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Treasuries, Invention, and the Teodelinda Chapel in Monza

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Treasuries, Invention, and the Teodelinda Chapel in Monza

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M.A., Emory University, 2016

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Abstract.

Treasuries, Invention, and the Teodelinda Chapel in Monza

By Laura Maria Somenzi

In the sixth century, the Longobard queen, Teodelinda, founded and dedicated a Basilica to Saint John the Baptist in Monza, a town fifteen kilometers north of Milan. Starting in the year 1300 and proceeding over the course of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, the Basilica was entirely reconstructed, at which time Teodelinda's body was exhumed, deposited in a stone chest and placed in the chapel dedicated to her memory where her death anniversary was celebrated each year through liturgical rites. This chapel was decorated between 1441 and 1446 by the Milanese Zavattari family workshop, and is the focus of this dissertation.

Although the architecture and its decorations were new, the Basilica had a store of treasures and relics that, during the Late Middle Ages, were associated with Teodelinda and her endowment. For Monza, Teodelinda was central: she was the grounds on which the city's sacred past was built and the guarantor of its present civic and ecclesiastical status and privileges. Although she was never officially canonized, Teodelinda was locally venerated as a saint.

This dissertation considers how the Zavattari, in decorating the queen's chapel, intersected, reworked, and dialogued with Teodelinda's material and immaterial heritage. The dissertation argues that the relics and treasures donated by the queen were reimagined in the painted cycle of her life, and it analyses the structure of the paintings in relation to the devotional and liturgical ceremonies performed in the Basilica. The contention is that by bringing together the objects and history of the Basilica, set in relation to Teodelinda's relics, the Zavattari's paintings activate the presence of the queen in the very space that housed her body. Furthermore, it is argued that the Zavattari's techniques for making large-scale and multi-media wall decorations are integral to the function of the chapel as a place where a sacred past might be made newly visible and tangible.

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Introduction.

According to tradition, the Basilica of San Giovanni Battista in Monza was founded by the Longobard queen, Teodelinda (570-627), at the end of the sixth century. Of this original building, almost nothing has survived. Over the course of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, the Basilica was entirely reconstructed (fig. 1). In 1308, Teodelinda's body was exhumed, deposited in a stone chest and placed in the chapel dedicated to her memory where her death anniversary was celebrated each year through liturgical rites (figs. 2-3). In the early decades of the 1400s, the chapels surrounding the high altar were amplified and decorated with floral arabesques and figural scenes, all rendered on backgrounds of gilded *pastiglia*. Around 1441, the canons and chapter of Monza, with Visconti ducal support, commissioned the Milanese workshop of the Zavattari family to paint the life of Teodelinda in the left apse chapel (fig. 4). New technical analysis of the frescoes, completed during recent restoration, made it evident that the Zavattari were highly skilled artisans who had sophisticated ways of manipulating materials, of carefully preparing grounds and intensifying surface effects.[1] It has also provided information

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[1] This study of the Teodelinda Chapel began as its most recent restoration (2009-2016) was coming to a close. On the latest restoration, see Cristina Danti, "Le storie di Teodelinda degli Zavattari nel Duomo di Monza," in *Materiali e tecniche nella pittura murale del quattrocento: storia dell'arte, indagini diagnostiche e restauro verso una nuova prospettiva di ricerca* (Rome: Enea, 2010), 243-257; Anna Brunetto, Giancarlo Lanterna, Anna Lucchini, and Marcello Picollo, "Pulitura con tecnologia laser delle campiture verdi dei manti erbosi nella cappella di Teodelinda del Duomo di Monza," in *APLAR 4, applicazioni laser nel restauro: Museo nazionale romano di Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, Roma, 14-15 giugno 2012, atti del 4. Convegno nazionale*, ed. Anna Brunetto (Saonara: Il Prato, 2013), 169-192; Anna Lucchini, "Sinopie, patroni e spolveri: alcuni casi in Lombardia," *Kermes* 89 (2013): 35-46; Anna Lucchini, Gian Carlo Lanterna, and Claudio Seccaroni, "Il restauro della cappella di Teodelinda: La tecnica e i metodi di pulitura," in *Lo Stato dell'Arte 12: XII Congresso Nazionale IGIIC: volume degli atti, Milano, Accademia di Belle Arti di Brera, 23-25 ottobre 2014* (Florence: Nardini, 2014), 211-219; Anna Lucchini, "Il restauro della cappella di Teodelinda (2009-2014)," in *Monza Illustrata: annuario di arti e culture a Monza e in Brianza 1. 2015*, ed. Roberta Delmoro (Rome: Aracne editrice, 2016): 191–199.

about the finely tuned dynamics of a large workshop. The ingenuity with which the Zavattari made the wall decorations raises the question of the function of artifice in the articulation of sacred space.

Yet the Zavattari's paintings, which are the ultimate focus of this dissertation are not fully comprehensible as an isolated moment in the history of the Basilica. They should, rather, be considered as the culmination of a long process that sought to reaffirm and stabilize the presence of Teodelinda in an otherwise evolving site, and in a city that harbored imperial ambitions justified by its Longobard past. The goal of this dissertation, and what sets it apart from a long tradition of research on the Teodelinda Chapel, is to demonstrate how and toward what ends the Zavattari reworked the material and spiritual riches of the Monza's Basilica in the decoration of the Teodelinda Chapel.

Art historical interest in the paintings of the Teodelinda Chapel began in the nineteenth century. These early studies, such as those by Girolamo Luigi Calvi, were primarily concerned with questions of attribution and relied on the robust compilations of archival material on Monza's Basilica made in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries by church historians such as Antonio Francesco Frisi, Cesare Aguilhon and Achille Varisco.[2] Though the Zavattari had signed their work, for many years the signature, "de Zavatarijs," was thought to indicate the wealthy family who had commissioned the wall paintings. In 1858, Calvi (on Cesare Aguilhon's suggestion) was the first to publish and correct the misattribution of the Teodelinda Chapel from Troso da Monza to the Zavattari.[3] Following Calvi, scholars such as Jospeh Archer Crowe,

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[2] Antonio Francesco Frisi, *Memorie della chiesa monzese, raccolte e con varie dissertazioni illustrate* (Milan: Gaetano Motto, 1774); Idem, *Memorie storiche di Monza e sua corte tomo I-III* (Milan: Gaetano Motto, 1794); Cesare Aguilhon, *Della Reale Basilica monzese, per il Cav. Prof. don Cesare Aguilhon, pubblicata a cura del Prof. Achille Varisco,* Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan, Fondo Varisco, cod. NI 93 Inf., f. 56.

[3] Girolamo Luigi Calvi, *Troso da Monza e la cappella della Regina in S. Giovanni di quella città. Memoria del socio ordinario nobile Girolamo L. Calvi, letta nell'adunanza 25 febbraio, 1858*; Idem, *Notizie sulla vita e sulle opere dei principali architetti, scultori e pittori che fiorirono in Milano durante il Governo dei Visconti e degli*

Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle and Luca Beltrami made use of documents found in the Annals

for the Milan Cathedral to identify the family's members, to build a corpus for the Zavattari, and

to locate their artistic activity within a regional framework.[4]

To date, the collected body of documents for the Zavattari indicates that they were a

family of artisans whose workshop was located near Porta Vercellina in Milan, in the parish of

Santa Maria alla Porta.[5] The eldest, Cristoforo, is documented for the first time as an artist in

1404 when he was called to assess the painted glass windows made by Niccolò da Venezia in the

Milan Cathedral. In 1409, Cristoforo was again at work for the Milan Cathedral, this time hired

to gild sculptures on a capital.[6] Cristoforo was deceased by 1414, at which time his son

Franceschino took control of the workshop.[7] In 1417, Franceschino was commissioned to paint

glass windows for the Milan Cathedral, which he never finished. Nine months later, the

commission was passed on to Maffiolo da Cremona and Franceschino was asked to return

payments.[8] Between 1420 and 1421, Franceschino was in residence at Monza, before he returned

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Sforza I & II (Milan: Ronchetti, 1859, 1865), 238-239. Calvi corrected the grammatical reading of the inscription "*de Zavatarijs*" which made it an authorial claim.

[4] Joseph Archer Crowe and Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle, *A History of Painting in North Italy: Venice, Padua, Vicenza, Verona, Ferrara, Milan, Friuli, Brescia, from the Fourteenth to the Sixteenth Century* (London: J. Murray, 1871), 63; Luca Beltrami and Carlo Fumagalli, *La Cappella detta della Regina Teodolinda nella Basilica di San Giovanni in Monza e le sue pitture murali* (Milan: Tipografia Pagnoni, 1891)*,* 11.

[5] A covered portico where the workshop was located was identified in a notarial document of 1376 as "*quod apellatur de Zavatariis.*" See Beltrami, *La cappella della della Regina Teodelinda,* 11; Roberta Delmoro, *La bottega degli Zavattari. Una famiglia di pittori milanesi tra età viscontea ed età sforzesca* (Rome: Aracne editrice, 2019), 21.

[6] *Annali della Fabbrica del Duomo di Milano* I (Milan: Brigola, 1877), 264; *Annali della Fabbrica del Duomo di Milano,* Appendici I (1883), 292. Several figures of a pilaster capital have traces of gilding and have been identified by Ernesto Brivio, "Gli Zavattari e la fabbrica del Duomo di Milano," in *Il polittico degli Zavattari in Castel Sant'Angelo*, 74, figs. 60-61.

[7] Delmoro, "'Assai annose pitture co' risalti di stucchi indorati': l''Annunciazione' dell'arco traverso del Duomo di Monza; un contributo agli Zavattari," *Arte Lombarda* 164/165 (2012), 119, n. 66. Franceschino was a member of the painter's guild, Scuola di San Luca in Milan. See Delmoro, *La bottega degli Zavattari*, 72.

[8] *Annali della Fabbrica del Duomo di Milano* II, 23-24; *Annali della Fabbrica del Duomo di Milano,* Appendici I, 317; Caterina Gilli Pirina, "Franceschino Zavattari, Stefano da Pandino, Maffiolo da Cremona, 'magistrim magistri a vitriatis' e la vetrata della 'raza' nel duomo milanese," *Arte antica e moderna* (1966): 31; Brivio, "Gli Zavattari e la fabbrica del Duomo di Milano," 73-90. It has been suggested that the commission was not completed because Franceschino took on the major commissions in Monza for the decoration of the apse area.

to Milan in 1422.[9] The precise familial relations between the main protagonists—Cristoforo,

Franceschino, Gregorio, Giovanni and Ambrogio—was clarified following the recovery of the

1445 contract for the Teodelinda Chapel, which will be more fully discussed in Chapter Two.[10]

The artistic production of the extended Zavattari family is documented until mid-sixteenth

century.[11]

Luca Beltrami's work on the Teodelinda Chapel is the most comprehensive study of the

chapel carried out in the nineteenth century. Beltrami, who at the time was working on multiple

projects of restoration for the Basilica, was determined to recover the original appearance of the

chapel, and therefore did not limit his focus to the wall paintings.[12] His research was divided

between archaeological and archival studies in order to retrieve an overall view of the medieval

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[9] Delmoro, "'Habitatorem terre Modoetie': due documenti inediti su Franceschino Zavattari," in *Testimonianze di arte medievale a Monza e in Brianza*, 106-110, 117-118. The relevant documents for Franceschino's sojourn in Monza, published by Delmoro, are from the following source: Notaio Gerardo Crippa di Petrolo, *Notarile*, filza 62, Archivio di Stato di Milano.

[10] Janice Shell, "La cappella di Teodelinda: gli affreschi degli Zavattari," in *Monza. Il Duomo nella storia e nell'arte*, 196, n.54. Most thought that Cristoforo and Franceschino were brothers, while Beltrami identified Gregorio as Franceschino's son. The 1445 contract made it clear that Cristoforo was Franceschino's father and that Gregorio, Giovanni and Ambrogio were his sons. See Luca Beltrami, *Storia documentata della Certosa di Pavia* (Milan: Hoepli, 1896), 55. The contract will be discussed further in Chapter Two, pages 73-74.

