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Scribes, Pen-flourishers and Illuminators in Papal Charters
from the Great Western Schism to the Age of the Councils
(1378–1447)

by
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Abstract

In the years following the return to Rome of Gregory XI, in 1377, and with the outbreak of the Great Western Schism a year later, the production of illumination in Rome underwent a significant revival. For the first time after over sixty years, workshops active in the city elaborated a distinctive new style, eclectic and based on multiple cultural elements, but specific to the context of the curia. The illuminators working for the first popes during the Schism were also scribes and pen-flourishers, and sometimes musicians. An examination of the charters produced in the Roman curia in these years reveals that these scribes worked in the production of books as well as documents. The most remarkable of them, Stefano dell'Aquila, is the author of beautiful pen-work decoration in illuminated manuscripts and papal bulls produced during the papacies of Urban VI, Boniface IX, Innocent VI and Gregory XII. A further survey of charters decorated for the Italian antipopes during the years of the Councils (Alexander V, John XXIII, Felix V) and for the first two popes after the end of the Schism, Martin V and Eugene IV, shows that once again scribes and artists decorated both books and charters and they were also active in the papal musical chapel. The pen-work of the artist, scribe and singer Barthélémy Poignare concludes this rich and extraordinary Late Gothic stage, before the transition to Renaissance style.

In the years following the return to Rome of Gregory XI, in 1377, and with the outbreak of the Great Western Schism after his death, a year later, the production of illumination in Rome underwent a significant revival. For the first time after over sixty years workshops active in the city elaborated a distinctive new style, definitely eclectic and based on multiple cultural elements,

but specific to the context of the Roman curia¹. This paper is dedicated to the craftsmen working in this context and to their overlapping activities as illuminators, pen-flourishers and scribes, both in the production of manuscripts and in charters for the papal chancery².

I have endeavoured to survey the pen-work decoration appearing in the opening protocol of the charters – both *litterae gratiosae* and *litterae solemnes* – produced in the chanceries of the popes and antipopes during the Schism and in the years of the Councils (pl. 3)³. Although this decoration, mainly featuring on the first letter and in the first line, is very simple and exclusively drawn in black ink⁴, it was produced by scribes who often had a thriving parallel activity as scribes and decorators of books. It is therefore possible to trace their work both in manuscripts and in dated charters, following them as they moved through the different chanceries, often changing obedience.

I first started working on this phase of Late Gothic illumination in Rome, unknown until very recently, starting with an exceptional book, a small volume containing a richly illustrated *Praeparatio ad missam* (Vatican City, BAV⁵, Vat. lat. 3747), illuminated by a workshop based in Rome between 1390 and 1410, to which I have attributed a number of other liturgical books produced

1 For an overview of this long-forgotten phase of Late Gothic illumination: MANZARI, Ripresa p. 401–423.

2 I am grateful to the organizers for this opportunity of considering these two aspects – illuminated books and charters – jointly on this occasion. I would like to thank for their precious suggestions Emma Condello, Otfried Krafft, Cristina Mantegna, Paola Massa, Martin Roland and Andreas Zajic. Thanks to Sharon Dale, Patricia Stirnemann and Alison Stones for reading through my English text, and to François Avril for initiating this research and for all his help. I have hugely benefitted from the many fruitful exchanges with Martin Roland and Otfried Krafft during the preparation of the text for publication. After the conference took place, when the revision of this text was in progress, thanks to Martin Roland, the charters produced in the papal chancery were collected in a special section “Papsturkunden” of the “Illuminierte Urkunden” collection visible in monasterium.net. This research has been elaborated with material present in the earlier version of the database (until March 2017) and the new material appearing in this very useful new instrument has not been included.

3 With the exception of those of Avignon obedience, as my attention, on this occasion, is centred in particular on the chanceries active in the Italian peninsula or at Basel during the Council. For a comparative outline of book production in Avignon and Rome: MANZARI, *Mobilité* p. 289–302.

4 Until the 15th century, with the production of illuminated *Supplicae* under Eugene IV and the collective illuminated indulgences issued by cardinals in the 15th century. For illustrated papal charters see the seminal article by Otfried Krafft (with earlier bibliography): KRAFFT, *Illustrationen* p. 51–98, and p. 53 f. in particular. On papal charters see: BURGER *Beiträge*; FRENZ, *Farbig verzierte Urkunden*; ID., *Documenti pontifici*; ID., *Wappendarstellungen*; RABIKAUSKAS, *Diplomatica pontificia*. On the *Supplicae*: FABIAN, *Prunkbitschriften*.

5 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

for members of the court of Boniface IX (1389–1404)⁶. The varied cultural elements which can be detected in its style are the consequence of the very international context created by the return of the curia to Rome. Another manuscript illuminated by the same artists is the Missal started for Boniface (St. Petersburg, Hermitage, ORr-23), presumably left unfinished because of the pope's death in 1404: in this book illuminators already present in the *Praeparatio ad missam* worked side by side with artists of North Italian and even central European origin⁷. Although the Italian elements in the figurative culture of Boniface's workshop are strong – mixing Florentine, Pisan and Abruzzi components – a Northern factor can be detected, in particular, in the wonderful preparatory drawings made by the head of the workshop, which have been left unfinished (for example fol. 8r, 115r). I have attributed these to an artist of possibly Flemish origin, who I have also recognized in the marginal drawings added to a mysterious polyphonic music manuscript (Chantilly, Musée Condé, Ms. 564): I think this book must have reached Rome in the first decade of the 15th century, where marginal drawings by the artist of the Missal were added to it, in the context of Boniface's court⁸.

The re-establishment of the curia in Rome was essential in bringing about these encounters between French, Flemish and Italian cultures, as has been highlighted by musicological research on the singers in the papal chapels during the Schism⁹.

One of the interesting features in the workshops producing illumination in Rome throughout the 14th century is the important role of illuminators and pen-flourishers coming from the central Italian area of the Abruzzi, either moving to Rome for specific tasks or sending the completed manuscripts, as can be seen in the liturgical books made for the Canons of St. Peter's¹⁰. This trend can be further confirmed in the years following the outbreak of the Schism, when artists, pen-flourishers, scribes and musicians from the Abruzzi, are documented in Rome, all of them revolving around the papal curia and the chancery in particular¹¹.

The best known of these craftsmen is Stefano dell'Aquila, recognized in the marvelous pen-work decoration of Boniface IX's Missal by François Avril, who identified Stefano's double activity as a scribe and pen-flourisher, both

6 MANZARI, *Libri liturgici* p. 49–116; EAD., *Libri liturgici miniati* p. 109–136; EAD., *Ripresa* p. 401 f.

7 MANZARI, *Ripresa* p. 402 f.

8 MANZARI, *Context* p. 11–33.

9 DI BACCO/NÁDAS, *Stile internazionale* p. 7–74; DI BACCO, *Documenti* p. 361–386; DI BACCO/NÁDAS, *Chapels* p. 44–92; NÁDAS, *Internationalization* p. 247–269.

10 On books produced in the 14th century for the Canons of St. Peter's: MANZARI, *Presenze*.

11 EAD., *Ripresa* p. 419; EAD., *Miniatura abruzzese* p. 74 f.; EAD., *Presenze*.

in books and in charters issued by the Roman chancery¹². Avril discovered examples of Stefano's signature¹³ – his name was in fact *Stephanus Masii de Aquila* – both in a Book of Hours written and decorated by him (Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo, h.IV.9, fol. 116r)¹⁴, and in a copy of Dietrich von Nyem's *Liber cancellerie apostolicæ* (Paris, BnF¹⁵, lat. 4169, fol. 89r, pl. 5), dated 1380, in which Stefano carried out and signed the pen-work decoration, while Dietrich signed the *colophon*, as the book's scribe (fig. 1–2)¹⁶.

Avril suggested that Stefano might also be the author of the illuminations painted in the Escorial Book of Hours, where he left his most conspicuous signature¹⁷, but for the moment only the *corpus* of his penwork initials, characterized by the use of brightly coloured inks, has been established. It also comprises those in the Blackburn Missal (Museum and Art Gallery, Hart Ms. 20918)¹⁸, whose patron I have recently recognized, thanks to the correct

12 François Avril read a paper on *Stephanus de Aquila* at the Symposium held in Rome in 1990 by the Comité international de Paléographie latine; the unpublished text, cited by me in 2007 (MANZARI, *Libri liturgici* p. 75, note 42), was finally published in 2012: AVRIL, *Stephanus de Aquila* p. 51–57.

