



1 Master of the Antiphoners of Pavia Cathedral,
Nativity. Pavia, Archivio Storico Diocesano,
Corale no. 15, fol. 5v

Giustino di Gherardino da Forlì and the Antiphoners of Pavia Cathedral

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Since Mirella Levi D'Ancona's article in the 1967 issue of *Arte veneta*, art historians have been steadily expanding the list of illuminated manuscripts associated with the name Giustino di Gherardino da Forlì.¹ Following Laudedeo Testi and Rodolfo Pallucchini, Levi D'Ancona identified the painter of these manuscripts with the man cited in an inscription in the Gradual of the Scuola Grande di Santa Maria della Carità, which reads "Qui cupis actorem orrigine venetum huius. / Noscere Justinum operis et nomine condam. / Ghirardini fuit, forliviensis magistri natus."² The dates of the manuscripts containing miniatures brought together beneath this name range from the 1360s to the 1380s.³ In these miniatures Levi D'Ancona and, later, Giordana Mariani Canova, Susy Marcon, and Federica Toniolo observed a greater vitality, a better articulation of space, a more comfortable fit between figures and their settings, a deeper fascination with

gesture and detail, and a more appealing approach to narrative and action than had hitherto been seen in Venetian manuscript illumination.⁴ These developments were linked by Levi D'Ancona to the impact of the narrative cycle by Guariento in the Palazzo Ducale,⁵ and Giustino miniatures have been compared by other scholars to the work of Altichiero and Lorenzo Veneziano.⁶ Mariani Canova has stressed that similar changes occurred in Venetian manuscript illumination not associated with Giustino in the same period.⁷ Gaudenz Freuler has suggested that the archaizing elements of the Giustino style have Bolognese, Paduan, and local Venetian sources.⁸ Noting variations across the burgeoning group of illuminations associated with the name of Giustino, scholars after Levi D'Ancona have treated this as the output of an *atelier* or school rather than the work of a single man, keeping the name for convenience.⁹

¹ Mirella Levi D'Ancona, "Giustino del fu Gherardino da Forlì e gli affreschi perduti del Guariento nel Palazzo Ducale di Venezia", in: *Arte veneta*, XXI (1967), pp. 34–44.

² Venice, BNM, Ms. Lat. II, 119 (= 2426), fol. 2r; Laudedeo Testi, *La storia della pittura veneziana*, Bergamo 1909–1915, I, pp. 504–507 and 520, note 2; Rodolfo Pallucchini, *La pittura veneziana del Trecento*, Venice/Rome 1964, p. 218; Levi D'Ancona (note 1), p. 36.

³ Treviso, Biblioteca Comunale, Ms. 252 (Carità Missal) is dated 1362 *more veneto* (1363 modern reckoning); Venice, BNM, Ms. Lat. II, 119 (= 2426) (Carità Gradual) is dated 1365; Venice, BNM, Ms. Lat. X, 189 (= 3590) (Promissione Morosini) is dated 1382.

⁴ Robert Gibbs, s.v. Giustino di Gherardino da Forlì, in: *Dictionary of Art*, ed. by Jane Turner, London 1996, XII, p. 765; Susy Marcon, s.v. Giustino di Gherardino da Forlì, in: *Dizionario biografico dei miniatori italiani, secoli IX–XVI*, ed. by Milvia Bollati, Milan 2004, pp. 315f.; Federica Toniolo, "Due ritagli di Giustino di Gherardino da Forlì al Saint Louis Art Museum", in: *Il*

cielo, o qualcosa di più: scritti per Adriano Mariuz, Cittadella 2007, pp. 33–38: 37; Giordana Mariani Canova, "Introduzione", in: Lyle Humphrey, *La miniatura per le confraternite e le arti veneziane: mariegole dal 1260 al 1460*, Verona 2015, pp. 11–24: 19f.

⁵ Levi D'Ancona (note 1), *passim*.

⁶ Hugo Buchthal, *Historia Troiana: Studies in the History of Mediaeval Secular Illustration*, London/Leiden 1971, pp. 28–31; Robin Simon, "Little and Large: Manuscript Reflections of Altichiero's Frescoes", in: *Apollo*, CXXXIV, (1991), 357, pp. 299f.; Federica Toniolo, in: *Le miniature della Fondazione Giorgio Cini: pagine, ritagli, manoscritti*, ed. by Massimo Medica/Federica Toniolo/Alessandro Martoni, Cinisello Balsamo 2016, pp. 361–367, no. 132.

⁷ Mariani Canova (note 4).

