

ROBERT GIBBS

***The Imagery to Book III:
Part II of illuminated copies
of the Decretales Gregorii IX***

The paper considers a sample of about 70 copies preserving illuminated frontispieces plus two of Giovanni d'Andrea's *Novella*; these represent Martin Bertram's material from German and other libraries, the French municipal libraries online, most British examples (London/Oxford only selectively) and a range of Bolognese/Italian examples that dominate my own research. Almost all of the 70 manuscripts represent the celebration of the mass and the exclusion of the laity from the sanctuary; there are seven exceptions.

For the illumination scholar, and perhaps for the original patrons, the *Liber Extra* has a convenient compactness that sets it apart from Gratian's *Decretum*. Five books, five frontispieces, perhaps six to eight with the added material of the later 13th century. Unlike many Gratians the programmes of illuminated copies are generally complete except where those for Books I and III have been robbed out, a not uncommon misfortune. From the earliest surviving illuminated copies of the *Decretales* produced in Italy, and presumably in Bologna in the absence of substantial competing institutions before Padua's re-emergence from Ezzelino's hostility in 1259, it was normal to divide the text into two parts.¹ Already in the early Lincoln copy, MS 136,

¹ It is clearly for my legal and historical colleagues to determine how accurate these assumptions actually are and how far they apply to individual copies; my precepts are based above all on the consistency of certain aspects of production in various copies and the arguments presented by F. P. W. SOETERMEER, *Utrumque ius in peciis: aspetti della produzione*

attributable to Bologna itself through similarities with the *Parvum Volumen* in Bologna, Archiginnasio, MS A.132, which has a Bolognese provenance from S. Salvatore/S. Maria del Reno, the text is thus divided.² Book II ends on an extended gathering of 10 rather than 8 leaves, fol. 91-100, and Book III opens with the standard design of this and other early legal manuscripts, a portrait and *GREGORIUS* spelled out in white capitals, a design emulating the I-portrait of *IUSTINIAN* in the Codex. This division is much more explicit in Leonardo Gropi of Modena's highly precocious copy of the Decretals now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Lat. theol. b.4 (Fig. 116-120), divided into two parts at Book III and illustrated at each book with full narrative compositions, written in 1241 and clearly

libreria a Bologna fra Due e Trecento, Milano 1997, for the late development of book production in Padua and elsewhere compared with Bologna.

² R. M. THOMSON, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter*, Woodbridge 1989, p. 4-5, 105-106, pl. 54; R. GIBBS, *The 13th-century development of illumination in Bolognese copies of the Decretals of Gregory IX*, in: G. BRIZZI, M. G. TAVONI (ed.), *Dalla pecia all'e-book: Libri per l'Università: stampa, editoria, circolazione e lettura*, Atti del Convegno 21-25 ottobre 2008, Bologna 2009, p. 49-65. While MS 3 has 14th- and 15th-century records of ownership by canons of Lincoln, MS 136 is not recognisable in either 15th- or the 17th-century inventories; Thomson considers it an acquisition after 1454, but it may well have been held elsewhere in the cathedral at an earlier date and is unlikely to have been acquired after the Wren inventory.

illuminated at the same date, given its distinctive early 13th-century style and coherence with the text.³ Here the first Part has a colophon noting its conclusion and a blank verso facing Book III on the new gathering. This division is not followed consistently in other centres, suggesting that it did not have a textual basis; instead it would appear to be the direct result of the Bolognese stationers' practice of hiring the *peciae* of the manuscript in two sets, one for each part, officially taxed (charged for) accordingly, and thus it came to structure many university copies. On the other hand, unlegislated norms are not infallible guides to origin; there are fine Bolognese copies, at least in all their readily identifiable decorative aspects, which do not respect this division, most notably Jacopino da Reggio's Chantilly copy (397, cat. no. 216) owned from very early on by a member of the French royal house.

The obvious reason for the common division is that the two parts are of roughly equal length. But it also privileges the book dealing with the life of the

³ See B. BOMBI's paper in these Proceedings and O. PÄCHT and J. ALEXANDER, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library. Oxford II: Italian School*, Oxford 1970, p. 8, no. 73, pl. VI, reproducing Books II, III, IV; C. DE HAMEL, *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts*, 2nd ed., London 1994, p. 138-139, fig. 119 (Book V); R. GIBBS, *The Development of the Illustration of Legal Manuscripts by Bolognese Illuminators between 1250 and 1298*, in V. COLLI (ed.), *Juristische Buchproduktion im Mittelalter, Studien zur Europäischen Rechtsgeschichte 155*, Frankfurt am Main 2002, p. 173-218, at p. 194-198.

clergy, an important matter since it reaches into church discipline rather than the broader juridical principles that precede it. The title of the Book (*De vita et honestate clericorum*) derives from the 6th-century St. Martin of Braga's *Formula vitae honestae*, and is taken over by each of the successive *Compilationes* preceding Gregory IX's formal issue. The specific chapter *Ut laici* that opens Book III does not appear to be particularly crucial to these broader concerns, but it epitomises the profound contrast between Gregory's 13th-century clergy, a priesthood made exclusive by a century of papally driven reform, and that of the early Church or indeed its Reformation rivals. It is concerned with the reservation of the church sanctuary to the clergy centred on the priesthood during holy office and the exclusion of the laity from it. The opening title and the iconography usually associated with it reflect both the increasing emphasis on the doctrine of transubstantiation and the centrality of the Eucharist to church ritual and to the increasing exclusion of the laity from direct access to it.⁴ The canon is therefore very much an epitome of the

⁴ L. GRANT summarises the effect of these in the province of Normandy, exemplifying their universal impact, in: *Architecture and Society in Normandy 1120-1270*, New Haven and London 2005, p. 4-5, 30. The Franciscan Archbishop Eudes Rigaud of Rouen was particularly concerned as part of his reformist drive in the diocese that lay access to relics should not be allowed through the sanctuary; in these respects the Franciscans were far removed from the popular piety of the Reformation.

13th-century church of Gregory IX rather than the long established doctrines of Gratian's *Decretum*.

From a codicological and artistic point of view the significance of the frontispiece to Book III is clearer. Even taking the comprehensive illustration of the Leonardo Gropi copy into account we find little in the presentation of the early copies of the Decretals to identify most of its contents as an ecclesiastical rather than a juridical text other than the vestments of the judges who dominate the iconography. Most Bolognese and other Italian legal frontispieces are composed of two or three compartments showing a trial, a judge or possibly on occasion the emperor, or his ecclesiastical equivalent, confronting the parties in a judicial hearing or, for certain books, the accused. By the 1280s the two/three-bay division of the scene is given a certain architectural character, and Book I is often given its own frontispiece with the Trinity represented in partnership or replacing the opening promulgation. But it is only with Jacopino da Reggio's Pal. lat. 629 (Fig. 13-18) of a couple of years later that we find the settings acquire an overtly ecclesiastical presence, and this is particularly marked at Book III itself.⁵ Some of the contradictions that we find in the several variations on Jacopino's design may be due to this emphasis upon the church architecture it presents.

The norms of treatment of Book III provide three issues for us to consider, apart from the possibility of exceptional imagery. *First* is the nature

⁵ GIBBS, *The Development* (see n. 3), p. 201-210.

of the *division* of the manuscript itself and the relationship of the display to it. *Second* is the nature of the *scene*, normally the enactment of the mass at an altar, sometimes with an architectural setting as in the Leonardo Gropi manuscript, and *thirdly* the extent to which the precise details of the text are represented, indeed understood, by the illuminator, as is surprisingly often not the case. In fact, as regards exceptions, the celebration of a mass or some kind of office at the altar is remarkably standard throughout, even in the rather odd early Lincoln MS 3. It may be that a broader implication was taken by 13th-century clerics from the imagery chosen by most illuminators or their patrons, and that it also indicated the importance of the dignity of the clergy performing the sacred office in relation to the notorious controversy over the communion enacted by a sinful priest: I am not aware of any specific indicator of such a wider interpretation. A further consideration affects the book as a whole, along with the rest of individual manuscripts, to wit, the extent to which the titles within are also illustrated by distinctive and relevant protagonists in their initial, something which Jacopino seems to give unparalleled attention to.

In a fairly considerable body of manuscripts I have looked at including those Martin Bertram has presented to us and some of the French municipal copies I have found very few exceptions to the normal iconography, generally marked by being early or late or of German/Austrian origin, or from Padua where new iconographies began to supplant the established legal iconography in certain fairly smart copies even from the later 13th century. An

early copy with illumination in the Venetian/Paduan style, Avranches 150, is a fairly early copy from between ca. 1260-80, probably from Padua.⁶ It provides such an exception to what became the standard choice of theme: it shows three clerics seated as an example of the states of meditative clerical life.⁷ It has the pre-alphabetical system of allegations together with underlined lemmata, and is divided into parts. In many respects its grotesques are still close in type and colour to the Lincoln Decretals. Avranches 150's early date is reflected in unusual iconography perhaps for a monastic patron: it shows three clerics seated as an example of the states of meditative clerical life.

Reflecting the changes at a later date Marta Pavón Ramírez has studied Vat. lat. 6054, written by Francesco Florio for the Archbishop of Sens in 1483, with Parisian illumination, concluding that its deathbed scene represents the chapters covering ecclesiastical testaments,⁸ while the Auxerre

⁶ Frédérique Cahu has written an excellent dissertation on the manuscript: *Étude du manuscrit 150 conservé à la Bibliothèque d'Avranches: les Decretales de Gregoire IX*, Maitrise de l'histoire de l'art 1999-2000, Paris IV Sorbonne, deposited in the library, giving a full description of its contents and decoration. It may be dated by the addition of the additional legislation prior to Nicholas III in a different North-European influenced style though in a palette close to the preceding main text.

