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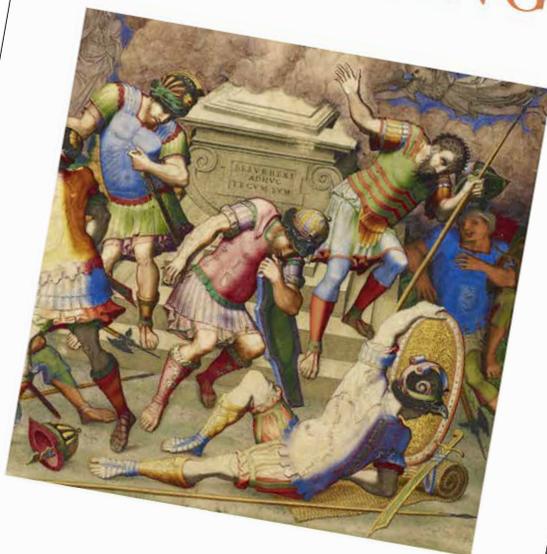
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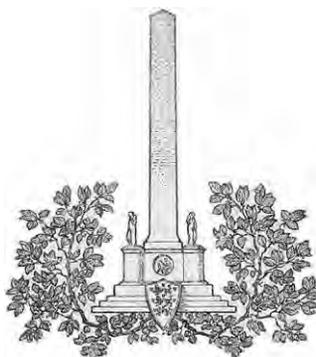
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With summaries

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ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPT CUTTINGS AT THE ROYAL LIBRARY

Leaves from the Papal Court in Rome and the Este Court in Ferrara

BY

ELEONORA MATTIA

The Royal Library like other important libraries contains a collection of illuminated single leaves and cuttings.¹ It consists of single leaves detached from their manuscripts and still containing part of the text, of miniatures as well as historiated initials that have been cut out and are missing the text to which they were originally connected. Their provenance varies, but with few exceptions most of them have entered the library in fairly recent times, in the 1950s and 1960s. During these years an opportune purchasing policy paved the way for a collection which is not very large, but nevertheless includes some interesting and fine examples from different periods and schools from the Medieval and Renaissance periods.²

It seems that Kåre Olsen thanks to a specific interest in illuminated manuscripts played an important part in these acquisitions. They were made during the period when he served first as librarian and later as director of the Royal Library's Manuscript Department.

During these years several remarkable international exhibitions of illuminated manuscripts were organized. In 1952 the exhibition "Gyldne Bøger" was held in Copenhagen and Stockholm as a result of a close collaboration between the national libraries and museums of Denmark

¹ I am grateful to the Royal Library, Copenhagen and in particular John T. Lauridsen for housing me during my research and for the help provided by the Manuscript Department. I would also like to thank the Novo Nordisk Foundation and the Beckett Foundation for financial support.

² The Royal Library, the Manuscript Department, *Illuminerede fragmenter*, kps. 1: *Illuminerede fragmenter af forskellig proveniens*; kps. 2: *Illuminerede fragmenter fra Kaiser Samling*; kps. 3: *Illuminerede fragmenter af forskellig proveniens*. The collection consists of 57 illuminated pieces, all purchased in the 20th century. In 1908, three of these "fragments" were exhibited in the Library's permanent exhibition, cfr. Axel Anthon Bjørnbo: *Katalog over Det Kongelige Biblioteks Permanente Udstilling*, 1908, cat. nos. 10, 39 and 715, p.1, 5 and 7.

and Sweden.³ On this occasion Kåre Olsen collaborated with Carl Nordenfalk, one of the great specialists in the field. The exhibition marked a milestone in the recognition and knowledge of illuminated manuscripts and cuttings in Scandinavia.

Another testimony to the interest in Denmark for illumination was a little-known exhibition at the Museum of Decorative Arts (today “Designmuseum Danmark”) in 1950. It consisted of the impressive number of 229 Italian illuminated cuttings from the important private Gerli collection. The exhibition was accompanied by a small but not very detailed catalogue with no illustrations.⁴

Among Danish private collectors there was also an interest in this field as testified by the *Librannica* catalogues from Branners Bibliofile Antikvariat in Copenhagen. This shop specialized in old books, incunables and manuscripts as well as drawings and prints, but it also sold illuminated single leaves and cuttings, and from the late 1940s small exhibitions of miniatures were held in the shop for collectors and customers.⁵ The shop was well connected to the international market thanks to the store manager Hans Götz, who later became the owner. He had previously worked in Hamburg, which was an important centre for the trade in antiquities.⁶

According to the accession register of the Royal Library, many of its cuttings originate from Branners Bibliofile Antikvariat. However, during those years the Royal Library also acquired important single miniatures directly from the London market.

Finally, a selection of important illuminated leaves and cuttings was acquired in 1958 from a private Danish collector, James J. Kaiser. The famous leaf from the so-called “Tite Live de Sorbonne” had already

³ The exhibition was shown at the National Museum in Copenhagen (April-May 1952), and at the National Museum in Stockholm (May-September 1952). Kåre Olsen and Carl Nordenfalk (eds.): *Gyldne Bøger, Illuminerede Middelalderlige Håndskrifter i Danmark og Sverige*, 1952.

⁴ *Italienske Miniaturer fra XI til det XV Aarhundrede, Samlingen tilhører Grev Paolo Gerli di Villagaeta*, Kunstindustrimuseet, 3.-14. Januar 1951; for the collection, see Gaudenz Freuler and Christopher de Hamel: *Italian miniatures from the Twelfth to the Sixteenth Centuries*, Milan 2013. See also Massimo Medica and Federica Toniolo (eds.): *Le miniature della Fondazione Cini*, Milan 2016, p. 49.

⁵ “... Det har vist sig, at vi her i Skandinavien har askillige interesserede Privatsamlere — og enkelte af disse har været saa elskværdige, at imødekomme vort Ønske, om at laane os deres Skatte til en lille Udstilling, der vil blive aabnet i vort Grafiklokale, Torsdag d.15. December.” *Librannica*, 2, 1949, p. VI.

⁶ Poul Holst: *Antikvarboghandel i Danmark 1640–1980*, 1980, p. 37 and 119.

appeared in the exhibition curated by Nordenfalk and Olsen where it was regarded as belonging to the followers of Jean Fouquet. This leaf was certainly considered to be the most important piece of the collection.⁷ However, the group from Kaiser's collection also contains other miniatures that are significant both because of their quality and their prestigious provenances.

The illuminated cuttings at the Royal Library seem to have received scarce scholarly attention since their acquisition though some of them have sister leaves in the great public collections all over the world. Among them are 23 pieces predominantly from liturgical manuscripts of monasteries and churches in Northern and Central Italy from the 13th to the 16th century. Two leaves from a Breviary and a full page miniature from a Missal each represent a significant discovery and they will be the main focus of this paper.

In recent years the issue of collecting single illuminated leaves and cuttings has been extensively treated as a result of the major exhibitions and catalogues of miniature collections that have been acquired by major museums.⁸ The attitude behind this type of collecting differs from that of the bibliophiles, such as the Danish count Otto Thott (1703–1785), to whom we owe the great European library collections of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, dictated by an encyclopaedic idea of knowledge, or historical interest.⁹ For these bibliophiles, the illuminations in a manuscript may well have contributed to increase its preciousness and value, but they were never considered as separated from the text. The appreciation of illuminated cuttings in their own right is also very different from the older more common practice of reusing fragments from medieval, mostly liturgical manuscripts, sometimes also with illuminations. When no longer in use, they were broken up and the fragments reused in different ways, for bindings or as covers for accounts and other archival material. This procedure existed already

⁷ The Royal Library, Manuscript Department, *Illuminerede fragmenter*, kps.1, no. 5. Olsen and Nordenfalk 1952, p. 87; Kaiser's collection is mentioned in Erik Petersen: Liviana. *Fund og Forskning*, 44, 2005, p. 35–40, note 85–86.

⁸ Roger S. Wieck: *Folia fugitiva: The Pursuit of the Illuminated Manuscript Leaf*. *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, 54, 1996, p. 233–254; Sandra Hindman, Mirella Levi D'Ancona, Pia Palladino and Maria F. Saffiotti: *The Robert Lehman Collection*, vol. 4, Princeton 1998. Giordana Mariani Canova: *Miniature dell'Italia settentrionale nella fondazione Cini*, Venice 1978, p. XV–XXIII.

⁹ Erik Petersen, *Den middelalderlige bogkultur i Danmark*: Erik Petersen (ed.): *Levende ord og lysende billeder. Den middelalderlige bogkultur i Danmark. Essays*. 1999, p. 17–22.

in the 14th century, but it increased particularly after the Reformation in countries such as Denmark when Catholic books were considered of no use.¹⁰ Later on, this type of fragments also entered public collections like the Royal Library.¹¹

The specific interest in collecting cuttings can be traced back to the end of the eighteenth century although there is evidence further back in time that miniatures were gathered in albums, or that beautiful illuminated leaves were pasted into other volumes.¹² This appears to reflect historical circumstances as well as a conscious choice on the part of collectors after the French Revolution and subsequent secularization. Italy was invaded in 1796 by Napoleon's troops and many libraries and religious institutions were plundered or had their possessions confiscated. Thousands of manuscripts were stolen and many ended up on the European art market and particularly the British. This boosted enormously the trade in single leaves and illuminated cuttings due to the ease with which the manuscripts were dismembered. In England a custom's duty tax on weight further encouraged the practice of dismembering and cutting pieces out of the heavy Italian liturgical books.¹³

The first miniature, that is the object of this study, is a testimony to this crucial moment in the history of collecting, when such single leaves and cuttings were sold on the British market and regarded as small paintings suitable for framing. Today, the display of the Wildenstein Collection of cuttings at the Marmottan Museum in Paris gives an idea of this taste.¹⁴

¹⁰ Christian Gorm Tortzen: *Middelalderlige Håndskriftfragmenter i Danmark*. Erik Petersen (ed.): *Levende ord og lysende billeder. Den middelalderlige bogkultur i Danmark. Essays*, 1999, p. 163–172; Rowan Watson: *Educators, Collectors, Fragments and the "Illuminations" Collection at the Victoria and Albert Museum in the Nineteenth Century*. Linda L. Brownrigg and Margaret M. Smith (eds.): *Interpreting and Collecting Fragments of Medieval Books*, London 2000, p. 21–46.