⁸ Gaudenz Freuler, *Italian Miniatures from the Twelfth to the Sixteenth Centuries*, Cinisello Balsamo 2013, I, pp. 378f., no. 33.

⁹ Giordana Mariani Canova, *Miniature dell'Italia settentrionale nella Fondazione Giorgio Cini*, Vicenza 1978, pp. 25–28, nos. 47–56; Marcon (note 4), p. 315;



2 Venetian illuminator known as Giustino di Gherardino da Forlì, *Enthroned Virgin holding the emblem of the Scuola della Carità, with two members of the Scuola*. Treviso, Biblioteca Comunale, Ms. 252, fol. 2r

A number of scholars have also expressed doubts about the idea that the person named in the Carità Gradual was an illuminator at all. In his study of the music of the Carità Gradual, Jonathan Glixon translates “actorem” as “author”.¹⁰ Robert Gibbs proposed in his entry on Giustino in the *Dictionary of Art* that this man could have been both the scribe and illuminator of the manuscript.¹¹ Helena Szépe noted that “whether Giustino was both scribe and illuminator of the Marciana Antiphony [sic], or just one or the other, is debated”.¹² Susy Marcon, Federica Toniolo, and Gaudenz Freuler have subsequently agreed that one cannot be sure whether Giustino was an illuminator or a scribe.¹³ Lyle Humphrey provides a useful sketch of these arguments in her catalogue

of Venetian *mariegole*, and, in her introduction to this book, Giordana Mariani Canova reports that Giustino’s profession is still up for debate.¹⁴ In the recent catalogue of miniatures at the Cini Foundation, the maker of the Giustino cuttings is given as “Venetian illuminator, so-called Giustino del fu Gherardino da Forlì”.¹⁵

This article will present and analyze new evidence which bears on the question of Giustino’s identity. It will draw attention to the stylistic diversity in the decoration of the Missal of the Scuola Grande of the Carità, then cast light on the remarkable fact that the Calendar of the Missal is Forlivese, that is, of the city of origin of Giustino’s father. It will then demonstrate that the prestige and geographic reach of the Venetian style as-

Humphrey (note 4), p. 238, no. I7; Toniolo (note 6); Freuler (note 8), pp. 370 and 378f.

¹⁰ Jonathan Glixon, “Late Medieval Chant for a Venetian Confraternity: Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MS Lat. II, 119 (2426)”, in: *Musica Disciplina*, XLIX (1995), pp. 189–225: 200.

¹¹ Gibbs (note 4).

¹² Helena Szépe, “Civic and Artistic Identity in Illuminated Venetian Do-

cuments / Társadalmi és művészeti identitás miniatúrákkal díszített veleneci okiratokban”, in: *Bulletin du Musée Hongrois des Beaux-Arts / A Szépművészeti Múzeum közleményei*, XCV (2001), pp. 59–78: 65.

¹³ Marcon (note 4); Toniolo (note 4), p. 36; Freuler (note 8), pp. 370 and 378; Toniolo (note 6), p. 366.

¹⁴ Humphrey (note 4), pp. 237f.; Mariani Canova (note 4), p. 19.

¹⁵ Toniolo (note 6).

cuttings (Fig. 8). The ‘snowflake’ background of the *Crucifixion* at the Canon (Fig. 3) is common in illuminations from the Giustino group. The *Crucifixion* may be compared also to Venetian illumination of the 1360s not associated with this name. The slender bodies, the ovoid and compact face of John, and the drips of blood along Christ’s arms are features it has in common with the otherwise stylistically dissimilar *Crucifixion* in the Mariegola of the Scuola di San Martino, produced sometime between 1362 and 1369.¹⁷

Significant variations in palette and style across the miniatures in the Carità Missal suggest that there is more than one hand at work here. The vine-and-leaf decoration on the opening bifolium and the Canon page (Fig. 3) is characterized by an elegant, calligraphic use of line and an attractively simple two-tone approach to modelling of leaves. By comparison, the foliate decoration on the Advent Sunday leaf (Fig. 4), around the Passion initials, and in the Sanctoral has deeper, richer colors and a greater sensitivity to texture. Likewise, while the Biblical figures in the *Crucifixion* are carefully and finely rendered, the donor figure squeezed uncomfortably between John and the cross is rather cruder, as are the members of the Scuola on the Advent Sunday leaf with respect to the figures in the initial at the Collect on that folio. We may say, then, that the decoration of the Carità Missal was executed by at least two people. It is possible that one of these was the man called Giustino, son of Gherardino of Forlì, who was called back by the Scuola to work on the Carità Gradual (the manuscript in Treviso is earlier than the Carità Gradual, which is dated 1365). Was he, by the 1360s, the head of a workshop? Could he have been both a scribe and an illuminator, as proposed by Robert Gibbs?¹⁸