13 The term signature applied to medieval art does not have the meanings we attribute to it today, that is the autography of the writing and the authorship of the work of art it is connected to. For example, in the case of the notary and illuminator Neri da Rimini, active in Emilia Romagna at the beginning of the 14th century, it has been shown that his name, very often present in the manuscripts illuminated by him and his workshop, was actually written by different scribes. In this case, rather than a signature, it must be considered a mark of provenance from his workshop: NICOLINI, *Firme* p. 51–59. Nonetheless in the case of the scribes of the papal charters, the signature of the document was the means of ensuring its payment, therefore it does indicate autography.

14 AVRIL, *Stephanus de Aquila* p. 51; for a description of this manuscript: MANZARI, *Entry 32* p. 221–223.

15 Bibliothèque nationale de France.

16 AVRIL, *Stephanus de Aquila* p. 51. In the *Liber cancellerie* Stephanus is mentioned, on fol. 10v, as having been received as *abbreviator* in 1381, but he started working as a *scriptor* in the chancery the year before, as noted by Graf, who cites *Stephanus* as an exception to the usual practice of being first accepted as *abbreviator* and then as a *scriptor*: *S. de Aquila* was approved as a *scriptor* on May 26th, 1380 and he was received by the vice-chancellor as an *abbreviator* on October 17th, 1381 (Theodor GRAF, *Papst Urban VI. Untersuchungen über die römische Kurie während seines Pontifikates (1378–1389)*, Kapitel I bis III nebst Namenverzeichnis der Kurialen, Berlin 1916, p. 18). I would like to thank Otfried Krafft for pointing this out to me.

17 AVRIL, *Stephanus de Aquila* p. 51. Another manuscript with Stefano's name has recently been identified in Spain by Jorge Jiménez López (Universidad de Salamanca), who is studying this new discovery in his PhD dissertation, currently in preparation. I would like to thank him for sharing his discovery with me and to refer to his work in preparation regarding this important new manuscript.

18 AVRIL, *Stephanus de Aquila* p. 53; MANZARI, *Ripresa* p. 404–412. On this manuscript see also CONDELLO/SIGNORINI, *Minima trisultina*, who first pointed out that the patron could not be, as traditionally identified, the anti-cardinal Pedro Serra.

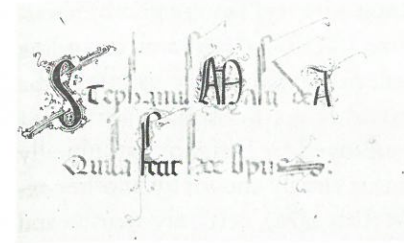


Fig. 1: Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo, h.IV.9, Book of Hours, fol. 116r, detail.



Fig. 2: Paris, BnF, lat. 4169, *Liber cancellarie apostolicæ*, fol. 89r, detail.

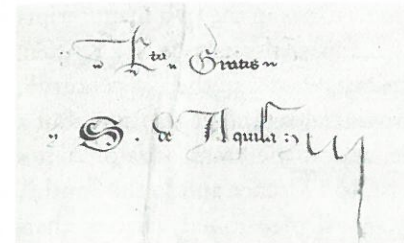


Fig. 3: Florence, Archivio di Stato, SS. Annunziata; Rome, April 14th 1380, detail.

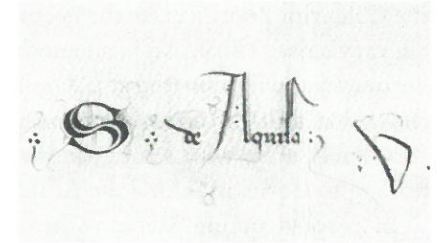


Fig. 4: Göttweig, Stiftsarchiv, 1382 VII 23; Rome, July 23rd 1382, detail.

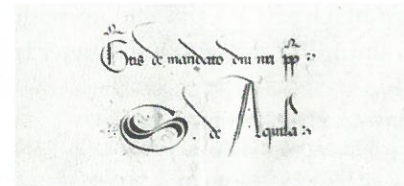


Fig. 5: Munich, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Domkapitel Passau Urkunden, 904; Rome, August 30th 1396, detail.

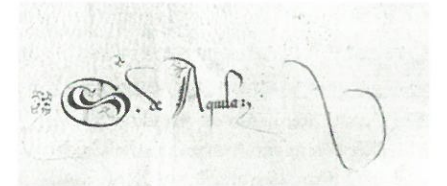


Fig. 6: Munich, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Domkapitel Passau Urkunden, 1095; Rome, March 18th 1402, detail.

identification of the coat-of-arms painted in the manuscript, as Antonio Pancera (1350/1360–1431), also known as *Antonio de Portogruaro*, patriarch of Aquileia and secretary to Boniface IX¹⁹.

Another of the liturgical books in which Stefano's pen-work has been traced, alongside tempera illuminations by a different artist, is the so-called

19 MANZARI, *Ripresa* p. 405.

Calderini Pontifical (Harvard, MA, Houghton Library, Typ 1 - pl. 5B)²⁰, dating from the years of the pontificate of Urban VI (1378–1389) and, according to a hypothesis I have recently put forward, perhaps intended as gift to the pope himself²¹.

The style of the pen-work decoration employed by Stefano undoubtedly derives from his training in the Abruzzi: this is clearly shown by another extraordinary manuscript (Vatican City, BAV, Ross. 276), certainly written and illuminated at L'Aquila for the local church of Santa Maria Paganica²². The pen-flourisher in this manuscript may have been Stefano's teacher, as his pen-work is excellent and related in style; similarly, one of the two artists who painted the illuminations in the Missal may have trained the illuminator of the Calderini Pontifical, as the decorative repertoires in the two manuscripts are very close. This Missal and another few manuscripts, exquisitely written, decorated and illuminated at L'Aquila in the last quarter of the 14th century²³, show that the Abruzzi was not at all a provincial region at the time, but a very lively area, with strong ties to Rome, and at the crossroads of routes leading to Germany, along the Adriatic coast, to Florence and to the South²⁴.

In reconstructing Stefano's biography, Avril mentioned various charters written by him for the Roman popes²⁵: thanks to the instruments now available for on-line research²⁶, it is possible to examine their decoration and to increase their number, thus establishing a list of almost forty charters in which Stefano was involved, either as an *abbreviator*, a *grossator* or a *taxator*, starting from the pontificate of Urban VI and ending with Gregory XII, and precisely between 1380 and 1407²⁷. His intense activity is

20 AVRIL, Stephanus de Aquila p. 54; MANZARI, Ripresa p. 419–421.

21 For recent discoveries on the Calderini Pontifical: MANZARI, Calderini Pontifical p. 274–276; EAD., Patronage.

22 EAD., Miniatori p. 117–139.

23 EAD., Ripresa p. 414 f.; EAD., Miniatura abruzzese p. 73–75.

24 On this specificity, see the essays published in: Universitates e Baronie.

25 Avril had based his survey on those mentioned in the Schedario Baumgarten: AVRIL, Stephanus de Aquila p. 51, notes 3 and 4; Schedario Baumgarten 3 No. 6423, 6431, 6436, 6653, 6654, 6675, 6714, 7019.

26 Foremost among them monasterium.net.

27 In the following all charters mentioned which are present in <http://monasterium.net/mom/IlluminierteUrkunden/collection> (19/01/2018) are marked with an asterisk. – 1. 1380, February 15th (Florence, Archivio di Stato, Vallombrosa, sub dato*): *grossator* (Schedario Baumgarten 3 No. 6423). – 2. 1380, April 14th (Florence, Archivio di Stato, SS. Annunziata, sub dato*): *grossator* (Schedario Baumgarten 3 No. 6431). – 3. 1380, May 26th (Duisburg, Landesarchiv Nordrhein-Westfalen, Kurköln, Urkunden 1047): *grossator* (Schedario Baumgarten 3 No. 6436). – 4. 1381, June 1st (Valladolid, Archivo General de Simancas, Ptr. Leg.41, doc.4*): *grossator* (Pares.mcu.es). – 5. 1382, July 23rd (Göttweig, Stiftsarchiv, 1382 VII 23*): *grossator*. – 6. 1389, June 11th (Prague, Národní archiv, Archiv České koruny,

further documented by the registers of the papal letters, in which his name appears repeatedly²⁸. Among the earliest of the charters written by him as a *scriptor* for Urban VI is an example of *Litterae solemnes*, dated 14 April 1380 (Florence, Archivio di Stato, SS. Annunziata, Rome, April 14th 1380

