Piacenza (and Fidenza that is only about 40 km away), suffered substantial damage; on the territories marked in yellow the earthquake was strongly felt.

[850] In the course of subsequent reconstructions of the façade, one of which took place in the third quarter of the twelfth century, various fragments may have been reused. This may explain why the façade is lacking uniform principle in the decoration and combines freestanding sculptures and reliefs varying in sizes and styles. See Kojima, *Storia di una cattedrale: il Duomo di San Donnino a Fidenza*, 11, 63, 90-91.

church is limited. Founded in the eighth century, it underwent large construction works, similar to Verona Cathedral, and was rebuilt later in ca 1100.[851]

A thorough search for more sculpted examples revealing affinities to the *Traditio Legis* relief demonstrated that these resemblances may be rather generic and belong to a broad number of sculptures from the same period. The oval faces with broad foreheads, high cheekbones and wide-open almond-shaped eyes, and the peculiar style of moustaches and beards of Christ, St Peter and St Paul recall a face from early medieval exterior decoration of the church of Saint-Hilaire in Foussais-Payré, in Western France (fig. 96). The grotesque faces at the capitals in a Crypt of San Nicola di Bari (ca 1080) have similar form of cheekbones and moustache (fig. 97). The long geographical distances between Foussais-Payré, Bari and Verona, where the pieces in question are found, should not impede finding common stylistic features in medieval sculpture from different regions. On the contrary, it may indicate cultural and religious links between these areas. For instance, the important pilgrimage route from France to Rome, *Via Romea Francigena*, which Christians used to take to see the tombs of St Peter and St Paul, would have been an artery to disseminate various cultural and artistic influences to broader territories, even to Foussais-Payré and Verona, which were slightly out of the way.

Pelegrinus definitely succeeded in developing his own original style, which may have been valued by his contemporaries along with his skill. Otherwise, he would not have been sculpting for Verona Cathedral, the main church in the city. Visual comparisons show that sculptures demonstrating direct stylistic links to Pelegrinus's relief are rare. This may be explained by the impact of natural disasters that were frequent in Verona. The pieces revealing stylistic affinities to the case study belong to the late eleventh or early twelfth centuries and are mostly found in Northern Italy, in the churches and abbeys relatively close to Verona. This indicates that, hypothetically, the *Traditio Legis*

[851] Verona Cathedral formally acquired its status in 780, and was rebuilt and enlarged about that time. Innichen Abbey and its church were founded around the same period, in 769. Notably, Innichen Abbey followed the Benedictine Rule. See K. Christ, *The Handbook of Medieval Library History* (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1984), 221.

relief may have been created by Pelegrinus in the early twelfth century, and that the same master was involved in restoration of Veronese churches after the earthquake of 1117.

Defining the original function of Pelegrinus's relief has been the matter of speculations in previous scholarship. Due to the lack of documentation on the case study it is only possible to assume that it may have been a part of church furniture, which was positioned prominently in Verona Cathedral.[852] The arrangement of the figures, their direct gaze and the extensive carved inscription may suggest that the relief was set frontally so that the faithful could see it. Scholarly ideas on the function of Pelegrinus's relief require a review. Making parallels between the case study and church furnishings from around the same period would allow testing the suggestions from previous scholarship and may help in forming a hypothesis on the most plausible function of the relief.

A number of publications proposed that Pelegrinus's relief may have been an upper fragment of a window, possibly on the west side of Verona Cathedral's bell tower.[853] Indeed, the measurements of the relief are close to the length of some mullioned windows (115 to 120 cm) along the side of Verona Cathedral and in the eastern part of the building.[854] In this thesis, however, it is not considered as a convincing argument. The shape of the upper part of Pelegrinus's relief is distinct from semi-circular or cogged tops of carvings decorating windows and doors (fig. 98). Most twelfth-century

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[852] Bartoli, 'Il complesso romanico,' 128; Agostini, '*Sum Pelegrinus ego qui talia sic bene sculpo*: Il Magister Pelegrinus e la Cattedrale di Verona,' 61 and Salvarani, *Matilde di Canossa, il papato, l'impero: storia, arte, cultura alle origini del romanico*, 301.