The denomination *actor* is not one usually given to illuminators. Nor is *actor*, if that is what is meant by the inscription in the Carità Gradual. Cristoforo Cortese is identified

in documents as *miniator*.¹⁹ The Book of Hours of Blanche of Savoy (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 23215), produced in Milan, contains the inscription “Iohan[n]es filius mag[ist]ri Benedicti / de Cumis me pinxit et ordinavit.”²⁰ The father of the painter of the manuscript, also an illuminator, is called *magister*.²¹ This, however, is an ambiguous term; it means both master (as of a workshop) and teacher (as in a school). From the verbs in the inscription can be derived *pictor* and *ordinator*. In Petrarch’s Latin copy of the *Iliad* is the following colophon, penned by the famous poet: “Domi scriptus, Patavi ceptus, Ticini perfectus, Mediolani illuminatus et ligatus anno 1369.”²² From this we may gather that *illuminator* was also available as a name for the profession. Bolognese documents from the thirteenth century to the fifteenth century tend to call illuminators *miniatores*. In the 1393 membership list of the confraternity of Santa Maria della Morte, Bologna, Giovanni di fra’ Silvestro, whom Massimo Medica has identified with the Master of the Brussels Initials, is listed as such.²³ This, too, is how the profession of illuminators Tiberto da Reggio and Zanibone di Aspettato is cited in thirteenth-century Bolognese documents.²⁴ The makers of the fifteenth-century choirbooks of San Petronio, Bologna, are called *scriptores* and *miniatores* in a contract dated 1478,²⁵ and, in a Florentine contract dated 1494, Attavante is described as *miniator*.²⁶

One can learn something about Giustino’s identity by less direct means. There is no mention of either artists or scribe in the colophon of the manuscript in Treviso, but it does state that the book was “bought and adorned” (“conprado et adornado”) by the Scuola.²⁷ This explains why the unique liturgy of the Scuola, documented in the Carità Gradual, is not reflected in the Missal: the confraternity bought a stock Roman missal from a bookseller.²⁸ The rubric at its head reads “Incipit ordo missalis secundum consuetudinem Romane ecclesie.”²⁹ Yet,

tute messe vagnielii pistole e oration che sempre per questo messal serà lete et dite nu siemo particepevoli in ben e salvation dele nostre aneme per lo qual li suo nomi serà scritti qua de soto como apar de sovra in lo dito millessimo e tempo” (Treviso, Biblioteca Comunale, Ms. 252, fol. Iv).

¹⁷ For the Mariegola of the Scuola di San Martino, see, in addition to Humphrey (note 4), Barbara Vanin/Paolo Eleuteri, *Le mariegole della Biblioteca del Museo Correr*, Venice 2007, p. 99.

¹⁸ Gibbs (note 4).

¹⁹ Lyle Humphrey, “Cristoforo Cortese’s Signed Frontispieces in the Museo Civico Amedeo Lia, La Spezia and the Mariegola of the Scuola dei Milanesi of Venice”, in: *Rivista di Storia della miniatura*, 12 (2008), pp. 81–94.

²⁰ Maria Monica Donato, “Minietur ligeturque... per magistrum Benedictum: un nome per il miniatore milanese del Petrarca”, in: *Opere e giorni: studi su mille anni di arte europea dedicati a Max Seidel*, ed. by Klaus Bergdolt/Giorgio Bonsanti, Venice 2001, pp. 189–200: 192.

²¹ Laura Alidori Battaglia, “La miniatura lombarda del Trecento: novità,

riletture e il riscoperto Messale degli Umiliati”, in: *Arte di corte in Italia del Nord*, conference proceedings Lausanne 2012, ed. by Serena Romano/Denise Zaru, Rome 2013, pp. 211–250: 226f.

²² Donato (note 20), p. 189.

²³ Massimo Medica, “Un nome per il ‘Maestro delle Iniziali di Bruxelles’: Giovanni di fra’ Silvestro”, in: *Arte a Bologna*, VII/VIII (2010/11), pp. 11–22: 13, note 13; see also Francesco Filippini/Guido Zucchini, *Miniatori e pittori a Bologna: documenti dei secoli XIII e XIV*, Florence 1947, pp. 99f.

²⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 224f. and 238.

²⁵ Luigi Frati, *I corali della Basilica di S. Petronio in Bologna*, Bologna 1896, pp. 84–86.

²⁶ Jonathan J. G. Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators and Their Methods of Work*, New Haven 1992, p. 181.

²⁷ See note 16 above.