1282*): *grossator*. – 7. 1389, November 9th: (Munich, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Domkapitel Passau Urkunden, 842*): *taxator*. – 8. 1390/1403, November 18th (Göttweig, Stiftsarchiv, 1383 XI 18*). – 9. 1390, April 22nd (Duisburg, Landesarchiv Nordrhein-Westfalen, Kurköln, Urkunden 1164); Schedario Baumgarten 3 No. 6646; http://www.archive.nrw.de/LAV_NRW/jsp/findbuch.jsp?archivNr=185&verzguid=Vz_802994c5-0a78-4f03-a419-388c8db97f51 (19/01/2018). – 10. 1390, October 26th (Innsbruck, Landesregierungsarchiv, Trient. Lat. Arch. 1390 VIII 26); Schedario Baumgarten 3 No. 6653. – 11. 1390, November 2nd (Munich, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, KU Fürstzell, 412*). – 12. 1390, November 29th (Graz, Steiermärkisches Landesarchiv, 3715): Schedario Baumgarten 3 No. 6654. – 13. 1390, December 8th (Heiligenkreuz, Stiftsarchiv, 1390 XII 08*). – 14. 1390, December 24th (Munich, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, KU Formbach, 36*): *taxator*. – 15. 1392, January 19th (Hasselt, Archives de l'Etat, Fonds abbaye de Saint-Trond, Chartes, nouveau n. 588). – 16. 1393, June 16th (Vienna, HHStA, AUR, 1393 VI 16*): *grossator*. – 17. 1394, September 20th (Florence, Archivio di Stato, Fondo Volterra): *grossator* (Schedario Baumgarten 3 No. 6675). – 18. 1396, January 5th (Basel, Staatsarchiv, Prediger Urk, 137); Schedario Baumgarten 3 No. 6683. – 19. 1396, August 30th (Munich, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Domkapitel Passau Urkunden, 904*): *grossator*. – 20. 1396, December 8th (Göttweig, Stiftsarchiv, 1396 XII 8*). – 21. 1398, February 10th (Munich, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Domkapitel Passau Urkunden, 982*): *grossator*. – 22. 1399, June 9th (London, British Library, Harley Charters 43.A.48); Schedario Baumgarten 3 No. 6700. – 23. 1400, February 21st (Naples, Archivio di Stato, Pergamene Farnesiane, Bolla n. 24); Schedario Baumgarten 3 No. 6702. – 24. 1400, February 24th (Innsbruck, Landesregierungsarchiv, Sonnenburger Archiv, 1400 II 24); Schedario Baumgarten 3 No. 6703. – 25. 1402, March 18th (Munich, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Domkapitel Passau Urkunden, 1095*): *grossator*. – 26. 1402, December 22nd (Innsbruck, Landesregierungsarchiv, Brixener Archiv, 1402 XII 21); Schedario Baumgarten 3 No. 6714. – 27. 1403, March 31st (Graz, Steiermärkisches Landesarchiv, 4112); Schedario Baumgarten 3 No. 6716. – 28. 1403, May 25th (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Lyell 18); DE LA MARE, Catalogue p. 42 f. – 29. 1404, January 3rd (Göttweig, Stiftsarchiv, 1404 I 3*). – 30. 1404, January 8th (Munich, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, KU Niederaltaich, 2459*). – 31. 1404, January 30th (Munich, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, KU Niederaltaich, 441*): *taxator*. – 32. 1404, April 13th (Munich, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, KU Windberg, 290*). – 33. 1404, May 15th (Göttweig, Stiftsarchiv, 1404 V 15*). – 34. 1404, June 16th (Salzburg, St. Peter, Archiv der Erzabtei, Urk. Nr. 747*). – 35. 1406, August 12th (Florence, Archivio di Stato, Badia Fiorentina); Schedario Baumgarten 3 No. 7019. – 36. 1407, March 24th (Karlsruhe, Badisches Generallandesarchiv, Allerheiligen, 43/8); Schedario Baumgarten 3 No. 7027. – 37. 1407, April 15th (Vienna, HHStA, AUR, 1407 IV 15*).

28 These start from the end of the pontificate of Urban VI, Reg. Vat. 312 (for the last year, 1389) and continue for Boniface IX (Reg. Vat. 313–317; 320, 330, 336). Many citations of Stefano in the Registers are mentioned by KOCHENDORFFER, Kurialen p. 558, 560–562, 567 (who indicates his reception as *abbreviator* on October 17th 1381). Stefano was also mentioned, regarding the documents in Munich, in BURGER, Beiträge p. 227.

- fig. 3, pl. 4), while another is the charter, dated June 1st 1381, investing Charles III of Anjou Durazzo with the Kingdom of Naples (Valladolid, Archivo General de Simancas, Ptr. Leg 41, Doc. 4: Rome, June 1st 1381)²⁹. Stefano wrote a number of other charters at the time of Urban VI and Boniface IX, and a selection of examples of his name, written on the right side of the *plica*, where the *grossator* signed, shows how different they are from the modern concept of a signature (fig. 1–6). Those in the charters are fairly similar to each other, but different from that in the *Liber cancellariae apostolicae*, undoubtedly by the same person and even more from that in the Book of Hours³⁰.

The requirements and traditions of the chancery must have been rather constraining, because the pen-work decorated initials which Stefano uses in the opening protocols appear extremely simplified, in comparison with the extravagant pen-work which can be found in the manuscripts decorated by him in the same years, both in the *Liber cancellariae*, written and dated by Dietrich von Nyem April 1380, and in the Calderini Pontifical, datable just a few years later (fig. 4–5)³¹.

The charters made during the pontificate of Boniface IX show a moderate increase in the amount and elegance of the decoration of the first line (pl. 3), as for example in a *Litterae solennes* written by Stefano (Vienna, HHStA, AUR, 1393 VI 16: Rome, 16th June 1393), but also in others, written and decorated by him between the 1390s and the beginning of the 1400s. Stefano's name further appears in papal charters from the time of Innocent VII (Florence, Archivio di Stato: Badia, August 12th 1406) and Gregory XII (Vienna, HHStA, AUR, 1407 IV 15: April 15th 1407), but not as a *scriptor*, at least in the examples known to me³².

The apparent increase in the decoration of the charters issued in the time of Boniface IX, both in the pope's name and in the *litterae elongatae* which compose the first line, is confirmed by those written by another central Italian *grossator* working for Boniface, *Jeronimus de Ferentino* (Vienna, HHStA, AUR, 1393 VI 16st: Rome, June 16th 1393), who shows an even more pronounced talent for calligraphic pen-work decoration than Stefano himself (fig. 7)³³.

29 These are reproduced in monasterium.net and Pares.mcu.es.

30 See note 13.

31 I have dated this manuscript to the pontificate of Urban VI, ca. 1385: MANZARI, Calderini Pontifical.

32 Obviously further discoveries would shed further light on this issue.

33 Cited by Frenz as Hieronimus de Ferentino, active 1393–1401. For the lists by Thomas Frenz, in the *Repertorium Officiorum Romane Curie* (RORC), available on-line: <http://www.phil.uni-passau.de/fakultaetsorganisation/fakultaetsangehoerige/histhw/forschung/rorc/> (19/01/2018). Thanks to Otfried Krafft and Martin Roland for finding him.

Examining the distance between the simplified letters used by Stefano in the opening protocols of the charters he wrote and the lavish pen-work he employed in book decoration and considering the similarities in script and in decoration of the opening protocol in the charters written by different *grossatores*, the issue if the bulls were entirely written by the *grossator* himself must be addressed³⁴. I think that this must have been the case in general, although it is impossible to exclude that exceptions may exist, and possibly further research will bring to light examples supporting this possibility. At the present state of research, I believe that the scribes were mainly also the authors of the sober pen-flourishing of the first lines: I don't think the simplicity of the charters for Urban VI can be explained with the collaboration of a lesser assistant, because the opening protocol was the most important section and it would rather have been reserved for the most expert craftsman. I think that this feature, common to the bulls made in Urban's time³⁵, together with the moderately increasing decoration in those for Boniface IX³⁶ both indicate a common chancery procedure. Looking at the charters made for these two

www.phil.uni-passau.de/fakultaetsorganisation/fakultaetsangehoerige/histhw/forschung/rorc/ (19/01/2018). Thanks to Otfried Krafft and Martin Roland for finding him.

34 I am hugely grateful to Otfried Krafft and Martin Roland for the extremely fruitful discussions on these points. Without their precious suggestions and helpful comments many of the most important questions in this paper would not have been addressed at all.

35 In addition to those by Stefano, see for example: 1379, January 11th (Brno, Moravský zemský archiv v Brně, Augustiniáni Šternberk, 11st); 1379, July 4th (Prague, Národní archiv, Archivy českých klášterů zrušených za Josefa II., 1011); 1386, November 11th (Brno, Moravský zemský archiv v Brně, Premonstráti Louka, 1386 XI 11st); 1387, November 7th (Prague, Národní archiv, Dominikáni-provinciálát a konvent, 24); 1387, November 27th (Prague, Národní archiv, Benediktini-klášter Břevnov, Praha Benediktinské arciepatství sv. Vojtěcha a sv. Markéty v Břevnově 150): monasterium.net.