[853] First proposed by Arslan, a hypothesis that the relief may have been a part of a window was noted in subsequent publications by Jullian (1945), Brugnoli (1962), Romanini (1964), Valenzano (2001), Agostini (2006) and Fabbri (2007). See E. Arslan, *L'architettura romanica veronese* (Verona: La Tipografica veronese, 1939), 111; Dietl, *Die Sprache der Signatur: die mittelalterlichen Künstlerinschriften Italiens*, vol. 3, 1772; Agostini, '*Sum Pelegrinus ego qui talia sic bene sculpo*: Il Magister Pelegrinus e la Cattedrale di Verona,' 62. Arslan's next publication, however, suggested that the relief was rather a part of a ciborium. See Arslan, *La pittura e la scultura veronese dal secolo VIII al secolo XIII*, 88.

[854] After checking measurements and possible locations of this supposed window, Bartoli concluded that it was rather a part of a structure of Western *cuba*. Bartoli, 'Il complesso romanico,' 128.

church towers, such as those in Barga and Bardone, or the tower of the former Benedictine Abbey San Giovanni in Argentella, have windows with no elaborate sculpted decoration or carved inscriptions, because they are arranged at a considerable height. Floral and animalistic carvings, which are common over the windows of Verona Cathedral and other churches, contrast with the iconography of Pelegrinus's relief.

In my opinion, a speculation that the relief may be a surviving part of an ancient door is unconvincing too.[855] The dimensions of Pelegrinus's relief, 71x116 cm, and those of standard doors in the Cathedral, which are from approximately the same period as the case study, do not correspond.[856] The scene *Traditio Legis* bears strong religious connotations and, as similar examples discussed in Chapter 3 demonstrate, is firmly associated with sacred areas in church interior, rather than with windows or doors. Perhaps for this reason old scholarship has loosely suggested that the *Traditio Legis* relief may have been a part of an altar or tabernacle.[857] However, the iconographical subject and the arched-shape of the case study have little in common with the traditional early medieval altar frontals, like the *Altar of Ratchis* or the *Altar of Sant'Ambrogio* discussed in Chapter 2.

Unsupported with documentary evidence, Dionisi's idea that Pelegrinus's relief used to be a part of a canopy of a ciborium over an altar was reiterated in a number of publications from the twentieth century.[858] Architectural baldachins, or ciboria, were usually placed over church altars or shrines to emphasise their importance, and, when necessary, to conceal the relics with curtains attached to special rods fixed at the top.

The arched shape of Pelegrinus's relief reveals similarities to the panels of a well-preserved Italian ciborium (the eighth or ninth century, Museo Arqueológico Nacional,

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[855] A. Pighi, *La cattedrale di Verona, Cenni storici* (Verona, 1886), 3.
[856] Agostini, '*Sum Pelegrinus ego qui talia sic bene sculpo*: Il Magister Pelegrinus e la Cattedrale di Verona,' 62.
[857] Seroux d'Agincourt, *Histoire de l'art par les monumens, depuis sa décadence au IVe siècle jusqu'à son renouvellement au XIVe*, vol. 3, pp. 19-20 and Zannandreis, *Le vite dei pittori, scultori e architetti veronesi*, 15-16.
[858] Dionisi, *Osservazioni sopra un'antica cristiana scultura ritrovata nel recinto della cattedral di Verona*, iv-v. Among the scholars that followed Dionisi were Simeoni (1909), Toesca (1927), De Francovich (1937), Arslan (1943), Aldrighetti (1960), Verzár Bornstein (1988) and Kendall (1998).