²⁸ Jonathan Glixon, *Honoring God and the City: Music at the Venetian Confraternities, 1260–1807*, Oxford 2003, p. 81.

curiously, the Calendar is neither Roman nor local but Forlivese. Saint Mercurialis, fourth-century confessor and bishop of Forlì, is found on 30 April.³⁰ There is no obvious reason why a Venetian flagellant confraternity's Calendar should contain the name of a Romagnole saint of mainly local significance, and it goes without saying that this aspect of the Calendar does not align with the text of the Missal, which is Roman and does not contain the propers for Mercurialis. What one is seeing here is the show-through of a textual model which was copied *verbatim* by a scribe. The likely story, then, is that Giustino, son of master Gherardino of Forlì, sourced a Calendar from his father's hometown, reproduced it, and had it bound up at the front of the manuscript after the opening bifolium. Giustino was therefore probably the scribe of both the Carità Missal and the later Gradual at the Marciana. Whether Giustino was also the illuminator of these manuscripts remains uncertain, but if so, he was trained not in Forlì but in Venice, in the tradition of the luxury books of San Marco.

The style of the Carità Gradual reveals itself in the antiphoners of Pavia Cathedral, now in the Archivio Storico Diocesano, Pavia. These illuminated choirbooks have received little scholarly attention; the only published description of them is in Luisa Colombo's *I codici liturgici della Diocesi di Pavia* of 1947. Colombo did not know the precise cultural origins of the decoration. Her introductory remarks on the illumination consist of platitudes about the miniatures' retrospective Byzantine aspect and the influence of Giotto.³¹ In her discussion of Antiphoner no. 15, Colombo asserts, perplexingly, that the miniatures resemble the illustrations of Opicino de Canistris in their "calligraphic and pictorial characteristics".³²

The six antiphoners at the Archivio Storico Diocesano, Pavia, are of the use of Rome;³³ they contain music for the winter season, from Advent to Easter. Temporal and Sanctoral are integrated. The order of the books, as they are currently numbered, is 6 – 15 – 12 – 13 – 7 – 10.³⁴ The first volume covers the period from Advent Vespers to Nones of Christmas Eve; the second from Christmas Eve Vespers to the Vigil of Epiphany; the third from Epiphany to the fourth and fifth Sundays after Epiphany;

the fourth from Septuagesima Sunday into the first week of Lent; the fifth from the Magnificat of the first Saturday in Lent (with the incipit "Visionem quam vidistis") to Passion Sunday; and the last volume from Passion Sunday to the octave of Easter.

Numerous miniatures have been excised from the six books, but twenty-nine decorated initials remain. Two styles can be distinguished in the Pavia antiphoners, both attested in Venice. The principal one is that which is associated with the name of Giustino. The finest of these miniatures are *The miraculous draught of fishes* (Fig. 5) and *Saint Lucy* in Antiphoner no. 6;³⁵ the *Nativity* (Fig. 1), *Infant Christ*, *Saint Stephen*, and *Saint John the Evangelist* (Fig. 6) in no. 15;³⁶ the *Raising of Lazarus* (Fig. 7) and *Conversion of Paul* in no. 13;³⁷ and the *Annunciation* in no. 7.³⁸ These bear comparison with the miniatures of the Carità Gradual. The elderly *Saint John the Evangelist* in Antiphoner no. 15 (Fig. 6) has the same facial type as the apostle kneeling in front in the *Dormition of the Virgin* in the Carità manuscript (Fig. 8). Likewise, the Virgin in pink and blue in the *Nativity* in Antiphoner no. 15 (Fig. 1) recalls the ones in the Venetian manuscript. The Christ figures in Pavia nos. 6 and 15 wearing green robes with red mantles (Fig. 5) are reminiscent of the type in the Carità Gradual (Fig. 8).

These miniatures and the historiated initials in the Carità Gradual are products of the same tradition, but the hand that illuminated the Scuola's Gradual is nonetheless distinct from that of the Master of the Antiphoners of Pavia Cathedral. The technique of the illuminator of the Carità Gradual is fast and free, whereas that of the latter is measured and fastidious. Bodies in the Pavia antiphoners are fuller, more robust, and more rigid; particularly striking are the figure of John the Evangelist in no. 15 (Fig. 6) and the Christ raising Lazarus in no. 13 (Fig. 7).