⁷ Avranches, BM 150 fol. 113 (Internet: see Indice III).

⁸ M. PAVÓN RAMÍREZ, *Manuscritos de derecho canónico iluminados: Las Decretales de Gregorio IX de la Biblioteca*

manuscript recalls her comments on Vat. lat. 1384 as a depiction of the importance of clerical obedience. I have a total of seven cases out of some 62 historiated copies where the celebration of the mass is not represented here. One obvious contradiction to the prioritising of Book III appears in Leipzig 967 (Fig. 62), where it is inverted by reducing its frontispiece to a foliate initial, not, however, a normal procedure in fully illuminated copies. Here it is perhaps the result of the scribe omitting to provide a larger space despite its opening a new leaf/gathering? More typical is the use of such foliate initials throughout or after the opening page as in Leipzig 965 (Fig. 56-59).⁹ This is rare in Italian manuscripts, but Martin Bertram has produced an example in Montecassino MS 63 (Fig. 299-303) from around 1300-1310.

As the second major opening of the manuscript Book III will come to be given special treatment comparable to Book I, and unfortunately in some cases that extends to both being robbed from the manuscript, as is the case for both Durham's major Bolognese copies, C.I.9 from Bologna and C.I.10 written and decorated with marginal grotesque doodles by a Bolognese scribe. Ideally, one would like to start discussion of the mature Bolognese copies with Durham C.I.9, quite closely dateable by its context and probable association with Robert de Insula, prior of Finchale and subsequently bishop of Durham, who appears to have been commissioning

Apostólica Vaticana, tesis doctoral, Universitat de Barcelona, Barcelona 2007, p. 271-277.

⁹ Manuscripts notified by Martin Bertram.

numerous manuscripts in Bologna between 1268 and 1270.¹⁰ It has lost its opening frontispieces, almost certainly a pair of them since two leaves are missing, and Book III, which certainly fell at Part II. A similar fate has fallen to Durham C.I.10, written by the scribe who provided the later additions to C.I.9 in the 1280s, Guillelmo da Bologna.¹¹ C.I.10 was probably written towards 1290 and illuminated by a fine French or Francophile English illuminator. These will fail to appear here, then, though the manuscripts are perhaps the most important copies in Britain apart from the 1241 Oxford copy. One might expect the art history of the Decretals to be dominated by illuminated Bolognese copies in the so-called 'First Style' or 'Academic' as I have proposed to call it, the art

¹⁰ Giovanna Murano has identified him as the '*Roberto de Talare, anglico*', alias '*de Crilao*', '*de Chicam*', '*de Chircam Dulmensis diocensis*', '*de Gurchan*', '*de Grican*', '*de Crican*', '*de Chircam Dualnensis diocensis*', a perhaps excessive range of variations to be securely assigned to one man despite the unfamiliarity of Northern English place names in Bologna: G. MURANO, *Copisti a Bologna (1265-1270)*, *Textes et Études du Moyen Âge* 37, Turnhout 2006, p. 47-52.

¹¹ See Bombi's paper for a detailed study of the former, including some highly challenging conclusions about the integral nature of the whole of C.I.9, including the later additions, written almost certainly by Guglielmo da Bologna who wrote C.I.10, presumably not in Bologna, and whose illumination appears to be English or French of a kind not demonstrably present in Italy: see GIBBS, *The 13th-century development* (see n. 2), p. 61-63, fig. 4-5.

proceeding from the essentially schematic portrait and inscription of Lincoln 136 to develop a simple narrative in a frame of two or three compartments, usually in the mature style arcaded. These naturally lend themselves to form the structure of a church or church arcade in the context of Book III, as already in the 1241 Oxford copy; so the style and the design fit naturally together at this point more dynamically than the otherwise standard legal scene of judge and protagonists in facing compartments. However, when glossed copies might be expected to proliferate they are in fact outnumbered by contemporary French and occasionally English copies and later Bolognese ones, though the material for Britain is very sparse today, rather as in the case of the Scandinavian fragments.¹² A majority of the copies in Durham and elsewhere are French, one or two English or perhaps English copies of French ones, as has been claimed for the finer of the Hereford copies. There is a single modest Bolognese illuminated copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale,¹³ and most of the several Italian 13th-

¹² M. BERTRAM, *Dekorierte Handschriften der Dekretalen Gregors IX. (Liber Extra) aus der Sicht der Handschriften- und Textforschung*, Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft 35 (2008), p. 31-65, at p. 31f.; Id., *Kanonistische Handschriften im mittelalterlichen Schweden*, in: J. BRUNIUS (ed.), *Medieval Book Fragments in Sweden*, Stockholm 2005, p. 132-183.

¹³ BNF lat. 3944; see F. AVRIL, M.-Th. GOUSSET, C. RABEL, *Manuscrits enluminés d'origine italienne II: XIII^e siècle*, Paris 1984, p. 109f., cat. 135, pl. lxix; Book III has a single-column illustration in the text (as for the other

century copies in the Vatican are not securely attributable in their illumination to Bologna itself. It is possible that even in the 1260s there were still few artists in Bologna working in a specifically local manner.

While the general subject matter of Northern examples matches the Italian material, the possibilities for the development of setting and narrative in Italian manuscripts rapidly outstrip frontal treatment of a limited relief space in the 'Gothic' art of the North. It is only in the 14th century that these possibilities come fully into their own in the surviving Bolognese manuscripts when Northern copies seem to be greatly reduced in number in the face of the compilation of the *Liber Sextus*.

The lack of abundant material for the 3rd quarter of the 13th century is all the more surprising for the precocity of the Leonardo de' Gropi example of 1241. This is given by Anne Derbes as the earliest secure evidence of the raising of the host in Italian celebrations of the mass, even though it is traceable back to the theological concerns with Transubstantiation and the host at the 1215 Lateran council, and it is considered to have been established very early in Paris.¹⁴ The earliest source for the elevation in Roman practice is considered to

frontispieces), showing the elevation of the host during the mass.

¹⁴ A. DERBES, *Picturing the Passion in Late Medieval Italy*, Cambridge 1996, p. 17-18, 187, n. 31 (the manuscript not in the index).

be the *Indutus planeta* ascribed to Haymo of Faversham and dated 1243, but Derbes notes the evidence of the Oxford Decretals that it must have been established earlier. Among the earliest copies of the Decretals the treatment of the host is therefore a matter of interest, though standard by the subsequent stage of illumination. In other respects the illumination to Gropi's work is remarkable. The structure consists of three square domed bays recalling the spreading layout of Modena Cathedral itself, though the first with four columns also strongly evokes a ciborium over the altar. The others have only a central pier suggesting, but misleadingly, a triangular bay. The cupole are carried on columns with foliate capitals and are separated by pinnacles alternately shown from the side and from above, clearly a decorative rather than a descriptive approach to space and structure. The figure style is animated and very competent though not particularly stylish, essentially late Romanesque with strong contours and facial modelling perhaps reflecting remotely Gothic and Byzantine influences; the pleated tunic or amict of the priest represents the extended survival of 1200 style drapery in Tuscan painting. But the articulation of the subject is remarkable: the priest is framed at the altar raising the host above the chalice and missal; a deacon with other clergy holds the patten in readiness in the second bay, and a group of laity occupy a separate bay, as they should. The cloak suggests the leading layman is actually noble and in an archaic short tunic, since such short garments increasingly indicate a lower class from this time. In short the scene looks back to earlier

traditions of representation as well as forward to the mature design of the 1280s. Although it appears to me that there is no evidence for any substantial academic body in Modena itself that might explain the prophetic nature of this manuscript, it is clear that both as artists and scribes, perhaps also as patrons, the Modenese occupied an elite position among the artisans of Bologna by the later 13th century. Whether we consider the signatures of the Gerona Bible signed by Bernardino de Mutina and the Bible of Niccolò da Montenaro signed by Modenese dei Grisolfi, active in Bologna even if the bible was written in Padua, to refer to the illumination instead of or as well as the calligraphy, these Modenese are associated with top order manuscripts, and likewise Jacopino da Reggio.¹⁵

A pair of manuscripts in the Chapter Libraries of Lucca 137 and Piacenza Cod. 59, provide fair examples of Bolognese Decretals for the 1270s and 80s.¹⁶ If my notes are correct Lucca, Bibl. Capit.,

¹⁵ R. GIBBS, The Signatures of Bolognese Painters from 1250 to 1400, in: *L'Artista Medievale*, Comune di Modena/Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, Modena, 17-19 November 1999, *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa*, Ser. IV, Quaderni 16 (2003), Pisa 2008, p. 322-324.