[11] Franceschino and Gregorio were paid for work in the Certosa in Pavia in 1453, shortly before Franceschino's death in 1457. We also know that two brothers, Gregorio and Ambrogio, were again in Monza in the 1460s, and it is likely that at this time they were involved in decorations in the Basilica. Gregorio, Giovanni, and Ambrogio continued to work in and around Milan after their father's death and are documented until the end of the fifteenth century. The artistic production of the extended Zavattari family is documented until mid-sixteenth century. See Roberta Delmoro, "'Fecerunt et faciunt infra pacta, acordia et conventiones': compagnie di pittori a Milano nella seconda metà del Quattrocento e il caso della decorazione della cappella ducale nel castello di Porta Giovia," *Arte Cristiana* 102 (2014): 337–54; Idem, "Indagini diagnostiche sulla 'Madonna Del Bosco' a Cascina Gatti e documenti per gli Zavattari a Monza nella seconda metà del Quattrocento," *Monza Illustrata 2014*: 98–121; Idem, *La bottega degli Zavattari.*

[12] Luca Beltrami's most visible contribution to the Basilica was the remaking of the façade. On Luca Beltrami at San Giovanni see Sylvia Ponticelli Righini, "La facciata della Basilica di S. Giovanni Battista: i restauri ottocenteschi e il recente intervento conservativo," in *Monza anno 1300: La Basilica Di S. Giovanni Battista e la sua facciata,* ed. by Roberto Cassanelli (Monza: Comune di Monza, 1988), 41-61; Massimiliano David, "Luca Beltrami e lo scavo nel restauro," in *La cappella di Teodelinda nel duomo: architettura, decorazione, restauri*, ed. Roberto Cassanelli and Roberto Conti (Milan: Electa, 1991), 34-38; Paolo Sanvito, "Gotico 'fin de siècle'. Schizzi e progetti autografi riguardanti lo scavo del 1889 e la restaurazione della cappella di Teodelinda nel Fondo Beltrami presso le Civiche d'Arte del Castello Sforzesco di Milano," in *La cappella di Teodelinda nel duomo*, 42-43; Amedeo Bellini, "Luca Beltrami e il duomo di Monza," in *La cappella di Teodolinda nel Duomo di Monza, atlante iconografico*, ed. Roberto Cassanelli (Monza: Fondazione Gaiani, 2016), 47-60.

layout of the chapel. In an article published in 1889, Beltrami faced the question of where

Teodelinda's sarcophagus was originally located.[13] Based on notices about the proximity of the

tomb to the altar of San Vincenzo in the Monza *Obituario*, and his own archaeological findings,

Beltrami concluded that the tomb was placed behind the altar in the present-day chapel, a

hypothesis that has been further confirmed by recent scholarship.[14]

Soon thereafter, in 1891, Beltrami published the first monograph of the chapel with

albumen-print photographs by Carlo Fumagalli (fig. 5).[15] In this volume, he discussed his

restoration of the chapel: the re-location of the tomb of Teodelinda within the chapel, the

remaking of marble floors, and the making of a new altar to house the relic of the Holy Nail in

the so-called Iron Crown. He also published his findings of the walls of the chapel prior to its

fifteenth-century remaking and identified (but did not photograph) older paintings in what was

once a passageway between the chapel and the main apse. Beltrami connected the authorship of

the chapel to Franceschino and Giovanni Zavattari (whom he thought were brothers) thanks to

related documents about painted glass commissions in the Milan Cathedral.

Other contemporary studies, such as Joseph Archer Crowe and Giovanni Battista

Cavalcaselle's *A New History of Painting in Italy* (1871) were less interested in the genesis of the

chapel as a whole, and rather focused on the painted decoration. Crowe and Cavalcaselle used

the Zavattari's paintings in Monza as examples for their system of classification based on

regional style.[16] Following Crowe and Cavalcaselle, twentieth century scholars such as Adolfo

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[13] Luca Beltrami, "La tomba della Regina Teodolinda nella Basilica di S. Giovanni in Monza," *Archivio Storico Lombardo* 3 (1889): 665–678.

[14] Roberta Delmoro, "La memoria di Teodolinda a Monza nelle visite pastorali," in *Atti del Convegno: Teodolinda. I Longobardi all'alba dell'Europa, II convegno internazionale di studi longobardi (Monza-Gazzada Schianno-Castelseprio, Cairate, 2-7 dicembre 2015)*, ed. Gabriele Archetti and Francesca Stroppa (Spoleto, Società di Studi Longobardi), 977-1009.

[15] Beltrami and Fumagalli, *La Cappella detta della Regina Teodolinda*.

[16] Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *A New History of Painting in North Italy.*

Venturi, Pietro Toesca, and Roberto Longhi included the Zavattari and the Teodelinda Chapel in their studies on Lombard art.[17] To these scholars, the Teodelinda Chapel fit a narrative about regional style that tracked the slow shift from "Gothic" to "Renaissance" idioms in Northern Italy. While on the one hand, these studies created a scholarly corpus on Lombard painting, on the other hand, the result of such a strong focus on regional style and influence was stifling for the field. By mid-century, it became almost impossible to describe the Zavattari's paintings as anything but manifestations of the retrograde nature of fifteenth-century Lombard painting in the face of their more avant-garde Tuscan colleagues.

The tendency to see the Zavattari as provincial and retrograde is exemplified by Liana Castelfranchi Vegas in her 1964 monograph dedicated to the Teodelinda Chapel. Castelfranchi Vegas described the historical and stylistic moment of the chapel's decoration as follows:

> When in Monza, around mid-fifteenth century, the cycle of frescoes with the stories of queen Teodolinda was being painted, the great season of painting called International Gothic was already coming to a close; these were the last crepuscular glimmers of an imposing sunset that had seized Europe for over sixty years in an unprecedented artistic unity.[18]

Castelfranchi Vegas' stylistic assessment placed the Zavattari's paintings at a dead-end. As representative works of the so-called International Gothic, the paintings are no more than a flickering spark of an otherwise expiring medieval social order and of a discrete historical moment seconds away from being surpassed by modernity. Renata Negri's 1969 monograph

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[17] Beltrami and Fumagalli, *La cappella detta della Regina Teodelinda*, 12-30; Adolfo Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana* VII, I (Milan: Hoepli, 1911), 177-289; Pietro Toesca, *La pittura e la miniatura nella Lombardia, dai più antichi monumenti alla metà del quattrocento* (Milan: U. Hoepli, 1912), 207-212; Roberto Longhi, *Arte Lombarda dai Visconti agli Sforza* (Milan: Silvana, 1958), 63-64. The inclusion of the Zavattari in histories of Lombard art continued into more recent decades. For instance in Miklós Boskovits, "Arte lombarda del primo Quattrocento: un riesame," in *Arte in Lombardia tra Gotico e Rinascimento* (Milan: Fabbri, 1988); Valerio Terraroli, *La Pittura in Lombardia: il Quattrocento* (Milan: Electa, 1993).

[18] "Quando a Monza, negli anni che si approssimano alla metà del secolo XV, veniva dipinto il ciclo d'affreschi con le storie di Teodolinda regina, volgeva ormai al termine in Europa la grande stagione pittorica che prende il nome di gotico internazionale; erano gli ultimi bagliori crepuscolari di un imponente tramonto che aveva stretto l'Europa per oltre sessant'anni in una unità artistica senza precedenti." Liana Castelfranchi Vegas, *La leggenda di Teodolinda: negli affreschi degli Zavattari* (Milan: Sidera, 1964), 7. Translation my own.

likewise casts the Zavattari's work in the Teodelinda Chapel as a swan song of the "International Gothic"—a final breath of an ornate and decorative language of surfaces before the dawn of the Renaissance in Lombardy.[19] In such accounts, the Zavattari's work is stripped of the vitality and functionality that would typically be ascribed to similar ambitious cycles of public mural paintings.

Vexed by the collective nature of the Zavattari's workshop production, Castelfranchi Vegas suggests that such a group endeavor was only possible because the *Zeitgeist* of the time and location permeated and affected the making of the decorations.[20] For Castelfranchi Vegas the Zavattari's paintings are not so much the result of specific artistic choices, but of a "convergence of taste,"[21] essentially the taste of a larger social order. Such assesments greatly underestimate the agency of the painters. The artists, so the argument follows, are locked within a system that confines their production to the replication of social taste, which allows for the collective to work with an overall stylistic coherence. To explain "style" as little more than a current that runs through society at a moment in time, however, is not satisfying if the intention is to understand how pictures are made and how those processes are meaningful.

Other scholars have dealt with the nature of the Zavattari's collaborative workshop as a connoisseurial exercise. In her 1981 publication and in subsequent articles, Giuliana Algeri proposed a solution to the collective making of the paintings by suggesting that each section had an identifiable single author. She hypothesized four distinct artistic personalities, each of whose

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[19] Renata Negri, *Gli Zavattari: la cappella di Teodolinda* (Milan: Fabbri), 1969.
[20] "...le storie della regina Teodolinda rappresentano la testimonianza forse più vasta e puntuale di come parecchi artisti possano collaborare in singolare unità di intenti, raggiungendo senza sforzo una adeguazione stilistica reciproca che rispecchia non tanto un'unità di bottega quanto un'estrema convergenza del gusto." Castelfranchi Vegas, *La leggenda di Teodolinda,* 9. In my translation, "...the stories of the queen Teodolinda perhaps represent the most vast and precise testimony of how many artists can collaborate in a singular unity of intention, achieving without difficulty a reciprocal artistic adaption that reflects, not so much the unity of the workshop so much as an extreme converge of taste."
[21] Ibid.

work in the chapel could be clearly identified and distinguished from the others.[22] The four hands theory was generally accepted, until recent restoration revealed a far more complex workshop dynamic.

The modern reception of the Teodelinda Chapel has come to privilege either the narrative content or the form of the Zavattari's cycle. Just how this happened may be demonstrated by way of drawings made after the paintings in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The first example is the paper album *La Gesta più memorande della nazione Longobarda* by Don Giovanni Battista Fossati (1722) and the second is an annotated sketch by Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle (late 1800s).

In 1767, Giuseppe Maurizio Campini noted that the paintings in the Teodelinda Chapel had been faithfully copied by Don Giovanni Battista Fossati a few decades prior. [23] According to Campini, Fossati's drawings were an act of conservation, intended to preserve the aging paintings from oblivion.[24] Yet it is precisely in how the drawings differ from the painted chapel that they are most telling of the chapel's reception in the modern period. To achieve a coherent narrative from one page of the album to the next, he performed a number of operations that simplified and homogenized the material and visual complexity of the paintings. The gold patterned backgrounds, for one, were abandoned. In other cases, Fossati either added or removed landscapes and architectural settings in order to increase the overall compositional unity. Fossati

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[22] Giuliana Algeri, *Gli Zavattari: una famiglia di pittori e la cultura tardogotica in Lombardia* (Rome: De Luca, 1981); Idem, "La pittura in Lombardia nel primo Quattrocento," in *La pittura in Italia: il Quattrocento*, ed. F. Zeri (Milan: Electa, 1986), 43-60; Idem, "Riflessioni sugli affreschi della Cappella di Teodelinda," *Arte Lombarda* 80-82 (1987): 85-94; Idem, "Zavattari (Secondo Maestro di Monza), scheda 74," in *Pinacoteca di Brera: scuola lombarda e piemontese 1300-1535* (Milan: Electa, 1988), 83-84.

[23] Giuseppe Maurizio Campini, *Descrizione dell'insigne real Basilica Collegiate San Giovanni Battista di Monza*, 1767, ms. V16 sup., Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan, f. 100; Giovanni Battista Fossati, *La Gesta più memorande della nazione Longobarda: e specialmente intorno alla vita di Flavia Theodolinda loro regina, dipinte in quaranta storiati sulle pareti della cappella detta Regina, da Troso da Monza nel 1444*, 1722, b-25/173, Biblioteca Capitolare, Monza. Fossati was a priest for the Basilica at the time.

[24] Campini, f. 100.

also cropped and condensed the individual scenes to fit the explanatory text. This kind of adaptation is evident in the battle scene (scene 13) in which Fossati focuses only on the figures, eliminates the architecture, and in so doing, streamlines the action (figs. 6-7). For Fossati, the Zavattari's paintings served as illustrations to the queen's story. To make the paintings serve this purpose he cropped them and turned the interdependent sequence of scenes into discrete narrative vignettes with little concern for their original location or context. There is no sense in Fossati's manuscript that each scene is part of a larger ensemble. For instance, in the chapel, the scenes of marriage are stacked one on top of the other, so that they are linked thematically and not chronologically. In Fossati's book, there is no spatial relationship between different scenes and the story can only be read in a linear fashion (figs. 8-9). Thus extracted and rendered as drawings, the paintings became illustrations for a picture book, and no longer played a role within the complex space of the chapel.