36 In addition to those by Stefano, see for example: 1396, April 5th (Zwettl, Stiftsarchiv, Urkunden, sub datost); 1397, August 12th (Marburg, Hessisches Staatsarchiv, Urk. 75, Nr. 661st); 1397, September 27th (Munich, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, KU Raitenhaslach, Nr. 540st); 1398, May 29th (Munich, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Domkapitel Passau Urkunden, Nr. 937st); 1398, June 17th (Munich, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Domkapitel Passau Urkunden, Nr. 938st); 1399, May 2nd (Salzburg, Archiv der Erzdiözese, Urkunden, 2525st); 1399, June 2nd (Göttweig, Stiftsarchiv, 1399 VI 02st); 1399, September 27th (Vienna, HHStA, AUR, 1399 IX 27st); 1400, May 4th (Munich, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, KU Raitenhaslach, Nr. 546st); 1400 October 19th (Salzburg, Landesarchiv, Urkunden Salzburg, Erzstift, OU 1400 X 19st); 1401, March 11th (Munich, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Angerkloster München Urkunden, Nr. 325st); 1401, March 27th (Munich, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Kollegiatstift Altötting Urkunden, Nr. 51st); 1401, June 1st (Vienna, HHStA, AUR, 1401 VI 01st); 1402, January 1st (Amberg, Staatsarchiv, Kloster Waldsassen Urkunden, Nr. 554st); 1402, April 13th (Göttweig, Stiftsarchiv, 1402 IV 13st); 1402, June 5th (Amberg, Staatsarchiv, Kloster Waldsassen Urkunden, Nr. 556st); 1403, May 4th (St. Florian, Stiftsarchiv, 1403 V 02st).

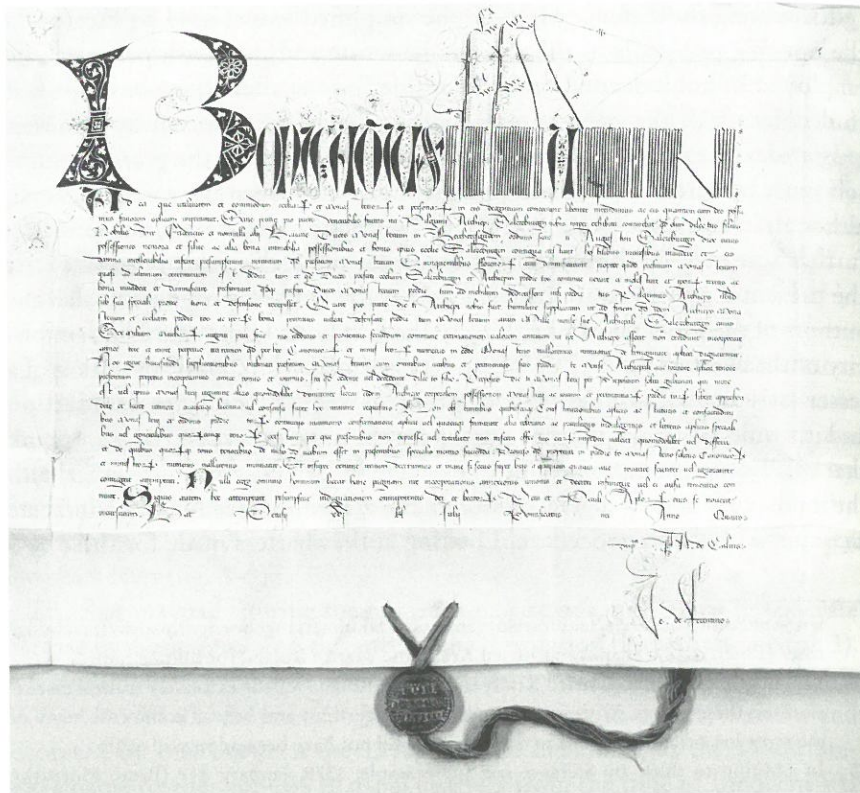


Fig. 7: Vienna, HHStA, AUR, 1393 VI 16; Rome, June 16th 1393: Jeronimus de Ferentino.

popes, they stand out in two distinct groups, each showing similar pen-work decoration for the pope's name and the whole of the first line, regardless of the scribe involved³⁷. This seems to point to the use of chancery models not

37 It is interesting to compare the two copies of the charter 1393, June 16th for the Abbey in Salzburg, signed by *Stephanus de Aquila* and *Je(ronimus) De Ferentino*, and both kept under the same shelfmark (Vienna, HHStA, AUR, 1393 VI 16/1, /2^o; Rome, 16th June 1393). The letters in the first line in the two charters follow the same model but they are not by the same hand. I think *Je(ronimus)* is a younger collaborator who varies the threadlike decorations used by Stefano enriching them. The capitals are also different, as are those used in the script, for example the As and Ds, but also the small ds throughout the text. In conformity to their signatures, which indicate two different scribes, the two documents seem to be the work of the two scribes and pen-flourishers, who, operating at the same time, were either copying from one another, or from the same model. Looking at the different scribes who signed the above-mentioned documents as *grossatores*, as for example, *Henricus*, *Gerlacus*, *Jo(hannes) de Pempelvo(i)rde*, it looks like the different scribes were using the same chancery script and decorative models.

only for the texts and script, but also for the decoration of the opening protocol. Thus the striking similarity among the groups pertaining to each pope might be explained with the aim of conforming to a common model. This hypothesis is not contradicted by the charters made for later popes, although the material as a whole has to be further analyzed and discussed³⁸.

Unfortunately no example of *litterae gratiosae* or *litterae solemnes* bearing decoration is known from the production of another important member of the community of scribes of Abruzzi provenance working for the curia during the Schism: *Antonius Berardi dictus Zacara de Teramo*³⁹. Antonio de Teramo (1350/1360–1413/1416), better known as Zacara, is very well known to musicologists, as he was one of the foremost composers active in the Roman curia of Boniface IX, alongside international singers and composers, like *Johannes Ciconia* (1370–1412)⁴⁰. He is also well known to scholars because of an important document dating from January 5th 1390, in which he was entrusted with the writing, notation and illumination of an Antiphony for the Hospital of Santo Spirito in Saxia in Rome, where he was also recruited as a music teacher⁴¹.

Although this shows that Zacara, alongside to his documented activity as papal singer and *scriptor*, was also an illuminator, nothing of his production in this field is known. Only one of the over thirty papal charters mentioning him in the Lateran Registers of the papal letters had been traced in the past⁴², but I have now identified three more signed *A de Teramo*. Nonetheless at least two of these – both the already known charter and a new one – seem to pose a problem regarding the identity of the scribe⁴³.

Antonio Zacara's activity for the Roman popes was reconstructed starting from the letter with which he was accepted as a *scriptor* in the chancery of Boniface IX, on February 1st 1391, in the place of *Lambertus de Soy*, who

38 I hope to have the opportunity of reconsidering a wider number of charters for the popes here examined in a forthcoming publication.

39 Many singers from the Abruzzi were also present in the papal chapels during the Schism; see 'Le cappelle italiane durante il Grande Scisma', published as a separate list in: DI BACCO/NÁDAS, Zacara p. 33–54.

40 DI BACCO/NÁDAS, Stile internazionale.

41 ESPOSITO, Magistro Zaccara p. 334–342, 446–449; ESPOSITO, Maestro Zaccara da Teramo p. 167–178.

42 On the letters cited in the Registers: ZIINO, Magister Antonius p. 311–348; ZIINO, Magister Antonius dictus Zacharias p. 3–25. The charter assigned to Zacara – London, National Archives, SC 7/41/7 (ZUTSHI, Papal Letters p. 203, No. 400) – is published in this volume: fig. 1 f.

43 The limits of space accorded to illustrations do not allow me to publish these images, but I shall do so in another article, now in preparation.

had changed obedience⁴⁴. The first identified example of *litterae* signed *A de Teramo*, however, is dated 1389 and I have found a second one with the same date, and two further examples, dated 1391 and 1397⁴⁵. As Antonio was officially accepted as a scribe in the chancery only in 1391, either he was working as a *scriptor* before his official appointment, or the two charters dated 1389 were not written by him, but rather by a homonymous scribe. This in fact cannot be ruled out, as a certain *Antonius Benedicti de Teramo* is also mentioned in the papal registers, in exactly the same years⁴⁶.