¹¹ Merethe Geert Andersen and Jørgen Raasted: *Inventar over det Kongelige Biblioteks Fragmentsamling*, 1983; Erik Petersen: *Hagiografica. Brudstykker af en kanoniseret kulturarv*. John T. Lauridsen and Olaf Olsen (eds.): *Umistelige. Festskrift til Erland Kolding Nielsen*, 2007, p. 37–53.

¹² Sandra Hindman and Nina Rowe (eds.): *Manuscript Illumination in the Modern Age: Recovery and Reconstruction*, Evanston (Ill.) 2001. In Italy, already from 1726 there is evidence of the circulation of large liturgical leaves on the Roman market, see Ada Labriola: *Alle origini della storia della miniatura*. Angelo Tartuferi and Gianluca Tormen (eds.): *La Fortuna dei Primitivi, Tesori d'arte nelle collezioni Italiane fra Settecento e Ottocento*, Florence 2014, p. 97–117.

¹³ Alan N. L. Munby: *Connoisseurs and medieval miniatures 1750–1850*, Oxford 1972.

¹⁴ These cuttings were acquired during the 19th and 20th century and donated to the museum in 1981.

The second example that we have chosen to present in this article, shows that the controversial practice of dismembering manuscripts and selling them as loose leaves has continued over the years up to recent times.¹⁵

Already in the 1830s, G. F. Waagen (1794–1868), Director of the Royal Gallery in Berlin, admired such cuttings in British collections and noted: “By being thus detached from the documents to which they originally belonged, they are unfortunately deprived of the principal means of ascertaining the place and the time of their origin.”¹⁶ This still reflects the fundamental challenges we face today in the study of illuminated cuttings.

A “Resurrection” from the Sistine Chapel

A single illuminated leaf of considerable importance is preserved in the Royal Library. It is a large, full-page miniature with a “Resurrection” signed by Apollonio de’ Bonfratelli, who from 1556 was the official illuminator of the Sistine Chapel and Sacristy in the Vatican (fig. 1).

The miniature comes from the British art market. According to the library accession register it was bought in 1959 from the antiquarian and bibliophile Alan G. Thomas. He must have acquired it earlier the same year, since it appears at Sotheby’s in June 1959 together with another cutting also today in the Royal Library.¹⁷

Beyond the context of the Royal Library the location of this remarkable “Resurrection” was evidently unknown, and it is not mentioned in

¹⁵ Christopher de Hamel: *Selling Manuscript Fragments in the 1960s*. Linda L. Brownrigg and Margaret M. Smith (eds.): *Interpreting and Collecting Fragments of Medieval Books*, London 2000, p. 47–53.

¹⁶ Gustav Friedrich Waagen: *Works of Art and Artist in England*, London 1838, vol. 2, p. 128–129.

¹⁷ The Royal Library, Illuminerede fragmenter, kps. 3. acc. 1959/108. The miniature is painted on thick parchment and measures 345 × 245 mm. The verso has no text, but it is prepared for writing with 24 lines in dry track. The leaf is mounted in a passe-partout on which is noted the amount of 450 pounds. In the library accession register, the leaf is described as: “af et blad illumineret fragmenthånd ... Kristi opstandelse signeret A P. F af Apollonio de Bonfratelli. Købt af Alan G. Thomas i 1959.” The leaf was previously sold at Sotheby’s, London, 15 June 1959, lot 122. A second miniature from the same auction lot 123, also arrived at the Royal Library through Allan. G. Thomas: kps. 3, acc. 1959/123 is a fragmentary frame with grotesques attributed to Vincent Raymond (active in Rome c.1535–1557), see T. J. Brown: *Some Manuscript Fragments Illuminated for Pope Gregory XIII*. *British Museum Quarterly*, 23, 1960–1961, p. 2–5 note 9.

later, specialized studies.¹⁸ Recently, a black and white photo from the 1959 auction catalogue appeared in an important publication on the manuscripts of the Sistine Sacristy without any reference to its present location.¹⁹ We can thus consider the miniature a rediscovery.

As we shall see, the history of this leaf is a testimony to the earlier mentioned practice of the movement and sale of miniatures cut out of the parents' manuscripts. The large size of the miniature and the rich ornamentation of its borders indicate that it belonged to an important liturgical book.

The miniature depicts an impressive and animated "Resurrection" with Christ hovering in a whirling flight above the stunned soldiers that are frightened by the miraculous event. The composition is of considerable scenic complexity with many figures. It rotates around the central part, the grave shaped as an antique sarcophagus which bears the inscription: "*Resurrexi adhuc tecum sum*" (I am risen and behold I am with you) from the Introit for Easter Mass.

The lid is slightly ajar and the sarcophagus is seen from the side situated above a small flight of steps from which the fleeing soldiers stagger down. The slender, young figure of Christ appears above the grave, wrapped in a drapery that swells like a sail mingling with the banner of victory held upright in his left hand, while his right arm is stretched out in a gesture of blessing. The whirling movement of the scene is increased by the rendering of the clouds. They seem to emanate like smoke from the tomb to accompany the levitation of Christ surrounded by angelic crowds. The procession of the holy women advancing from one side acts as a connection between the divine sphere and the lower zone full of figures and action. The abbreviation "AP. F." — placed under the spear next to the mat on which a soldier is stretched — stands for "Apollonius Fecit," and is normally used by Apollonio de' Bonfratelli, who often signs his works.

The elaborated border is embellished with images and inscriptions that provide visual and textual comments to the main theme of the

¹⁸ Jonathan J. G. Alexander: *The Painted Page: Italian Renaissance Book Illumination, 1450–1550*. New York 1995, p. 252–254; Not mentioned in the latest monographic study by Fausta Gualdi: *La cultura artistica dei miniatori pontifici del Cinquecento*. Vincent Raymond e Apollonio de' Bonfratelli. *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae*, 2015, p.119–209.

¹⁹ Emilia Anna Talamo: *Codici della Sacrestia Sistina*. Elena De Laurentiis and Emilia Anna Talamo: *Codici della Cappella Sistina, manoscritti miniati in collezioni spagnole*, Rome 2010, p. 9, fig. 20.

Resurrection. Among cartouches and delicately decorated panels with flowers, fruits and vegetables, are medallions and octagons in colourful frames. They contain, in gold monochrome, four Sibyls and four Prophets, each one seated between two children holding the Scriptures. The figures represent the prophesy of the birth of Christ, and they alternate with tablets containing liturgical texts.

On the diamond-shaped tablets included in the top and bottom parts of the frame are inscribed verses from the *Te Deum*: “TE PER ORBEM TERRARUM SANCTA CONFITETUR ECCLESIA — PATREM IMMENSÆ MAIESTATIS” and “VENERENDUM TUUM VERUM ET UNICUM FILIUM — SANCTUM QUOQUE PARACLETUM SPIRITUM” (The holy Church throughout all the world doth acknowledge Thee; The Father of an infinite Majesty; Thine honourable, true, and only Son; Also the Holy Ghost the Comforter).

On the left side of the frame, in the golden rectangular tablets are inscribed the verses of Psalm 123:6 and 7: “BENEDICTUS DOMINUS QUI NON DEDIT NOS IN CAPTIONEM DENTIBUS EORUM,” continuing on the right side of the border, on the corresponding tablet: “ANIMA NOSTRA SICUT PASSER ERAPTA EST DE LAQUEO VENANTIUM” (Blessed be the Lord, who hath not given us to be a prey to their teeth. Our soul hath been delivered as a sparrow out of the snare of the fowlers).

Below, Psalm 24:7 is also divided between the two borders. On the left: “DELICTA IUVENTUTIS MEAE ET IGNORANTIAS MEAS NE MEMINERIS,” and on the right: “SECUNDUM MISERICORDIAM TUAM MEMENTO MEI TU PROPTER BONITATEM TUAM DOMINE” (The sins of my youth and my ignorances do not remember. According to thy mercy remember thou me: for thy goodness’ sake, O Lord) mixed with invocations with the Latin and Hebrew names of the Lord, on more small tablets: “O Bone Iesu, O Messias, O Eloy, O Christe, O Adonay, O rex F. David, O Emanuel,” and finally the plea: “ADIUVA NOS” (Help us).

The *Te Deum* was sung at religious festivities and also at the end of the sacred readings during Easter Mass. Psalm 123 relates to the theme of thanksgiving for the escaped danger which is described with traditional images: wild animals and hunting traps, from which humanity is saved thanks to the sacrifice of Christ and his Resurrection, namely the victory over death and deliverance from evil. Psalm 24 describes the repentance for sins and the trust in mercy and forgiveness. The inclusion of the Names of Jesus reflects the theological aspects of his person and mission as the Saviour sent by God.

The choice of these texts emphasizes in a complex way one of the central themes of the Church in the 16th century. Resurrection is linked to

the dogma of the Eucharist, which was the subject of much theological debate at the Council of Trent since it is the symbol of the dual human and divine nature of Christ. In 1551, the Council solemnly affirmed the principle that the Eucharist, in reality, contains the body and blood and at the same time the spirit and divinity of Jesus Christ.

The impressive image with its multiple layers of visual and written references and allusions to specific themes of the religious doctrine indicate that this page comes from a Missal made for a highly refined audience.