¹⁶ G. DALLI REGOLI, La miniatura, in: *Storia dell'Arte Italiana* 9*, Grafica e immagine I, Scrittura, miniatura e disegno, Torino 1980, p. 175-178, fig. 201-210, who first published the latter noting their similarity, misdated them to the early 14th century; M. BOLLATI, in: M. MEDICA (ed.), *Duecento: Forme e colori del Medioevo a Bologna*, Venice 2000, p. 257-261. For the Piacenza MS, wrongly described as

MS 137 has the Gregory X legislation of 1274 added, while Piacenza has it included with the 1282 gloss and is therefore a few years later. The Piacenza copy is strongly Romanesque in idiom, though Quintavalle, demonstrating the incoherence of art-historical studies of the period calls it 'cultura neobizantina emiliana'. Just how wrong is this usage the art of Jacopino da Reggio demonstrates quite vividly. Both manuscripts feature a Trinity for Book I, but in other respects they share the iconography of the 2nd, 3rd and 4th books with Leonardo de Gropi's. In the Lucca copy the composition, by the second very inferior hand probably responsible for Bologna Museo Civico MS 510, is divided into two bays of trefoiled arches, a stone tower rising above the altar bay in which the priest raises the host accompanied by his acolyte. There is a tumultuous crowd in the first arcade, not specifically repelled but separate from the two priests celebrating mass in the second. In the second is a great throng of reverential laity. The Piacenza copy is more consistent in quality. It returns to the three-bay design and stresses the concern of the text by placing a cleric holding back the laity at the heart of the composition. The priest occupies most of the space of the 2nd and 3rd bays, simple arches, while his assistant is placed in front of the support between the 2nd and 1st, in which the congregation is placed.

'Costituzioni' see A. C. QUINTAVALLE, *Miniatura a Piacenza*, Venezia (1963), p. 160-161, for Book III fig. 341.

One fragment by an artist active on the Durham manuscripts is preserved in the Cini Foundation, Venezia, no. 2017,¹⁷ though in the Robert de Insula set he is active in the civilian *Parvum Volumen* C.I.4 and the *Codex* C.I.6, rather than the Decretals. He is also, however, the artist responsible for completing Lucca 137. His figures' triangular darkly shaded eyes are closer to the main artist's work than his additions to the manuscript or his contributions to the Durham *Volumen* and *Codex*, suggesting that it was intermediary in date between the beginning of the Lucca manuscript and its completion, perhaps illuminated alongside it in the same workshop. His triple arcade is a typical example of the mature 'First Style' setting except that he graduates the widths from the wider cusped altar bay at the right, privileging the sanctuary and successively narrower in the other two. An acolyte holds back the throng from the first bay, but the kneeling cleric below him masks the clarity of the division of space, and the uniting of altar and sanctuary is unusual, as are the two bays for the laity.

A curious manuscript in the BAV, S. Maria Maggiore 123, shows a mid-later 13th-century *littera nova*-type script with contemporary gloss but no lemmata despite heavy annotation. It is addressed to

¹⁷ Cited by M. BOLLATI, in: M. MEDICA (ed.), Duecento (see n. 16), p. 259, and published in G. MARIANI CANOVA, Miniature dell'Italia Settentrionale nella Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Vicenza 1978, p. 79, no. XI, fig. XI; mislabelled as "Officium B. M. Virginis in an 18th or 19th-century hand".

Bologna, and has no further texts despite being attributed to Boniface in the S. Maria Maggiore shelfmark. Its illumination is curiously archaic and rather rough, heavily outlined in black, with green grounds to the faces reminiscent of some material currently considered Paduan, but with the prominent gold balls on the grounds of some secondary initials generally associated with the *Conradin Bible* and South Italian work of the 1260s-70s. The figure style is dominated by 12th-century style dampfold. Its Book III is structurally Part II, divided into two trefle-arched bays with castellation hinting at the influence of the 'Second Style'. In the first the priest and acolyte kneel at the altar, a curiously trestled structure, raising the host. The second bay is occupied by kneeling black monks, avoiding the question of the laity altogether.

None of the 13th-century Vatican copies has a structural division into two parts at Book III except for the group modelled upon Pal. lat. 629 (Fig. 13-18) and Vat. lat. 1391 addressed to Bologna with both alphabetical keying and underlined allegations has somewhat uncharacteristic academic filigree smaller in scale than usual and rather cursive in execution, while the illumination is executed in coloured washes rather than the body colour normal in Bolognese work. This execution is unusual, though it is refined in drawing, and the long faces with calm expressions are not too dissimilar from the important Vat. lat. 1390. Book III opens a new column on the recto of a new gathering, rather as if the scribe had overshot a standard division of the text. It is a three-arched composition with little towers and cupola not directly related to the axis of

the altar. The structure is used to separate the priest from the clergy, one of whom turns with a staff to indicate to the laity in the left-hand arch the ceremony rather as if to explain their confinement.

Vat. lat. 1379 is extremely archaic in appearance, and certainly not 14th-century as Kuttner and Elze's catalogue defined it. It is written in a pre-1250s semi-textualis with Transalpine underlined referencing rather than either of the successive Bolognese keys for lemmata, though its address is to Bologna. Its primitive illumination is too crude to locate with any degree of confidence, with Northern-looking initials and simple outline scenes set in pale blue frames with pink grounds or the alternate. For Book III it adopts the simplest option of a priest raising the host with three clerics standing behind him. Slightly more refined is a copy of slightly later date, Vat. lat. 1384, addressed to Bologna and with alphabetical keying. Stylistically it does not look Bolognese but perhaps Umbrian (Perugia?), and instead of frontispieces it has only initials, unusual in a *Corpus Iuris* text from Bologna or Italy generally. It also provides one of the rare exceptions to the standard iconography, an archbishop enthroned before a seated group of clergy that he is instructing. Both of these features also apply to a French copy of *Compilatio III*, Vat. lat. 1378, unusually illuminated and already divided into parts, but the opening initial shows a pope standing and addressing a bishop with crook and another cleric. Its illumination suggests that it is later 13th-century after the *Liber Extra* had appeared. Initials for frontispieces in Gregory IX's Decretals are normal in French copies, as in

Admont 646 (Fig. 8) and Anglo-French examples like Durham C.II.3.

Cesena, Malatestiana D.V.1, of circa 1270-1280, with Innocent but not Gregory and in a Romanesque style with foliage untypical of mature Bolognese work does have the two-part structure.¹⁸ It has an address to Bologna and alphabetical key, but its Book III frontispiece is of simple square framed type like Vat. lat. 1379, albeit much better drawn and painted and certainly Italian. It may show the heterogeneous nature of early Bolognese illumination still, its heavy drawing and large round faces, and regular use of dampfold and the nested knee have some counterparts among the other early manuscripts. As usual the priest raises aloft the host, but he is shown at an undefined altar with the laity directly behind him, led by a kneeling doctor with miniver hood. Neither sanctuary nor the other attendants of a high mass is included, leaving the specific point unaddressed.

One of the finest examples of a 'First Style' Decretals, though an exceptionally classically inspired one, is Vat. lat. 1390 by the Master of the Vat. lat. 20 Bible, probably datable to the 1280s with evidence of its use and annotation before 1298,

¹⁸ For many Cesena manuscripts see F. LOLLINI, P. LUCCHI (ed.), *Libreria Domini. I manoscritti della Biblioteca Malatestiana: Testi e decorazioni*, Bologna 1995, but since it does not include a complete catalogue this modest volume is not referred to.

as Martin Bertram advised me.¹⁹ The scribe planned for a dense layout of illuminated initials to which the illuminator added extensive staves and knots and grotesques; moreover he wrote it without the usual division into parts. Instead it is interrupted by the insertion of the *Arbores consanguinitatis et affinitatis* in the 1340s but perhaps always intended thus before Book IV. In contrast to the cramped composition of the page the artistic quality is extremely refined, using fine blues, gold leaf and shell gold, delicate flesh tones built up in layers over a dark greenish verdaccio in the 12th- and early 13th-century Byzantine tradition, with which the artist was clearly familiar.²⁰ Book III returns to the Lucca design in two bays. The right border is truncated to allow a three-dimensional trefoiled baldachino and a slender church-tower to rise above the altar, exploiting the central margin resulting from its position lower down the page than usual. The kneeling congregation in receding and rising rows into depth suggests the influence of the more

¹⁹ S. KUTTNER, R. ELZE, *A Catalogue of Canon and Roman Law Manuscripts in the Vatican Library*, 2 vols., *Studi e Testi* 322, 328, Città del Vaticano 1986, 1987, vol. I, p. 176-8; A. CONTI, *La miniatura Bolognese*, Bologna 1981, p. 16, 24, fig. 61, reproducing the frontispiece to Book III.

²⁰ In contrast to Conti's account, the Vat. lat. 20-master cannot have transmitted these elements to Bernardino and Jacopino since they are generally closer to their Byzantine sources than he is, though in most respects also using more advanced models. It is clear, however, that there is more than one channel of transmission for the Byzantine influences involved.

modern Byzantine-inspired tradition. They are separated by standing acolytes and a division of the background from the priest. The idea of separation is not emphasised, but the strong spatial treatment establishes the hierarchy of participants very clearly.

The lively profile grouping with the celebrant's host raised aloft appears in Leipzig, Rep.II.10 (Fig. 73), perhaps as direct reduction of the finer design by an artist typical of Bologna's more modest and conservative productions, stylistically affected by Northern Gothic rather than the classicism of the Paleologan-influenced 'Second Style'. Bamberg, MS Can. 25 replaces the clerical choir with a single cleric holding up a candle between the priest and a group of laity together in an undefined space.²¹ MS Can. 48 of the same library, a commentary volume by Goffredo da Trani and others, removes the baldachino and the laity from a similar design, simplification typical of many legal commentary programmes.²²

One of the most elaborate Decretals programmes is the later Lucca copy, MS 287 by the artist responsible for the major work on the Treviso Bible, Bibl. Com., MS 253.²³ He is probably later

²¹ K. G. PFÄNDTNER, *Illuminierte Bologneser Handschriften der Staatsbibliothek Bamberg*, Bamberg 1996, p. 32f, Abb. 22, 23.