In the late nineteenth century, we encounter a different set of concerns in Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle's reception of the Teodelinda cycle, which he sketched and annotated in one of his miscellaneous notebooks.[25] In this album, Cavalcaselle accompanied his reflections on the Teodelinda Chapel with a quick sketch, outlining the three figures on horseback accompanying Teodelinda into the city of Verona (scene 31) and by carefully transcribing the date and inscription with the Zavattari's signature (fig. 10). Unlike Fossati, Cavalcaselle was not much interested in the paintings as narrative. Cavalcaselle's notes on the paintings make connoisseurial and stylistic judgements that are principally aimed at defining a regional school. These aims are consistent with Cavalcaselle's larger project, which he was preparing at that time:

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[25] Lascito Cavalcaselle, ms. Marc. It. IV. 232 (12273) fasc. VIII f.3r; Lino Moretti, and Rodolfo Pallucchini, *G. B. Cavalcaselle: disegni da antichi maestri ; catalogo della mostra* (Vicenza: Pozza, 1973), 35.

the multi-volume *A New History of Painting in Italy* co-authored with Joseph Archer Crowe.[26] In both his notes and in the published volume, Cavalcaselle situates the Zavattari's paintings within a regional classification. He observes that stylistically, the Zavattari are reminiscent of Gentile da Fabriano and Pisanello, though their figures are less refined in drawing and color. [27]

Fossati and Cavalcaselle show two ways of interpreting the paintings in the Teodelinda Chapel, one of which privileges the iconography and the other, its formal categories. [28] Over the years, these two methodologies have come to dominate the literature on the Teodelinda Chapel, moving the paintings' interpretation away from the larger context of the Basilica. Fossati's graphic translations show that by the eighteenth century, the Zavattari's paintings had become a repertory for the iconography of Teodelinda's story. Fossati's album, in this sense, is the precursor of more recent monographs on the chapel (1991 and 2016) which reproduce the Zavattari's paintings as if the chapel were an illustrated book. As in Fossati's account, the organizing criteria for the images in these recent volumes is textual. The images are divided according to sections so that they can be paired with written sources that elucidate their narrative subject matter.

By privileging the storytelling function above all else, modern scholarship has neglected other functions performed by the paintings, especially those that relate to the situation of the paintings within the chapel.[29] The function of the paintings is likewise not addressed by those scholars who

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[26] Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *A New History of Painting in North Italy*. The authors discuss the Zavattari's paintings for the Teodelinda Chapel on page 63: "They comprise hundreds of figures and copious details of animal and still life with gold grounds and embossments in a careful style recalling Nelli, Fabriano, Pisano, or the Sanseverini, but with ruder contour and sharper contrasts of tone and less knowledge of drawing than we find even in the juvenile efforts of those masters."

[27] Lascito Cavalcaselle, ms. Marc. It. IV. 232 (12273) fasc. VIII c.3r: "ricorda…nel suo genere di Gentile o meglio di Pisanello come rilevasi da alcune figure anno per costume di vestire...però è più acceso e la condotta meno buona ed il colorito più crudetto e difectoso di passaggi..."

[28] Had they been completed, the engravings commissioned by the Bavarian duke, William V, and overseen by Bartolomeo Zucchi, might have provided yet another visual record of the different ends that solicited the isolation of the Teodelinda cycle. In this case, it would have been Zucchi's desire to have Teodelinda canonized with the Duke's support, who in turn, was interested in Teodelinda as Bavarian monarchy.

[29] This kind of division is apparent in both the 1991 and 2016 monographs dedicated to the chapel. As observed by Stephen J. Cambpell, "Images can be textual without being mere illustrations," in "On Renaissance Nonmodernity,"

have been involved in their stylistic analysis. Following Cavalcaselle, this line of literature seeks to establish the artists and models that influenced the Zavattari's images.

During the late 1980s and early 1990s significant work was dedicated to understanding the Basilica's medieval reconstruction. Two monograph volumes were edited by Roberto Conti and Roberto Cassanelli in 1989, and a volume dedicated to the Teodelinda Chapel was published in 1991 in preparation for conservation.[30] The essays in these volumes made available relevant documentary evidence about the gestation, patronage, and authorship of the chapel. Noteworthy was the publication, in this latter volume, of the sole remaining contract for the Zavattari's paintings. This contract, dated to 1445, names the painters, the members of the Basilica's chapter, and civic government all of whom were involved in the project for the queen's chapel.[31] It was also in the 1980s that, the restoration of the Zavattari's only surviving complete polyptych (Castel Sant'Angelo, Rome), was undertaken. The accompanying publication, in 1984, drew attention to the Zavattari as a workshop and to their techniques for working in different media (fig. 11).[32]

From the 1980s onwards, scholars of the Teodelinda Chapel began asking questions regarding patronage, iconography and political motivations, in part as alternatives to the focus on regional style. A particularly tenacious reading of the paintings (based on patronage) continues to dictate how the cycle is understood. It was proposed by Castelfranchi in 1987. Castelfranchi considered Teodelinda's life, with its emphasis on marriage and succession, to be a direct

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I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance 20, 2 (2017): 272. A more holistic understanding of the paintings is here offered in Chapter Three.

[30] *Monza: il Duomo e i suoi tesori*, ed. Roberto Conti and Roberto Cassanelli (Milan: Electa, 1989); *Monza. Il Duomo nella storia e nell'arte*, ed. Conti and Cassanelli (Milan: Electa, 1989); Idem, *Monza: la cappella di Teodelinda nel Duomo*.

[31] Janice Shell, "La cappella di Teodelinda," 189–215. For a transcription and translation of the document, see Martina Basile Weatherill and Roberto Cassanelli, "Il contratto di allogazione delle pitture murali del 10 marzo 1445," in *Atlante Iconografico*, 354-357.

[32] Alessandro Ghidoli, ed., *Il polittico degli Zavattari in Castel Sant'Angelo: contributi per la pittura tardogotica lombarda* (Florence: Centro Di, 1984).

reference to the succession of the Visconti and Sforza households, with the marriage of Bianca

Maria Visconti and Francesco Sforza in 1441 in Cremona.[33] Since it is undeniable that the

Visconti were intimately tied to the chapel's commission, the literature on the Teodelinda Chapel

has stressed the connection of Visconti politics and patronage with the iconography and meaning

of the paintings. As a result, other functions beyond political propaganda have been left

unexplored.

The only English-language publication on the chapel, written by Anthony Hirschel in

1987, was also concerned with the chapel's patronage.[34] Countering Castelfranchi, Hirschel

refuted the idea of Visconti patronage and credited the entire iconographic program to the

interests and ambitions of the church canons of the Basilica of San Giovanni. In 2014, Roberta

Delmoro revisited Hirschel's study and argued that there were various types of patrons involved

in the different stages of the project. In her contribution Delmoro contends that an initial phase of

the decoration was commissioned by Filippo Maria Visconti (1392-1447) and was followed by a

second phase of work, involving secular and sacred patrons working together to complete the

cycle.[35] To date, Delmoro's model for the chapel's patronage is the most convincing, not least

because it describes a non-linear and evolving dynamic in the planning and commissioning of

large-scale works.

Over the last decade, Delmoro has extended our knowledge of the archival resources

regarding the Basilica of San Giovanni and the Zavattari family workshop. Her recent book on

the Zavattari (2019) presents an artistic and social biography of four generations of the family

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[33] Liana Castelfranchi Vegas, "Intorno agli affreschi Zavattariani di Monza," *Arte Lombarda* 80/82 (1987): 95-104.
[34] Anthony Hirschel, "Problems of Patronage at Monza: the Legend of Queen Theodelinda," *Arte Lombarda* (1987): 105-113.
[35] Roberta Delmoro, "Per la committenza artistica di Filippo Maria Visconti: precisazioni e ipotesi," *Monza Illustrata: annuario di arte e cultura a Monza e in Brianza 2014,* 12-53.

workshop and makes a significant contribution to the study of family workshops in thirteenth and

fourteenth-century Lombardy, highlighting the complicated networks of artistic and political

alliances.[36] This book, also provides the most up-to-date catalog of the works attributed to the

Zavattari.[37] Delmoro refutes the "retrograde" characterization of the Zavattari's work by earlier

scholarship by situating their artistic production within a contemporary and forward-looking

international context. She argues that the Zavattari would have been familiar with painting in

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[36] Delmoro, *La bottega degli Zavattari.* The book is the result of Delmoro's PhD dissertation, "La bottega degli Zavattari. Una famiglia di pittori milanesi al tramonto del Gotico" (PhD diss., Università della Sapienza, Roma, 2014).

[37] Among the works that have been more securely attributed to Franceschino Zavattari and workshop are two panel paintings, an Assumption of the Virgin in the Pinacoteca Brera and a triptych with the Life of Christ in the Metropolitan Museum of Art For these attributions, see Wilhem Suida, "Gemälde aus Römischen Privatbesitz," *Belvedere* (1934-1936): 175; Miklós Boskovits suggests that the panel in Brera was the top panel of a lost polyptych originally in the Teodelinda Chapel. Giuliana Algeri acknowledges the plausibility of Boskovits's hypothesis, but rather believes the panel to have been a central portion. It has also been suggested that two panels, one of the Virgin Lactans with Saints (private collection), and the other of a crucifixion (Prague, Národni Galerie) may have been side panels. See Boskovits, "Arte Lombarda del primo Quattrocento: un riesame," 10-42, 170–73; Algeri, "Zavattari (Secondo Maestro di Monza)," 83-84; Marubbi, "La bottega degli Zavattari e i dipinti della Cappella di Teodelinda," in *Atlante iconografico,* 77-81. Brera dates the panel to 1450 and attributes it to Gregorio Zavattari, while most scholarly accounts place it in Franceschino's oeuvre c. 1420s-1430s. See Delmoro, *La bottega degli Zavattari*, 67. On the Metropolitan triptych, see Andrea De Marchi, *Michelino da Besozzo. Gli inizi di Franceschino Zavattari fra Milano e Monza e un dittico molto insolito* (Turin: Benappi, 2012). Other works attributed to the Zavattari in Milan include several panels from the apse windows in the Milan Cathedral. See, Pirina, "Franceschino Zavattari, Stefano da Pandino, Maffiolo da Cremona," 25-44; Brivio, "Gli Zavattari e la fabbrica del Duomo di Milano," 73-90. For the wall painting of a Crucifixion with saints in the Visconti ducal chapel of San Cristoforo sul Naviglio (c. 1440s), see Pietro Toesca, *La pittura e la miniatura nella Lombardia,* 391-392; Delmoro, "Per la committenza artistica," 29-34; Idem, *La bottega degli Zavattari*, 94-99. Franceschino worked on the earlier decks of Visconti Tarot cards. The so-called *Tarocchi Brambilla* in the Pinacoteca Brera and the *Tarocchi Colleoni* divided between the Accademia Carrara, and the Morgan Library. See, Algeri, *Gli Zavattari: una famiglia di pittori,* 59-85, figs.75-78. Algeri dates these decks to circa 1450. She also includes the drawings in the *Tavola Ritonda* (c. 1446), Palatino 556, in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze to Franceschino's corpus. Both the drawings and the cards have more often been attributed to Bonifacio Bembo. The relationship of Bembo to the Zavattari was first proposed by Roberto Longhi, "La restituzione di un trittico d'arte Cremonese circa il 1460," in *Edizione delle opere complete di Roberto Longhi* (Florence: Sansoni, 1956), 79-87. There is a relatively more substantial corpus for the Zavattari after Franceschino's death. These later works include a polyptych with an enthroned Madonna and Child with Saints (c. 1441-1442) in Castel Sant'Angelo in Rome, two panels with Saint John the Baptist and the Archangel Gabriel (c. 1440s) in the Museum of Castelvecchio in Verona, the Madonna di Corbetta (signed by Gregorio and dated 1473) in the Santuario di Santa Maria dei Miracoli in Milan, a wall painting of Saint Catherine of Alexandria (c. 1440s) in the Oratory of Saint Apollinaire in Cornaredo, and the fragmentary Madonna of Cascina Gatti (1466) in Santa Maria in Bosco in Sesto San Giovanni. For these and other attributions, see Ghidoli, ed., *Il Polittico degli Zavattari in Castel Sant'Angelo*; Laura Cibario, Roberta Delmoro, Fabiola Jatta, and Paolo Scarpitti, "Il Polittico degli Zavattari a Castel Sant'Angelo. Un Riesame (I-II)," *Arte Cristiana* 103 (2015): 253–68; 369-84; Delmoro, "Indagini diagnostiche sulla 'Madonna Del Bosco' a Cascina Gatti," 98-121; Idem, *La bottega degli Zavattari,* 99-102. On the Saint Catherine attribution, see Sandra Bandera, "Il Tardogotico", in *Pittura in Brianza e in Valsassina dall'alto medioevo al neoclassicismo*, ed. Mina Gregori (Cinisello Balsamo: Pizzi, 1993), 19-27.