Madrid);[859] and to a ciborium from Sant'Apollinare in Classe in Ravenna (dated before 816).[860] The former ciborium is decorated with vines and patterns of entwined bands, the latter has its plaques carved with Lombard ornaments, floral motifs and peacocks (figs. 102, 103). Despite the similarity of shapes, the reliefs at both ciboria are purely ornamental and show little stylistic resemblance to the case study of this chapter. Pelegrinus has clearly demonstrated interest in figurative rather than decorative scenes, which distinguishes his work from these two early medieval examples.[861]

The scene *Traditio Legis* is found at the ciboria from San Pietro al Monte in Civate (the eleventh century) and Sant'Ambrogio in Milan (approximately the end of the twelfth century) (figs. 78, 101).[862] However, the similarities in iconography between these two examples and the case study would not be enough to confirm that the latter used to be a part of a ciborium. Besides, recent technical analysis of the case study suggested that an opening on the right side (28 x 7 cm and 13 cm deep) would have been suitable to insert another stone element joining the piece in a larger composite stone fixture, but useless for attaching a detail of a window to the wall or fitting it as a part of a ciborium.[863] Indeed, the case study measuring 71x116 cm may be too small to have been a part of a cibirium.

Having examined technical characteristics of Pelegrinus's relief, recent scholarship has not presented a definitive conclusion on its original function. It only suggested that the relief may have been integrated with other similar pieces in a large presbytery

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[859] The inscription at the top of one of the plaques reads 'RISANVS / ARCIPRB, VIACR' and may mention the donor, but is difficult to provide a certain interpretation due to numerous damages and chips. The dimensions of the plaques of this ciborium vary between 72x60 cm and 60x58 cm and are slightly smaller than Pelegrinus's relief. See X. Barral i Altet, 'Un baldaquino de altar, de la Alta Edad Media, procedente de Roma,' *Boletín del Museo Arqueológico Nacional* 4 (1986): 84.

[860] Favreau, *Études d'épigraphie médiévale: recueil d'articles de Robert Favreau rassemblés à l'occasion de son départ à la retraite*, 484.

[861] In addition, the *Traditio Legis* relief reveals practically no stylistic affinities to figurative scenes form the ninth century or earlier. For example, it is very different from the *Altar of Ratchis* or the relief by Magester Ursus discussed in Chapter 2. Pelegrinus's relief shows a better understanding of volume, shape, and human proportions.

[862] Chierici, *Italia romanica. La Lombardia,* vol. 1, 190.

[863] Salvarani, *Matilde di Canossa, il papato, l'impero: storia, arte, cultura alle origini del romanico*, 301.

enclosure, or as a side arch support of a pulpit placed on a wall (although there are no underlying holes at the bottom of the object).[864] A similar suggestion that Pelegrinus's relief may have been a fragment of an ambo or pergola is also found in early publications.[865]

Both an ambo and a pulpit are essential parts of church naves, and the difference between them is subtle. In some cases an interior of an early medieval church may have had more than one ambo. Often made of marble and decorated, these elevated structures were used for reading the Gospels or preaching.[866] In the course of time ambos were substituted with pulpits of rectangular or polygonal construction, like the famous examples from Pisa and Siena.[867] The late eleventh-century pulpit at Sant'Ambrogio in Milan, is also built of rectangular stone plaques supported by columns.[868] However, unlike the *Traditio Legis* relief, it is not decorated with iconographic scenes (figs. 17, 92). Also, no religious scenes are found at the front panels of ambos in basilicas of Sant'Apollinare Nuovo and Santo Spirito in Ravenna, these are decorated with ornamental and symbolic motifs (fig. 99, 100). Designs and constructions of ambos and pulpits are not standardised, but predominantly these have common features. Verona Cathedral may also have had an ambo or a pulpit, which was most likely damaged in an earthquake or removed during interior refurbishments.[869]