During the French occupation of Rome in 1798, the Sistine Chapel in the Vatican was sacked by Napoleon's troops and the precious manuscripts of its Sacristy were stolen and dismembered. The severity of this loss becomes evident from two eighteenth-century inventories of the Sacristy of the Sistine Chapel that have survived. In them are registered 149 manuscripts, both ancient and new, that had been preserved for generations and used for hymn services and for those recited by the Pope himself, or by cardinals, bishops and archbishops in the presence of the Pope.²⁰ This group was more important and precious than the big Choir Books used by the singers belonging to the musical chapel. Reorganized by Pope Sixtus IV (between 1473 and 1483) with prestigious singers of different nationalities, the musical chapel sang during the solemn liturgical celebrations in the presence of popes and cardinals in the Sistine Chapel, in the Pauline Chapel in the Quirinal, and in Saint Peter's Basilica. Fortunately, most of these Choir Books have survived and are today in the Vatican Library, although in many cases with pages missing. In contrast, the selection used by the highest church hierarchy was completely dispersed, but some of these volumes and fragments from them have been traced by scholars in different collections, museums and libraries around the world.

Recently, forty manuscripts from the Sixtine Chapel's Sacristy were identified in Toledo, in the Biblioteca Publica del Estado. They had been sent there in 1798 by the cardinal and archbishop of that city, Francisco Antonio de Lorenzana (1722–1804), envoy extraordinary of Charles IV to the Holy See, to save them from "... Maxima in Urbis direptione."²¹ Other volumes from the sacristy came into the possession of Abate Luigi

²⁰ The two inventories of 1714 and 1728 are preserved in the State Archives of Rome, Camerale I, vol. 1560, fasc. 24, ff. 265–302 and fasc. 25, ff. 157–179. The parts relating to the manuscripts are transcribed in Laurentis and Talamo 2010, p. 315–328.

²¹ Elena De Laurentiis: I codici della Sacrestia Sistina a Toledo. *Rivista di storia della miniatura*, 11, 2007, p. 301–314.

Celotti (1759–1843). Little is known about him, but in 1801 he was living in Venice as secretary to Count Giovanni Barbarigo. From 1820, Celotti was engaged as an art dealer and exported paintings and miniatures to France and England.²²

A famous auction of “cuttings” belonging to Celotti was held in London on 26 May 1825.²³ It was the first auction ever dedicated exclusively to this type of objects. The most important part of the sale consisted of 65 lots with miniatures from the manuscripts of the Sistine Chapel’s Sacristy. The author of the auction catalogue was William Young Ottley (1771–1836), a great collector and art expert who had travelled widely in Italy. Later, in 1833 he became Keeper of the Department of Prints and Drawings at the British Museum. Ottley introduces the miniatures as “... a highly valuable collection of illuminated miniature paintings, of the greatest beauty, and of exquisite finishing taken from the Choral Books of the Papal Chapel in the Vatican, during the French Revolution.” He continues, praising their importance as “the monuments of a lost Art, the only surviving evidence of the forgotten technique of the ancient Illuminists.”²⁴ The miniatures had been cut out of their original manuscripts, separated from the borders and the decorative elements as well as the coats of arms that distinguished them. Then they had been reassembled and mounted in collages, though they were described as intact paintings in the catalogue. The lots were sold to British collectors at very high prices. The auction record price, 91 pounds, was reached by a “Crucifixion” that was signed and dated 1572 by Apollonio de’ Bonfratelli.²⁵

The auction was something of an event at the time and scholars have considered it as the origin of the particular taste for Italian miniature cuttings in England as well as a significant moment in the history of collecting and selling illuminated single leaves. In his catalogue, Ottley addresses a public with a general interest in art rather than bibliophiles. The miniatures, of which some were under glass and framed, are de-

²² Anne-Marie Eze: *Abbé Louis Celotti (1759–1843): Connoisseur, Dealer and Collector of Illuminated Miniatures* (unpublished doctoral thesis, Courtauld Institute of Art, London 2010).

²³ Hindman and Rowe 2001, p. 52–62.

²⁴ De Laurentiis and Talamo 2010, p. 354. In this publication, p. 354–362, the very rare Celotti auction catalogue is transcribed in full.

²⁵ Hindman and Rowe 2001, p. 58. The miniature was lot 85 in the Celotti catalogue and it has been identified as the one currently in Lisbon, Museu Calouste Gulbenkian, inv. M70, see De Laurentiis and Talamo 2010, p. 377 fig. 46.

scribed as paintings, though on a smaller scale. He compares them to the monumental works of the most important painters of the Italian Renaissance and to those of famous miniaturists such as Gerolamo dai Libri and Giulio Clovio—mentioned by Vasari, who was used as the most authoritative reference source.

The lots were divided according to the prestigious papal commissions that appeared from inscriptions or coats of arms. On the cuttings reorganized in collages, dates and patrons were added in capital letters according to the manuscripts out of which they were cut. We do not know if these inscriptions were added by Celotti or by Ottley, or whether it was for the sake of historical records, or perhaps more likely, because a prestigious provenance would increase the value of the miniatures. However, these inscriptions with patrons and dates are considered reliable by scholars today. They have permitted to trace the provenance of many of the miniatures back to the volumes described in the eighteenth-century inventories and even further back to the preserved documents with payments to illuminators working in the Vatican. Thus, modern studies have been able to demonstrate that cuttings preserved in collections all around the world testify to a scriptorium and workshops of illuminators at the papal court, active for more than four centuries.

The name of Apollonio appears for the first time in the Celotti catalogue. On some of the miniatures he refers to himself as: “Apollonius de Bonfratelli da Capranica, Capelle et Sacristiae apostolicae miniator.” In the catalogue, lots 78–85 are attributed to him containing miniatures that according to their inscriptions or coats of arms are linked to the Popes Paul IV, Pius IV and Pius V, dating from 1558 to 1572. In his introduction, Ottley calls them of “very high class” and describes Bonfratelli’s style as: “... decidedly an imitation of that of Michelangelo; his sacred representations are generally in a high degree expressive, and have often much of grandeur in the conception; but in his larger Figures, especially in the naked parts, he sometimes shows himself defective in drawing. It is impossible to speak in too high terms of the beauty of his borders, wherein he often introduces compartments with small Figures, representing Subjects of the New Testament, which are touched with infinite delicacy and spirit.”²⁶

These words seem still valid today regarding certain aspects of the Copenhagen miniature. Because of similarities of style, composition and size to some of the Celotti miniatures, it can safely be considered

²⁶ De Laurentiis and Talamo 2010, p. 360.

to have come from one of the dismembered manuscripts from the Sistine Chapel. Unfortunately, it cannot be identified in the catalogue of the Celotti auction where no “Resurrection” by the hand of Bonfratelli appears, but mainly miniatures with grandiose “Crucifixions,” “Depositions” and “Pietas” together with entire borders or parts of them. However, it also appears that other miniatures from the Sistine Chapel were sold privately by Celotti.²⁷ The provenance of the Copenhagen miniature from the British market seems to confirm that it was among these and that it had remained in England until the auction in 1959.²⁸ It must be added, that the miniature is not a collage typical of Celotti. However, it has traces of glue on its back, indication that it was previously mounted in some way.

Almost all the miniatures included in lots 78–85 of the Celotti auction have now been traced.²⁹ In addition to these, only few other miniatures have been identified by Apollonio de’ Bonfratelli, although according to the inventories he was very active as a miniaturist. Therefore, the Copenhagen miniature is an important addition to the relatively small oeuvre of the artist. Among the preserved group of manuscripts from the Sistine Chapel, only three Choir Books have three small initials decorated by him.³⁰ This indicates that he must have been involved first of all in the production of the manuscripts for popes and cardinals that were kept in the Sacristy and were later looted. The most consistent group of miniatures attributed to Bonfratelli and assistants are found in four of the five volumes of the private Missal, made for the Spanish Cardinal

²⁷ Some miniatures and fragments from the Sistine Chapel, that did not appear at the Celotti auction, are recorded in Roger S. Wieck: *Papal Fragments at the Rosenbach*. Susan L’Engle and Gerald B. Guest (eds.): *Tributes to Jonathan J. G. Alexander: The Making and Meaning of Medieval and Renaissance Illuminated Manuscripts, Art and Architecture*, London 2006, p. 502–503; see also Brown 1960–1961, p. 3; and S. Hindmann and M. Heinleen: *A Connoisseur’s Montage: The Four Evangelists Attributed to Giulio Clovio*. *The Art Institute of Chicago. Museums Studies*, 17, 1991, p. 177–178.

²⁸ At Sotheby’s auction in 1959 where the Copenhagen “Resurrection” appeared, also a cutting from the collection of Ottley (today in Kansas City) was sold, which might indicate, that they share a common provenance back in time. If this is the case, the “Resurrection” could have been acquired privately from Celotti by Ottley. Ottley’s enormously rich collection of miniatures was sold after his death at Sotheby’s, London, 11–12 May 1838. Unfortunately I have not been able to consult this catalogue.

²⁹ See De Laurentiis and Talamo 2010, p. 375–377.

³⁰ Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Capp. Sist. 213 and Capp. Sist. 38 and 39, the latter two are signed and dated 1563. Emilia. A. Talamo: *Codices Cantorum. Miniature e disegni nei Codici della Cappella Sistina*, Florence 1998, p. 216–222.