Northern Europe as well as with central Italian models. Through specific case studies, published

in earlier articles and expanded in her book, Delmoro has shed light on questions of patronage

(in particular that of the Visconti), chronology, and the role of the Zavattari in the fifteenth-

century decorations in the Basilica and elsewhere.[38]

Equally important to the current study of the Teodelinda Chapel are the articles published

by Anna Lucchini and her team following the latest conservation of the chapel. These

conservation reports are integral to the appreciation of the refinement and artisanal intelligence

of the Zavattari.[39] The studies generated by the conservation team have not only brought to focus

the materials and techniques used by the Zavattari, but have also shed light on the ways in which

the workshop was organized and how it operated on-site. The results of the conservation suggest

that the three members of the immediate Zavattari family—those named in the 1445 contract—

only represent the nucleus of what was a much larger collaborative enterprise. Technical analysis

of the painting techniques (i.e., brushwork and drawing) revealed about a dozen artisans at work

in the chapel: at least eight principal artists, a couple of assistants, and the *famulo* named in the

contract for preparing materials.[40] The artisans were organized as an équipe, and worked

simultaneously on the chapel's scaffolds, with one master-artist who intervened on the whole in

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[38] Notable articles and essays by Delmoro on the Teodelinda Chapel include, "'Assai annose pitture'"; "Per la committenza artistica di Filippo Maria Visconti"; "'Fecerunt et faciunt," ; "Per l'antico aspetto del Duomo di Monza: appunti dalle visite pastorali tra XVI e XVII secolo e alcune precisazioni sui polittici di Stefano de Fedeli," *ACME* 67 (2014): 41–81; Delmoro and Beppe Colombo, *Testimonianze di arte medievale a Monza e in Brianza: un sentiero tra storia e arte* (Monza: Associazione Amici dei Musei di Monza e Brianza, 2010).

[39] Danti, "Le Storie di Teodelinda degli Zavattari nel duomo di Monza," 243-257; Lucchini, "Sinopie"; Idem "Il restauro della cappella di Teodelinda (2009-2014)," 191-199; Idem, "Nei segreti della bottega: la parola al restauratore, colloquio con Anna Lucchini," in *Il Ritorno di Teodolinda* (Monza: Fondazione Gaiani, 2015), 53-60. The photographic campaign undertaken on occasion of the restoration was published in the *Atlanta iconografico* (2016), sponsored by the Fondazione Gaiani. Photography by Piero Pozzi. This volume is controversial for its exclusion of the conservation team in the essays. The brief essays offer summary accounts of previous scholarship on the chapel (at times with oversights or errors) with the exception of the contributions by Simonetta Coppa and Marco Petoletti. Also problematic are the copyright restrictions on Pozzi's photographic campaign.

[40] Lucchini, "Considerazioni sui disegni e sulle tecniche pittoriche di bottega," in *Monza Illustrata: annuario di arte e cultura a Monza e in Brianza 2. 2017*, ed. Roberta Delmoro (Rome: Aracne Editrice, 2017), 85.

order to unify the different parts.[41] Scaffolds were erected along the walls and work proceeded

from top to bottom. Four or five artists worked simultaneously along the length of each scaffold

section (*pontata*), often with the same artist working on more than one area of the same

pontata.[42] Some of these artists worked on the entirety of the chapel, while others were

substituted along the way. [43] Since the Zavattari were active over an extended period of time in

the Basilica, over the years, their team of artisans shifted and changed configuration.[44] Not only

did Franceschino and his sons run a workshop with many artisans and assistants, but they likely

collaborated with other master artists and workshops to carry out the decorations at San

Giovanni.[45] There are documents for later instances in which the Zavattari made temporary

arrangements with other workshops to complete specific projects.[46] In Delmoro's evocative turn

of phrase, the Basilica's decorations resulted from a "plurality of presences" and a "chorus of

maestranze."[47]

Lucchini's team faced significant challenges, not only from natural degradation, but also

from centuries of restorations.[48] The earliest evidence of the chapel's restoration dates to 1615

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[41] Lucchini, "Sinopie," 41. Lucchini refers to the head-master of the workshop as the "*normalizzatore.*"
[42] Ibid.
[43] Ibid.
[44] Head conservator, Anna Lucchini confirms that while certain painters were active across the entire cycle, others changed. See Lucchini, Lanterna, and Seccaroni, "Il restauro della cappella di Teodelinda," 212.
[45] It is productive to frame the Zavattari's activity in the Teodelinda Chapel with Delmoro's concept of the "*bottega allargata*" or the extended workshop. Delmoro, "'Assai annose pitture,'" 122.
[46] There are documents for later instances in which the Zavattari made temporary arrangements with other workshops to complete specific projects. For example, short-term contracts for *compagnie* survive for Ambrogio Zavattari from the 1460s. These *compagnie,* or collaborations, often came about because of extended family ties, as was the case with the painter and glassmaker, Stefano da Pandino, who married Franceschino's sister, Maddalena Zavattari. Delmoro, "'Fecerunt et faciunt infra pacta,'" 345, doc. 2. In 1466 Ambrogio arranged to collaborate with Leonardo Ponzoni for the decoration of the sala of palazzo Sanseverino in Milan near the Castello Sforzesco on the commission of Ugone Sanseverino. It appears that a third workshop was also involved in this project and that the three workshops would have worked side-by-side.
[47] Delmoro, "'Assai annose pitture,'" 122. Here Delmoro further suggests that the grisaille prophets were the work of another master artisan, Giacomino Cietario.
[48] For an overview of historical restorations of the chapel, see Lucchini, "Metodologie di restauro," in *La cappella di Teodelinda nel Duomo*, 142-63; Danti, "Le storie di Teodelinda degli Zavattari nel Duomo di Monza," 249-51; Cassanelli, "Il problema conservativo," in *Atlante iconografico*, 362-365.

when William V, duke of Bavaria, provided the abbot Bartolomeo Zucchi with 120 *scudi* for restoration work.[49] In 1767, Giuseppe Maurizio Campini commented that the chapel had been left in a poor state of preservation after 1714 when Giovanni Valentino, a Neapolitan restorer, stole materials from the walls.[50] The painter Giovanni Angelo Borroni was the next to attempt a restoration of the chapel between 1753 and 1756. Unfortunately, Borroni's training as a painter was not matched by an understanding of material science. To enliven the colors, Borroni chose to apply hot oil to the walls which began to degrade and blacken not too long thereafter.[51] The paintings in the Teodelinda Chapel were further damaged in the eighteenth century by the addition of an altar to the far-end wall, on which occasion two portraits of Teodelinda and her first husband, Authari, were detached and sold into private collections.[52]

It took almost another century for any work on the chapel's decorations to take place. Many requests and proposals were made on behalf of the Basilica's *fabbrica* over the course of the early nineteenth century, but for either political or economic reasons, work never commenced.[53] Finally, in 1880, Antonio Zanchi was put in charge of a new restoration effort which came to a rapid finish in 1882. Around the same time, from 1884-87, the Mora brothers

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[49] Cassanelli, "I restauri delle pitture murali della cappella. Appunti per una storia attraverso i documenti d'archivio," in *Monza. La cappella di Teodolinda*, 130-132. For Zucchi's correspondence with the Duke, see the eight volumes published by Bartolomeo Zucchi, *De' Complimenti*. The printed volumes and manuscript copies are available for consultation in the Biblioteca del Carrobiolo in Monza. A reprint of the letter concerning the Duke's response for the conservation of the chapel is reprinted in Frisi, *Memorie storiche di Monza e sua corte*, Milano, 1794, I, 256-259. The duke also commissioned engravings of the chapel's paintings, but these were never completed. See the Conclusion for a more detailed analysis.

[50] Campini writes: "*si pensò a ristabilir la vecchia, che in breve tempo venne eseguita ma da cattivi e frodolenti Artefici, che rubbarono tutto il prezioso de'colori, oltremare, oro e simili, sostituendone altri comunali, i quali in pochi mesi andavano sparendo, anzi in più luoghi cadeva, come fà pur di presenti, la med[esim]a pittura, e così smarriva la serie continuata dello storiato*," in *Descrizione dell'insigne Real Basilica Collegiate San Giovanni Battista di Monza*, f. 99.

[51] Lucchini, "Metodologie di restauro," 144-46.

[52] Today, these two detached portions of the painting have been returned to the Basilica and are kept in the museum. See Simonetta Coppa, "A proposito di due frammenti pittorici zavattariani: Antonio Francesco Frisi, don Carlo Trivulzio e la cappella di Teodolinda nella seconda metà del Settecento," in *Atlante iconografico*, 93-99.

[53] Conti, "Regesto dei Documenti 1876-1890," in *La Cappella di Teodilinda nel Duomo*, 176-80, 255.

were charged with the restoration of the gilding in the chapel. Much of the existing gold leaf was substituted with new gold leaf, while the vault's *pastiglia* and gilding were entirely redone.[54] In the twentieth century, further damage was caused by the excessive humidity that resulted from the protective sandbag wall that was made to stand bombardments. Finally, at mid-century, Ettore Chiodo Grandi and Ottemi della Rotta carried out a brief and scarcely documented restoration.[55]

Despite the richness of scholarly and conservation work that has been carried out thus far, important aspects of the Teodelinda Chapel remain unstudied. This dissertation is an attempt to address the overlooked question of artistic invention as it happens in relation to the chapel and the Basilica as holistic spaces. It makes the case that the Zavattari rendered visible the Basilica's sacred past by reusing the material of the site as the basis for their decoration. Not only did the paintings make that past visible, but they convincingly presented the fiction of historical continuity.[56] The contention is that the appreciation of a continuum between Teodelinda's sixth-century foundation and the new fifteenth-century church was made possible by artistic composition, which brought together and made discernible the scattered evidence of San Giovanni's holy origins. An analysis of the Zavattari's artistic techniques, in relation to both the material and immaterial wealth of the Basilica will demonstrate how the artists succeeded in making sacred space perceptible.

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[54] Danti, "Le storie di Teodelinda degli Zavattari nel Duomo di Monza," 250-251. From one of the few original fragments of gold leaf, Danti assert that nineteenth-century restorers studied and replicated the double leaf oil gilding method. The only difference between the fifteenth-century method and the nineteenth-century one has to do with the application of a glaze. The Zavattari added the glaze on top, while the restorers added it to the preparatory layer to keep the gold's purity in full view.

[55] Lucchini, "Metodologie di restauro," 158-159.

[56] Future research will seek to press the question of the understanding of history in the fifteenth century, whether that understanding can be considered as linear or rather as cyclical and based on systems of recollection.

According to the tradition recorded in local chronicles, Teodelinda founded San Giovanni in the late sixth century, and endowed it with gifts, but the building that exists today dates only as far back as the fourteenth century. The present Basilica is the result of a rebuilding campaign begun in 1300 following the rediscovery of San Giovanni's most important relics, namely the vials of oil, gifted by Gregory the Great (540-604) to Teodelinda in the late sixth century. These relics, which are still present on site, along with other treasures now on display in the church's museum, provided extraordinary material continuity with the Basilica's foundation. By contrast, its architectural reconstruction introduced a radical break with the past. In order for the church to continue to function as a sacred space with a special historical status, the tension between continuity and rupture, between Teodelinda's foundation and the new building, had somehow to be allayed. The Teodelinda Chapel had an important role to play in this mediation.

The Zavattari's particular engagement with the site's material and immaterial heritage offers a chance to think critically about how a painter's craft intersects with legend, ritual and relics. The survival not only of relics and treasury objects, but also of liturgical manuals makes it possible to consider how the Zavattari's paintings were generated from and interacted with the cult activities that took place within the same spaces. The interplay between the chapel's paintings and the devotional life of the Basilica serves as a reminder that painted spaces in late medieval and early Renaissance Italy had deep social functions. To say that painting had a social charge is not necessarily or only to say that we should approach the subject with the expectation that meaning lies in external social-political contexts. Rather, the social dimension of painting is tied to internal and immediate relationships. These relationships are the result of exchanges and of collaborations between individuals (artists, assistants, advisors, etc.) and of their interactions

with the places in which making happens. The social function of artistic invention lies within this very potential for activating and sustaining the connections between people, places and objects.[57]

At Monza, the making of the Teodelinda Chapel was embedded and emerged from the historical, material and human conditions of the site. When the Zavattari received the commission to paint the Teodelinda Chapel, the location was not a *tabula rasa*. Entering the chapel, the Zavattari would have found, among other things, the paintings there made a decade earlier in the vault, liturgical objects and decorations (all those ephemera have since been lost) and relics, the most important of which was Teodelinda's body.[58] As shall be made evident in the following chapters, the place destined for the Zavattari's decoration served many purposes: it was a reliquary for the queen's body, the dedicatory chapel for Saint Vincent, and the location adjacent to where the Basilica stored its treasure. The Zavattari and their advisors had to take stock of such a material and spiritual inheritance. As they inventoried the Basilica, they drew from a cache of concepts, practices, images and models from which to create new paintings. Such stock-taking was necessary, in part, because the life of Teodelinda, which had no single pictorial precedent, had to be invented.