A hypothesis that Pelegrinus's relief used to be a part of a pulpit may sound more convincing than other hypotheses previously discussed in this chapter. However, fragments of ambos usually have a hemispheric curve but no arch and are often decorated with representations of the Evangelists. This corresponds to the function of a pulpit, from which the Gospels would have been read or preaching held by a priest. In

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[864] Ibid., 301.
[865] Kingsley Porter, *Lombard Architecture*, vol. 1, p. 286, vol. 3, p. 477. De Francovich (1937) and Kendall (1998) expressed a similar opinion.
[866] T. Forrest Kelly, *The Exultet in Southern Italy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 162-164.
[867] J. Pope-Hennessy, *Italian Gothic Sculpture at the Victoria & Albert Museum* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1952), 5-7.
[868] H. Decker, *Romanesque Art in Italy* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1960), 17.
[869] Current church furniture in the nave of Verona Cathedral, including the choir screen, mostly belongs to the sixteenth century.

my opinion, an arched shape of Pelegrinus's relief may rather indicate that it was a part of a different kind of structure, possibly supported by two columns on the sides. Pelegrinus's relief shows Christ giving the Law to his apostles, which may imply a parallel to a priest addressing the faithful. The scene *Traditio Legis* demonstrates authority and depicts three figures. Iconographically, this may correspond to the top decoration of a sedile or sedilium, a group of three seats often built in a wall. A sedilium is usually found on the south side of the chancel or choir of a church. Placed near the altar, it is meant for the officiating clergymen, so that they could sit during the intervals of service. Notably, Dionisi wrote that he had found the *Traditio Legis* relief mounted on the wall of a chapel inside Verona Cathedral.[870] This recalls the way in which a sedilium is usually arranged with the seats recessed into the wall and a decorative plaque at the top. Nevertheless, due to the absence of documentary evidence this suggestion remains hypothetical.

[870] Dionisi, *Osservazioni sopra un'antica cristiana scultura ritrovata nel recinto della cattedral di Verona*, iv-v.

CONCLUSION

The principal contribution of this thesis consists in filling in the gaps in our knowledge of written and figurative self-representations produced by early medieval artists working in three-dimensional array. This study covered a number of topical issues concerning sculptors' self-representations. Firstly, it expanded our knowledge in terms of standard formulae with the verb *facere* in written self-representations and contributed to the discussion on the ambiguous *me fecit*-signatures, which were used by both donors and makers of artworks. Secondly, this thesis discussed images and social statuses of early medieval sculptors, which provided understanding of socio-cultural aspects of their lives and work. Thirdly, an important input of this thesis lies in thorough analysis of case studies, which enabled interpretation of functions, meanings and cultural codes of sculptors' self-representations. The main principle of this thesis was realised through interconnection between chapters concerning with theoretical aspects and chapters exploring the four main case studies, which were addressed as the illustrative examples of the corresponding issues.

Interdisciplinary approach allowed a thorough investigation of a broad spectre of related questions and permitted to reconstruct historical, social, religious and intellectual contexts, which encouraged the authors of my case studies to express themselves visually. Taking into account that documentary evidence on most of these pieces is fragmentary or missing, I avoided claiming certainty about particular self-representations, and most suggestions about the case studies remain hypothetical. However, in this thesis it is perceived not as a limitation, but rather as an opportunity to offer a nuanced alternative story on sculptors' self-representations, which is not confined to stereotypes of early scholarship. Several misconceptions of the latter are successfully challenged in this study, including the stereotype of anonymous medieval artists, who had no means of articulating their identities though work. Analysis and identification of little-studied self-representations demonstrated that in fact their makers wished to project themselves to their audiences.