It is therefore necessary to raise the issue if the four signatures appear to be by the same person, or if it seems more plausible that two different *A de Teramo* were signing documents in the same way in the same years. It appears rather unlikely that *Antonius Berardi dictus Zacara* started working as a scribe in the chancery before obtaining a formal position. Furthermore, it seems plausible to sustain the hypothesis of two different scribes on the basis of a paleographical examination, assigning the 1389 charters to *Antonius Benedicti* and the 1391 and 1397 ones to *Antonius Berardi*, as there are small differences between the signatures, in particular because the first scribe seems to write in a more uncertain and threadlike hand⁴⁷.

Unfortunately, however, all the charters I have traced bearing the signature *A de Teramo* are *litterae cum filo canapis*, which did not foresee any form of decoration, so we are still missing an example of work by Zacara in the domain of illumination and pen-work decoration⁴⁸.

It has now been possible to confirm the presence in the papal chancery of two further excellent pen-flourishers, both only known for pen-work in manuscripts, which however are decorated in a style showing that the two

44 RL 12, fol. 246rv, discovered by ZIINO, Magister Antonius p. 311.

45 The three newly found charters are: 1389, November 14th (Reichersberg, Stiftsarchiv, 1389 XI 14*); 1391, November 27th (Amberg, Staatsarchiv, Kloster Waldsassen Urkunden, Nr. 525*); 1397, October 12th (Vienna, HHStA, AUR, 1397 X 12*).

46 Mentioned by Giuliano di Di Bacco and John Nádas, who pointed out the problem of the two homonymous scribes, although they did not believe that the two might both have signed as *A de Teramo* alternatively: DI BACCO/NÁDAS, Zacara p. 44 f. Antonius Berardi Luce de Teramo is cited in RL 10, fol. 322r; RL 12, fol. 167r; RL 14, fol. 35v; RL 23, fol. 9v; RL 29, fol. 103v; RL 30, fol. 108r. For further bio-bibliographical information: ZIINO, Magister Antonius p. 317; DI BACCO/NÁDAS, Zacara p. 44, note 29.

47 As suggested to me by Patricia Stirnemann: "The d is not engaged with the A for the first scribe, and the ascender of the T for scribe two pierces the traverse. The triple-dot-and-tail used by scribe one extends horizontally, and glides downwards with scribe two". I also thank Emma Condello and Cristina Mantegna for examining this issue with me.

48 As the digitised collections available on-line increase over time, it may be possible to discover some further examples of Zacara's work.

must have trained in Rome in the context of the papal chancery⁴⁹: *Nello de Perusio*, who signed an extraordinary although badly worn pen-work *incipit* in an Antiphonary now in Barletta (Biblioteca Diocesana "Pio IX", Ms. D)⁵⁰, and *Antonius de Ysimbardis de Mediolano*, who signed and dated 1423 the Breviary he wrote and decorated, with pen-work in multicoloured inks, for cardinal Giordano Orsini (Vatican City, BAV, Arch. Cap. S. Pietro B.82)⁵¹.

Nello de Perusio, who produced very beautiful and large pen-work initials which are very difficult to distinguish from Stefano's work, can probably be identified with the *N de Perusio*, for whom the scribe *A(ntonius) de Righa* wrote one of the charters in which Stefano himself was involved as *taxator* (Göttweig, Stiftsarchiv, 1396 XII 8)⁵². It is likewise possible that *Antonio de Isimbardi*, who brought Stefano's experiments in pen-work decoration to a climax just a few decades after the end of the elder artist's career and a couple of years after Martin V's return to Rome, following the end of the Schism, could be identified with the *A de Mediolano* mentioned in the papal registers in 1418⁵³.

The persistence of the style initiated in the first years of the Schism well into the 1420s is confirmed by a Missal dated 1427 in the opening rubric (Vatican City, BAV, Arch. Cap. S. Pietro B.65, fol. 7r)⁵⁴, illuminated with an ornamental repertory which is still close the workshop of Boniface IX and decorated with pen-work following the tradition of Stefano dell'Aquila. Its patron's name is also stated in the opening rubric: the *scriptor* and *abbreviator Johannes Montanus*, provost of Viviers and working in the Roman chancery as a scribe in the years of Martin V's pontificate⁵⁵: (...) *fecit fieri*

49 I am very grateful to Otfried Krafft for pointing out the presence of both *N de Perusio* and *A de Mediolano* in the lists by Thomas Frenz, in the *Repertorium Officiorum Romane Curie* (RORC), available on-line: <http://www.phil.uni-passau.de/fakultaetsorganisation/fakultaetsangehoerige/histhw/forschung/orc/> (19/01/2018).

50 MANZARI, *Miniatura abruzzese* p. 75; on this manuscript also see: DI PINTO, Entry 35 p. 228.

51 MANZARI, *Tradizione tardogotica*. See: http://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Arch.Cap.S.Pietro.B.82 (19/01/2018).

52 No. 20 in the list in note 26: 1396, December 8th (Göttweig, Stiftsarchiv, 1396 XII 8*). A second charter was made by *A de Righa* in substitution of *N de Perusio*, with the involvement of Antonio Pancera (Slovenija: Ljubljana, Nadškofija Arhiv, 1397 VII 9*).

53 Frenz refers two items to *A de Mediolano: scriptor cancellarie* 1418 (Reg. Vat. 352) and 1420 (ian.: Munich, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, KU Berchtesgaden, 211 [*etiam in officio 1419*]). See the alphabetical lists in RORC as mentioned in note 49. See: FRENZ, *Reduzierung* p. 256–273, No. 112.

54 http://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Arch.Cap.S.Pietro.B.65 (19/01/2018).

55 *Johannes Montanus* is cited by VON HOFMANN, *Forschungen* 2 p. 78: "3) Joh. Montani Familiar des Vizekanzlers, ausserdem scr. Abbr. Custos canc., erh. 13.VI.1425 Indult "de no residendo", das ihm am 11.III.1431 v. Eu IV bestätigt wird RL 302 f. 65". Three charters survive from his activity: Toulouse, Archives départementales (henceforth AD) de la

*in urbe venerabilis vir dominus Johannes Montani prepositus ecclesie Vivariensis licterarum apostolicarum scriptor et abbreviator. Inceptum die primum madii anno a nativitate Domini millesimo quatringsesimo vicesimo septimo (...)*⁵⁶.

Thanks to the large quantity of material available on-line, it is now possible to follow the careers of many of the scribes working for the popes during the Schism: between 1406 and 1415, for example, in the chanceries of Innocent VII (1404–1406) and Gregory XII (1406–1415), we find *G(otfridus) Stoter*⁵⁷ (for example St. Florian, Stiftsarchiv, sub dato*: Rome, November 11th 1404) and *Jo(hannes) de Pempelvoirde*⁵⁸ (Vienna, HHStA, AUR, sub dato*: Rome, April 15th 1407; Brno, Moravský zemský archiv v Brně, Cisterciacki Brno, sub dato*: October 18th 1397).

Many of these scribes abandoned Gregory XII during the Council of Pisa, in 1409–1410, joining the itinerant curias of the popes elected at Pisa, Alexander V (1409–1410) and his successor John XXIII (1410–1419)⁵⁹. Among the examples of charters written for these two antipopes we can examine the work of *Jo(hannes) Tremosnicz*⁶⁰ (for example St. Florian, Stiftsarchiv: Pistoia, November 18th 1409 and Linz, Oberösterreichisches Landesarchiv, Urkunden Gleink: Bologna, June 26th 1410)⁶¹, but we know that both *Antonius Zacara de Teramo* and *G(otfridus) Stoter* also joined the chancery of John XXIII, in Bologna⁶².

Haute-Garonne, Collège de Foix, 3 D 1, pièce 2; Avignon, AD de Vaucluse, Boite 7, 1425, February 1st and 1425, February 13th. He was also the patron of BnF, lat. 1461, a collection of papers on the Great Schism.