The definition of "invention," for the purposes of this dissertation, is informed by historical and poetic uses. The kind of pictorial invention that is generated from the site in which it happens is best understood according to the Latin verb *invenire,* meaning to come across,

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[57] As Giovanni Careri has argued, regarding the modern tendency to see art making as a means to itself, to ground art in a relational fabric reveals how it acts on deep interpersonal and social levels: "This attempt to relativize the autonomy of art within western art does not devalue the works. Rather the contrary is true, since they are invested of a function that is existentially, individually and collectively fundamental. To situate them closer to life is to recognize a necessary and vital role for society and the individual." Giovanni Careri, "Aby Warburbg: Rituel, Pathosformel et form intermédiaire," *Image et Anthropologie* 165 (2003): 42. Translation my own.

[58] A partial view of what was housed in the Basilica in the fifteenth century is given by the 1403 inventory, recently recovered by Roberta Delmoro, "Monza 1403: Gli arredi liturgici del Duomo, una Basilica nell'orizzonte Europeo," *Predella* 37 (2016): 13–46. The document can be found in the Archivio di Stato di Milano, Fondo Notarile, Atti dei Notai di Milano, filza 60, notaio Gerardo Crippa di Petrolo, f. 674v.

where discovery happens within a physical site.[59] The second use of the term invention that is

relevant to this study comes from rhetorical tradition, where it refers to the preliminary stage at

which material is found, gathered, and located in the mind as the foundation on which to

compose speeches. In descriptions of rhetorical practice, invention aims not just at the making of

a given speech, but the making of a place in memory: a storehouse (or treasury) from which

found material might be retrieved and put to poetic use.[60] Invention thus describes a process that

is at once productive and recursive. The main line of writing about Renaissance painting,

however, has privileged a narrow understanding of invention, one that pertains to subject matter,

rather than to process. Citing Leon Battista Alberti's claim to the effect that the invention of an

historia can please even without the painting, Martin Kemp exemplifies the modern reception of

Alberti, which has been quick to collapse invention with narrative subject.[61] As a result,

invention has been ascribed to humanist rhetoricians, and little agency has been left to artists. As

I aim to demonstrate, pictorial invention is better understood in a more capacious sense, as a

process that can be set in motion by either poetic or pictorial making.

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[59] Isidore of Seville's seventh-century *Etymologiae* defines invention as follows: "Inventor dictus, quòd in ea quae quaerit, invenit. unde et ipsa quae appellatur inventio, si verbi originem retractemus, quid aliud resonat, nisi quia invenire est in id venire quod quaeritur?" Isidore of Seville, *Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi Originum libri viginti* 10.122, ed. W.M. Lindsay (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1911). "Discoverer (inventor), because he 'comes upon' (invenire) what he is searching for. Hence also the thing called an invention (inventio). If we reconsider the origin of the word, what else does it sound like if not that 'to invent' (invenire) is to 'come upon' (in + venire) that which is sought for?" Translation from, *The 'Etymologies' of Isidore of Seville*, trans. Stephen A. Barney, W.J. Lewis, J.A. Beach, and Oliver Berghof (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 220. For a succinct overview of the historical use of the term invention, see Alexander Marr and Vera Keller, "Introduction: The Nature of Invention," *Intellectual History Review* 24:3 (2014), 283-286.

[60] Mary Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Rhetoric, Meditation, and the Making of Images, 400-1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

[61] Leon Battista Alberti, *Il nuovo 'De pictura' di Leon Battista Alberti*, ed. Rocco Sinisgalli (Rome: Edizioni Kappa, 2006), III, 53; Martin Kemp, "From 'Mimesis' to 'Fantasia': The Quattrocento Vocabulary of Creation, Inspiration and Genius in the Visual Arts," *Viator* 8 (1977): 347.

The kind of artistic invention that concerns this study furthermore relies on a theory of composition that differs from more modern understandings of an author's originality.[62] For medieval writers, composition meant gathering knowledge from numerous sources to assemble a novel product that would not be divorced from its sources. An influential author for the Middle Ages on the topic of composition was the Late Antique Roman grammarian and philosopher, Macrobius. His concept of composition is a telling example of how it was conceived more broadly at the time. In the *Saturnalia,* Macrobius instructs his son: "We ought to imitate bees, if I can put it that way: wandering about, sampling the flowers, they arrange whatever they have gathered, distributing it among the honeycomb's cells, and by blending in the peculiar quality of their own spirit they transform the diverse kinds of nectar into a single taste."[63] Macrobius, heeding his own advice, had gathered and rearranged Seneca's statements in the *Moral Epistles*: "We should follow, men say, the example of the bees, who flit about and cull the flowers that are suitable for producing honey, and then arrange and assort in their cells all that they have brought in."[64] Like the bees who made honey from collected pollen, authors were invited to gather and mix the best sources into novel composites.

Rhetorical treatises, notably Cicero's *De oratore* and *De inventione*, were also of central importance for the medieval understanding of invention as a process of gathering and re-combination.[65] Cicero used the myth of the painter Zeuxis, who had composed a model of Beauty by painting Helen of Troy from many beautiful women in order to illustrate *collatio* as a

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[62] On the rhetorical use of *inventio*, memory, and images, Carruthers' work is seminal. In particular, see Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*, especially pages 24-29. On the concept of composition in the Middle Ages, see Fiona J. Griffiths, *The Garden of Delights: Reform and Renaissance for Women in the Twelfth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), especially page 94.

[63] Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.5, trans. Robert A. Kaster (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011).

[64] Seneca, *Epistles* 2.277-9, trans. Thomas Morell (Cambridge: Harvard University Press), 1917.

[65] Paul Binski, *Gothic Wonder: Art, Artifice and the Decorated Style 1290-1350* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014). Binski writes that "the term opus reminds us that invention is a process and not simply a fixed concept: it entails 'working' something in a way developed by longstanding practice" (296).

method of *inventio*.[66] As Paul Binski demonstrates, the trope reappears in various medieval texts, such as the sermons by the English Dominican, Paul Bromyard (d.ca. 1352). Bromyard wrote in his *Summa predicantium* that painters: "…diligently ponder beautiful things in order to make similar ones: they gather together one excellent beauty and treatment from one picture, and one from another, in such a way that they place all these excellent features in one most beautiful picture."[67]As a process of invention, *collatio* brings extant material into fresh configurations and meanings.[68] A model for invention that embraces *collatio* as a positive principle is a useful starting point for the interpretation of the Teodelinda Chapel, but it needs to be adapted to the particular mode of production.

When addressing the question of invention in the Teodelinda Chapel it is important to keep in mind that the chapel was decorated by a collective of artisans and not by a single individual. The decorations must therefore be considered as the product of a sort of invention that depends on evolving working relationships between individual artisans.[69] Proposing an alternative to an individualistic understanding of artistic invention, however, does not mean relinquishing the idea of authorial agency. Rather, the challenge will be to address the question of how artistic invention happens amongst many individuals in specific physical sites. The corollary question of how the creative process might serve as a mechanism to generate and

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[66] Cicero, *De Inventione. De Optimo Genere Oratorum. Topica* 2.i.1-4, trans. H.M. Hubbel (Harvard University Press, 1966). The myth was also recounted by Pliny the Elder, *The Natural History* 35.36, trans. John Bostock (London: Taylor and Francis, 1855).

[67] "Qui pulcras imagines diligenter considerant ut consimiles faciant. Et unam excellentem pulcritudinem vel tractum colligunt de una imagine et aliam de alia ut omnes illas excellentias in una imagine ponant et pulcerrimam faciant." Translated and cited in Binski, *Gothic Wonder,* 66.

[68] Mary Carruthers usefully defines *collatio* as a "memory technique…which builds up a network, a texture, of associations to show a common theme," in *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 42.

[69] The organization of the Zavattari workshop is not uncommon for the late medieval and Renaissance period. For a discussion of the organization and division of labor within workshops, see Cecilia Frosinini, "Progettualità, pianificazione e disegno nelle Storie della Vera Croce," in *Agnolo Gaddi e la Cappella Maggiore di Santa Croce a Firenze*, ed. Cecilia Frosinini (Cinisello Balsamo, Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 2014), 217-233, especially 223-224.

sustain connections between different individuals and things must also be taken into consideration.

Building on these multiple definitions of invention, this dissertation asks how the processes and techniques of pictorial invention are at work in the Zavattari's decoration of the Teodelinda Chapel. The discussion of invention here will be refocused on discovery, collection, and re-use, so that the Zavattari's paintings may be seen as the result of an active process in which materials (paintings, objects, relics, and stories) are gathered and rearranged into compositions that seek to fulfill a novel purpose. By locating the places where the physical, material and imaginative acts of recovery and assembly are visible, I hope to demonstrate first, how invention functions as a mobilizing energy within the mechanics of making, and, second, how this energy is channeled towards the creation of a place where individuals and history converge in the here and now so that Teodelinda might act as a sanctifying presence.

My approach diverges from previous studies on the Teodelinda Chapel in its focus on making, both as the primary generator of invention and as the activity that assembles and sustains historical memory. I begin by considering how style is approached as a critical category. Within the scholarship on the Zavattari, style has been reduced to a marker of provenance and artistic influence in order to locate artists within a system of classification, be that regional or chronological. While style is often and rightly seen an indicator of belonging and affinity amongst individual artists, rarely is it understood as a common way of making. However, as Ulrich Pfisterer notes, style in antiquity and the Middle Ages was associated with a *modus dicendi* in rhetorical practice. For rhetoricians, the decorum of speaking manner should be suited

to subject matter.[70] In such a historical conception of style, *how* things are done or put together is of the essence.

The way the paintings in the Teodelinda Chapel look, their making, and meaning are interconnected. This consideration calls for serious consideration and necessitates an examination of how artists intentionally used the tools of their trade and their technical knowledge to achieve desired effects. In the course of this dissertation, it will be argued that the Zavattari manipulated specific patterns and materials to produce specific meaning. Within their practice, gold relief patterns, rich ornaments and opulent vestments are manifestation of something more than mechanical assimilation. These pictorial effects are also more than a simple reflection of the painters' Lombard origins or a generalized "Gothic" tendency. Rather, these artistic choices, what we can call their style, are intentional and recognizable techniques that belong to the craft of painting. In the Teodelinda Chapel these techniques were used to weave together Teodelinda's past with Monza's fifteenth-century present.

In considering the representational strategies used by artists to connect the present to a sacred past, this study faces questions about the role of mural painting and the creation of sacred space. Specifically, it traces the artistic means through which places are shaped and the specific historical moments in which visualizing and materializing the holy become possible. To do so, this dissertation builds on literature on medieval mural painting and devotional space. For instance, the essays in *Shaping Sacred Space and Institutional Identity in Romanesque Mural Painting* (2004)*,* provide a useful precedent and a range of approaches to answer the question of how images, in highly charged areas of churches, were interconnected with aspects of the liturgy,

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[70] Ulrich Pfisterer, *Donatello und die Entdeckung der Stile* (Munich: Hirmer, 2002). See also Kathy Eden, *The Renaissance Rediscovery of Intimacy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012). Eden notes that style as a mode of doing, was translated over from the early modern discourse of juridical practice where it indicated a way of conducting legal practice or trial.

and with monastic, ecclesiastical and lay devotional activities.[71] Notably, recent studies by

scholars such as Nino Zchomelidse, Amanda Luyster, and Alison Locke Perchuk have shown

that the interaction of painting with the performance of liturgical offices is necessary for creating

and sustaining a local community's connection to its past.[72] An approach that likewise looks for

the interplay between the Zavattari's paintings and the activities that animated the physical space

of the chapel will go a long way toward renewing our understanding of how such wall paintings

might have worked in the experience of sacred space. As I hope to show, the Zavattari's

paintings were at once a product of sacred space and an essential piece of a larger apparatus by

means of which that sacred space was produced.

From the point of view of artistic process, there are a number of remarkable studies on

how medieval and Renaissance wall paintings are connected to the spaces of making.[73] Eve

Borsook's seminal 1960 survey of Tuscan mural painters from the fourteenth to sixteenth

centuries is a key methodological contribution on the matter as it pairs technical studies with

iconographic and formal analyses.[74] Borsook stresses that mural paintings are part of site-

specific environments, and are not simply two-dimensional surfaces. She argues that the creative

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[71] Thomas E.A. Dale and John Mitchell, eds., *Shaping Sacred Space and Institutional Identity in Romanesque Mural Painting: Essays in Honour of Otto Demus* (London: The Pindar Press, 2004). These essays carry forward many of the questions that Demus faced in his own work regarding the relation of sacred space and Romanesque mural painting.