This thesis has reconsidered traditional definitions of self-portraiture and successfully established connections between the main case studies and corresponding examples from various European regions. The makers of these early medieval self-representations formed their ideal likenesses in spiritual rather than physiognomically individualised terms. Their attempts in discovering the inner self were based not on the belief that it was unique, but on their aim to discover God in themselves and achieve spiritual unity with him through diligent work. I emphasise that, as a result, their self-representations are enriched with features, of which the most important are piety and diligence at work. Iconological approach with references to medieval treatises and historical documents ensured that the case studies were presented in this thesis in the context of medieval society, its philosophical thought and intellectual tendencies. The use of iconographic approach in terms of analysis of case studies revealed contiuity of features, which are characteristic of sculptors' self-representations produced before the twelfth century and later.

Translations of Latin inscriptions, related to sculptors' self-representations, and formulae used by the authors were reviewed in this thesis. Chapter 1 focused on signatures and inscriptions, in which, depending on the formula, the verb *facere* may refer to a donor or an artist and challenged a misconception that the *me fecit*-formula refers exclusively to donors. By using actual examples, Chapter 1 demonstrated the difference between formulas *me fecit* (made me), *hoc opus fieri fecit* (caused this work to be made) or *me fieri fecit* (caused me to be made). This deepened the discussion on the *me fecit*-formula and, basing on the analysis of characteristic examples, allowed tracing a pattern. According to it, the *me fecit*-signatures may have been used by makers in case their names appeared in inscriptions next to the names of their donors and patrons.

The matter of ambiguity of the *me fecit*-signatures was demonstrated by the example of the case study, Freckenhorst doorknockers signed by Bernhardus. The absence of archival evidence has not permitted a certain identification of Bernhardus as a bronze caster or as a donor. However, stylistic, historical and archaeological evidence presented in this chapter supported my idea that the dating of the Freckenhorst doorknockers should be reconsidered to the late eleventh century.

Chapter 1 presented numerous examples demonstrating that artists in various media, including manuscript illuminators and sculptors working in different materials, such as stone, bronze and precious metals applied *me fecit*-signatures. Having shown these connections across different media, regions and periods, this thesis suggested that bronze casting may have been the origin of the *me fecit*-signing practice. The formula *me fecit* at bronze objects underlined the physical act of shaping the material, working on the piece and enlivening it as a result of sacred labour, an act of divine creation, so that the objects obtained an ability to speak for themselves and introduce their makers ('X ME FECIT').

Following the conception that the likeness of man and God is revealed through skill and talent, medieval sculptors aimed discovering divine nature in themselves through the qualities of being laborious, industrious and pious. The selection of case studies in this thesis has shown that not only bronze casters, but also other artists working in three-dimensional array aimed imitating God in their everyday life and aspired to salvation. This thesis has demonstrated that references to the *Book of Genesis* and masterly hand are found in the works of the goldsmith Vuolvinus, stone sculptors Ursus and Gofridus, as well as in the works of bronze casters, including the *Bernward Doors*.

This thesis emphasised that the widely popular idea that the Renaissance looks back to antiquity mistakenly excludes the role of the period that is loosely called the Middle Ages. The matter of continuity and integration of ancient and medieval symbolism, philosophical ideas, artistic and cultural tendencies were explored by the example of case studies. Chapter 1 illustrated that the *me fecit*-signatures, the revival of the popular in antiquity lost-wax casting technique and the belief in apotropaic and protective functions of lion head doorknockers link ancient and medieval periods. The latter was an important intermediary and the time when ancient cultural and artistic ideas were adopted and rethought to flourish in the Renaissance.

Chapter 2 proceeded with enquiries on early medieval sculptors' self-representations, both written and figurative. Following Chapter 1, it continued exploring the connections between ancient and medieval periods and demonstrated that the origins of sculptors' self-representations go back to antiquity. The aspects of sculptors' literacy and identity,

which have been consistently overlooked in recent scholarship, were thoroughly addressed in Chapter 2. Evidence from ancient and medieval primary sources, some of which were written by sculptors, was presented to confute common misconceptions of previous scholarship that medieval sculptors were completely illiterate and anonymous.