²² Ivi, p. 25-27, Abb. 17.

²³ G. DALLI REGOLI, in C. Baracchini (ed.), *Il secolo di Castruccio*, Lucca 1982, p. 216-218; GIBBS, *The Development* (see note 3), p. 202-204; Book III is not reproduced. Other works by the predominant artist of the Decretals: a) for the

than his simple design structures suggest, marked by a confident but very conservative linear definition of all forms. His flat arcades fall comfortably into the three-bay design and naturally separate the laity without any spatial distraction at all. On the other hand his celebrant lacks the exuberance of the Vat. lat. 1390 artist and of the design by Jacopino to which we will return. A very similar artist, both probably Paduan rather than Bolognese, illuminated manuscript Frankfurt, Barth. 11 using simpler two-arched frames which confuse the separation of the laity much as among Jacopino's imitators.²⁴ This manuscript is unusual in having a prayer to St. Paul at the end, which suggests the owner or the illuminator bore his name; it also has a scissor-cut gloss filler perhaps unique among Italian manuscripts.

Before turning to the possible source of Book III of Vat. lat. 1390, or perhaps even its compositional

Treviso Bible see: L. GARGAN, in: L. MENEGAZZI, Tomaso da Modena, Treviso 1979, p. 33 cat. 23, pl. 1; D. GASPARINI, Biblia Sacra, Pieve di Soligo 1980; U. BAUER-EBERHARDT, Die italienischen Miniaturen des 13.-16. Jahrhunderts, München 1984, cat. 30, p. 67f., pl. 88; b) for two leaves of a Gratian see: F. AVRIL, M.-Th. GOUSSET, C. RABEL, Manuscrits enluminés d'origine italienne II: XIIIe siècle, Paris 1984, p. 110-111, cat. 136, pl. lxxix: initials of the Paris *Seneca* (BNF lat. 11855).

²⁴ G. SWARZENSKI, R. SCHILLING, Die illuminierten Handschriften und Einzelminiaturen des Mittelalters und der Renaissance in Frankfurter Besitz, Frankfurt 1929, p. 93f., not reproduced.

progeny, we should turn North to Paris and the other French schools where a larger share of mid-late 13th century illuminated Decretals were perhaps produced, foregoing at Book III the architectural elements that have distinguished the smarter Italian copies. Durham C.II.3 dates from around 1255-60, since it includes Innocent IV's constitutions as an extension of Book V; it is glossed except for the last title. It is a really fine manuscript, illuminated, I think, in Paris perhaps by Branner's 'Mathurin Atelier'. It has a complete programme of figurative illumination directly addressed to the text, something still unusual in Bologna, apart from the 1241 Decretals of Leonardo Gropi. On the opening folio Gregory issues his text to two clerics, a contrast to Bolognese iconography where the Dominican Raymond de Penyafort either presents or receives the text. A seated king introduces *Rex pacificus*, and the Trinity depicted as two similar seated persons with the dove between them introduces Book I. Book III begins a new gathering, a clear division into Parts; a cleric repels a layman from the undefined space in which a priest celebrates mass, illustrating its subject with a clarity that disappears from Bolognese examples at least in the 1290s. French scenes generally show the priest preparing the chalice rather than mid-celebration, or a combination of the two. A single layman is being removed from the scene in the Durham copy. We might cast an eye over several other 13th-century French examples to get a broader picture from a handful of examples from Verdun, Troyes and Bourges, all with a very consistent imagery showing the emphatic removal of a layman, though not

necessarily, as the French Internet site has it, ‘un indigne’.²⁵ Arras 802 (9) is perhaps a local North Eastern version of the same iconography, while 816 (485) is at least generically Parisian in style.²⁶ Admont 646 (Fig. 10) is more advanced in style, though not necessarily later.²⁷ There is a fine $\frac{3}{4}$ of the 13th-century example from Reims 697, I think in a local idiom.²⁸ A perhaps Southern French copy is laid out similarly but with a hint of an architectural threshold between the choir and nave: Angers 379.

Nürnberg, Cent. II.79 (Fig. 111), clearly well before 1298 both stylistically and with the prominent Gregory X section (Fig. 114), anticipates Northern copies of earlier 14th-century in

²⁵ Vendôme 81 fol. 138r, Troyes 1244 fol. 157v, Bourges 186 fol. 138v and 189 fol. 130r (Internet: see Indice III).

²⁶ Arras 802 (9) fol. 43v and 816 (485), also Parisian in style and 13th century, fol. 98 (not so far included in the [www.enluminures](http://www.enluminures.com) site); F. XAVIER CARON, *Catalogue des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de la Ville d’ Arras*, Arras 1860; *Catalogue des Manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des Départements* Quarto Series IV, Paris 1872, both without reproductions.

²⁷ P. BUBERL, *Die illuminierten Handschriften in Steiermark I: Admont und Vorau, Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der illuminierten Handschriften in Österreich IV*, Leipzig 1911, p. 152, no. 130, taf. XXII 1-2. Reproductions by M. BERTRAM, *Dekorierete Handschriften der Dekretalen Gregors IX. (Liber Extra) aus der Sicht der Text-und Handschriftenforschung*, Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft 35 (2008), p. 31-65, at p. 46s.

²⁸ Internet: see Indice III.

introducing an element of violence with the cleric raising a stick to the intruder in each case, suggesting a specific composition being shared. 14th-century are the French miniatures in the copy written by the Bolognese Albertus Bartholomei de Argellata, Milano, Ambrosiana, B.43 inf., and Hamburg 2230 (Fig. 41), probably German but with French-style illumination recalling the Pucelle circle in the 1320s. Angers 376 is a generally conservative manuscript, perhaps Southern, making little allowance for elaborate iconography in its small initials, but with a distinctive moment in the priest's celebration. Nürnberg, Cent. II 43 (Fig. 107) has a bold border and emphatic arcade that may indicate a quasi-French example from a German region, here compared with the mysterious Vat. lat. 1379.

Admont 27 (Fig. 4),²⁹ illuminated by a South German (Austrian) artist provides a very different iconography, apparently displacing Book III with a scene more appropriate to Book II, implying the trial of a cleric for insufficiently 'honest' conduct, referring to the book title, if at all, rather than the opening title. It is notable that Book II has the Judgment of Solomon³⁰ replacing a scene normally of this nature. In none of these manuscripts after Durham C.II.3 do we find the clear division of parts in the layout.

A couple of English examples introduce a modest degree of architectural setting compared with these other Northern examples. Hereford's illuminated

²⁹ BUBERL (see n. 27), p. 94f., no. 80, fig. 99-100; Book III on fol. 139 is not reproduced.

³⁰ Reproduced by Bertram (see n. 27), p. 48.

legal manuscripts are all from France and Oxford, and mostly Northern France rather than Toulouse and Avignon. MS O.VII.7 is considered perhaps French by Mynors and Thompson, but Nigel Morgan suggests it is copied from a Parisian copy by an East Anglian workshop close to that which illuminated the *Carrow Psalter* in Baltimore.³¹ It has lost its opening folio but preserved the address; however the location has been added by the corrector as *Bononie commorantibus*, a possible argument for an early English provenance, perhaps origin, rather than Paris. It is not divided into parts, Book II not ending on the last folio but on the previous one of the gathering, III opening on a new page but not a new gathering and ending on the penultimate folio of the gathering. The Decretals lead into Innocent's IV legislation, opening with a foliate initial *I* with a dragon, just below top of the verso of fol. 219v which has the explicit of the main text on it. Innocent's address is again to Paris. Although its architectural features are purely two-dimensional there is a five-lobed arcade with a supporting column serving to exclude a layman of relatively humble character.

The manuscript of City of London Records Office, Guildhall MS Customary 9, has a very fine copy representing English illumination at its finest

³¹ N. MORGAN, *Early Gothic Manuscripts II: 1250-1285*, A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles IV.2, London 1988, p. 90, no. 119, ill. 106; R. A. B. MYNORS, R. M. THOMSON, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Hereford Cathedral Library*, Woodbridge 1993, p. 51, fig. 83(a).

in the period between the Alfonso Psalter and 1298, though since the first artist may be also responsible for the Murthly Hours (Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS 21000) and an Aristotle *Metaphysics* and a glossed Psalter (Bibl. Arsenal MSS 702 and MS 25), the former with very relevant teaching scenes including academic gowns hanging very vertically, there is a possibility that it is a Parisian import as Michael Michael has suggested, though noting also the affinity of the English *Windmill Psalter*. Book III appears to be by the hand of the Bible, Oxford, Bodleian, MS Auct. D.32, and the Psalter, Cambridge, Trinity College O.4.16.³² The manuscript was surely completed by an undoubtedly English artist closer to the Alfonso Psalter at Book V and the Innocent *Novellae*, his work comparable to Walters 102, and also the Bagnoregio Bible (these attributions are due mainly to Michael Michael). The address is to Paris, but with *Bononie* added in a marginal note. There is no sense of a division into parts, books III and IV falling mid-page. However the gloss adopts the Bolognese system of alphabetically-keyed lemmata with only a secondary role for the French habit of underlining keywords. For Book III an imposing structure like the rendering of a cathedral on seals of the period frames the scene, the only substantial structure of the manuscript, though arcading suggests Italian influence on some of the others.

³² L. FREEMAN SANDLER, *Gothic Manuscripts 1285-1385*, A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles V, London 1986, vol. II, p. 23f., cat. 13-14, ill. 29-34.