[72] Amanda Luyster, "Christ's Golden Voice: The Chapels of St. Martial and St. John in the Palace of the Popes, Avignon," *Word & Image* 27 (2011): 334-346; Alison Perchuk, "Multisensory Memories and Monastic Identity at Sant'Elia near Nepi," *California Italian Studies* 6 (2016): 1-23; Nino Zchomelidse, *Art, Ritual, and Civic Identity in Medieval Southern Italy* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2014). Also of interest for the relationships of representations and liturgical performance in the medium of tapestry is the work of Laura Weigert, *Weaving Sacred Stories: French Choir Tapestries and the Performance of Clerical Identity* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004).

[73] Anne Dunlop's claim that artists were "thinking of their commissions as environments rather than as a series of isolated scenes on walls," is important not only because it brings attention to the fact that paintings were made in rapport to their environments, but also because it highlights the artists' agency in relating to the places in which they worked. Anne Dunlop, *Painted Palaces: The Rise of Secular Art in Early Renaissance Italy* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2009), 167.

[74] Eve Borsook, *The Mural Painters of Tuscany: From Cimabue to Andrea del Sarto* (New York: Phaidon, 1960). Borsook is particularly concerned in the introduction of her study to demonstrate the relationship of painting to architectural structures as a defining feature of the height of mural painting.

process is tied to the architectural structure in which and upon which painters worked. For

instance, Borsook notes that much preparatory work happened directly on the walls, such as

through the making of *sinopie*.[75] Although for Borsook, the symbiotic tie between mural painting

and architecture is the distinguishing mark of what she considers the golden-age of mural

painting—Trecento Tuscany—her insights have wider ramifications for studying the site

specificity of wall painting.

For fifteenth-century Lombardy, the Veronese painter Pisanello provides a relevant

example of how mural paintings and their supports are linked in the process of invention. Joanna

Woods-Marsden's 1988 study of Pisanello's Arthurian cycle in Mantua analyzes conservation

reports to demonstrate that Pisanello worked and re-worked compositions directly on the wall.[76]

Woods-Marsden suggests that Pisanello altered his design on the very surface of execution as

work progressed. The technical evidence that Woods-Marsden presents shows that Pisanello

depended on the support for the final product to come into being. Pisanello made two sinopie in

the *arriccio* and a preparatory drawing in *terra-verde* on the *intonaco*.[77] In areas that would have

received metal-leaf *pastiglia* (now mostly lost)*,* Pisanello worked the *terra-verde* under-drawing

in great detail to understand the effects of the intended three-dimensional applications.[78] The

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[75] Borsook sees the introduction of full-scale cartoons as altering the relationship of painters to the site they will paint given that these cartoons were often executed in a studio. The problem with these conclusions is that there is less of a smooth and direct transition between preparing *sinopie* and using full-scale cartoons. The Zavattari are an example of a combined use of *sinopie*, cartoons, and patterns. As Lucchini has shown, Lombard artists often used more than one technique together and derived their cartoons from *sinopie* executed on the walls. Lucchini, "Sinopie," 35.

[76] Joanna Woods-Marsden, *The Gonzaga of Mantua and Pisanello's Arthurian Frescoes* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988).

[77] Woods-Marsden writes that the "formation of ideas and the execution were perhaps so closely connected for him that they needed to be developed side by side," in *The Gonzaga of Mantua and Pisanello's Arthurian Frescoes*, 117.

[78] Ibid, 110.

high degree of interdependence between planning and execution, both of which occurred directly

on the wall, is likewise characteristic of the Zavattari.[79]

This dissertation is all the more indebted to studies of mural paintings in civic or

domestic spaces, notably Jean Campbell's writings on San Gimignano's Communal Palace and

Siena's Palazzo Pubblico and Anne Dunlop's work on Trecento and Quattrocento palaces.[80] One

of the challenges faced by these scholars is how to account for the role of painted fiction in lived

spaces: how did people interact and react to the painted representations in the places in which

they lived and worked. Campbell and Dunlop's studies have expanded our understanding of the

role of fiction in fueling a dynamic and often poetic relationship between beholders and their

painted environment. These authors lay the ground for considering the often-porous boundaries

between painted fictions and inhabited spaces. The way we understand the Teodelinda Chapel

changes when we consider that painted fictions might have had an active impact on the people

who dwelled in or visited these spaces. Above all, it encourages us to consider the ways in which

the Zavattari's life of Teodelinda might have been activated by devotees who interacted with the

images, not just as an iconographic repertoire, but as a mechanism for accessing the presence of

the queen within the space of the chapel.

Given that a central part of my argument rests on the idea that the Zavattari's paintings

were intended to summon the presence of Teodelinda for visitors who engaged with the wall's

decorations, what that presence entails must be qualified. One should first keep in mind that the

chapel housed Teodelinda's funerary monument, and that her presence was contingent on the

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[79] Ibid. Marsden writes that "it was only on the actual site and at the actual scale that the artist faced the issue of combining his ideas for separate parts into a unified work of art."

[80] C. Jean Campbell, *The Game of Courting and the Art of the Commune of San Gimignano, 1290-1320* (Princeton: Princeton University Press); Idem, *The Commonwealth of Nature: Art and Poetic Community in the Age of Dante* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008); Dunlop, *Painted Palaces*.

presence of her bodily relics. These relics were honored annually on her death anniversary with

the performance of a liturgy, an occurrence which shall be discussed in depth in the following

chapters.[81] The ceremonies around Teodelinda's burial preceded the construction and decoration

of the chapel by at least a century, if not more, and continued well into the sixteenth century.

When the chapel containing Teodelinda's body was decorated with her life, the paintings came

to frame the relics, and like the annual liturgy, honored and activated those relics. What ritual

and painting sought to awaken was the real presence of the queen, accessible via her relics.

Therefore, when Teodelinda's presence is discussed, it is to be understood within the context of

medieval relics and the cult of the saints, in which the power of the holy could be localized and

accessed within sacred matter and its representation.

Although Teodelinda was never officially canonized as a saint, for the medieval and

Renaissance periods, her cult was like that of the saints.[82] As Peter Brown has shown, the cult of

the saints, since its earliest manifestations, relied greatly on ceremonies. When the *passio* was

read during the saint's festival, it "gave a vivid momentary face to the invisible *praesentia* of the

saint."[83] Brown further asserts that, "when the *passio* was read, the saint was really there."[84]

Through the saint's *praesentia*, the community could benefit from his or her *potentia*.[85] In

Monza, the community relied on the ritual activation of Teodelinda's *praesentia* on her

anniversary, but could also count on the painted life of the queen which gave, year-round, a

"vivid…face to the invisible *praesentia* of the saint."[86] Nevertheless, Teodelinda's presence

could not mean the same thing to all parties. The Visconti had their own political agenda, which

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[81] *Obituario-Kalendarium* and *Liber Ordinarius*, ms. 7b10h4, Biblioteca Capitolare, Monza.
[82] On the matter of Teodelinda's failed canonization, see the Conclusion of this dissertation.
[83] Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (London: SCM, 1983), 94. Brown defines *praesentia* as the "physical presence of the holy" (100).
[84] Ibid.
[85] Ibid.
[86] Ibid.

saw in the Longobards the legitimization of their rule. For the Basilica's chapter, Teodelinda's foundation raised the church in the hierarchy of sacred places, and for devotees, Teodelinda was a local saint and privileged intercessor. Not least, the civic government in Monza would likely have seen in Teodelinda's queenship justification for autonomous rule. Yet, the different reasons for reviving Teodelinda as a presence in Monza were not entirely separable. The interests of these different parties were often interwoven, as illustrated by the 1445 contract for the queen's chapel, which was signed by members of the Basilica's chapter (several of whom also had Visconti ducal matters at heart) and members of the civic government.[87] So, while the construction and decoration of the Basilica and the apse chapels were backed by Visconti funds, the significance of these sites and of their decorations was not narrowly defined by them.[88]

This dissertation further draws on studies of medieval treasuries and reliquaries to analyze the play between presence, presentation and representation in the painted fiction of the Teodelinda Chapel. Cynthia Hahn's groundbreaking work on the representational function of reliquaries for relics is here particularly relevant. In a number of articles and in her two books, *Strange Beauty* (2012) and *Reliquary Effect* (2017), Hahn faces the issue of how people's relationships and access to the holy was shaped and represented by reliquaries.[89] Reliquaries, Hahn argues, do not have a one-to-one mimetic relationship with their contained relics. Rather, reliquaries activate the imagination, senses, and suggest (or dictate) to the beholder how to interact with the concealed presence of the holy. Hahn writes that:

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[87] For the identification of the various parties involved in the contract, see Delmoro, "Per la committenza artistica," 18-19.

[88] I here am alluding to the pervading interpretation of the painting as a political allegory for Visconti-Sforza succession with the marriage of Bianca Maria Visconti and Francesco Sforza in 1441, first articulated by Castelfranchi Vegas, "Intorno agli affreschi Zavattariani di Monza."

[89] Cynthia Hahn, *Strange Beauty: Issues in the Making and Meaning of Reliquaries, 400-circa 1204* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2012); Idem, *The Reliquary Effect: Enshrining the Sacred Object* (London: Reaktion Books, 2017).

> The beauty of a reliquary does not, therefore, only function to honor the saint, and mediate the 'ugliness' of the relic; it also takes part, along with the beauty of the liturgy, the shrine, hymns, poems, and prayers, in creating or constructing the saint and his or her spiritual meaning for (and by) the viewer.[90]

If reliquaries engage the senses and the imagination and lead the devotee towards an appropriate response to relics, so the decorations in the Teodelinda Chapel (a sort of large-scale reliquary) could also invite and direct visitors to establish a relationship with Teodelinda and her relics through pictorial representation. Following Hahn's approach, one can assert that the representational function of reliquaries—and painting—has the potential to shape the way in which the sacred is approached, understood and envisioned.

Finally, this study's theoretical framework for understanding why in a specific historical moment (the 1440s in Monza) it became necessary to visually manifest the sacrality of the Teodelinda Chapel through painting is grounded in the work of Helen Hills on the chapel of San Gennaro in Naples.[91] Hills remarks that a vow made during troubled times was "less the *motive*," for building than it provided "the *moment* for the chapel." [92] A moment, in other words, in which it became possible to stage the reconstitution of the city of Naples as a city filled with saints, a truly sanctified city. The instability and commotion that preceded the making of the treasury chapel of San Gennaro created an opening for the architecture and art of the chapel to perform re-ordering and constructive work in shaping a place as sacred. In Monza, I consider the turbulence of the fourteenth century—from architectural reconstructions to wider political instability—as the necessary upheaval that unearthed the material needed to represent the story of Teodelinda in her chapel in the fifteenth century.

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[90] Hahn, *Strange Beauty,* 26.

[91] Helen Hills, *The Matter of Miracles: Neapolitan Baroque Sanctity and Architecture* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016).

[92] Ibid, 314. Italics my own.

A study that brings together issues of artistic making and invention with consideration of the creation of sacred space and sacred presence has never been undertaken for the Teodelinda Chapel. The "profane" nature of the Zavattari's images, filled with elaborate and fashionable clothing, hunting scenes and banquets has generally led scholars to ignore their potential within the chapel's devotional mechanism. To situate the painted walls in relation to the Basilica's concerns with the preservation and activation of Teodelinda's *memoria* sheds light on the central role that painting played in the Quattrocento in shaping and sustaining historical and spiritual memory. Working along these lines, this dissertation seeks to contribute to studies on late medieval and Renaissance Italian painting in which artistic making had profound social and devotional potential.

This dissertation is composed of four chapters. The first two chapters consider the foundation history of the Basilica, its reconstruction and decoration. The final two chapters are concerned with the making and reception of the Zavattari's paintings, especially around issues of sacred space and artistic creation. In Chapter One, I discuss the grounds on which the Basilica was established as a sacred place. The chapter covers the early history of the foundation through the fourteenth century when the Basilica was reconstructed. The focus falls on the way that the foundation legend was constructed, first, as a material-cultural phenomenon and, subsequently, as it was formalized in the fourteenth-century chronicle of Monza by Bonincontro Morigia. I here introduce the Basilica's relics and treasures and the liturgical manuscripts, the *Obituario* and *Kalendarium*, as indications of how the medieval building was structured and experienced by devotees.