Juan Alvarez.³¹ He arrived in Rome from Toledo in 1538 and died there in 1557. In this period many wealthy prelates owned their own service books. The reconstruction of Bonfratelli's artistic personality is due to Emilia A. Talamo, the scholar responsible for the most important studies on the Sistine Chapel manuscripts.³² Apollonio arrived from Capranica (close to Rome) in the papal city under Clement VII (1523–1534), but nothing is known about his first years here. In 1554 documents show that he was the assistant to the French Vincent Raymond, the official miniaturist of the Popes, and in 1556 he succeeded him. Apollonio maintained this prestigious position until 1574, a year before his death in 1575. For the use of the highest members of the Catholic Church, the liturgical books in the Sistine Chapel could of course not be mass produced volumes, but had to be individually designed. During his career, Apollonio ensured the continuation of the long tradition of hand produced, illuminated manuscripts long after the invention of printing.

Among the miniatures by Bonfratelli that have been identified so far, two more full-page "Resurrections" are known. One appears in the Easter volume of the Missal of Cardinal Alvarez. It is datable to 1550–1557. The other is a single leaf, signed and dated 1562, and today inserted into a Missal made for Pope Urban VIII of c.1634 and among the earlier mentioned manuscripts taken to Spain by Cardinal Lorenzana.³³ It is presumed that this miniature comes from the "Messale della Feria 2^a della Resurrezione di Cristo," produced under Pius IV (1559–1565) and mentioned as B II 17 in the 1714 inventory of the Sistine Sacristy.³⁴ This miniature illustrates a different aspect of cuttings when in former times valuable miniatures were saved when they were cut out from

³¹ Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 3085, 3807, 5590, 5591. A fifth volume, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. Lat. 609 is the oldest among the Missals of the Spanish Cardinal and has illuminations by Vincent Raymond, see Emilia A. Talamo: La produzione di immagini per lo "scriptorium" sistino nel secolo XVI. Giovanni Morello (ed.) *Liturgia in figura. Codici liturgici rinascimentali della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, Rome 1995, p. 75–81 and cat. 75–79.

³² Emilia A. Talamo: Apollonio de Bonfratelli. Milvia Bollati (ed.): *Dizionario Biografico dei miniatori*, Milan 2004, p. 42–43.

³³ Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 3805, f.1v. and Toledo, Biblioteca Capitular, ms. 39, f. 2 v., see Talamo 2010, p. 9, figs. 19 and 18.

³⁴ De Laurentiis and Talamo 2010, p. 194–206, and 326. In the description of the Missal of Pope Urban VIII in the inventory of 1726 there is no mention of this miniature, which must have been pasted in later, but before 1798, when the manuscript was sent to Toledo.



Fig. 2: Giovanni de Bernardi, Plaque of engraved rock crystal, Copenhagen, Nationalmuseet, D201 17b 4a.

manuscripts that were no longer in use due to liturgical changes, and then glued into new volumes.

These two beautiful miniatures show very similar compositions of the “Resurrection” with the Risen Christ in the air above the tomb and sleeping or blinded soldiers next to it. Only minor details distinguish one miniature from the other. The Copenhagen “Resurrection” repeats the same figure of Christ, but compared to the other two versions, it displays some variants. The scenery is more dramatic and it is more densely populated with gesticulating figures.

The compositions of all three “Resurrections” are decidedly Mannerist. The complex torsions and the excitement of the figures recall those of the second-generation Mannerists in Rome, such as Daniele da Volterra, or Marco Pino. The figure of Christ, however, in rapid ascent is modelled upon “Christ Triumphant” conceived by Francesco Salviati (Florence, 1510 – Rome, 1563) for the fresco with the “Resurrection” in the chapel of the Margraves of Brandenburg in Santa Maria dell’Anima in Rome in 1550.³⁵ He even repeats details such as the bulging shroud that passes under the arm of Christ holding the labarum. Copied from

³⁵ The following considerations about Bonfratelli’s models are largely based on the fundamental essay by Catherine Monbeig-Goguel: Francesco Salviati e il tema della Resurrezione di Cristo. *Prospettiva*, 13, April 1978, p. 7–23; see also Alessandro Nova: Francesco Salviati and the ‘Markgrafen’ Chapel in S. Maria dell’Anima. *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, 25/3, 1981, p. 355–372.

Salviati is also the way in which the arm of Christ is stretched forward dynamically in the gesture of blessing. In the “Resurrection” of Cardinal Alvarez, the first in the series and in the one in Toledo dated 1562, the similarity is even more pronounced. For example, the figure of the sleeping soldier leaning against the tomb sitting with his head on his knees is copied directly from the fresco.

Instead of the medieval and early fifteenth century iconography in which Christ is seen stepping out of the tomb, the Pope’s illuminator has chosen Salviati’s triumphal image as model. This seems to reflect the climate of renewed spirituality that coincides with the Council of Trent (1545–63).

As it happens, yet another evidence of the importance of Salviati’s captivating image of Christ is found in an object preserved in Copenhagen: an oval plaque of rock crystal engraved by Giovanni de Berardi (Castelbolognese, 1494 – Rome, 1553) (fig. 2). The plaque is mounted on a casket made for Cardinal Alessandro Farnese in c.1546, and the image is based on one of Salviati’s preparatory drawings for the fresco.³⁶

It should be remembered that the image of the Resurrection is not very old. In fact, it does not appear in early Christian art and this iconography begins only in 9th and 10th centuries. In the narrative of the apocryphal gospels, the Resurrection and the Ascension are confused. As in many other cases, the art of illumination has played a decisive part in the evolution of the iconography of the Risen Christ over the grave. Instead of depicting him next to it or moving out of the tomb, in miniatures of liturgical manuscripts the scene takes place in the space determined by the shape of the capital letter “R” belonging to the incipit “Resurrexit.” The “R” provides two different levels for the image accompanying the text: Christ is depicted at the upper level, enclosed in the loop of the letter as in a “Mandorla.” The holy women with the angel or the soldiers near the grave are placed below, next to the lower part of the letter. The type of the Risen Christ above the grave is also seen in Dürer’s series of engravings, the Great Passion from 1510, and this iconography was developed further, particularly among the artists belonging to the circle of Raphael, and the generation after Raphael and Michelangelo.³⁷

³⁶ Goguel 1978, p. 20. For the engraved plaque, see Vilhelm Slomann, *Bjærgkrystaller af Giovanni Bernardi fra Castelbolognese*, (*Studier fra Nationalmuseet*, 1) 1925.

³⁷ Hubert Schrader: *Ikongrafie der Christlichen Kunst. Die Auferstehung Christi*, 1, Berlin-Leipzig 1932, p. 310–327, figs. 63–66, and 144. All the iconographic examples are mentioned in this study.

In the Copenhagen miniature the figures gesticulating and frightened by Christ's resurrection reflect a raphaelesque and michelangelo-lesque repertoire, thus adhering to the process of assimilation of different models typical of Mannerism. The composition seems rather chaotic and Bonfratelli seems first of all concerned to engage the viewer emotionally through the representation of the different expressions of fear aroused by the manifestation of the supernatural.

The repetition of compositions and figures with only slight variations in different paintings, even over a period of many years, is a *modus operandi* characteristic of this artist. In the Danish Resurrection some of the soldiers seem to display a particular and rather mechanical working process. The same figure is repeated in several parts of the painting, but turned around and dressed in different costumes. The huge demand for Missals with illuminations from members of the upper church hierarchy, as testified by the inventories, may explain this rather repetitive use of images.

The decision to look towards Salviati for the Risen Christ shows the Mannerist orientation of Bonfratelli. Scholars have also pointed out how he also shares the deep debt to the culture of Michelangelo and Raphael with the more famous and certainly more artistically gifted contemporary Giulio Clovio (1498–1578), the Croatian illuminator praised by Vasari. Thus Clovio's "Resurrection" in the famous Towneley Lectionary made in 1550–1560 for Cardinal Alessandro Farnese,³⁸ shows the same repertoire of agitated soldiers fleeing in terror as Bonfratelli's, but characteristically Clovio's remains true to his ideal for the figure of the Risen Christ. It is based upon a drawing by Michelangelo as demonstrated by Catherine Monbeig-Goguel.³⁹ Bonfratelli's muscular figures with their sunken eye sockets are typically Mannerist. For example, the iridescent colours of the beautiful, reclining soldier in the foreground on the Copenhagen leaf are taken from Salviati and recall the tonalities of Michelangelo. The Danish leaf is in a perfect state of preservation which allows you to enjoy the brilliance of the colours, the richness of the decoration of the shields, the armour, and the rendering of minute details such as the soldiers' sandals, as well as the beautiful

³⁸ New York, New York Public Library, Ms. 91f. 7v.

³⁹ London, British Museum, inv. 1860, 6–16–133. Goguel 1978, p. 13 and p. 19 notes 23 and 47, fig 6. See also J. A. Gere: *Drawings by Michelangelo in the collection of Her Majesty the Queen at Windsor Castle, The Ashmolean Museum, The British Museum and other English Collections*. London 1975, N.42. For Clovio's "Resurrection," see Alexander 1995, cat. 134, p. 248–252, fig. 134.

and imaginative borders. In colours and details such as these the artist shows his talent as an illuminator at its best with a flair for decoration.

In the analysis of the “Resurrection” miniature, a particular iconographical element deserves attention. The slab on Christ’s tomb is moved slightly to one side, instead of the completely closed tomb in Bonfratelli’s other two versions of the “Resurrection” as well as in the fresco by Salviati. This detail seems significant, and theological discussions could lie behind the choice of this particular iconography in the climate of the Counter Reformation. However, in Bonfratelli’s miniature it is difficult to relate it to a specific meaning. In Clovio’s Towneley “Resurrection,” the tomb is open, while in the Sistine Chapel, in the “Resurrection” fresco painted by Hendrick van der Broeck in 1572 and also greatly indebted to Salviati, the tomb is closed. Maybe the fact that two different variants of depictions of the tomb existed more or less contemporarily among the highest ecclesiastical circles in Rome, testifies to a period of gestation of this particular image during these years.