The second style is that of an illuminator who produced the harsh and rather less accomplished miniatures showing *The martyrdom of Saint Agatha* and *Saint Peter enthroned* (Fig. 9) in Antiphoner no. 7 and two apostles in no. 6.³⁹ This idiom descends from the Paduan-Bolognese style of the Epistolary of Doge Andrea Dandolo (Venice, BNM, Ms. Lat. I, 101 [= 2260]).⁴⁰

There are, in the antiphoners of Pavia Cathedral, miniatures in the Giustino style that are of significantly lower qual-

²⁹ Treviso, Biblioteca Comunale, Ms. 252, fol. 9r.

³⁰ Treviso, Biblioteca Comunale, Ms. 252, fol. 4v.

³¹ Luisa Colombo, *I codici liturgici della Diocesi di Pavia*, Milan 1947, p. 35.

³² *Ibidem*, p. 36.

³³ For the Roman breviary, see *Sources of the Modern Roman Liturgy: The Ordinals of Haymo of Faversham and Related Documents (1243–1307)*, ed. by Stephen Joseph Peter Van Dijk, Leiden 1963, II, pp. 15–195.

³⁴ The manuscripts measure 57 × 38.5 cm (Corale no. 6), 59 × 39 cm (no. 15), 56 × 38 cm (no. 12), 61.5 × 41 cm (no. 13), 58.5 × 37 cm (no. 7), and 61 × 40 cm (no. 10).

³⁵ *Saint Lucy* is found on fol. 159v of Corale no. 6.

³⁶ The *Infant Christ* and *Saint Stephen* miniatures are found on fols. 22r and 27r of Corale no. 15.

³⁷ The *Conversion of Paul* is found on fol. 125r of Corale no. 13.

³⁸ The *Annunciation* is found on fol. 140r of Corale no. 7.

³⁹ The folio numbers for the *Apostles* in Pavia, ASD, Corale no. 6 are 1r and 99v.

⁴⁰ Compare the apostle on fol. 99v of Pavia, ASD, Corale no. 6, to the one on fol. 15v of Venice, BNM, Ms. Lat. I, 101 (= 2260). The enthroned Peter in Pavia, ASD, Corale no. 7, likewise bears comparison with Peter on fol. 102r of the Marciana manuscript. See Giordana Mariani Canova, "La miniatura nei libri liturgici marciiani", in: *Musica e liturgia a San Marco: testi e*



5 Master of the Antiphoners of Pavia Cathedral,
The miraculous draught of fishes. Pavia,
 Archivio Storico Diocesano, Corale no. 6, fol. 132v



6 Master of the Antiphoners of Pavia Cathedral,
Saint John the Evangelist. Pavia, Archivio Storico Diocesano,
 Corale no. 15, fol. 44v

ity: examples are the *Christ appearing in the clouds* (Fig. 10) and *Sacrifice of a lamb* in no. 6.⁴¹ This would suggest the involvement of one or more assistants. Although different artists worked on the historiated initials – one in a radically different, Paduan-Bolognese style – there is a considerable degree of standardization in the decorative/marginal features, more than in the Treviso missal. The vine-and-leaf decoration in the Pavia antiphoners is akin to that of the *Carità Gradual*; this flatter style of vine-work is the one found on the colophon leaf

and the Canon page in the other *Carità* manuscript in Treviso (Fig. 3).⁴² The Pavia antiphoners also contain splendid large foliate initials (Fig. 11). Precedents for such patterns are found in the margins and initials of the liturgical books of San Marco from the fifth decade of the fourteenth century.⁴³ The more modest foliate initial *I(n illa die)* on folio 20r of Antiphoner no. 6 finds parallels in a manuscript from the Giustino workshop, dated ca. 1370 by Levi D'Ancona, containing speeches by Cicero and Sallust.⁴⁴

melodie per la liturgia delle ore dal XII al XVII secolo. Dal Graduale tropato del duecento ai Graduali cinquecenteschi, Venice 1990, I, pp. 149–188: 182–184; and Susy Marcon, *ibidem*, I, pp. 251–253, no. 13. The decoration of the Epistolarity of Doge Andrea Dandolo has affinities, in turn, with that of Antiphoners A, B, and M at the Biblioteca Antoniana in Padua; these have been linked to the Maestro del 1328 and L'Illustratore.

⁴¹ The *Sacrifice of a lamb* is found on fol. 120r of Antiphoner no. 6.

⁴² This style of vine-work is found in other Giustino manuscripts; see, for example, Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria, Ms. 1234, fols. 4r, 18r, 29v, and 38r–v.