The two case studies of Chapter 2, self-representations of Ursus and Liutpreht, were considered in their social contexts, which ensured a comprehensible interpretation. Chapter 2 unveiled valuable information about the roles and statuses of the insufficiently known social groups of master sculptors and lay brothers, who were commonly involved in physical labour, including sculpting. My analyses of the case studies demonstrated that the intellectual context of early medieval sculptors' self-representations is more important than scholars from the past had thought.

One of the main principles of this thesis, which has hardly been applied in early scholarship, consists in careful consideration of the interaction between textual and pictorial elements in sculptors' self-representations. The analyses of case studies of Chapter 2 served as examples of the efficiency of this concept. My interpretation of connections between figurative and written components in case studies served as the basis for an alternative view on sculptors' self-representations. Notwithstanding geographical distance and considerable time span, religious and cultural factors determined similarities between Ursus's and Liutpreht's self-representations, which consist of signatures firmly related to images of men. Chapter 2 has shown that both sculptors affiliated with the Benedictine monasteries in their regions and represented themselves according to the statuses that they possessed. Upon close investigation of the case studies, I proposed a new consideration of sculptors' manifestations of authorship. In my opinion, Ursus, Liutpreht, Wezilo, Barisanus of Trani and some other sculptors, whose self-representations are discussed in this thesis, rather pictured ideal images of themselves, to which they aspired and whom they wished to become. They represented themselves as devoted Christians, always in relation to God, either kneeling in prayer or expressing piety to holy figures and relics. This allowed them avoiding strict criticism for vanity according to the Benedictine principles.

Moreover, when ensuring permanent expression of their devotion, sculptors were selective about the audience that would see and understand their self-representations, which in this thesis is interpreted as a sign of humility. Having studied historical sources and the plan of the Crypt of St Corbinian to reconstruct the original arrangement of the altar and the relics in relation to the signed column capital with the proposed self-image of Liutpreht, I have proposed a hypothesis on this case study. In my opinion, Liutpreht placed his self-representation at an angle of the capital making it noticeable only for those priests or pilgrims, who would pray in front of the sarcophagus and altar of St Corbinian. The originality of sculptors' visual thinking consisted in an ability to integrate their self-representations into religious settings, as they were meant to ensure their makers remembrance and permanent presence at churches.

The case studies and comparative examples in this thesis were deliberately chosen from various European regions (Italy, Germany, France, Spain, etc.) to emphasise the long-standing tradition of sculptors' mobility in Europe. Cultural exchange between both sides of the Alps encouraged dissemination of common self-representational tendencies and resulted in similar stylistic and palaeographical features, which has also been noted in relation to my case studies.

Following the previous chapters, Chapter 3 elaborated on the issue of travelling sculptors, cultural exchange between both sides of the Alps and continuity of some ancient artistic features in the medieval period. However, Chapter 3 explored these aspects from a different perspective. It closely focused on culptors' written self-representations in stone and bronze and on the coexistence of their devotional and personal roles. In connection to this, the motif of metaphorical journey of soul in sculptors' inscriptions was discussed by the example of the main case study, the *Traditio Legis* relief signed by the sculptor Pelegrinus. The in-depth analysis of the content of the inscription, the allegories and the specific terms related to the profession of sculpture mentioned in it were considered as the signs of sculptors' growing self-assurance. The analysis of iconography of Pelegrinus's *Traditio Legis* relief revealed the connections to the iconographic scenes from antiquity. The style of the relief was compared to a few rare pieces in Verona and affinities were found. Furthermore, a thorough search in

historical literature and my translations of Italian historical documents mentioning Pelegrinus's *Traditio Legis* relief were revealing about this piece. Firstly, it allowed suggesting that the relief is dated to the late eleventh century. Secondly, I proposed a hypothesis that the maker of the relief may have been 'a secular priest Pellegrino' invited by the bishop Bernardo to assist in reconstructing several Veronese churches after a strong earthquake. In the course of my research, I have also traced the history of the relief, identified the places where it was transferred in the course of time and attempted reconstructing its original function. With the absence of firm documentary evidence, however, precise identification of the maker and other suggestions about the relief remain hypothetical.