Compared to the other two, the Copenhagen “Resurrection” displays the more complex composition and reinterprets more freely Salviati’s model and seems therefore to be the latest chronologically. However, it is difficult to date the Copenhagen leaf. It does not bear coat of arms or traces of liturgical writing useful to link it to the other known fragments or to the manuscript it originally belonged to.

From the point of view of style, its agitated figures are closely related to several miniatures, all from the Celotti sale. In the Copenhagen leaf the soldier losing his balance while descending the steps on the right side is a close relative of the awkwardly gesturing figure next to the cross on a “Crucifixion” in the British Library, executed for Pope Pius IV in 1564 (fig. 3).⁴⁰

Also in a signed “Deposition” in Philadelphia, dateable to 1571, appear the same facial types as that of the staggering soldier on the Copenhagen leaf with his deep orbits, his thin pointed nose, and curly hair (fig. 4).⁴¹ There are also similarities with the figures in a “Cruci-

⁴⁰ London, British Library, Add. MS 21412, f. 42, see Alexander 1995, cat. 136, p. 252–255, fig. 136; According to Alexander two more single leaves in the British Library come from the Celotti sale, from the same manuscript: a “Lamentation,” Add. MS 21412, f. 43, and a border, Add. MS. 21412f. 37r., dated 1564; all of them are signed and they have the same measures as the Copenhagen leaf.

⁴¹ Philadelphia, Rosenbach Museum and Library, acc. 54.663, see De Laurentiis and Talamo 2010, p. 43; A different dating is suggested in Alexander 1995, cat. 137, p. 256 and in Wieck 2006, p. 497, 499, note 8, relating it to the papal service book made for

fixion” from 1572, today in Lisbon, but its composition is markedly less dynamic.⁴²

As to the borders, Emilia A. Talamo has shown how templates were exchanged between the miniaturists working in the Sistine scriptorium. Bonfratelli seems to repeat the same type of borders at different times and under different popes, though he mixes the decorative motifs with a strong taste for *varietas* and in accordance with the development of his style. Thus, at first hand the borders do not seem to help much with the dating. However, though the beautiful decorative borders of the three above mentioned miniatures from 1564–1572 all differ from each other, they all have plaques with liturgical texts as does the Copenhagen leaf. The panels with flowers are particular to the Copenhagen miniature and this element may be compared to the festoons inserted between cartouches and scenes in a full page frame at the British Library from 1564.⁴³ They are part of a common repertoire originating many years earlier in Rome, in Giovanni da Udine’s floral decorations in the Loggia of Psyche in the Villa Farnesina and in Raphael’s Vatican Loggias.

Thus the dating of the Danish “Resurrection” to the years between the miniatures in the British Library and in Philadelphia seems probable.

This dating seems to be further substantiated by the documents. In the 1714 inventory of the Sistine Chapel, only two ancient Missals are recorded with illuminations by Bonfratelli that contain masses relating to the Easter period. Both of them are lost today. There is no description of the miniatures in them, but it seems plausible that each of them would have included a “Resurrection.”

As we have seen, the oldest Missal made under Pius IV has been identified as the one originally with Bonfratelli’s “Resurrection” of 1562 that is now pasted into the manuscript in Toledo. Let us, therefore, turn to the other Missal. In the inventory, it is registered among those that are no longer in use because they are old or because of liturgical changes. They are stored in the closet containing “... li libri ad uso degli Emi. Sig.ri Cardinali, Patriarchi, Arcivescovi, e Vescovi, che celebrano in cappella pontificalm.te avanti il Papa” (the books used by the eminent

Pope Pius IV (1559–1565) together with Bonfratelli’s previously mentioned miniatures in the British Library, see note 40.

⁴² Lisbon, Museu Calouste Gulbenkian, inv. M.70. This and the Rosenbach “Deposition” were previously in the Northwick Collection, Sotheby’s London, 16 November 1925, lots 107 and 108. De Laurentiis and Talamo 2010, pp. 376–377, fig. 46.

⁴³ British Library, Add. Ms 21412f. 37r., see note 40.

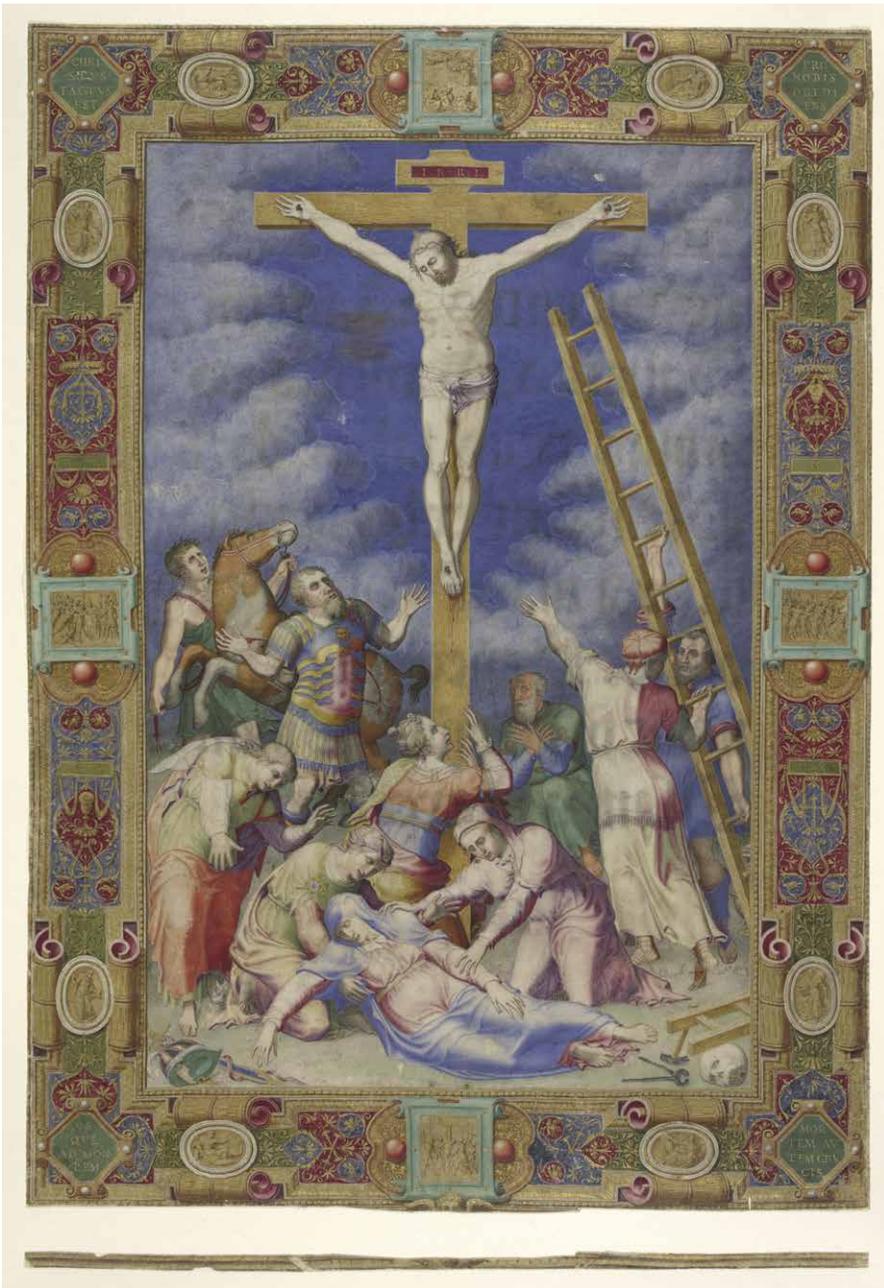


Fig. 3: Apollonio de' Bonfratelli, "Crucifixion," London, British Library, Add. MS 21412, f. 42

Cardinals, Patriarchs, Archbishops and Bishops, who celebrate [mass] in the Pope's chapel before the Pope).

The Missal is described as “Messa di S.Giovanni Evangelista e della Feria 3a della Resurrezione scritte al tempo di PP. Pio IV e di Pio V. Sono carte 98, la prima è miniata, la 24^a, 25^a, 50^a, 53^a simil.te miniate, le miniature sono di Apollonio Bonfratelli soprad.o coperta di corame rosso coll'arme di Pio V” (the Mass of St. John the Evangelist and of the 3. *feria* of Resurrection written at the time of the Holy Fathers Pius IV and Pius V. There are 98 leaves, the first is with a miniature, the 24th, 25th, 50th, and 53th are likewise with miniatures, the miniatures are by Apollonio de' Bonfratelli. The Missal is covered in red leather binding with the arms of Pius V).⁴⁴ It could perhaps be linked to a payment to Apollonio on April 30 1568, during the period of Pius V (1566–72).⁴⁵

The Missal, completed over two popedoms, covers the liturgical period from 27th December to the third day after Easter. It is very likely that among the five miniatures of the Missal there was the Resurrection that is now located in Copenhagen. For stylistic reasons this miniature is better placed in the period of Pius V's popedom (1566–1572).⁴⁶

Leaves from the Breviary of Leonello d'Este

Two single illuminated leaves now preserved in the Royal Library in Copenhagen, once belonged to a precious Breviary (figs. 5–6 and 7–8).

Scholars have established that this Breviary, a book for the private recitation of liturgy related to the canonical hours throughout the year, was executed for Leonello d'Este, Marquis of Ferrara between 1441 and 1450.⁴⁷ A third beautiful leaf from this Breviary was recently purchased

⁴⁴ “Messale A III. 7,” in the 1714 inventory transcribed in De Laurentiis and Talamo 2010, p. 324.

⁴⁵ De Laurentiis and Talamo 2010, p. 313.