Hereford O.VIII.2 is not Italian as suggested by Mynors and Thomson, but Southern French, promulgated to Paris and Bologna, and with rather coarse French illumination, the paint worn, later 13th century, French, Northern in character with fine but dull blue, blueish grey, dullish vermillion and dull rose pink, dark for ground and light for letter generally. The workshop is probably traceable, though of modest character. Folio 1 has two pictures, Gregory and kneeling Raymon in dark brown over white, plus a Trinity in the manner of Parisian bibles. Book III is well understood, a layman left pushed back by an acolyte in a white surplice while a priest in blue in the centre facing right raises the host above an altar of white and vermillion cloth over vermillion large bricks, all very compact, vertical in emphasis from the shape of the initial V that has been extended by the scribes planning above the display lettering. At Book IV a large bishop turns from a small girl in white left to a small youth in brown right. Book V is in mid page, an S forming two small compartments, a pope above seated, an abbot or bishop with crook but no mitre between clerics in blue, neat body swerve, faces lost.

In the early 1280s Jacopino da Reggio (or the Byzantine-style artist of Jacopino's *Gratian*, Vat. lat. 1366) illuminated, and perhaps wrote,³³ a copy of

³³ F. FILIPPINI, G. ZUCCHINI, *Miniatori e pittori a Bologna, Documenti dei secoli XIII e XIV*, Firenze 1947, *passim*, Paolo di Jacopino Avvocato at p. 187f., 257-259; M. MEDICA, *Modelli bizantini nella miniatura bolognese del "secondo stile"*, in: R. D'AMICO (ed.), *Tra le due sponde*

the Decretals whose illumination was to be profoundly and widely influential: Palatino latino 629 (Fig. 13-18). This can be dated probably immediately before the inclusion of the last of the texts additional to the Decretals themselves: the constitution *Cupientes* of Nicholas III (1277-80) with the *apparatus* of Garsias Hispanus (before 1282) whose illumination is by Jacopino in a rather later manner from the rest of the manuscript, illuminated by the artist in person and as a continuous operation.³⁴ While the end of the manuscript might

dell'Adriatico: la pittura nella Serbia del XIII secolo e l'Italia, Ferrara 1999, p. 154, 161. Other examples of men recorded by Filippini and Zucchini as scribe and illuminator are Andreolo di Giovanni da Roffeno, brother of a painter, Bartolomeo da Modena, Guglielmo di Michele, Guido, Nicolò da Modena. The notary Gerardo di Pietro appears to have been the son of a 12th-century illuminator called Pietro and to be cited as illuminator himself in references to his own son Martino. Iacopo Aspettati, *notarius*, practised illumination, 1284-94, Valentino Pappazoni, *notario*, likewise in 1355 (*ibid.* pp. 10, 16-17, 111, 132, 190-1, 221, 228). M. FACCIOLO BRUNETTO, in: G. CANOVA MARIANI (ed.), *Parole dipinte: la miniatura a Padova dal Medioevo al Settecento*, Padova 1999, p. 76-80 argues that Modenese who says *feci at scripsi* in the *Bible of Niccolò da Montenaro* thereby indicates himself as its principal illuminator too. In 1269 Nicolò da Modena contracted to write, rubricate and illuminate a *Digestum vetus* for lib. 90 (Filippini and Zucchini, p. 174); for several instances of scribes or notaries practising illumination see Murano, *Copisti a Bologna* (n. 10).

³⁴ E. MITTLER, et al. *Bibliotheca Palatina. Katalog zur Ausstellung ... Heidelberg*, Heidelberg 1986, B 6.3.: vol. I, p.

be lacking its last gatherings, this slight but clear change of style provides a terminus for the main body of the book, particularly since it is so closely related to the rest.

Jacopino's structure is complex and ambiguous. The mass is set under a baldachino with the conventional 'Second-Style' tondo with relief and framing foliage demonstrating the command of light and shade; it has a blue background separate from the diapered background of the scene as a whole, and this is taken up again on the left to suggest opening into the world outside and perhaps the mystic world of the transubstantiation the priest is

52f., vol. II, p. 32: reproduction Book II; W. BERSCHIN, *Die Palatina in der Vaticana: eine deutsche Bibliothek in Rom*, Stuttgart 1992, p. 76-78; GIBBS, *The Development* (see n. 3), p. 201-210. But above all the change in the illumination, the only one in the whole manuscript, suggests that the constitution *Cupientes* on fol. 286-95 was an addendum made at the point of completion, particularly since it is by an artist close to the original artist. It is certainly not evidence of the more normal involvement of various workshops, since it is stylistically coherent, whereas collaboration invariably affects the whole of a Bolognese manuscript, even where a single workshop uses a weaker hand for secondary decoration. The last illumination may even be by Jacopino at a later date; in either case, the return of the artist or the arrival of a new hand within the workshop responsible for the original commission, would suggest a close correlation between the decision to include the new legislation in the manuscript and its publication, as well as the completion of the manuscript itself.

conducting. For Jacopino the sanctuary comprises a choir space around it as well. This space is defined by its diapered ground and by a double-arched structure carrying a railed off upper floor beyond which a series of aedicules or churches appear, and a separate one on the right that appears to belong to the principal structure. All of these towers are connected by a veil typical of 'Second Style' settings. Despite a very convincing definition of receding space, and the division of structures to separate the laity, the railed structure suggests the evocation of an Eastern church with Orthodox sanctuary rather than a Western one. The congregation for the mass is elaborately articulated: a kneeling deacon in surplice, two clerics in probably a canons' habit with cowl and open sides, the lectern as a division between them and an assortment of tonsured clergy, one of whom holds a censer aloft, and then the laity, a woman and four men, beyond the sanctuary entrance. Jacopino used a very similar treatment of the mass, without the outer architectural elements and laity, for the *De Consecratione* of Vat. lat. 1375.³⁵

Several manuscripts copy the opening frontispieces of Pal. lat. 629: Pal. lat. 632, illuminated by the illuminator associated with and perhaps to be identified as the scribe Modenese Grisolfi, Vat. lat. 1386 by an artist of essentially Early Gothic training imitating Jacopino's

³⁵ CONTI, *La miniatura bolognese* (see n. 19), fig. 139; A. MELNIKAS, *The Corpus of the Miniatures in the Manuscripts of the Decretum Gratiani*, 3 vols., *Studia Gratiana* XVI–XVIII, Rome 1975, vol. III, pl. V (after p. 1166).

Paleologan style in a rather alien idiom, a later copy illuminated by Modenese or a closely related artist circa 1305-10, Padova, Bibl. Capit., A 28, and an early 14th century copy, Vat. lat. 1387.³⁶ Circa 1300-10 a modest follower of Jacopino adapted a range of his compositions to a manuscript laid out by a more conservative scribe that respects the two-part division at Book III but not the double opening of Book I: Vienna, ÖNB, cod. 2066.³⁷ In another copy, Lucca, Bibl. Capit., MS 287, a couple of artists of the atelier responsible for the Treviso Bible illuminated a manuscript laid out for the double frontispiece and Part II but with rather different compositions deriving perhaps from an earlier work by Bernardino da Modena or Jacopino, incorporating the Crucifixion into a Trinity for Book I.³⁸ Other early 14th-century copies, Arras 11

³⁶ GIBBS, in: COLLI (see n. 2), p. 202-208; CONTI, *La miniatura bolognese* (see n. 19), pp. 52-54, fig. 131, 136, 141, 143, and erroneously at fig. 133.

³⁷ H. J. HERMANN, *Die Italienischen Handschriften des Dugento und Trecento II, Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der illuminierten Handschriften in Österreich Neue Folge V.2*, Leipzig 1930, p. 122-128, no. 78, taf. XLIX-1.

³⁸ G. DALLI REGOLI (see n. 23), p. 215-218. The three major scenes in the Lucca Decretals are by a closely related hand who adapted his style rather awkwardly to the classicism of the Paleologan Style to a far greater extent than the other artist. A step further away still from the innovations of Jacopino, perhaps deriving from an earlier model by him or by Bernardino da Modena, is Frankfurt Barth. 11 (SWARZENSKI, SCHILLING [see n. 24], p. 93-4, no. 85, as circa 1300; G. POWITZ, H. BUCK, *Die Handschriften des Bartholmässtifts und des*

and Laon 357, reflect its opening layout or the modifications of the derivatives. The integral nature of this group appears at the Book III opening on a new gathering in each case.³⁹

Jacopino was faced with two lines of rubric *explicit/ incipit* at the top of the column, whether by his own intention or not, and he took a momentous decision to expand the illumination beyond this text to suggest a vista opening up the page into a vision of Rome or the Heavenly Jerusalem to which the Life and Honour of the Clergy should lead its flock. The specific textural reference to the segregation of clergy and laity is expressed through a contrast of interior structures and outer ones. Significantly the imitating copies follow the layout of Jacopino's design faithfully, but this legal distinction is increasingly lost. Modenese's altar itself is isolated by the baldachino, but he runs the diapered ground across the altar space and replaces the blue 'sky' at the entrance with the turquoise base of the tower

Karmeliterklosters in Frankfurt am Main, Frankfurt 1974, p. 26f.), in which most of the general Lucca compositions have similar treatments, but there is only an initial with bust-length figures for the opening name *Gregorius*; the frontispiece shows Christ in a mandorla instead of the Crucifixion, and the Part II scene is reduced to two arches. The dating of both manuscripts to the 1280s/90s is suggested by the inclusion of the illuminated constitution *Cupientes* of Nicolas III in the Lucca manuscript.