- 56 Vatican City, BAV, Arch. Cap. S. Pietro B.65, fol. 7r. For a systematic exam of this manuscript: MANZARI, Illumination.
- 57 Active for Innocent VII, Gregory XII and John XXIII 1404/1411–1419 (Schedario Baumgarten 4 p. 557).
- 58 Active for Boniface IX, Innocent VII and Gregory XII 1390–1407 (Schedario Baumgarten 4 p. 585).
- 59 For example Zacara: NÁDAS, Notes p. 167–182.
- 60 Active for Innocent VII, Gregory XII and Alexander V 1403–1416 (Schedario Baumgarten 4 p. 589); also active for Boniface IX: 1396, July 11th (Prague, Archiv Univerzity Karlovy, sign. I/38*); 1396, July 11th (Prag, Archiv Univerzity Karlovy, sign. I/39*); 1397, April 4th (Prague, Národní archiv, Archiv kolegiální kapituly vyšehradské, 292*); 1398, May 29th (Munich, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Domkapitel Passau Urkunden, Nr. 937*); 1398, June 17th (Munich, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Domkapitel Passau Urkunden, Nr. 938*); 1399, May 2nd (Salzburg, Archiv der Erzdiözese, Urkunden, 2525*).
- 61 See 1409, November 18th (St. Florian, Stiftsarchiv, sub dato*); 1410, June 26th (Linz, Oberösterreichisches Landesarchiv, Gleink, sub dato*).
- 62 For Zacara, see NÁDAS, Notes p. 167–182: 178–179; for a charter written by *Gotfridus Stoter*: Vienna, HHStA, AUR, 1411 VII 7*.

Although the charters issued for these popes show a clear decrease in decoration, at least as far as the examined examples allow us to surmise, and although even those dating from the first years after Martin's election are fairly simply decorated, the bulls produced in the papal chancery after this pope's return to Rome in 1421 appear, on the contrary, to be increasingly ornamented. Among other examples, the charters written by *B(artholomeus) de Puteo* (Vienna, HHStA, AUR, sub dato*: Fiesole, July 27th 1422)⁶³ and *Jo(hannes) de Nursia* (Klagenfurt, Kärntner Landesarchiv, AUR, sub dato*: Rome, May 26th 1429)⁶⁴, who both show a definite interest in experimenting new forms of decoration, within the boundaries set by the chancery's traditions⁶⁵. Among the charters issued by Martin V, Otfried Krafft has identified some exceptional examples, in which the Colonna family's heraldic device is used as a decoration in the central bar of the capital M⁶⁶.

The increase in the amount and variety of the ornamentation of the first letter, of the whole of the pope's name and of the entire first line, is even more noticeable in the charters issued for Eugene IV, as we can see for instance in the remarkable examples written in Bologna and Siena by *A(n-dreas) Schonaw* (Salzburg, Archiv der Erzdiözese, Urkunden, 1575: Bologna, May 30th 1436)⁶⁷, *Jo(hannes) de Steccatis* (Vienna, Deutschordenszentralar-

63 Active as *abbreviator* and scribe 1423–1457 (Schedario Baumgarten 4 p. 526).

- 64 Active as scribe 1410–1435 (Schedario Baumgarten 4 p. 585). Further charters on-line: 1418, January 25th (Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Urk. Lehmann 274*); 1418, April 3rd (Stockholm, Riksarkivet, RA 0101*); 1429, May 26th (Klagenfurt, Landesarchiv, All-gemeine Urkundenreihe, sub dato*); 1433, May 26th (Marburg, Hessisches Staatsarchiv, Urk. 75, Nr. 855*); 1434, May 13th (Marburg, Hessisches Staatsarchiv, Urk. 56, Nr. 925).
- 65 B. de Puteo: 1418, May 15th (Nantes, AD de Loire-Atlantique, E 33-8*); 1422, July 27th (Vienna, HHStA, AUR, 1422 VII 27*); 1428, May 5th (Nantes, AD de Loire-Atlantique, E 39-2*); 1428, May 15th (Nantes, AD de Loire-Atlantique, E 38-8*).
- 66 The earliest is a bull with the Colonna-column written by *L. Therunda*: 1417, November 21st (Nantes, AD de Loire-Atlantique, E 44-1*); the next is written by *Johannes de Nursia* on April 3rd 1418 (Stockholm, Riksarkivet, RA 0101*), when Martin V was still in Germany: for this and the others I refer to Otfried Krafft's text in these proceedings and to his important article on illustrated papal charters: KRAFFT, Illustrationen p. 55–60. Further "column-charters" online: 1424, January 4th (Linz, Oberösterreichisches Landesarchiv, Urkunden Gleink, sub dato*); 1424, March 23rd (Nantes, AD de Loire-Atlantique, E 160-6*); 1425, January 26th (Nantes, AD de Loire-Atlantique, E 37-8*); 1425, March 26th (Nuremberg, Staatsarchiv, Päpstliche und Fürstliche Privilegien [Rep. 1b], Urk.-Nr. 190*); 1425, March 26th (Nuremberg, Staatsarchiv, Reichsstadt Nürnberg, Kirchen in Nürnberg [Rep. 8], Urk.-Nr. 31*); written by a variety of scribes.
- 67 Active as scribe 1431–1436 (Schedario Baumgarten 4 p. 512).

chiv, Urkunden 3377: Bologna, October 2nd 1436)⁶⁸ and *G(regorius) de Puteo*⁶⁹ (Worms, Stadtarchiv, Abt. 1 A II II – 064: Siena, June 12th 1443)⁷⁰.

The names of the scribes working in the papal chancery all through the Schism, show the coexistence of a work-force coming from Central Italy, and in lesser numbers the North and South of Italy, together with many Flemish and central European scribes. This international presence was certainly decisive in steering the development of a new and distinctive style in Rome at the beginning of the Schism, but towards the end of the period considered in this paper the opposite seems to be true, with the traditions of the Roman chancery deeply influencing scribes and pen-flourishers from the North.

This is especially noticeable in the charters written for the antipope elected by the Council at Basel, Felix V (1439–1449): in order to assert his legitimacy, Amedeus of Savoy employed scribes who were capable of reproducing a papal charter, according to the rules elaborated by the Roman chancery, specifically underscoring the importance of the document with the exquisite pen-work decoration of the opening protocol, as in an example by *G(uillelmus) de Layens*⁷¹ (Vienna, Deutschordenszentralarchiv, Urk. 3443*: Basel, August 8th 1440).

This is certainly also true of the most important scribe, pen-flourisher and illuminator active for the Council of Basel, Barthélémy Poignare⁷². Poignare started his career in Rome during the pontificate of Martin V (1417–1431), as an infant singer in the papal chapel, when he arrived from Cambrai in 1425, together with the musician and composer Nicolas Grenon (1375–1456)⁷³. In the following years, besides singing in the Pope's Chapel as an ordinary singer (from December 1427), and working as a composer, Poignare served as a *scriptor* in the chancery, as other musicians had done before him, foremost among them Antonio Zacara da Teramo⁷⁴.

The better-known part of Poignare's career is that following his departure from Rome, when he worked as a *scriptor* for the Council of Basel from 1435

68 Active as scribe 1434–1439 (Schedario Baumgarten 4 p. 588).

69 Active as *abbreviator* and scribe 1448–1457 (Schedario Baumgarten 4 p. 555).

70 *A(ndreas) Schonaw*: 1436, May 30th (Salzburg, Archiv der Erzdiözese, Urkunden, 1575*); *Jo(hannes) de Steccatis*: 1436, October 2nd (Vienna, Deutschordenszentralarchiv, Urk. 3377*); *G(regorius) de Puteo*: 1443, June 12th (Worms, Stadtarchiv, sub dato*).

71 Also active for the Council of Basel: LAZARUS, Basler Konzil p. 324; DEPHOFF, Kanzleiwesen p. 86; FRENZ, Urkunden p. 16.

72 HABERL, Bausteine p. 58–60, 513; LAZARUS, Basler Konzil p. 324; FRENZ, Urkunden p. 15. For a recent overview of Poignare's career as scribe, pen-flourisher and illuminator: AVRIL, Auteur p. 16 f. (with earlier bibliography).

73 HABERL, Bausteine p. 58–60; AVRIL, Auteur p. 17.

74 HABERL, Bausteine p. 58–60.

to 1438 (when he resigned in favour of *Johannes Leodegarii*) and later returned to Arras, where he became a canon of the cathedral in 1437⁷⁵. The copies of the Ratification of the Treaty of Arras (Paris, BnF, lat. 1501, fol. 70r; Dijon, AD de la Côte-d'Or, B. 11616), written by Poignare in Basel in 1435, in the form of quires, show an extravagant elaboration of the first letter, the same kind of letters for the word *Sacrosancta* and a whole page of *litterae elongatae*, re-elaborating elements from his Roman experience and importing them in the charters produced for the Council⁷⁶.