⁴³ Compare the decorated initial *D(omine)* in Pavia, ASD, Corale no. 13 (Fig. 11), to the decoration of the lower margins of Venice, BNM, Ms. Lat. III, III (= 2116), fols. 23r, 56r, and 66r, and to the same in Venice, BNM, Ms. Lat. I, 101 (= 2260), fol. 13v; compare initial *I(n die)* in Pavia, ASD, Corale no. 10 (fol. 35v), to the lower margin of fols. 43v and 173v of Ms. Lat. III, III (= 2116). See also the bottom of fol. 170r. The gilded foliate initial *V(isionem)* at the beginning of Pavia, ASD, Corale no. 7, is comparable to the decoration of the lower margin of fol. 103v in Ms. Lat. I, 101 (= 2260).

⁴⁴ Venice, BNM, Ms. Lat. Z, 432 (= 1656), fols. 4v, 9r, 13r, 79r, and 83r.



7 Master of the Antiphoners of Pavia Cathedral, *Raising of Lazarus*. Pavia, Archivio Storico Diocesano, Corale no. 13, fol. 64v



8 Venetian illuminator known as Giustino di Gherardino da Forlì, *Dormition of the Virgin*. Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. Lat. II, 119 (= 2426), fol. XIXv



9 Collaborator of the Master of the Antiphoners of Pavia Cathedral, *Saint Peter enthroned*. Pavia, Archivio Storico Diocesano, Corale no. 7, fol. 120r



10 Master of the Antiphoners of Pavia Cathedral and workshop, *Christ appearing in the clouds*. Pavia, Archivio Storico Diocesano, Corale no. 6, fol. 53v



11 Master of the Antiphoners of Pavia Cathedral, foliate initial *D*. Pavia, Archivio Storico Diocesano, Corale no. 13, fol. 61r

In a 2007 publication, Federica Toniolo attributed two cuttings at the Saint Louis Art Museum to Giustino.⁴⁵ One of these, an initial *M* showing a prophet standing in a fructifying mountainous landscape (Fig. 12a), turns out to be the miniature which was excised from folio 27 of Antiphoner no. 6 in Pavia. The number 27 is inscribed on the back of the cutting by the hand that numbered the leaves of the antiphoner. This is the initial for the first responsory of Tuesday of the first week of Advent, which begins “Montes Israel, ramos vestros expandite”.⁴⁶ The Saint Louis prophet is by the Master of the Antiphoners of Pavia Cathedral (i.e., the illuminator close to Giustino); compare the prophet to the equally sturdy Christ figure in the *Raising of Lazarus* miniature in Pavia Corale no. 13 (Fig. 7). The prophet’s facial type is that of Andrew in *The miraculous draught of fishes* of Pavia Antiphoner no. 6 (Fig. 5).⁴⁷ Toniolo has proposed that the artist who executed the Saint Louis prophet also produced cuttings now in Milan, Cambridge, La Spezia, Cleveland, and Plzeň; she has also observed that the legacy of Byzantine art is stronger in this artist than in others working in the Giustino tradition.⁴⁸ Gaudenz Freuler has tentatively suggested that the maker of the Cleveland cutting, showing *Saint Anthony Abbot giving the Rule to the brethren of the Antonite Order*, could be identified with the panel painter Guglielmo Veneziano.⁴⁹ This is a tantalizing hypothesis, but for the moment we may prefer to refer to our Venetian illuminator simply as the Master of the Antiphoners of Pavia Cathedral. The other cutting at the Saint Louis Art Museum (inv. I17:1952), an initial *C* showing *Trumpeters in Zion*, is not by this artist.⁵⁰

What is the date of the Pavia choirbooks? There is neither any internal evidence nor any mention of the books in the Cathedral registers conserved at the Archivio Storico Diocesano in Pavia.⁵¹ Now that the stylistic origins of the illumination have been elucidated, however, the books may be dated on this basis. We may hypothesize that the Pavia miniatures were produced around the same time as the *Carità Gradual* (dated 1365), or perhaps slightly later, in the 1370s.⁵²

Given that the antiphoners of Pavia Cathedral are of Roman use, it is quite possible that they were decorated in Venice and shipped to Pavia (it would not have been difficult to source a Roman model in Venice). There is nothing in them which would demonstrate that they were produced in Lombardy, nor is there anything that would suggest intimate engagement between pa-

⁴⁵ Toniolo (note 4).

⁴⁶ *Sources of the Modern Roman Liturgy* (note 33), II, p. 21.

⁴⁷ The figure of Simeon in Venice, BNM, Ms. Lat. III, III (= 2116), fol. 135v, is also of this type.