³⁹ MELNIKAS, *The Corpus* (see n. 35), vol. III, *De Consecratione*, p. 1196, fig. 32 and pl. V, reproduces Pal. lat. 629 fol. 132, and Vat. lat. 1375, Jacopino's signed *Gratian*, as a comparison.

above. He allows the crowd to overlap the architectural division between sanctuary and the lay space so that they are actually plunged into the sanctuary itself. He has reduced the clergy in front of them to two acolytes before the lectern and the censer-holding cleric. Vat. lat. 1386 seems to have taken an independent reading of Jacopino's composition, preserving the blue altar space under the baldachino. The ochre tower becomes the side of the canopy, and the tower above changes colour to dark grey, though still independent of the others. The railed structure over the sanctuary is simplified and given more robust columns, marbled. But the background of the sanctuary has changed to gold leaf. His congregation is seen frontally, whereas Modenese's rises in a fan of kneeling and stooping bodies. Nevertheless, they run continuously in front of the columns bearing the upper structure so that there is no visible distinction or architectural division between them and the clergy.

In the later of the Modenese-like examples by an artist active on the Collegio di Spagna MS 280, perhaps the more mature Modenese after 1305, Padova A 28, influenced at Book II by the Arena Chapel's dramatic frontal and oblique architecture, for Book III, Jacopino's structure is greatly simplified, frontal but without those Giottesque spatial refinements. The column that might separate the audience has vanished and they are clearly merged as they shouldn't be into the sacrifice.

In Vat. lat. 1387 the division has vanished altogether as the priest, now seen in frontal perspective rather than the high viewpoint of Paleologan space, stands outside the altar structure.

Towers and railed superstructure have gone, replaced by a curtain whose hooks perhaps recall that railing. The return to a frontal treatment by this artist reminds us how close Jacopino's composition is to Vat. lat. 1390, suggesting a direct exchange of ideas between them, particularly since the Master of Vat. lat. 20 is clearly influenced by 'Second Style' technique and detail, though not its sophisticated expansive spaces.

Padova A 28 has introduced us to a family of manuscripts that adopt numerous traits of the Jacopino school without entering closely into the perspectival ambitions of his art, reducing the architectural setting to a series of truncated towers.⁴⁰ This features also in BAV, Urb. lat 159 by a workshop artistically more advanced than Vat. lat. 1386 but less closely attached to Jacopino's design, more affected perhaps by Northern Gothic. Here the structure is reduced to a three-arch design with some distinctly Paleologan features, and the separation of the laity is in fact more attentively observed, even with a cleric turning them aside as in Northern compositions. Vienna ÖNB cod. 2066 similarly flattens and fragments the architectural setting, but its crowd follows more closely Modenese's wheeling arc of worshippers with the clerics assigned the front row for the viewer rather than that closest to the celebrant.

⁴⁰ A. BARZON, *Codici miniati*: Biblioteca Capitolare della cattedrale di Padova, Padova 1950, p. 25, no. 25, tav. XXVIII, Book III not reproduced; S. BERNARDINELLO, *Catalogo dei codici della Biblioteca Capitolare di Padova*, Padova 2007, p. 54f.

A prolific Bolognese illuminator active in the early years of the 14th century (conceivably in Padua) produced a couple of illuminated Decretals. Arras 11(6) derives perhaps at a distance from Jacopino's design, and certainly from the general typology of his manuscripts. There is a double opening which appears to conflate Books I and II rather than the Trinity. For Book III he uses Jacopino elements but not Pal. lat. 629, removing the exterior and third bay and removing the laity to be represented by a girl in the initial. A still more generic version of Jacopino's composition is Kues 231 (Fig. 51): his Book IV shows architecture of the Jacopino school rather more faithfully. The church setting is reduced to a couple of towers, but the focus in the figures brings out the admonition of the acolyte to the group of kneeling women quite clearly.

Jacopino da Reggio has left us a second rather reduced version of his Pal. lat. 629 programme in Chantilly Ms 397 (cat. no. 216) owned from very early on by a member of the French royal house, since it bears the fleur-de-lys very prominently. Its compact structure forgoes the division into parts and indeed the two-column frontispiece as well, but it is one of a select handful of manuscripts which like Pal. lat. 629 provide a focused illumination for each title as well as the books themselves, in place of the mixture of conventional busts, grotesques and foliate initials generally found. Gone is the architectural setting, reduced to a simple diaper background, and like the whole tradition depending on Book III of the Pal. lat. 629 tradition there is no admonishing cleric, Jacopino relying here solely on

the separate rows of figures with the clergy in a rising sequence to reflect their degrees of proximity to the celebration, and the laity kneeling prayerfully at the back. The essential message is sufficiently expressed but not overtly; the attention to the detail of the altar is more noticeable than the title's content.

One can conclude from this sequence that the spatial challenges of Jacopino's elaborate setting fascinated his imitators but distracted them from the point of the text, without in any way drawing them into the wider subject matter of the book. His legacy in the new age of Franco Bolognese and the Giottesque is highly ambiguous, in contrast to French and English treatments where the exclusion of the laity is generally made explicit. The Bolognese illuminator seems more concerned with the expression of the setting as a complex structure in pictorial space, despite this frequently involving marked uncertainties over the architecture involved. Increasingly, however, the underlying function of the book and its frontispiece as a focus for church matters led to imposing developments from around 1320 onwards.

An illuminated *Apparatus decretalium* of Innocent IV apparently written in Bologna of quite high quality but with very modest and conservative illumination in a generic late 13th-century North Italian manner is Bamberg, Can. 51; in most of its frontispieces a bishop enthroned as judge addresses a couple of kneeling figures either within the initial set in a blue frame or in the frame itself. As a result

of this standardised and minimalist format typical of commentary volumes it is perhaps less surprising that its book III is an exception to the normal iconography with a couple of clerics similarly kneeling before the bishop in a pose of subjection.⁴¹

A highly unusual manuscript which perhaps belongs among the Bolognese but was mainly executed elsewhere is Nürnberg, Cent. II 42 (Fig. 100-104), whose opening scene is a minimal design by an artist responsible for the earlier of the Collegio di Spagna illuminated legal manuscripts without any articulation. But all the other frontispieces are in a caricature of the 'First Style' arcading and figure style, too crude to be safely attributable anywhere, though probably from Southern France. Book III represents the typical late 13th-century Italian design at its simplest, perhaps representing in this respect many examples from Toulouse or perhaps Catalonia.

A number of manuscripts of highly varied style and quality probably come from Southern France and perhaps Catalonia, among which there are various signs of an essentially Italian iconography and imagery. The profile grouping is led by the priest raising the host prominently, not so evident in the Northern manuscripts considered previously, without the emphasis upon the exclusion of the laity, and in the more sophisticated, and some of the less refined, following the two-three bay architectural framing of the Academic/'First Style',

⁴¹ K. G. PFÄNDTNER, *Illuminierte Bologneser Handschriften* (see n. 21), p. 32f.

and not the sophisticated spatial properties of Jacopino and 'Second Style'. MS Vic 144 (Fig. 135-140) with its Gregory X section (Fig. 142) is clearly relatively early among this group, remarkable for its prolific Bolognese-like grotesques (e.g. Fig. 323-326, 330-332, 337-339) and lively expressive version of a linear French Gothic style in an Italianate setting which divides the clergy from the laity without further comment (Fig. 138). A more Italianate workshop produced Laurenziana, MS Edili 86, with an incomplete programme around 1300.⁴² Book III is by a less Italian hand. Like two probably later manuscripts he turns the mass to the left, his rather tentative version of an Academic Style framework becoming an apse created by a trefle arch. Like the Italians of this date his audience is ambiguously, even incorrectly placed.

It is becoming increasingly recognised that a substantial body of manuscripts exists from the universities of Toulouse, Avignon and perhaps Montpellier whose character is far less French and more Bolognese than the material so far published as Tolosan. Many of these have not only a strongly Italianate figure style, heavier and more plastic than the light elegant linear illuminations of the North, but also the architectural framework, generally round-arched rather than Gothic, associated with

⁴² L. FABBRI, M. TACCONI (ed.), *I libri del Duomo di Firenze: Codici liturgici e biblioteca di Santa Maria del Fiore (secoli XI-XVI)*, Firenze 1997, p. 125, pl. 33; S. NICOLINI, in: MEDICA (ed.), *Duecento* (see n. 16), p. 297-300.

the 'First Style'. Sometimes the drawing is more marked; trefoiled arches appear: Vic 144 (Fig. 138) – and the imagery is also less marked by the expulsion of the laity than Northern examples: Laurenziana, MS Edili 86, Köln, Stadtarchiv W 275 (Fig. 44) shows the prominent skeletal architecture of one strand, more Northern in technique though not at all Parisian, and my own hypothesis is that it is from Avignon, since clearly after 1300.⁴³ In Hereford O.VIII.2, 13th-century Southern French and only slightly Italianate, a layman left pushed back by an acolyte while the priest in blue in the centre facing right raises the host above an altar of white and vermillion cloth over vermillion large bricks, all very compact but in a vertical format. A particularly fine but rogueish example of the Franco-Italian (and English) is Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Maclean 136, particularly notable for being in parts, but divided by a very spectacular frontispiece at Book IV but not at Book III.⁴⁴ Given the heraldry and abundant gold on this page I wonder whether it was associated with a major marriage. Despite its strongly Italianate character, this Book III does show the pushing out of the laity.