The analysis of sculptors' inscriptions in Chapter 3 demonstrated that, to an extent, their content reflected economic and social changes of the period, and that it was equally characteristic of the examples in stone and bronze. The development of medieval cities determined the establishment of guilds to accommodate the fast-growing social class of lay sculptors. In these professional associations the understanding of authorship and artists' social roles was distinct from the one in monastic workshops. Consequently, the content of sculptors' inscriptions had started shifting from strictly religious to secular, as the analysis of written self-representations in this chapter demonstrated. For instance, Bernhardus's inscription at Freckenhorst doorknockers contains a petition to God, whereas later examples by Giraldus or masters Nicholaus and Johannes de Bincio etc. demonstrate reflections on symbolism of bronze as material and manifest complex ideas on techniques and the role of the maker. Similarly, stone sculptors' inscriptions, such as those by Wiligelmo, Nicholaus and Pelegrinus underline the value of technical skills and demonstrate their authors' self-assurance. The devotional component, however, has never vanished completely from some sculptors' written self-representations. This was shown by a detailed examination of the main case study, the inscription at the relief sculpted by Pelegrinus. Aspects discussed in the last chapter of this thesis interconnect with the issues of continuity of tradition throughout the centuries, mobility and literacy, authorship and identity, which were also the key points of discussion in previous chapters.

Our knowledge of medieval sculptors' self-representations is tenuous and incomplete due to the fragmentary nature of documentary evidence and because survival rates of many monuments are low. Most of these examples, including my case studies, faced turning points in the history of churches for which they were produced and were affected by natural disasters, earthquakes and floods, or war and fire, resulting in the lack of evidence on these objects. Nevertheless, my research demonstrated that complicated histories and provenances of these pieces are still possible to retrieve by analysing and interpreting both textual and visual sources.

There is an individual story of a maker behind each self-representation. They preserve cultural memory and are acknowledged in this thesis as pieces accumulating historical and religious values, which the faithful preserved piously through generations. The fragments of older artworks, especially those with artists' votive self-representations, which are discussed in this thesis, were commonly reused and integrated in newly refurbished church interiors or exteriors, or in objects with liturgical function. I consider that each case with a self-representation should be taken individually, as it is a gesture of communication from its maker. In addition to devotional function, self-representations also have strong social meanings. They demonstrate that sculptors were conscious of their souls and wished to express devotion to God by means of their work. Aiming to have their names perpetuated in petitions and memories of other people, sculptors cogitated about themselves as deserving it since they were qualified professionals. All these features reflected in self-representations of medieval sculptors and in the content of their inscriptions. Being one of the means of joining a devotional community, existing self-representations may have inspired other artists to depict themselves and sign their work.

In fact, this thesis is one of the first works entirely focused on sculptors' self-representations and should generate new questions on this topic and lead to further discussions either of the broad socio-cultural aspects or of the specific examples that have previously escaped scholarly attention. Among the questions that require further in-depth research are sculptors' inscriptions. It would be enlightening to explore more whether sculptors may indeed have composed their inscriptions without assistance of

their patrons or educated supervisors. Consequently, this raises another relatively little-studied question on the interaction between artists working in various media, for example sculptors in stone and bronze, and manuscript artists. Self-representations in two- and three-dimensional arts may not have developed independently, they probably were the results of artistic exchange.

This thesis contributed to scholarship by providing a perspective to expand our socio-cultural comprehension of the Middle Ages and sculptors as representatives of that period. This enquiry offered interpretations of the meanings and functions of cultural codes and artistic components, which early medieval sculptors applied to express themselves visually in their works. Finally, this thesis expanded our knowledge about early medieval sculptors and their self-representations and offered new directions for further enquiries.

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