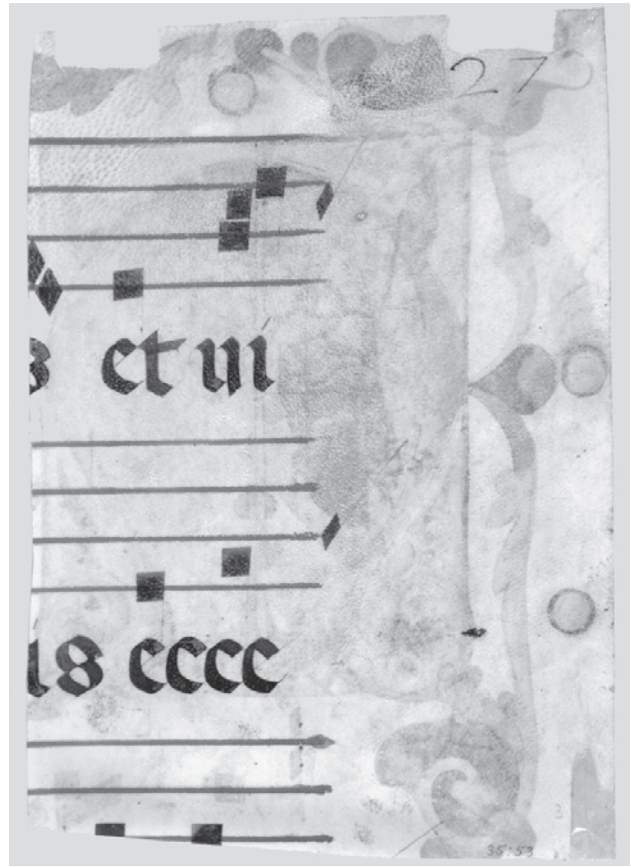
⁴⁸ Toniolo (note 6), p. 366.

⁴⁹ Freuler (note 8), p. 379.

⁵⁰ As observed in Toniolo (note 6), pp. 366f.

⁵¹ The relevant sources are the *Registrum Vetus* containing the bishop’s notarial acts and the *pergamene* which recently have been inventoried; according to Professor Xenio Toscani, neither set of sources has yet yielded information about the commission.

⁵² This is the date proposed by Toniolo (note 4), pp. 37f., for the Saint Louis cuttings and by Freuler (note 8), pp. 370 and 379, for the cuttings in Milan and Cleveland.



12a, b Master of the Antiphoners of Pavia Cathedral, *Prophet on a flowering mountain* (recto and verso). Saint Louis Art Museum, Museum Purchase 35:1953

trons and artists. Even if we are not necessarily dealing with a case of artist migration, this example of Venetian illumination in books destined for a Lombard institution adds a layer to our picture of circulation of styles in northern Italy in this period, and it further nuances our idea of the eclecticism of Lombard taste in the second half of the fourteenth century. Thanks especially to the publication of the proceedings of a 2010 conference on this topic, this panorama of events, circumstances, and attitudes is now fairly well understood.⁵³ The commission of the Pavia antiphoners may be viewed as another chapter in that story.

Padua was full of Bolognese illuminators who produced books for university students, and illuminators of Bolognese origin rendered their services also to the Bonacolsi in Modena and Mantua, the Visconti in Milan, and the Gonzaga in Mantua.⁵⁴ Itinerant panel painters were common. Giusto de' Menabuoi painted a portable triptych in 1367 "in Mediolano"; this is now in the National Gallery in London.⁵⁵ In Pavia, the building works at the Castello in the 1360s occasioned the recruitment of foreign artists. In 1365, Andrea de' Bartoli was sent from Bologna to produce frescoes for the chapel, and, in the following year,

⁵³ *L'artista girovago: forestieri, avventurieri, emigranti e missionari nell'arte del Trecento in Italia del Nord*, conference proceedings Lausanne 2010, ed. by Serena Romano/Damien Cerutti, Rome 2012.

⁵⁴ Massimo Medica, "Tra università e corti: i miniatori bolognesi del Trecento in Italia settentrionale", in: *L'artista girovago* (note 53), pp. 101–134.

⁵⁵ Marco Rossi, "Giusto a Milano", in: *L'artista girovago* (note 53), pp. 307–318: 309. The inscription on the back of the triptych reads "justus pinxit in mediol[ano]". The date 1367 is stippled into the gold on the front of the base. See Dillian Gordon, *National Gallery Catalogues: The Italian Paintings Before 1400*, London 2011, pp. 262–271, NG 701.