Nonetheless, the charter in which Poignare displays the perfect synthesis between the rules of the papal chancery and the elegance of Flemish calligraphy is the agreement between the bishop, the chapter and the city of Cambrai, written in 1446 (Lille, AD du Nord, Musée 1 4* - pl. 15). As François Avril has underlined, its outstanding opening protocol is treated like the beginning of a papal bull, with the extraordinary pen-work decoration of the letters, following the style first elaborated in the Roman chancery during the Schism, enriched and transformed by the figurative elements filling the spaces within them, like the marvelous angel and the Virgin Mary holding coats-of-arms in the first two. Avril has suggested that Poignare himself must have been the author of both the decoration and the drawings within the letters, albeit carried out using different pens⁷⁷. Barthélémy Poignare is therefore, with *Stephanus de Aquila*, the most significant of the pen-flourishers active for the papal chancery (although at the moment no examples from that area of his production are known), because, just like Stefano, his work has been traced in the context of book production, as shown by the manuscript of the *Champion de dames*, signed by him in 1451 (Paris, BnF, fr. 12476). In this he worked both as scribe and pen-flourisher and Avril has furthermore suggested that he may also be recognized as the author of the illuminations⁷⁸. Poignare is thus another instance of a career as a scribe, pen-flourisher and illuminator, just like *Stephanus*, and also as musician, singer and composer, like Zacara da Teramo.

None of Poignare's work produced in Rome was known until now⁷⁹, however I think it is possible to suggest that an unusual document, though

75 Ibid.

76 Two copies are for the Duke of Burgundy (Dijon, AD de la Côte-d'Or, B 11616) and the abbot of Cluny (Paris, BnF, lat. 1501): see AVRIL, Auteur p. 17–20.

77 AVRIL, Auteur p. 21–23.

78 Ibid. p. 21–23.

79 The other known documents by Poignare are:

1. 1434, December (Munich, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, KU Fürstenfeld, 940, <http://>

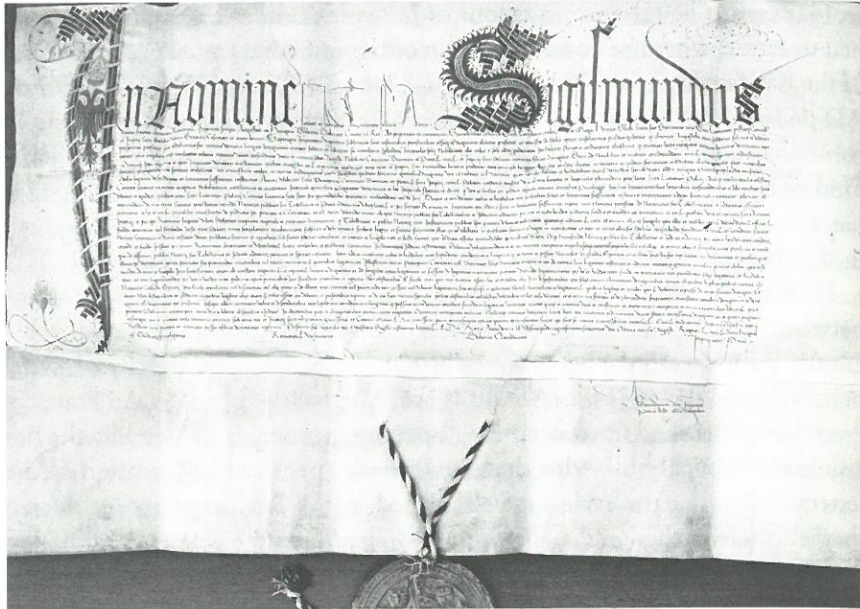


Fig. 8: Zàmrsk, SOA, RA Šlikù, Inv. No. 208, Sign. IV.5, Kart. 22; August 8th 1433.

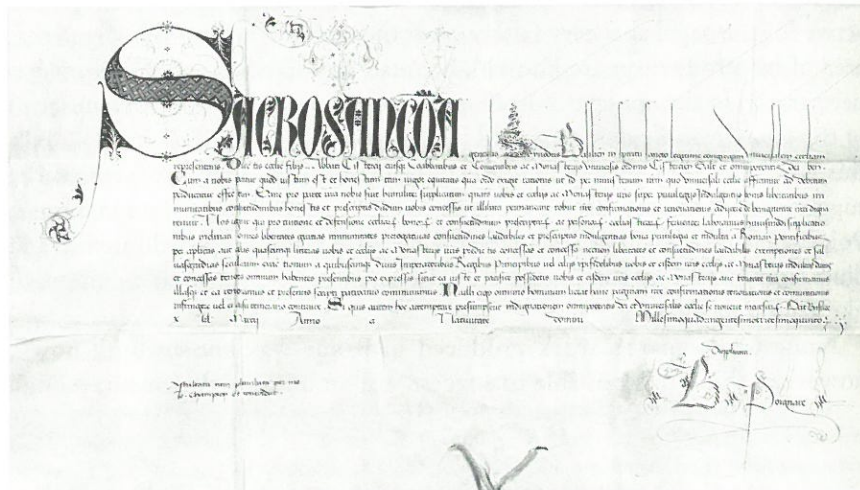


Fig. 9: Heiligenkreuz, Stiftsarchiv, 20 II 1435; February 20th 1435.

www.phil.uni-passau.de/fileadmin/dokumente/lehrstuehle/frenz/RORC/Basel.pdf
[19/01/2018].



Fig. 10: Paris, BnF, lat. 1501, fol. 70r, Ratification of the Treaty of Arras; Basel, November 5th 1435, detail.

not part of his production for the papal chancery, may have been written by him in Rome, with strong inflections of his activity as *grossator* for the chancery. This charter, of a highly uncommon type, might be an example of his activity in the production of documents just before he left Rome (fig. 8): it is the Privilege granting the title of Count Palatine to the Schlick brothers, on August 8th 1433 (Zàmrsk, SOA, RA Šlikù, Inv. No. 208, Sign. IV.5, Kart.

2. 1435, February 20th (Heiligenkreuz, Stiftsarchiv, sub dato*): Bull for the Council of Basel (AVRIL, Auteur p. 20, fig. 18).
3. 1435, November 5th (Paris, BnF, lat. 1501, fols. 71r–87v*): Basel, Ratification of the Treaty of Arras, for the abbot of Cluny Eudes de la Perrière (AVRIL, Auteur p. 18, fig. 16).
4. 1435, November 5th (Dijon, AD de la Côte-d'or, fonds de la chambre des comptes, B 11616, fol. 20*): Basel, Ratification of the Treaty of Arras, for the duke of Burgundy (AVRIL, Auteur p. 18, fig. 17).
5. 1436, November 17th (Torino, Archivio di Stato, Corte, Materie ecclesiastiche, categoria 45, mazzo 1, fasc. 16): Transcription endorsed by the Council of Basel of the laissez-passer to Sigismund dated 7th July 1431 (AVRIL, Auteur p. 21, fig. 22).
6. 1436, December 11th (Marburg, Hessisches Staatsarchiv, Bestand Urk. 77, Nr. 374*, by courtesy of Martin Roland).
7. 1437, January 26th (Wetzlar, Pfarrarchiv [Ausf. Perg. Pfarr. A 480]): Bull of the Council of Basel for the Marienstift at Wetzlar (AVRIL, Auteur p. 25, note 50).
8. 1437, March 1st (Milan, Archivio di Stato, Bolle e Brevi); Schedario Baumgarten 4 No. 7402.
9. 1446, June 9th (Lille, AD du Nord, Musée I 4*): Cambrai (AVRIL, Auteur p. 14, fig. 13). The Bulls of the Council of Basel for the Charterhouse in Cologne, dated 1439, April 10th (Cologne, Historisches Archiv, Kart. U 3/452*) and 1441, October 14th* (by courtesy of Martin Roland), although by a different scribe, are very close to his models.

22*)⁸⁰. This charter is connected to Kaspar Schlick (1400–1449), who was considered the instigator of Sigismund's imperial coronation, as a result of his diplomatic activity in Italy. After this, Schlick was immediately rewarded with the title of count palatine, in compensation for his services, as documented by this and other charters issued in Rome by Sigismund in the summer of that very year⁸¹. The most richly decorated of these, the above mentioned charter dated August 8th 1433 (fig. 8), had been assigned to the chancery scribe *Johannes de Nursia*, although it had been pointed out that the unusual decoration, with cadelled letters, did not correspond to the Italian handwriting in the style of the Roman chancery⁸². I think that the comparison with two of Barthélémy's works allows to advance the hypothesis that he was both the scribe of the text and the decorator of the opening lines of this beautiful charter. The handwriting is the same as in his signed bull from February 20th 1435 (Heiligenkreuz, Stiftsarchiv, 20 II 1435), written for the Council of Basel in favour of the Austrian abbey (fig. 9); furthermore the opening protocol of this charter, and even more conspicuously the opening of the bull for the ratification of the Treaty of Arras (Paris, BnF, lat. 1501, fol. 70r; Dijon, AD de la Côte-d'Or, B. 11616, fol. 1r), display cadelled letters, and thin threadlike curves terminating with fan-like decorations which are evidently exactly the same (fig. 10). This document therefore shows that Barthélémy's unusual fusion of Northern and Roman styles, highlighted by Avril for his later production, was already present in the work he carried out in Rome – at least if we accept this attribution – in August 1433, before his departure from the papal city in the following month of September.