Chapter Two follows chronologically and is concerned with the fifteenth-century decoration of the apse area. It gives an overview of the lost pictorial decoration of the three apse

chapels. Using the information provided by inventories and the records of pastoral visits, the chapter suggests what objects might have filled those spaces at that time. The chapter also addresses the question of what motivated the late medieval reconstruction and decoration, situating that question within the economy of Christian intercession. It furthermore proposes that the Zavattari's techniques (the understanding of which was recovered in the recent conservation of the chapel) were ideal for creating a space that glorified and honored the divine.

Chapter Three argues that the Teodelinda cycle, which has often been considered in isolation (sometimes as if it were a two-dimensional paper cut-out) should be seen in relation to the other paintings, objects, relics and rituals associated with the chapel and the larger site. The chapter develops a comparative model of interpretation to demonstrate how the Zavattari made their paintings from the very material of the site, following a composite model of painting. Developing from this premise it considers how visitors to the chapel may have been able to access the real connections between the sacred treasures, rituals and stories, through the pictorial connections forged by the painters. The chapter proposes that the Zavattari made a sort of treasury out of the chapel by reworking existing treasures and fashioning the chapel into a reliquary for the queen.

Chapter Four develops a model for inventive art making by appeal to the ideas associated with the word treasury in its Latin and vernacular variants. It considers the term treasury both as a metaphorical locus associated with the mental processes of memory, and then, by extension as an apt tern for the locus and technical component of artistic practice. The chapter specifically examines the interrelationship between two senses of drawing: first, as an acquisitive graphic technique, and, second, as the resulting body of material used to stock both painter's memory and the workshop treasury.

I conclude by analyzing the aftermath of Teodelinda's legacy in the Basilica from the late sixteenth to eighteenth centuries: from the moment that Teodelinda's sepulcher was removed from her chapel, to the reshaping of her cult in light of new devotion to the Iron Crown. While asking why the Zavattari's Teodelinda cycle survived the modern repainting of the church, the conclusion suggests that the perceived antiquity of the paintings made them into a quasi-relic of the queen.

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In his 1774 publication on the history of Monza, the historian and church canon, Antonio Francesco Frisi, suggests that the Zavattari's paintings in the Teodelinda Chapel may be seen as a revival of the lost paintings in Teodelinda's palace, described by Paul the Deacon in the *History of the Longobards*.[93] Although Frisi quickly moves past this connection to focus on the location of the queen's lost palace—stating that the fifteenth-century paintings are a revival ("ravvivamento") of the decorations on Teodelinda's sixth-century palace walls—he inadvertently points to a core issue regarding the contribution of painting to the continuity and survival of historical memory in relation to a place. By defining the Teodelinda Chapel as a revival, Frisi intuited that painting served as the means by which material links, between past and

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[93] Paul the Deacon, *History of the Langobards* 4.22, trans. William Dudley Foulke (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1906), 116. Paul the Deacon describes the paintings in Teodelinda's palace, which was likely erected adjacent to the Basilica of San Giovanni, as showing stories of the Longobard people in all the particularities of their ancient dress and costume: "Ibi etiam praefata regina sibi palatium condidit, in quo aliquot et de Langobardorum gestis depingi fecit. In qua pictura manifeste ostenditur, quomodo Langobardi eo tempore comam capitis tondebant vel qualis illis vestitus qualisve habitus erat. Siquidem cervicem usque ad occipitium radentes nudabant, capillos a facie usque ad os dimissos habentes, quos in utramque partem in frontis discrimine dividebant. Vestimenta vero eis erant laxa et maxime linea, qualia Anglisaxones habere solent, ornata institis latioribus vario colore contextis. Calcei vero eis erant usque ad summum pollicem pene aperti et alternatim laqueis corrigiarum retenti. Postea vero coeperunt osis uti, super quas equitantes tubrugos birreos mittebant. Sed hoc de Romanorum consuetudine traxerant." Translated by Dudley Foulke as: "There also the aforesaid queen built herself a palace, in which she caused to be painted something of the achievements of the Langobards. In this painting it is clearly shown in what way the Langobards at that time cut their hair, and what was their dress and what was their appearance." For Teodelinda's palace, see Roberto Cassanelli, "Monza: Il Palazzo e la Cappella Palatina da Teodolinda a Berengario," in *Ubi Palatio Dicitur*, ed. Massimiliano David (Cinisello Balsamo, Milan: Comune di Cinisello Balsamo, 1999), 75-80.

present, between a site and its venerable founder, can be generated and maintained. He furthermore identified an imitative mode of making, of replication and of re-use of previous models, as the way in which these connections are made.

Developing Frisi's intuition, this dissertation seeks to demonstrate how the artistic processes used by the Zavattari—grounded in the re-use of existing models and objects—served as mechanisms for recovering and reviving other historical moments, individuals and artisanal practices. It is in the Zavattari's recursive mode of creation that I see a vital process take place; one that allows temporally and materially disparate elements to come in contact with one another. Understood in this sense their work of painting is more than a narrowly aesthetic or edifying project. It is a project with real social ramifications insofar as it keeps the past alive and dynamic in the present.

Chapter One.

Monza, Teodelinda and the Invention of Sacred Space

On a clear afternoon in Monza, Pellegrino Tibaldi's 1592 bell tower for the Basilica of San Giovanni rises gracefully against the distant mountain silhouettes on the edge of the Lombard plain. But long before the city and its Basilica took shape, Modicia (now Monza), was a small Roman agricultural settlement adjacent on the Lambro river.[94] Situated fifteen kilometers to the north of Milan, and to the south of the Alps, Monza's location on fertile and irrigated ground, and its proximity to mountain breezes, made it a desirable site for a settlement. Paul the Deacon (c.720-799), in his *Historia Longobardorum,* writes that Theoderic the Great (454-526), king of the Ostrogoths, had built his residence near Monza to benefit from its salubrious climate: "In this place also Theuderic, the former king of the Goths, had constructed his palace, because the place, since it is near the Alps, is temperate and healthy in the summertime."[95] Paul the Deacon uses the conceit of the salubrious location (itself a topos of foundation legends) to further legitimize Monza as a divinely privileged site: fit for a king and worthy of its Basilica.

According to legend, Monza became manifest as sacred when the Longobard queen, Teodelinda (570-627), founded and endowed a basilica dedicated to Saint John the Baptist. Over the centuries, the Basilica of San Giovanni remained a locus of devotional activity. The Basilica was periodically renewed to secure the bond to its sacred foundation. Monza's Basilica, its

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[94] Massimiliano David, "Una regina vicina alle Alpi," in *Atlante iconografico*, 15-17.

[95] "Quo in loco etiam Theudericus quondam Gothorum rex palatium construxit, pro eo quod aestivo tempore locus ipse, utpote vicinus Alpibus, temperatus ac salubris existit." Paul the Deacon, *History of the Langobards*, 4.21. The historical evidence that supports a palace constructed by Theoderic at Monza is lacking, which has led scholars to think that Paul the Deacon fabricated the information to give Teodelinda's foundation a royal precedent. It is also argued, that the proximity to Milan, rather than the climate, would have been a greater determining factor for the location of the royal palace.

foundation and re-foundation, its treasures and relics, will be the subjects of this first chapter.

Building on studies that have considered foundation and memory, architecture and sacred space, the present chapter will ask how San Giovanni was fashioned visually, spatially, and materially as a sacred place. It will refer specifically to the way in which the legend of Teodelinda and the foundation of the Basilica of San Giovanni are narrated by Bonincontro Morigia (b. 1295) in the *Chronicon Modoetiense* (c. 1340).[96] Bonincontro's chronicle of local history offers one of the first and most elaborate narrations for the genesis of San Giovanni that stretches from its inception to the fourteenth century. Bonincontro goes well beyond Paul the Deacon's rather brief mentions of Monza to conjure a richly vibrant and articulate account for the city, past and present. The *Chronicon* is a composite source of written and oral traditions, historical events, and commentary. As a chronicle that synthesizes historical events, legends and lived experience, the *Chronicon* provides insight on how knowledge about a place and its origins are expressed in writing.

The story of founding of the Basilica of San Giovanni is the core of Bonincontro's *Chronicon.* In it, the authenticity of Monza as a site worthy of remembrance hinges on the belief that its Basilica was built on a divinely appointed and sacred site. An extended passage from the foundation legend shows how finding a sacred locus and the foundation of the Basilica are understood to be interrelated:

> Predicta vero sanctissima Theodolenda regina oraculum unum ad honorem Dei et sancti Iohannis Baptiste in regno suo hedificare vovit. Quadam nocte in sompnis de celo sibi dictum fuit: "In loco sancto ubi Spiritus Sanctus in forma columbe tibi apparuerit oraculum, prout vovisti, hedificabis." Sicque devotissima Theodelenda pergebat a Verona civitate sua, ubi revelationem dicti somni habuerat. Peractis [peratibus] locis regni sui huc atque illuc per

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[96] Bonincontro Morigia, *Chronicon Modoetiense ab origine Modoetie ad annum 1359*, ms. Ambrosiano D 271 inf., ff. 5v-6r, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan. Bonincontro's text is reproduced in Ludovico Antonio Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores Tomus Duodecimus* (Milan: Societatis Palatinae, 1728), 1070-1071. Bonincontro was invested in the Visconti's political goals and his chronicle forcefully narrates the desired link between the Longobards and Monza to support the site's claim to host the imperial coronation. Teodelinda as queen and as founder of San Giovanni therefore holds a prominent role in Bonincontro's account.

multum tempus ivit: Columba ei non apparuit. Tandem inter Abduam et Ticinum pulcrius spatium regni Lombardorum equitabat. Una die circa sextam horam diei, cum esset multum fessa, vidit quondam altam arborem, apud quam erat magna et grossa vitis. Gloriossima Theodelenda regina de equo descendit et ibi quiescere voluit et, cum staret in agonia contemplans, et qui secum errant paucum ab ea longe stantes, subito super dictam vitem Columba apparuit et vox de celo desuper arborem que dixit: "Modo," quasi vox dicere velet: "Modo es in loco sancto." Tunc beata Theodelenda in momento respondit: "Etiam," quasi responderet voci: "Etiam video quia vere Dominus est in loco isto et ego ignorabam. Hic est locus sanctus et Spiritus Sanctus," pavensque "Quam sublimis—inquid—est locus iste. Non est hic aliud nisi domus sancti Iohannis magni principis Dei." Surgens flexis genibus ad celum manus extendit, gratias Deo et sancto Iohanni Baptiste egit. Mane facto arborem et vitem extirpari fecit, oraculum ibi designavit, quod in fine anno Domini DLXXXXV construxit. Altare in loco ubi erat arbor et vitis in dicto oraculo erexit. Et ex suprascriptis duobus vocabulis, scilicet modo et etiam appellavit nomen loci Modoetiam, qui prius locus Olmea vocabatur.[97]

The aforementioned, and truly holy queen Teodelinda vowed to build a temple in honor of God and Saint John the Baptist in her kingdom. One night, as she was sleeping, it was said to her from Heaven: "In a holy place where the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove will appear to you, as you vowed, you shall there build the sanctuary." Thus, Teodelinda moved on from her city of Verona, where she had experienced said oracle in her sleep. In the temperate regions of her kingdom, for a long time she went here and there, but the dove did not appear to her. At last, she was riding in the beautiful region of Lombardy between the Adda and Ticino rivers. One day around the sixth hour of the day, when she was very tired, she saw at once a tall tree at the foot of which was a great and large vine. The glorious queen Teodelinda descended from her horse and there wanted to rest and as she stayed to contemplate in agony with a few people who were not far from her, immediately above the vine the dove appeared and a voice above the tree came down from Heaven and said: "Modo (now)," as if to say, "Now you are in a sacred place." Thus, Teodelinda replied promptly, "Etiam (even)," as if to say, "Even I see that God truly is in this place which I did not know. Here is a holy place and the Holy Spirit," and trembling she added, "how sublime is this place. This is no other if not the sacred house of Saint John the great prince of God." Rising to her knees, she raised her hands to the sky and gave thanks to God and Saint John. In the morning, she had the tree and vine uprooted and here designated the temple which was built at the end of the year 595. The altar in this temple was erected in the spot where the tree and the vine had been. And out of the two aforementioned words, that is, *modo* and *etiam,* the place was named Modoetiam which had previously been called Olmea.[98]

This piece of Bonincontro's narrative begins with an account of the wedding festivities at

Verona of Teodelinda and her second husband, the duke of Turin, Agilulf (590-616). An oracle

compels the sleeping queen to depart and search for the place on which to found a sanctuary

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[97] Ibid.
[98] Translation my own.

dedicated to Saint John the Baptist, an event that leads Teodelinda to search far and wide in her kingdom for the appointed location. Finally, Teodelinda comes to rest under a vine and an elm tree. She is unaware that she has found the location for her sanctuary until she hears the voice of God accompanied by a vision of the Holy Spirit, which reveals the holy site. Teodelinda orders that the vine and elm be uprooted, and the energy thereby released propels the construction of a holy sanctuary: the high altar, the most sacred point of the building, is placed in the precise location where the vine and tree had once stood. If the moment of revelation proves the ground to be sacred, and with that potentially generative, the result of this fertility is the possibility of creating a sanctuary.