⁴³ An earlier copy in Köln, Dombibl. 130 (Fig. 295), belongs to this category but lacks figurative frontispieces. J. M. PLOTZEK, U. SURMANN, *Glaube und Wissen im Mittelalter. Die Kölner Dombibliothek*, Köln 1998, p. 270-274, no. 57.

⁴⁴ S. L' ENGLE, R. GIBBS, *Illuminating the Law: Medieval Legal Manuscripts in Cambridge Collections*, London 2001, p. 196-203, no. 14.

We have reached the 14th-century, the carelessly defined 'Age of Giotto'. It seems appropriate to take here the other Hamburg manuscript, Hs. 2229 (Fig. 36-39), whose style combines a strong Giottesque character found in Bolognese illumination in Padua from Francesco da Barberino's Hours of ca 1306-8⁴⁵ onwards with the kind of diapered ground, gold on dark green, typical of the 1320s-40s in Bologna; its filigree is late 13th century rather than full 14th, and the same may be said of the geometric foliate initials with their blue-pink palette. Clearly it is missing the opening folio and with it, alas, the address of the text, but the conservative nature of some elements, including the very vertical page layout, suggest this is a Paduan manuscript illuminated by a native Veneto artist rather than the usual Bolognese intruders.⁴⁶ The grey-pink-russet flesh tones and green/pink palette recall the Treviso Book of Hours in the British Library.⁴⁷ One is tempted to see its unusual iconography for Part II, Book III, which this opening clearly is, as the result of Paduan taste and

⁴⁵ K. SUTTON, The lost 'Officiolum' of Francesco da Barberino rediscovered, in: *The Burlington Magazine* 147 (March 2005), p. 151-164; actually unknown private collection in Italy (see *Il Giornale*, 22.2.2007).

⁴⁶ For the range of Paduan illumination in this period, not clearly distinguished between Bolognese and Veneto-originating artists, see G. CANOVA MARIANI (ed.), *Parole dipinte: la miniatura a Padova dal Medioevo al Settecento*, Padova 1999.

⁴⁷ London, BL Add. MS 15265; see CANOVA MARIANI, p. 104f., no. 31.

perhaps the impact of Giotto's frescoes in the Arena Chapel dedicated to the Virgin Annunciate. Here she and her child appear as protectors for the adoring clergy, not unlike the lower level of the Scrovegni Judgement. On the other hand, unusual iconographies begin to appear in the *Liber Sextus* and *Clementines* of the Bolognese soon after, though Padua's influence may play a part in this.

While Giotto's art was being absorbed by Paduan painters the greatest Bolognese illuminator of the 14th century, the 1328-Master, who probably spent much of his career in Padua, transformed the Book III design firstly by developing the sense of architectural setting and then extending its meaning. He was certainly affected by Giotto's art before and probably after the Arena Chapel: there is a suggestion that he knew the Lower Church cycles at Assisi. But since his career runs back, in my view, to the Francesco da Barberino Hours of ca. 1306 he is clearly a contemporary rather than a follower of Giotto, and I strongly incline to the possibility that his work is close to the missing 'Franco Bolognese'.⁴⁸ The 1328-Master's work has immediate roots or ties with a contemporary workshop. A couple of artists from around 1310-20 anticipate him, perhaps, in reversing the composition, exploring the architectural possibilities of the subject in a rather confused blend of 'Second Style' and early Giottesque conceptions: in the first

⁴⁸ Gianluca del Monaco indicated to me that according to Jacopo della Lana Franco was dead by the early 1320s, which would preclude an exact identification with the 1328 Master.

example, by the artist who illuminated the opening of the Gratian, Vat. lat. 2492 and part of the workshop responsible for the Marlay Gratian leaves in Cambridge,⁴⁹ and Leipzig, Rep.II.9c (Fig. 66-70), we have a frontal viewpoint of two separate structures reflecting the new space, while decorated with pseudo-Paleologan foliage. The two separate entities reflect the Jacopino Pal. lat. 629 composition but without the sense of an outer structure embracing the altar space. Here an apse replaces the baldachino altogether, while the figure group completely ignores the division between sanctuary/clergy and the laity. A simple version very similar in style is probably by the 1328-Master himself: BAV, Rossianus 592, simplifying the church structure to a monumental baldachino in convincing frontal foreshortened space, again facing to the left rather than the right.⁵⁰ The Leipzig scene also removes the emphasis on the elevation of the host, retained in the Rossiana scene and in the Vienna copy that epitomises the 1328-Master's work, but which we will see largely ignored in the 1330s and 40s, only to make a comeback in the most imposing mid-14th-century examples.

Of the same generation as the Marlay artist is a quite prolific hand who illuminated much of Laon

⁴⁹ For the Marlay leaves see GIBBS, in: *Illuminating the Law* (see n. 44), p. 126-32, no. 5.

⁵⁰ H. TIETZE, *Die illuminierten Handschriften der Rossiana in Wien-Lainz, Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der illuminierten Handschriften in Österreich V*, Leipzig 1911, p. 77, no. 113, ms. IX, 282, with a surprisingly dismissive comment and no illustration.

357 including all the frontispieces. It is divided emphatically into parts, and book III combines several conflicting ideas of the post-Giotto scene: an emphatic frame, a rather fine exterior of a church reflective of the Scrovegni Chapel, a mass that appears to take place in the open air, and a congregation mixing clergy and laity. Only the noble in the frontispiece suggests the physical separation required.

Wien cpv 2040 is also a work of the 1328-Master in his rather more generic style readily reproduced by assistants.⁵¹ Its designs are varied and subtle, however. The designer anticipated a grand approach by giving each book a two-column space at the head of the page, though it also leaves pages blank to start Part II as a new gathering. The 1328-Master's concept of a church is frontal but truncated, as in several scenes at Assisi's Francis Cycle and the Arena Chapel. It is reversed in relation to virtually every previous composition Italian and French apart from the two we have just considered, and emphasises the raising of the host as in the Jacopino tradition. His treatment of the participants is here ambiguous, however, the clergy on the left and the laity on the right: the latter are in what appears to be the cloister or a less sacred part of the church, but their front ranks encroach on the altar steps, the second and third.

By ca. 1325-30 the artist or his scribal associates had developed an even grander layout in which the

⁵¹ H. J. HERMANN, *Die Italienischen Handschriften II* (see n. 37), p. 153-62, no. 86, *Tafel LXIII-LXIV*; CONTI, *La miniatura bolognese* (see n. 19), p. 74, 83, 85, fig. 239.

frontispiece, virtually half-page, is integrated with the text initial and above all the borders between text and gloss, ultimately extending to the bas-de-page as well. The development of new iconography, shown in the Madonna of the Hamburg Paduan copy, is encouraged by this extended 'canvas' and is also evident in the *Liber Sextus* fragment accompanying the Morgan Library leaves which epitomise his mature work.⁵² There the normal Boniface scene is replaced by Christ and the Doctors with Pope and Emperor discreetly introduced, Gratian fashion, into the background. Here, Morgan MS 716-4,⁵³ the artist turns his church back to the conventional right-facing design, but he has now expanded its architectural definition into a complete church structure, the whole of its interior dedicated to the sanctuary itself, and the point of the opening title stressed by pushing the laity out of the west door, with a few privileged individuals allowed to approach from a side chapel. But the artist also considers the broader theme of the whole book by introducing the ages of man and man's estates into that border. The cherubic infants the artist also shows in the Turin Digest appear lower right before an aged hermit; younger men on the left. A soldier wields a sword, while another older man represents the post-martial state. And leading into the main scene is the tonsuring of a cleric in the text initial itself.

⁵² M. HARRSEN, G. K. BOYCE, *Italian Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library*, New York 1953, no. 37; CONTI, *La miniatura bolognese* (see n. 19), fig. 235.

⁵³ HARRSEN-BOYCE, nos. 33-5; CONTI, fig. 238.

From the group of illuminators associated with the 1328-Master's leading associates in the Turin manuscripts and dominated in terms of output at least by the Illustrator, we have a significant example of how the 14th-century illuminated Decretals came to be developed in a less considered but visually quite compelling fashion, closer to later Giottesque notions of architecture. A particularly horrible version of these architectural concerns is present in Vat. lat. 1385, probably datable between the Master's own Vienna and Morgan volumes and by a hand who appears in Vat. lat. 1366 which was probably begun, very briefly by the 1328-Master before passing to younger and generally important artists dominated by the so-called Illustrator.

MS Angers 378 (Internet: see Indice III), is the work of a relatively little known artist of some skill, close to the 1328-Master but distinctive for his chalky white facial complexions and ambitious but very symmetrical architectural structures, not least of which is the stepped church-structure in which one of the first symmetrical masses with the celebrant seen directly from behind appears. This is clearly a part-II frontispiece with its formal layout, twin-column design in contrast to the single column treatments for books II, IV, V. The artist is of sufficient stature to have developed this as a new interpretation, visually speaking, with the central space clearly reserved to the clergy without the need for active intervention to the kneeling congregation on either side. It is of significance that this is the second artist of the Institutes, Paris, BNF lat. 14343, within an essentially complete set of the

Corpus Iuris Civilis (14339-43), and that the artist who executed Book II of the Angers Decretals was the Illustrator, or one of the artists associated with that workshop, while the third who took over the last books is the prolific and rather conservatively stylising artist, the Paris Gratian Master, a frequent collaborator with the Illustrator. Both these artists along with the younger 1346-Master worked together on the Paris set.