A further echo of Poignare's activity in Rome might be found in a *Lectio* for the Canonical Office in the Basilica of St. Peter's, copied in Rome for the Canons (Vatican City, BAV, Arch. Cap. S. Pietro A.8, fol. 1r). In this liturgical book, probably to be dated in the second half of the 15th century, the *incipit* is marked by a beautiful *fleuronnée* letter, in pen-work and coloured inks, whose leaves and scrolls are reminiscent of Poignare's Cambrai charter. This may be considered the work of a pen-flourisher either trained by him or simply reproducing Franco-Flemish models similar to those he may have introduced⁸³.

As already known, and underscored in Otfried Krafft's research, papal bulls and charters were not illuminated in coloured tempera, but decorated in

80 ELBEL/ZAJIC, *Zwei Körper* II p. 145–151, fig. 14; III p. 122–126.

81 Ibid.

82 Ibid. Also: ROLAND/ZAJIC, *Chartes médiévales* p. 415. I would like to thank Martin Roland and Andreas Zajic for pointing out this charter to me.

83 This manuscript has not previously been considered for its decoration. I am thankful to François Avril and Emma Condello for their help in the dating of this manuscript.

elaborate pen-work in dark ink, until the second half of the 15th century⁸⁴. An exception, already analyzed by Krafft, are the two bulls issued in Florence by Eugene IV for the Union between the Greek and the Latin Churches and the Coptic and Latin Churches (pl. 6). In the first (dated 1439), the Latin text, flanked by the Greek version, was written by *A(nselmus) de Magio* and it was introduced by an illuminated opening protocol (Paris, BnF, gr. 430*, bull for the Union between the Greek and the Latin Churches, Florence, 1439); in the second (from 1442), written in the form of a quire by Battista Pallavicino, the lay-out of the opening protocol almost fills the page, but an illuminated border decorates the left margin (Dijon, AD de la Côte-d'or, B 11617*, bull for the union between the Armenian and the Latin Churches, Florence, 1442). Both were made for the Duke of Burgundy Philip the Good, whose coat-of-arms appears alongside the pope's in the capital E of *Eugenius*⁸⁵. It is possible to confirm the attribution of the illuminations in both charters – as first suggested by François Avril⁸⁶ – to the Florentine illuminator Bartolomeo Varnucci⁸⁷, whose career was certainly fueled by patronage connected to the Council of Florence⁸⁸. The typically Florentine look of the floral borders and of the putti holding heraldic devices and a vase find comparisons in Bartolomeo's decorative repertory and in the vacuous expressions of the chubby putti he frequently employed, as in a manuscript already considered here (pl. 7B), the Calderini Pontifical (for example fol. 46r, 47v), which I believe must have been completed in Florence in the years of the Council⁸⁹. Although various elements connect Varnucci to patrons linked to the Council⁹⁰, he was not at all related to the papal chancery, and while the scribes we have examined, even those whose parallel activity as illuminators is known, never avoided the strict rules of the chancery, in this case space was left for illuminated decorations to be completed by a professional and local artist, not working within the chancery itself.

84 KRAFFT, *Illustrationen* p. 51 f.; ID., *Unionsbullen* p. 111 f.

85 Ibid. I shall not expand on these important documents, excellently studied by Krafft.

86 Cited by Yolanta Załuska, in the catalogue of the manuscripts in Dijon: ZAŁUSKA, *Manuscripts* p. 307. Załuska mentioned both Bartolomeo Sanguigni and Bartolomeo Varnucci, thanking Monsieur Avril for his comparison of the Dijon Charter with the one in Paris.

87 PASUT, *Varnucci* p. 979–982.

88 See for example his work in Paris, BnF, lat. 4237: MANZARI, *Patronage*.

89 MANZARI, *Calderini Pontifical*. Also see the frontispiece of Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. Bodl. 339, fol. 3r.

90 As for example Eugene IV and Ambrogio Traversari: PASUT, *Varnucci* p. 981; Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Edili 104, fol. 7r and the right hand border of Paris, BnF, lat. 1427, fol. 1r: MANZARI, *Patronage*.

A Florentine professional illuminator was again responsible for the illumination of another bull issued by Eugene IV (pl. 7A): in this case however it is a copy of the pope's charter, issued in Rome in 1446, reinstating the Confraternity of the Hospital of Santo Spirito *in Saxia*. This was written in quire format and bound at the beginning of the manuscript with the signatures of the members of the Roman Confraternity, the *Liber Fraternitatis Sancti Spiritus Saxiae* (Rome, Biblioteca Lancisiana, Ms. 328)⁹¹, in which a copy of a second bull concerning the Confraternity, issued by Sixtus IV in 1478, was later added⁹². The artist decorating the opening letter of Eugene's name was certainly Florentine, but although the foliage and golden-dot decoration depend on Varnucci's repertory, the putti are certainly by a lesser artist. He was undoubtedly called to Rome by the pope, who had long resided in Florence and who was also the *Praeceptor* of the Confraternity of Santo Spirito *in Saxia* and therefore the patron of the *Liber* itself⁹³.

As in the bulls for the Union of the Churches issued in Florence, in those copied in the *Liber fraternitatis* the content of the illuminated initial is the pope's coat of arms and this, together with the use of tempera, is a decisive change in the pattern of the charters elaborated in the curia.

Although the first two were presumably illuminated on behalf of the duke of Burgundy⁹⁴ and the other two are copies of the original bulls⁹⁵, this change can also be perceived in the illuminated *supplicae* to the pope which started to flourish in these very years⁹⁶. Everything therefore seems to point to the pontificate of Eugene IV as a turning point in the production of papal charters, with tempera illuminations in the place of pen and ink decoration and the involvement of artists who were not part of the chancery. This is however a different story from the Late Gothic production, spanning from the last two decades of the 14th to the first four of the 15th centuries, which I have tried to outline in this essay.

91 RICCA/MANZARI, *Medicina illuminata* p. 32 f.

92 This was illuminated by a Lombard artist: *Ibid.* p. 33 f.

93 *Ibid.*

94 See KRAFFT, *Illustrationen* p. 54.

95 RICCA/MANZARI, *Medicina illuminata* p. 32 f.

96 On the *Supplicae*: ERBEN, *Bitschriften*; FABIAN, *Prunkbitschriften*; SANTIFALLER, *Urkunden*; RADOCSAY, *Urkunden*.

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Illuminierte Ablassurkunden im spätmittelalterlichen Westfalen

von
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Abstract

This paper examines illuminated indulgences in late-medieval Westphalia. It provides a brief outline of the chronological, spatial and institutional distribution of illuminated indulgences in the bishoprics of Münster, Paderborn, Minden and in the Westphalian part of the archdiocese of Cologne, before focusing on indulgences in the State Archive of Münster. This latter set is used as a case study to exemplify the quantitative relation between illuminated indulgences and non-illuminated indulgences, as well as the ratio of individual remissions to collective ones. Indulgences, especially collective indulgences, become increasingly popular in this area from the end of the 13th century onwards: in 1300, every second remission issued for recipients in Westphalia was a collective one. The spread of illuminated indulgences from Avignon to Westphalian recipients is verifiable from 1328 onwards. After 1347, however, the import nearly broke off, and the practice of illumination by recipients didn't take place in Westphalia. After a 100-year-period of silence, new illuminated indulgences are identifiable for the years between 1477 and 1503. Among the recipients are many rich women's monasteries, especially Cistercians, as reflected in the choice of motifs for illumination.

Der Ablass zählt ohne Frage zu den bedeutendsten Phänomenen der spätmittelalterlichen Frömmigkeit. Immer mehr Bereiche des religiösen und nicht selten auch des „politischen“ Lebens wurden seit dem 13. Jahrhundert vom beeindruckenden Aufschwung der Ablasspraxis erfasst: die Entdeckung, Eroberung und Christianisierung neuer Länder, die Kreuzzüge gegen Muslime, Heiden und innere Feinde der Kirche; die Bekämpfung der Häresie durch päpstliche Inquisitoren; die Kanonisation neuer Heiliger und die Propagierung ihres Kults; die Krönung von Päpsten und Königen sowie das Gebet für ihr Seelenheil; der Bau neuer Kirchen, Brücken und Spitäler und vor allem