Galeazzo II asked the Lord of Mantua to send all available artists to Pavia to decorate the palace.⁵⁶

A particularly intriguing parallel can be found in the patronage at San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro, Pavia. The late-fourteenth-century church contained a monumental *Crucifix* from Venice, now lost, and a polyptych whose central part is now in the Musei Civici in Pavia.⁵⁷ The panel, which shows *Saint Augustine enthroned with two Augustinians*, has been attributed to Jacobello di Bonomo and dated to the 1370s–1380s.⁵⁸ It is thus not altogether surprising that the commissioners of the Pavia antiphoners thought to employ Venetian illuminators. The taste for Venetian art was attested elsewhere in the city around the same time. Broadly speaking, then, the artistic communities in Milan and Pavia under the Visconti were already markedly cosmopolitan in the 1360s and 1370s. These were the very crucibles which would soon spawn great illuminators like Giovannino de' Grassi.

Perhaps the most important revelation afforded by this study of the miniatures of the Pavia choirbooks is that the charming Venetian style of illumination which art historians have linked to the name Giustino di Gherardino da Forlì was fashionable enough by the 1360s or 1370s to have attracted the attention of certain doyens in Lombardy. This prompts a not insignificant revision of our idea of the contemporary impact and significance

of the Venetian school of manuscript painting. That such a grand ecclesiastical commission was given to these illuminators signals that the prestige of the Venetian school was, in Pavian eyes, on a level similar to that of foreign panel and fresco painters like Jacobello di Bonomo and Andrea de' Bartoli. This was, furthermore, not an isolated incident. It has long been known, though not, perhaps, sufficiently emphasized, that an inscription in another product of the Giustino tradition, the *Troianus* manuscript now in the Bodmer Collection in Cologne, would seem to indicate that the book was in Piacenza by 1371.⁵⁹ A taste for Venetian illumination developed also outside the leading centers Milan and Pavia.

The names of the illuminators who decorated the antiphoners of Pavia, like those of so many manuscript painters of the Trecento, elude us. The question of the identity of Giustino di Gherardino da Forlì is still unsettled, but we are closer now to the answer than before. The inclusion in the Carità Missal's Calendar of the name of Forlivese Saint Mercurialis suggests that Giustino was a scribe; whether this mysterious figure was also an illuminator remains to be determined.

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⁵⁶ Donata Vicini, "Pitture del Trecento nel castello visconteo di Pavia", in: *Lombardia gotica e tardogotica: arte e architettura*, ed. by Marco Rossi, Milan 2005, pp. 175–187: 182f.; Serena Romano, "Il modello visconteo: il caso di Bernabò", in: *Medioevo: i committenti*, conference proceedings Parma 2010, ed. by Arturo Carlo Quintavalle, Milan 2011, pp. 642–656: 651; Rossi (note 55), p. 310.

⁵⁷ Carlo Cairati, "Il politico trecentesco, ancona dell'altar maggiore", in: *San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro a Pavia: mausoleo Santuario di Agostino e Boezio. Materiali antichi e problemi attuali*, ed. by Maria Teresa Mazzilli Savini, Pavia 2013, pp. 330–351.

⁵⁸ Cristina Guarnieri, in: *La Pinacoteca Malaspina*, ed. by Susanna Zatti, Milan 2011, pp. 225f., no. 54; Francesca Flores D'Arcais, "La tavola con Sant'A-

gostino oggi ai Musei Civici di Pavia, proveniente dalla basilica di San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro", in: *San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro* (note 57), pp. 326–329.

⁵⁹ Fol. 88v of Cologne, Fondation Martin Bodmer, Cod. Bodmer 78, contains the following note: "Anno Christi 1371 de mense augusti propter magnam siccitatem fuit aperta tomba sancti Antonini militis, que est in visceribus terre, in claustrum ecclesie Sancte Marie in Cortina, et eadem ebdomada sequite sunt pluvie in civitate et episcopatu Placentie. Et ita erat consuetudo dictam tombam aperiri quando civitas et episcopatus carebant pluvia, congregato episcopo et clero, et tandiu durabat pluvia quamdiu stabat aperta illa tomba." See M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Fifty Manuscripts from the Collection of Henry Yates Thompson*, Cambridge 1898, p. 242, no. 44; Elisabeth Pellegrin, *Manuscripts latins de la Bodmeriana*, Cologne-Geneva 1982, pp. 144–147.

Abbreviations

ASD Archivio Storico Diocesano, Pavia
BNM Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice

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*Author: Figs. 1–7, 9–11. – Alessandro Moro, Venice: Fig. 8. –
© Saint Louis Art Museum: Figs. 12a, b.*

Umschlagbild | Copertina:

Venetian illuminator known as Giustino di Gherardino da Forlì,
*Enthroned Virgin holding the emblem of the Scuola della Carità, with two members
of the Scuola.* Treviso, Biblioteca Comunale, Ms. 252, fol. 2r
(Abb. 2, S. 410 | fig. 2, p. 410)

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