⁴⁶ Other fragments of borders relating to Pius V from the Celotti sale are attributed to Bonfratelli: Philadelphia, Rosenbach Museum and Library, 1954.224 and 1954.662; a further cutting with the coat of arms of Pius 5 dated 1566 and two fragments of borders are in Cambridge, the Fitzwilliam Museum, Ms. Marlay Cutting it. 31, 30 and 32. De Laurentiis and Talamo 2010, p. 376–377 and fig. 44.

⁴⁷ The Royal Library, Manuscript Department, Illuminerede fragmenter, kps. 3, acc. 1977/45.1. Measures: 273 × 199 mm (trimmed). RECTO incipit: ... ambulat in medio VII. cand[e]/labrorum; explicit: ... audi/endi audiat q[ui]d sp[irit]us dicat; VERSO incipit: ecclesiis. Vincenti dabo ei ma[n]/na; explicit: ... lu/me[n] ostendis: da cunctis q[ui]; kps. 3 acc. 1977/45.2. Measures: 274 × 200 mm (trimmed); RECTO incipit: ... nec inter se de hoc aliquo q[ue]sie/ru[n]t; explicit: I[n]/fra hebdomada[m] ad m[agnificat]

by the Royal Library in 2014 (fig. 9).⁴⁸ Thus, the Library is the fortunate owner of a small selection that testifies to a particular creative moment in the development of manuscript illumination in Ferrara.⁴⁹

The interesting history of the Breviary is fairly well known. On one hand, it illustrates a certain type of antiquarian trade, which in years not too far away led to the dismemberment and dispersal of the pages belonging to one of the most important manuscripts of the Este court. On the other hand, it is the story of an exciting and brilliant investigation based on circumstantial evidence by art historians, who have managed to partially reconstruct this masterpiece.

To summarize the events analysed in an important article by Federica Toniolo, this story begins with H. Julius Hermann and his publication in 1900 on illuminated manuscripts in Ferrara. He regrets the loss of a precious, well documented Breviary commissioned by Leonello.⁵⁰ It is not clear when the Breviary disappeared from Ferrara. It may have gone astray in 1598 when the d'Este library was moved to Modena, or it may have remained in Ferrara until the invasion of Napoleon in 1796.

The archives of the Este family list names and payments to the persons involved in this commission and its progress can be followed. The Breviary was made between 1441 and 1448 and a huge sum was paid for it. In charge of the work was Giorgio d'Alemagna, who would become one of his generation's leading illuminators in Ferrara. From the final report of this commission it appears that the Breviary consisted of no less than 64 quinternions—640 leaves—with the text written by Francesco da Codigoro and a binding by Bernardo Carnieri that was mounted with precious enamel and gold clasps provided by the Milanese jeweller Amadio. Bartolomeo Benincà was engaged as an associate of Giorgio

ant[ifona]; VERSO incipit: Tristitia v[est]ra al[leluia] v[er]tet[ur] in gaud[ium]; explicit: ... dicentia. Sa[n]ct[us] Sa[n]ct[us] Sa[n]ct[us].

⁴⁸ The Royal Library, Manuscript Department, acc. 2014/8. I am grateful to Research Librarian Anders Toftgaard, The Royal Library, for informing me about this acquisition and for his kind help during my research.

⁴⁹ The largest holding of leaves from the original manuscript appears to be the collection of ten in the Houghton Library, Harvard. Saint Louis University, Saint Louis, is in possession of five leaves while the third largest holding today is in the Royal Library.

⁵⁰ Federica Toniolo: Il lungo viaggio del Breviario di Lionello d'Este tra le due sponde dell'Atlantico. *Medioevo: arte e storia*, Milan 2008, (*I convegni di Parma*, 10) p. 564–577. I am indebted to this essay for the information related to the Breviary; H. J. Hermann: Zur Geschichte der Miniaturmalerei am Hofe der Este in Ferrara. *Stilkritische Studien. Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, 21, 1900, p. 117–221 (Italian translation: F. Toniolo (ed.): *La miniatura estense*, Modena 1994).

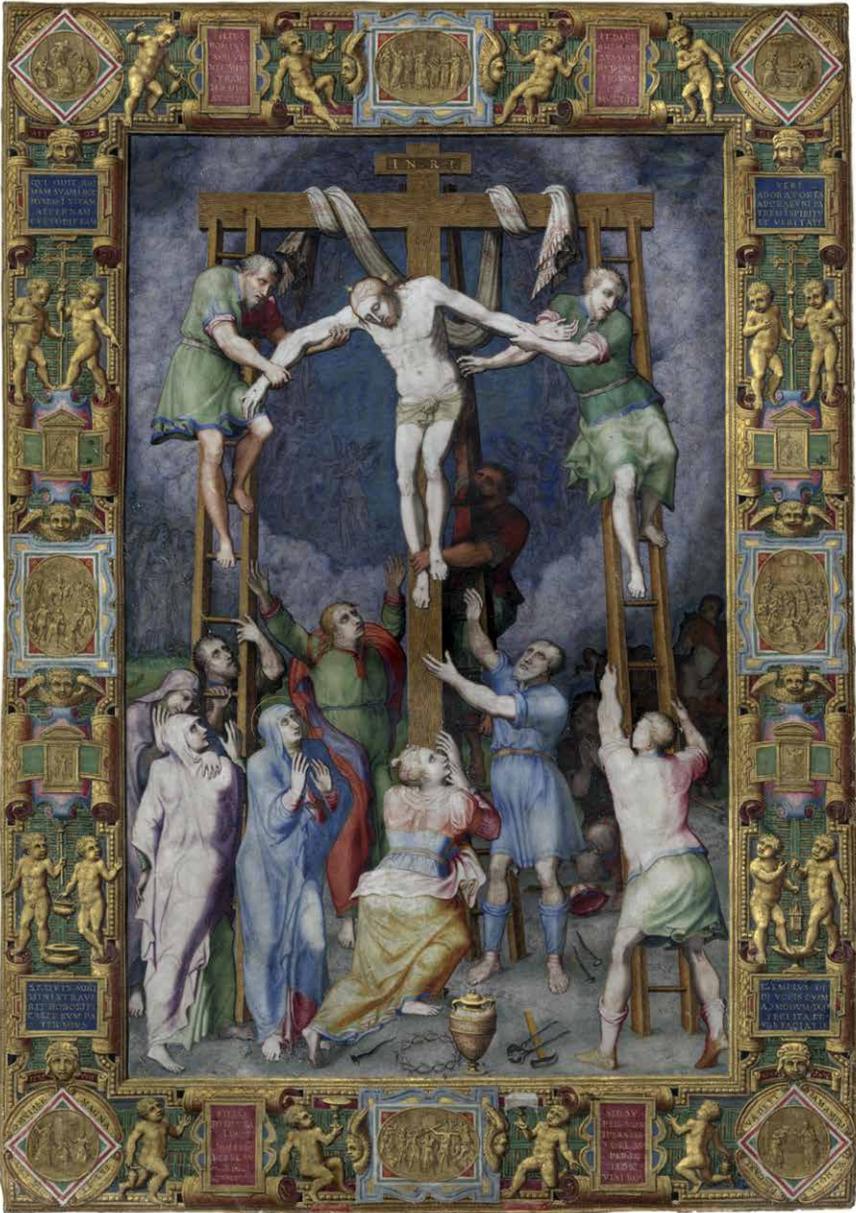


Fig. 4: Apollonio de' Bonfratelli, "Deposition," Philadelphia, Rosenbach Museum and Library, acc. 54.663.

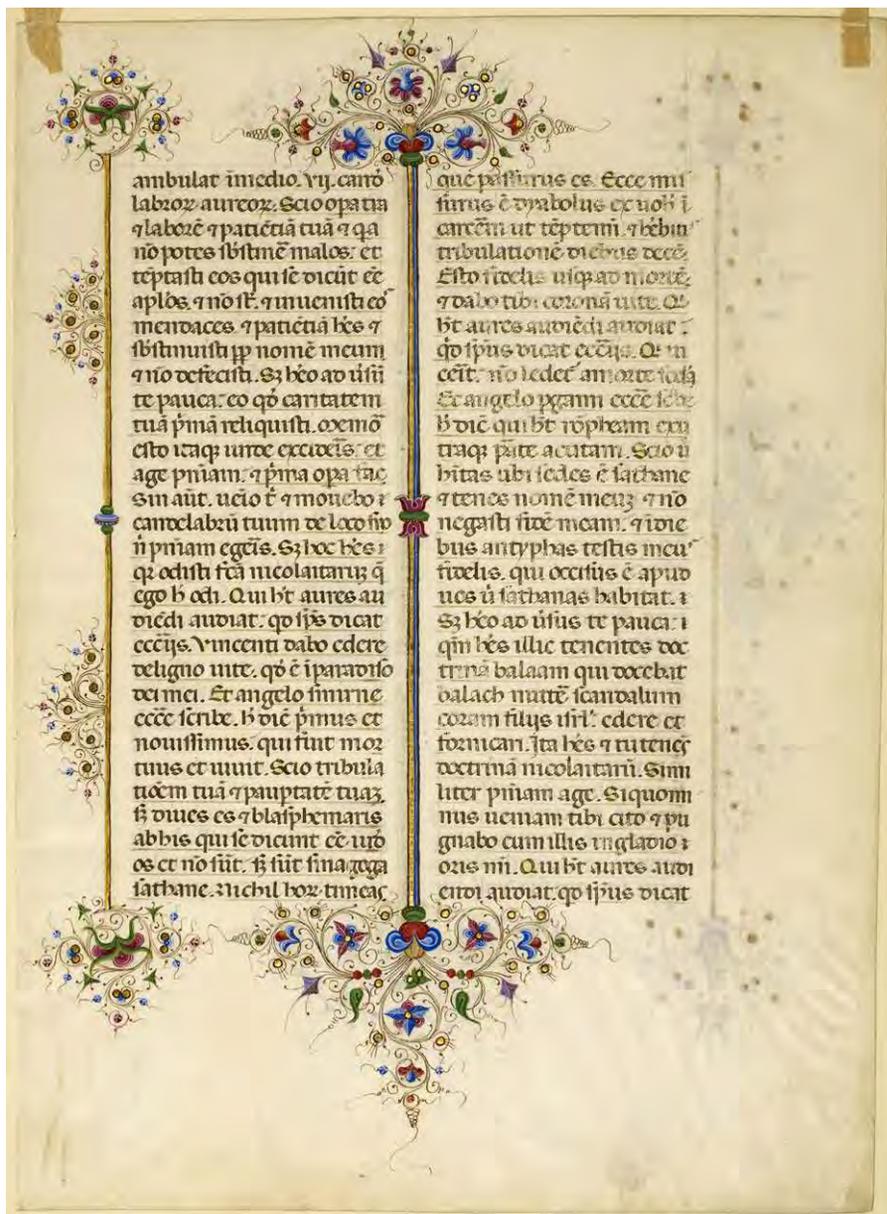


Fig. 5: Giorgio d'Alemagna, Leaf from Leonello d'Este's Breviary, Copenhagen, The Royal Library, Manuscript Department, Illuminerede fragmenter, kps. 3, acc. 1977/45.1r.