Among the other products of this circle Palatino lat. 631 by Conti's 'Servite Crucifixion D Master' has the added interest of being the twin of a Codex in the same collection, Pal. lat. 759, with which it shares most aspects of its two opening frontispieces reflecting the strong similarities of the Codex illumination. In this manuscript as in the Angers copy the parts are marked by twin column frontispieces, and the others by single-column treatments, even the lavish Morgan leaves that survive appear to show the same division. Vat. lat. 1385 essentially follows this structure but oddly gives Book III and V a double-column opening. The altar in at which the priest celebrates is now the centre of a symmetrical composition with flanking canopied structures, presumably notional chapels. On the left a cleric holds back a group of kneeling women and men, but on the right is a more ambiguous combination of clerics in choir followed by laity. Familiarity with the Jacopino tradition explains the nature of the title, but the particular concern of the canon is rather overshadowed by the general architectural setting and ecclesiastical impact.

Following rather luxuriantly on from the Palatine example is Vat. lat. 1389, one of the richest manuscripts by the *Illustrator*, probably Tommaso Galvani recorded in both Bologna and Padua where his son was both a book dealer and perhaps a doctor of laws as well.⁵⁴ Only the opening pages maintain the 1328-Master's elaborate inner border, but the two-column frontispiece dominates most of the books. Its extended view of the clergy reaching up to cardinal and pope in the stalls suggests a broad view of the Book as about the clergy altogether, though the laity are appropriately confined to the outer secondary spaces that the elaborate though rather ambiguous architectural structure creates.

By way of a contrast is Vat. lat. 1388 (Fig. 19-24), written in Bologna circa 1340 to 1342, when it was completed by a Florentine scribe, Lorenzo di Pietro da Firenze, for Brunetto di Andrea da Firenze in 1342.⁵⁵ Lorenzo, however, was not the first scribe, and Brunetto may not have been the original patron for whom this highly distinctive manuscript was intended. At some point before 1350 it had certainly become a Florentine manuscript, since folio 48v, left incomplete by the original Bolognese illuminator, was illuminated by a

⁵⁴ CONTI, *La miniatura bolognese* (see n. 19), p. 90f., tav. XXVIII-XXIX, fig. 266, 275, 279, unfortunately not including Book III; E. CASSEE, *The Missal of Cardinal Bertrand de Deux*, Firenze 1980, p. 26, 74, 116, fig. 15, 95, again not including Book III.

⁵⁵ KUTTNER, ELZE, *A Catalogue* (see n. 19), vol. I, p. 174f.; M. PAVÓN RAMÍREZ, *Manuscritos de derecho canónico iluminados* (see n. 8), p. 251-259.

Florentine artist working in the tradition of Pacino di Buonaguida. But the original scribe or, more probably scribes, as well as the principal and associated illuminators are certainly Bolognese. Lorenzo, however, was probably not Bolognese trained, and certainly the scribe who wrote the accompanying text was not. The script for the text of the last two books is distinctively narrower and more pointed, more ‘Gothic’, than the first three books which are in a range of fine Bolognese rotunda text and glossing scripts. Lorenzo signed it twice: ‘Lorenzo di Pietro of the parish of S. Felice in Florence wrote the aforesaid apparatus, *or the major later part of it* [my italics], for the jurist Brunetto di Andrea of S. Lorenzo in Florence’ and at the end of gloss to Book V, title 31 (fol. 303va): *Anno Domini millesimo trecentesimo quadragesimo secundo die undecimo maii scripta fuit hec columpna per me Laurentium Petri de Florentia*.⁵⁶ Originally, however, as planned in the opening leaves, the manuscript was a highly specialised and distinctive production in which the glossed Decretals are supplemented by what may have been intended to be the complete

⁵⁶ MURANO, *Copisti* (see n. 10), p. 71, has noticed the hidden name *Lau/rem/tius* in the *Decretum Gratiani*, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum McClean 183 which she interprets as the scribe’s, perhaps Lorenzo Stephani who wrote the notaries’ guild statutes in 1327. Given the unusual and rather untidy script of the manuscript (GIBBS, in: *Illuminating the Law* [see n. 44], pp. 133-143, cat. 6), it is more likely to be the work of Lorenzo di Pietro, though it might possibly refer to the glossator responsible for this recension of the text.

Novella of Giovanni d'Andrea, originally composed as a continuous and self-sufficient commentary. In our manuscript, instead, it is incorporated as a second gloss alongside the principal *Glossa ordinaria* standard for Gregory's Decretals. The manuscript is remarkable structurally not only for its page layout and contents but for being written with each book as a structurally separate 'Part', though with single column frontispieces because of the complex layout. The *Novella* was reduced in the course of writing to fragments that become increasingly isolated and disappear altogether from the layout of most of Part II (Books III-V). Book III, on the life and honourable conduct of the clergy, has a highly dramatic rendering of the mass, the celebrant holding the host high above his head. A couple of prosperous gentlemen attend the mass, much closer to the kneeling priest before them than canonically they should be: unlike the patron and scribe the otherwise very accomplished and advanced illuminator was conservative in his choice of iconography, constrained perhaps by the limited space available, and the narrative elements take us back to the design of Jacopino, especially its reduced Chantilly version.

It would appear that the mid- and later-14th century treatment of the *Liber Extra* was dominated by Giovanni d'Andrea's *Novella* on it, a commentary rather than the glossed text but now provided with a very similar programme of illumination. This shift from new manuscripts of the *Liber Extra* to rich copies of the *Novella* appears already with the set Vat. lat. 1454+2231+2223, illuminated by the Paris Gratian Master and dateable around 1330 on

grounds of dress and artistic context. It follows the same structure of parts in two-column frontispieces and single column treatments for the rest that we have found in 14th-century copies of the *Extra*, with each book again opening on a new gathering. Book III's miniature reflects the essentially conservative nature of the artist, as well as his strong sense for geometrically simple and striking forms, that despite using a symmetrical view of the church structure he adopts the profile treatment of the mass typical of the 13th-designs including Jacopino's canonical treatment. The emphasis his design places upon the converging choir stalls perhaps implies the men and women kneeling on the step beyond are being restricted in their spatial access, though no actual barrier is interposed; it is perhaps a clearer treatment than the completely symmetrical designs of the slightly more modern and less conventionised art of the Crucifixion-D and the Illustrator. The most notable of the manuscripts of this period forms a major transition between the illumination of the two halves of the 14th century, illuminated by the young Niccolò da Bologna with frontispieces to each half of the volume signed and dated to 1353 in their borders it is preserved in the Vatican Library with two separate pressmarks, Vat. lat. 1456 and 2534.⁵⁷ In a polygonal structure fusing baldachino and perhaps a whole church Niccolò has composed a symmetrical elevation of the host of extreme

⁵⁷ Both are illustrated in P. TOESCA, Nicolò da Bologna miniaturista del secolo XIV, in: *Arte Lombarda* XIV.2 (1969), p. 14f., fig. 3-4, and CASSEE, *The Missal* (see n. 54), p. 22-28, fig. 1, 23.

dynamism, surrounded by a host of disturbingly excited onlookers; while clerics occupy the central bay, the division between laity and clergy is not otherwise very clear in their grouping.

The fragments of Niccolò's later copy of the *Novella*, datable ca. 1370 and now split between Cambridge, Washington and New York, have the fullest iconographic programme for either text since Jacopino's Pal. lat. 629.⁵⁸ Unfortunately Book III is not among the known components.

Niccolò da Bologna produced one of his finest manuscripts perhaps a decade earlier, the later of the illuminated Decretals of the Biblioteca Capitolare in Padua A 1, which forms a fitting coda to this sequence of symmetrical designs typical of the generation after the 1328-Master.⁵⁹ Its individual titles have strongly individualised busts of figures, not perhaps a specific programme but finer and more emotive than normal. Niccolò has taken the triple structures that had dominated 14th-century Bolognese treatments and unified them into a single aisled church now recognizably such, complete with belfry above. The main body, the cappella maggiore, is occupied by the celebrant and kneeling acolytes, while the latter are safely echoed by kneeling men and women on either side in the separate spaces afforded by the aisles. As in previous treatments from Bologna there is no explicit driving out of

⁵⁸ L'ENGLE, in: *Illuminating the Law* (see n. 44), p. 226-229, cat. 20.

⁵⁹ BARZON (see n. 40), p. 30f., no. 28, tav. XXXI-XXXII, Book III not illustrated; BERNARDINELLO (see n. 40), p. 4f.

these pious folk, but their separation is now clear and natural. A typically academic addition is the matching choirs of learned men singing behind the men in contrast to the choir of clergy singing above the women: the scene is reflective of the continuing growth of lay orders and devotional bodies through the 14th century. The spatial unity and the rather convincing depiction of the altarpiece almost prophesy the last century of the illuminated manuscript, of which my own knowledge is too patchy to have direct knowledge of any later illuminated treatments.

The late production of printed copies of the Canon Law texts by Peter Schöffer of Mainz in 1473 led to another round of illuminated canon lawbooks, this time incunables. The fine copy illuminated and preserved in Köln, Dom Inc. d. 205 still shows the raising of the host at mass, the clergy undisturbed by the laity confined by the small space allowed for the frontispiece to a convincingly foreshortened interior without any of the ambitious architectural framing that had marked the highpoint of 14th-century artistic ambitions.⁶⁰

⁶⁰ PLOTZEK, SURMANN, Glaube und Wissen (see n. 43), p. 274-277, no. 58.