in 1443, and in 1445 one quinterion was illuminated by Guglielmo Giraldi. Also Matteo de Pasti, medallist and illuminator from Verona and a pupil of the famous painter Pisanello, took part in this collective enterprise that went on for 7 years. De Pasti received payment for ten quinterions in 1446.

In the early 1980s some scholars noticed a group of single leaves that had appeared at various auctions where they were presented as belonging to a dismembered “Llangattock Breviary.” Because of certain characteristics, it was proposed that this manuscript was made in Ferrara and that it should be identified as the lost Breviary of Leonello. In the liturgy of one leaf was mentioned San Maurilio, Bishop of Ferrara. Another leaf carried a head with three faces, the symbol of Wisdom and an emblem of Leonello d’Este, and finally some leaves displayed a close stylistic similarity to an important manuscript, a “Spagna in rima,” for which Giorgio d’Alemagna was paid in 1453.⁵¹

Later, a leaf from the Llangattock Breviary with the feast of Saint Andrew was brilliantly attributed to Matteo de Pasti. It forms an additional evidence for the identification of the Llangattock Breviary with the Breviary of Leonello, which is widely accepted today (fig. 10).⁵² This leaf, today in the Houghton Library, contains the *incipit* of the Sanctoral of the Breviary and was donated to the library in 1967 by Philip Hofer along with 9 other pages from the same manuscript. He had bought them from Goodspeed’s Book Shop in Boston in 1959. In Goodspeed’s catalogue it was stated that the Breviary had belonged to J. E. W. Rolls, father of J. A. Rolls, the first Baron Llangattock, and that a pen inscription added to the manuscript by J. A. Rolls in 1882 stated that it had been bought by his grandfather, specifying: “Supposed to have been Peninsular loot. The pictures cut out by soldiers”.⁵³ A year before it appeared in Boston, the Breviary had been auctioned at Christie’s in

⁵¹ Ferrara, Biblioteca Ariostea, ms. II 132, see Filippo Todini: *Maestro del Messale di Borso d’Este. Da Borso a Cesare d’Este. La scuola di Ferrara (1450–1628)*. Ferrara 1985, p. 117; Fabrizio Lollini: Bessarione 2. P. Lucchi (ed.): *Coralì Miniati del Quattrocento nella Biblioteca Malatestiana*, Milan 1989, p. 100–110.

⁵² Cambridge, MA, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Ms. Typ. 301. See Massimo Medica: cat. 49. Alessandra Mottola Molino and Mauro Natale (eds.): *Le Muse e il Principe. Arte di Corte nel Rinascimento padano*, Modena 1991, p. 190–193; Massimo Medica: Matteo de Pasti et l’enluminure dans les cours d’Italie du Nord, entre le gothique finissant et la Renaissance. Dominique Cordellier (ed.): *Pisanello, actes du colloque* (Paris, Musée du Louvre, 1996), Paris 1998, p. 499–532.

⁵³ Elisabeth Stanley Evans: *Medieval Manuscripts at Saint Louis University: A Catalogue. Manuscripta* 47–48, 2003–2004, p. 44–45 and 56–64.

London with a detailed description. According to the entry, miniatures were already missing from the manuscript that now consisted of 512 leaves with 140 historiated initials. For reasons which to us today seem unjustifiable, the already damaged Breviary was totally dismembered by Goodsped's and offered for sale as single leaves resulting in their irreparable dispersal and the loss of the d'Este manuscript.

Federica Toniolo and Elisabeth Stanley Evans have reconstructed the subsequent commercial fate. In the years 1965 and 1967, leaves from the Breviary were offered for sale by Goodsped's. From then the leaves began to circulate on the market, both in Europe and the USA and they still appear today, now with a provenance from both Llangattock and Leonello d'Este.

It may be interesting to note that in the accession register of the Royal Library, the two "old" leaves are only described as "2 blade af illuminerede pergamenthåndskrifter" and that they were acquired at quite an early date, in 1963 from Branners Antiquariat in Copenhagen.⁵⁴ At this point the "Llangattock Breviary" did not exist, neither as a name nor as a surviving artefact. In fact, this seems to be one of the first documented cases of leaves from the Breviary being sold in Europe shortly after the destruction of the manuscript. According to de Hamel, one leaf appeared earlier, in 1962, with Maggs Brothers in London.⁵⁵

A Breviary is a complex text consisting of many parts. The liturgical year is divided into three main sections: the Proper of Times, or Temporale, the Proper of Saints, or Sanctorale, and the Common. Though the two leaves today in Copenhagen both come from the Easter section of the Temporale, they are not contiguous. They contain passages from the Apocalypse of Saint John and the liturgy for Saturday and 3rd Sunday after Easter. Between them, one or more pages are missing.

On f. 1, the recto and part of the verso is the text from the Apocalypse of Saint John 2:1–29, with letters to the angels of the churches in Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamum, and Thyatira. The rest of the verso of f.1 contains the vespers of Saturday that introduce the third Sunday after Easter with a large, decorated initial K [*arissimi obsecro vos*] of the first Epistle of Saint Peter 2:11.

On the second leaf, recto, we have the final part of the 3rd Sunday after Easter, with the two last lessons 8 and 9, from the Gospel of Saint

⁵⁴ According to the accession register of the library, the two leaves were acquired together with a historiated initial D with "The Crucifixion of Saint Peter" under the accession number 1977/45.

⁵⁵ Maggs Brothers, London, *Bulletin* No. 8, 1962, see de Hamel 2000, p. 52.



Fig. 6: Giorgio d'Alemagna, Leaf from Leonello d'Este's Breviary, Copenhagen, The Royal Library, Manuscript Department, Illuminerede fragmenter, kps. 3, acc. 1977/45.lv.



Fig. 7: Giorgio d'Alemagna, Leaf from Leonello d'Este's Breviary, Copenhagen, The Royal Library, Manuscript Department, Illuminerede fragmenter, kps. 3, acc. 1977/45.2r.

John 16:16–19 and the first Epistle of Saint Peter 2:13 On the verso begins the liturgy *infra hebdomadam* with the Revelation 4:1–8 introduced by a large decorated letter P [*ost haec vidi*].

The simple and elegant *mise en page* of these leaves suggest a provenance from Leonello's Breviary. This is also confirmed by their measures, their particular decoration and the parchment which is pale, and so thin that it is almost transparent—the most rare and expensive type.

The page has two columns with thirty lines written in Gothic letters in black ink with headings in red. The small illuminated initials covering two lines are in gold on a blue or red square ground with white filigree. The only two large decorated letters are painted in red terminating in stylized leaves in red and blue, on a ground of burnished gold and blue with filigree. On f. 1, verso, the initial K [*arissimi*] occupies four lines of writing and on f. 2, verso, the initial P [*ost haec*] occupies four lines. The latter is similar in splendour to a small enamelled jewel because of the geometric simplicity of its elements—a lozenge with a small flower in the middle.

The decoration on the recto of the two leaves is very similar. On both of them, it consists of two full-length illuminated bars of burnished gold outlined in various colours, one between the columns and the other along the left margin. Towards the margin and ends they burst into scrolling tendrils in gold with multi-coloured foliage and flowers intertwined with gold dots.

On the verso of both leaves are repeated the same type of fine filigree motifs, but the bar close to the border bursts into exuberant flowers with wide petals and blooms along its edge. It terminates in buds with long pistils and burnished gold bubbles.

The particularly precious character of Leonello's Breviary is due to the abundance of the decoration that appears on all leaves, on both the recto and verso. In such an extensive enterprise, with many collaborators, the illuminators had to follow strict guidelines. They began their work after the page had already been written and after a *mise en page* had been established in order to make the manuscript uniform. It was only in the exquisite technique, that each illuminator could distinguish himself. In fact, the minute and graphical details of the decoration are unique and in an amazing way never repetitive, though this can only be fully appreciated when leaves are compared to each other. Unfortunately, only a small part of the Breviary has emerged up to now and the pages are scattered in numerous libraries and private collections. A digital reconstruction of Leonello's Breviary has been started at Saint



Fig. 8: Giorgio d'Alemagna, Leaf from Leonello d'Este's Breviary, Copenhagen, The Royal Library, Manuscript Department, Illuminerede fragmenter, kps. 3, acc. 1977/45.2v.

Louis University.⁵⁶ This interesting project shows the importance of digitalization of fragmentary material, also for the field of the history of illumination.

Many of the leaves of the Breviary have decorations with filigree and flowers as the two in Copenhagen. Others have small naturalistic illuminations of animals, such as the beautiful page with a bird purchased recently by the Royal Library (fig. 9). Yet other leaves have delicate drawings of heads, emblems and cartouches.

By comparison with other precious manuscripts of this type, it must be assumed that all the incipits of the major liturgical sections in Leonello's Breviary were lavishly illuminated. Only one of these pages has been preserved, the already mentioned leaf in the Houghton Library that has been attributed to Matteo de Pasti (fig. 10). Its classicizing putti and the medallions based on antique numismatics as well as the naturalism of the animals and the friezes are all elements that reflect the culture of Pisanello—and furthermore his pupil de Pasti.

The relative simplicity of the decoration of the two Copenhagen leaves makes an attribution difficult. However, the ornamentation is not mechanical, it is drawn freely and the quality is high. On the middle of the bars on the versos, a characteristic element seems to be the rather organic forms of the large flowers and the refined use of gold powder in their petals. The stylized leaves and flowers are graceful and the filigree subtle and quite different from the more naturalistic decoration of the leaf in Harvard. Instead, similar decorations appear on the leaves attributed to Giorgio d'Alemagna. He illuminated pages both in the section of the *Temporale* as well as in the *Sanctorale*, demonstrating his leading role in the enterprise. Leaves in the same style, but of more uneven quality have tentatively been attributed to his assistant Benincà. No leaf has so far been attributed to Giraldi, who according to the documents, was the fourth illuminator involved in the Breviary. He was one of the central figures of miniature painting in Ferrara.

Other pages from the liturgical section of the *Temporale* relating to Easter are known. Their decoration is quite close to the two Copenhagen leaves. This is particularly evident in the one in Saint Louis University.⁵⁷ The ends of the bar along the border of the written column are decorated with exuberant flowers with large pistils very similar to those

⁵⁶ <www.brokenbooks.omeka.net/exhibits/show/llangattock>

⁵⁷ Saint Louis, Saint Louis University, MS 2, fol. 2a verso; Evans 2003–2004, p. 56–57, fig. 1.

seen on the versos of both Copenhagen pages. The text contains the celebrations of the fourth Sunday after Easter, and thus immediately after the liturgy of the leaves in Denmark.

The Royal Library's recently acquired third illuminated page from the Breviary of Leonello, which contains the office of the Virgin for Saturday before the first Advent Sunday, can also be safely attributed to Giorgio d'Alemagna (fig. 9).⁵⁸ The decoration includes, on the verso, the delicate image of a bird and is closely related to a leaf from the Breviary owned by the Louvre and there attributed to Giorgio d'Alemagna. On the French leaf appears a very similar, small bird, a green woodpecker in flight which, as Federica Toniolo rightfully has observed, is inspired by ornithological drawings by Pisanello and his circle.⁵⁹ In line with this, it could also be noticed how the bird on the Copenhagen leaf, so carefully rendered according to its natural characteristics, can be identified as a European turtle dove. This particular bird also appears in a drawing attributed to Pisanello or his entourage in the Vallardi manuscript where, in a similar naturalistic way, are depicted "Cinq tortorelles et six martins-pecheurs".⁶⁰

For chronological and stylistic reasons the Breviary precedes and anticipates the development of the great season of illumination in Ferrara. Its masterpiece is the magnificent Bible (between 1455–1461) of Leonello's half-brother, the Duke Borso d'Este that still bears traces of the Breviary.⁶¹

The importance of Leonello's Breviary lays in the experimental tendency of its decoration. Here we see for the first time flowers adorned with thin, golden filigree, and small dots next to putti and classicizing portraits inspired by Pisanello.⁶² The leaves of Giorgio d'Alemagna and

⁵⁸ For a detailed codicological and liturgical description of this leaf, see <www.broken-books.omeka.net/items/show/59>.

⁵⁹ Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts graphiques, RF 51871 verso, see Federica Toniolo: cat. 45. François Avril, Nicole Reynaud, and Dominique Cordellier: *Les Enluminures du Louvre*, Paris 2011, p. 84–88, fig. 88.

⁶⁰ Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts graphiques, Inventaire 2473, see Dominique Cordellier and Paola Marini: *Pisanello, Le peintre aux Sept Vertus*, Paris 1996, cat. 37, p. 81.

⁶¹ Federica Toniolo: *La Bibbia di Borso d'Este. Cortesia e Magnificenza a Ferrara tra Tardogotico e Rinascimento. La Bibbia di Borso d'Este. Commentario al codice*, vol. 2, Modena 1997, p. 295–497.

⁶² Massimo Medica: *Da Leonello a Borso: Il protorinascimento a Ferrara e i suoi esiti*. Federica Toniolo (ed.): *La Miniatura a Ferrara dal tempo di Cosmè Tura all'eredità di Ercole de' Roberti*, Modena 1998, p. 75–78.



Fig. 10: Matteo de' Pasti, Leaf from Leonello d'Este's Breviary, Cambridge, MA, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Ms. Typ. 301

Matteo de Pasti known so far mirror the transitional culture between Late Gothic and Renaissance of the court of Leonello.

The image we have of him today is that of an extremely cultivated prince. The Marquis had been educated by the great Veronese humanist Guarino Guarini, he was in personal contact with Leon Battista Alberti and Ciriaco d'Ancona. He was the patron of Jacopo Bellini and Pisanello who painted his portrait, but his interests in painting also embraced the Flemish school.

The Breviary was certainly an object made for private use and it was probably intended for the Marquis' chapel in the Castle of Ferrara. However, within the framework of the close relationship between art, political patronage and the promotion of images in Italy during the fifteenth century, the Breviary would also have been exposed to the admiration of the circle of Leonello and his illustrious guests and would publicly demonstrate his piety and wealth.⁶³

In the laudatory portrait of Leonello written after his death, *De Politia Letteraria*, Angelo Decembrio describes the Marquis as just, pious and erudite. Decembrio also reveals Leonello's aesthetic ideas. Rather than the ornate and colourful, Leonello prefers an art that competes with nature in the creation of landscapes and living creatures, but in a graceful way, based on observation and drawn from real life.⁶⁴

We know that Leonello was a collector of carved gems and ancient coins, and that his library contained classical texts. The decoration of his surviving manuscripts with "bianchi girari" —white wine-stem border— of Florentine inspiration also reflects the humanist culture. His Breviary seems to confirm this inclination, also in a religious context, with the refined simplicity of the filigree decoration, as on the Copenhagen leaves and the classicizing elements on the few preserved pages by Matteo de Pasti.

It has been noticed how each new prince of the Este family influenced the production of illuminations through his personal taste. This seems to be confirmed by what remains of this exquisite Breviary.⁶⁵

⁶³ Werner L. Gundersheimer: *Ferrara. The style of a Renaissance Despotism*, Princeton 1973.

⁶⁴ Charles Rosenberg: *Arte e politica alle corti di Leonello d'Este*. Mottola Molfino and Natale 1991, vol. 1, p. 39–52; for *De Politia Letteraria*, see Caterina Badini: cat. 38. Mottola Molfino and Natale 1991, vol. 2, p. 162–165.

⁶⁵ Giordana Mariani Canova: *La committenza dei codici miniati alla corte estense al tempo di Leonello e di Borso*. Mottola Molfino and Natale 1991, vol. 1, p. 87–118. Giordana Mariani Canova: *La miniatura a Ferrara*. Toniolo 1998, p. 15–38.

RESUMÉ

ELEONORA MATTIA: *Illuminerede fragmenter på Det Kongelige Bibliotek: Enkeltblade fra det pavelige hof og fra huset d'Este i Ferrara*

Det Kongelige Bibliotek rummer en mindre samling af illuminerede enkeltblade og initialer. Størsteparten stammer fra liturgiske bøger så som missaler, antifonaler og gradualer, der blev brugt i den katolske kirke.

Disse "illuminerede fragmenter" tilhører ikke bibliotekets ældre bestand, men er blevet erhvervet fra samlere eller i kunsthandlen fra begyndelsen af 1900-tallet og frem. En betydelig gruppe udgøres af fragmenter fra Italien, fra middelalderen til den sene renaissance.

Historien bag denne type fragmenter og deres indsamling går tilbage til slutningen af det attende århundrede. Efter Napoleons hær havde invaderet Italien blev mange gamle religiøse institutioner nedlagt og plyndret og tusindvis af manuskripter fandt vej til det europæiske marked. I mange tilfælde blev de liturgiske bøger splittet ad og deres miniaturer udsåret af både transport- og salgsmæssige hensyn.

Dette gælder også bestanden af manuskripter fra det Sixtinske Kapel i Vatikanet. Udskaarne sider herfra blev i 1825 solgt på en berømt auktion i London, hvor de blev købt af kunstsamlere som selvstændige små kunstværker. Nogle af disse var udført af Apollonio de Bonfratelli, der også har illumineret og signeret et blad med en "Opstandelse" i Det Kongelige Bibliotek. Denne artikel foreslår, at "Opstandelsen" oprindeligt stammer fra et missale i Det Sixtinske Kapel, udført under Pave Pius 5. (1566-1572).

To andre illuminerede enkeltblade i Det Kongelige Bibliotek stammer fra Leonello d'Estes Breviar. Breviaret er veldokumenteret. Det udførtes af nogle af tidens berømteste illuminatorer mellem 1441 og 1448 og vidner om en vigtig fase i Ferraras maleri, på overgangen mellem sengotikken og den tidlige renaissance. Det Kongelige Biblioteks blade kan tilskrives Giorgio d'Alemagna og Breviarets historie viser, at i visse dele af kunsthandlen fortsatte den praksis, at opsplitte gamle manuskripter for at sælge deres sider enkeltvis, helt frem i 1950'erne.