It is clear that Bonincontro's account relies on topoi common to foundation legends. An examination of the way in which he deploys these tropes, however, is useful for understanding how the discovery of sacred space is conceived as the impetus for human making within a broader cultural sphere.[99] A particularly important trope is that Monza's myth of origin is framed as a story of invention, understood according to the Latin etymology of *invenio,* which means to find or to come across.[100] The legend begins with an oracle, a voice from heaven that tells Teodelinda to seek and find the appointed site on which to found a sanctuary dedicated to Saint

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[99] For a discussion of the structure of foundation legends and monastic orders, see Amy G. Remensnyder, *Remembering Kings Past: Monastic Foundation Legends in Medieval Southern France* (Cornell University Press, 1995), 42-86.

[100] An annotated copy of Paul the Deacon was made in the twelfth century by the Monza *scriptorium* and is preserved to this day in the Biblioteca Capitolare del Duomo di Monza, manuscript BCM b-18. The annotations are about Teodelinda's foundation and donation. A manuscript copy of Bonincontro Morigia's, *Chronicon Modoetiense ab origine Modoetie ad annum 1359*, originally from Monza, is now in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, ms. Ambrosiano D 271 inf. Teodelinda is cited as founder in papal privileges of Calix II (1120) and Innocent II (1135). Both documents are reproduced by Frisi, *Memorie storiche di Monza e sua corte* II, n. 46; 49. Teodelinda is mentioned by other medieval chroniclers such as Andrea da Bergamo (c. 10th-11th century), Aimonius Floriacensis (965-1010), Galvano Fiamma (1283-1348) and Flavio Biondo (1392-1463). Bonincontro Morigia's *Chronicon Modoetiense* (c. 1340) offers an extended and elaborate rendition of the legend of Teodelinda. Bonincontro's account most likely combined written and oral traditions that have not survived. On the early sources for Teodelinda, see Mambretti, "Teodelinda," in *Dizionario della Chiesa Ambrosiana*, vol. 6; Idem, "Teodolinda, il fascino di una regina," in *La Cappella di Teodolinda nel Duomo di Monza*, 25-30.

John the Baptist. The account culminates in the discovery of the sacred locus upon which to build the Basilica. Teodelinda's discovery of a sacred space, following the definition of *invenio,* is nothing less than the finding of something that was already there, but that until that moment had remained unseen. It is, moreover from the very soil that the construction of the Basilica proceeds as the tree and vine yield the church and the altar.

Another of Bonincontro's tropes is constituted in his use of the Biblical story of Jacob's ladder (Genesis 28: 16-17). The trope is often associated to ecclesiastical foundations and offers a key for understanding how a space is revealed as sacred and then made into a defined place. Bonincontro suggests that just as Jacob, by naming the location of his vision as the *porta caeli* establishes a sacred space, so also Teodelinda, by constructing a sanctuary, achieves the same end.[101] According to Genesis, Jacob has a vision of a ladder to heaven and exclaims: "Indeed, the Lord is in this place and I knew it not. And trembling he said: How terrible is this place! This is no other but the house of God and the gate to heaven."[102] Variants of these words appear twice in the account of Teodelinda's foundation. The first time, when Teodelinda echoes a variation of the biblical verses: "'Here is a holy place and the Holy Spirit,' and trembling she added, 'how sublime is this place. This is not other if not the sacred house of Saint John the great prince of God.'"[103] Shortly thereafter, the verses are repeated. Bonincontro, thus draws attention to the proximity of Jacob and Teodelinda's utterances in order to support a typological reading of the two figures.[104]

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[101] For the recurrence of Genesis 28:17 and the motif of the *porta caeli* within foundation legends of abbeys, see Remensnyder, *Remembering Kings Past,* 35; 50.

[102] "Vere Dominus est in loco iste, et ego nesciebam. Pavensque, quam terribilis est, inquit, locus iste! Non est hic aliud nisi domus Dei, et porta caeli." Genesis 28: 16-17, Latin Vulgate, Douay-Rheims translation.

[103] "Hic est locus sanctus et Spiritus Sanctus, pavensque: Quam sublimis—inquit—est locus iste. Non est hic aliud nisi domus sancti Iohannis magni principis Dei." Morigia, *Chronicon Modoetiense,* in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores,* 1071. Translation my own.

[104] Ibid.

If sacred space is not shaped and ordered into a place, that is, a delimited and circumscribed *locus*, its function as a point of access to heaven remains hidden. Left invisible and without discernible form, the location is eventually forgotten. The foundation of a sacred place, such as a Basilica, has the goal of materializing the otherwise intangible holiness. Such a concept of place is in many ways based on a philosophically Aristotelian definition: place is what circumscribes, contains and orders a body.[105] Making a place—be that a church, a monastery or a chapel— means giving shape to sacred space, by giving it a visible body. As Amy Remensnyder writes in her work on abbeys and foundation legends, once a site is revealed by divine intervention, as a hierophany, the sacred space, "as a gate to heaven…needed to be embodied by an abbey."[106] For Remensnyder, an ecclesiastical building marks a site as sacred, which would have otherwise remained occult.

Teodelinda's story is likewise concerned with the embodiment of sacred space.[107] The church that was founded by the queen stood as the marker of the otherwise evanescent moment when the dove appeared to her and named the site as God's chosen location. Teodelinda's invention of a sacred space, guided by divine revelation, is that which gives energy and reason to the ensuing foundation, consecration, and endowment of the Basilica of San Giovanni. Teodelinda's Basilica becomes a place where the sacred is contained, materialized and made visible.

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[105] Sarah Kay, *The Place of Thought* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 4-8.

[106] Remensnyder, 65. On the concept of hierophany, see Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion* (Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 1959), 24-29.

[107] See Remensnyder, *Remembering Kings Past*; Idem, "Legendary Treasure at Conques: Reliquaries and Imaginative Memory," *Speculum* 71 (1996): 884–906; Idem, "Topographies of Memory: Center and Periphery in High Medieval France," in *Medieval Concepts of the Past,* ed. Althoff Gerd (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 193–214. Remensnyder's work is indebted to scholars such as Mircea Eliade and Victor Turner for the structural and anthropological analysis of sacred space. Although Remensnyder is interested in the centering effect of sacred space, it does not carry the same nationalist undertones of Eliade's world-creating understanding of sacred space. For a historiographic introduction to the concept of sacred space, see Michael Harrington, *Sacred Place in Early Medieval Neoplatonism* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004); Sarah Hamilton and Andrew Spicer, eds., *Defining the Holy: Sacred Space in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2005).

The existing evidence for the architectural history of Teodelinda's Basilica is both archaeological and archival. The material remains of the sixth-century church founded by Teodelinda, however, are few and fragmentary. It is difficult to assess the precise changes the structure underwent between its foundation in the late sixth century (595 according to tradition) and its complete remaking between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The sources that allow for a partial reconstruction of what may have constituted the early Basilica include the few archaeological fragments of early medieval structures and of building materials. Liturgical records such as the Monza *Kalendario-Obituario*, compiled from the twelfth to the sixteenth century, and the *Liber Ordinarius,* written in the thirteenth century, add information on how the Basilica was structured through descriptions of rituals.[108] The exact location and layout of the first Basilica is not known, but the footprint of the early building probably covered the area from an early medieval tower to the area currently occupied by the sacristy (see fig. 3).[109] The Basilica had a portico, referred to in documents as the *cortina*, today replaced by the eighteenth-century *chiostrino dei morti* (little cloister of the dead).[110]

Whether significant reconstructions or amplifications were carried out prior to 1300 has been subject to debate. Scholars writing in the mid-twentieth century, such as Angiola Romanino and Augusto Merati, associated notices they found in the *Liber Ordinarius* regarding the

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[108] *Obituario-Kalendarium* and *Liber Ordinarius*, ms. 7b10h4, Biblioteca Capitolare, Monza. Monza's *Obituario-Kalendarium* and *Liber Ordinarius*, a Necrologium and Ceremonial book, were at a later date, probably in the fifteenth century when many manuscripts were renovated and bound together in a single volume. On the rebinding of manuscripts in the Biblioteca Capitolare at Monza, see Annalisa Belloni and Mirella Ferrari, *La Biblioteca Capitolare di Monza* (Padova: Antenore, 1974), lxiv. For the text of the two manuscripts and critical commentary, see Filippo dell'Oro and Renato Mambretti, eds., *Liber ordinarius Modoetiensis cum kalendario-obituario* (Rome: CLV, 2001). See also Renato Mambretti, "Il contributo dell'Obituario e del 'Liber Ordinarius' della chiesa monzese alla storia edilizia del Duomo," in *Monza Anno 1300*, 136-141.

[109] The tower was likely to have been used as a fortification in the early Middle Ages, and was then used as a bell tower for the Basilica until the sixteenth century.

[110] See essays in *Monza Anno 1300*; *Monza. Il Duomo nella storia e nell'arte*; *Monza: La Cappella di Teodelinda nel Duomo*.

consecration of new altars at mid-thirteenth century with actual architectural restructuring.[111] For these scholars, the fourteenth-century reconstruction maintained the thirteenth-century core and only expanded the rest of the building. This theory has recently been refuted, given that no archaeological or architectural evidence can be found to support the survival of a thirteenth-century structure. Rather, it is generally agreed that the year 1300, as indicated by the *Liber Ordinarius,* marks the beginning of a complete reconstruction of San Giovanni following the miraculous invention of relics.[112] Construction of the new Basilica progressed in two separate phases, the first of which ended at mid-century and the second which started after 1372 under the guidance of Matteo da Campione (1335-1396) and continued after his death.[113] The area around the apse was the last to receive its definitive shape. Prior to Matteo da Campione's interventions, the apse and side chapels were likely to have been small rectangular spaces. Under the campaign begun by Matteo da Campione, the existing apse chapels were amplified to assume the shape they have today (with the exception of the main apse which was elongated in 1577).[114] Decoration of the areas around the transept and high altar began shortly after the amplification of

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[111] Angiola Maria Romanini, *L'architettura gotica in Lombardia* I (Milan: Ceschina, 1964), 141-143; Augusto Merati and Angiola Maria Romanini, *Storia Architettonica del Duomo di Monza* (Monza: Comune di Monza, 1962); Luisa Giordano, "Il Duomo di Monza e l'arte dall'età Viscontea al Cinquecento," in *Storia di Monza e della Brianza*, ed. G. Avanzi, vol. 2, 4 (Milan: Polifilio, 1984), 295-372.

[112] *Obituario-Kalendarium* and *Liber Ordinarius*, ms. 7b10h4, f. 19v, Biblioteca Capitolare, Monza: "MCCC. die martis. Ultimo madij primis lapis posita fuit per venerabilem virum Dm. Advocatum de Advocatis archipresbiterum modoetiensem in ampliatione ecclesie predicte sancti Iohannis in presentia multorum hominum in cortina predicte ecclesie." From a historicist point of view, the construction of the mendicant church of San Francesco in Monza is also likely to have provided a motive for building a grander Basilica.

[113] On Matteo da Campione at Monza, see *Ille Magnus Edificator: Matteo da Campione e Il Duomo di Monza,* ed. by Roberto Cassanelli, Roberto Conti, and Silvia Carmignani (Monza: Intesa, 1999).

[114] Selected essays on the architectural gestation include: Gianni Selvatico, "Giornale dei lavori della fabbrica del Duomo monzese nel XIV secolo," *Studi Monzesi* 4 (1989): 45–59; Cassanelli, "L'architettura. La basilica dal VI al XIX secolo," in *Monza: Il Duomo nella storia e nell'arte*, 45-74; Idem, "Cappella reginae. Osservazioni sulla storia costruttiva della cappella di Teodelinda nel Duomo di Monza," in *Monza: la cappella,* 24-33; Delmoro, "Per la committenza artistica," 12–53; Idem, "Per l'antico aspetto del Duomo di Monza, 41–81; Delmoro and Colombo, *Testimonianze di arte medievale a Monza e in Brianza*, 94-105; David, "Una regina vicina alle Alpi," 15-23.

the chapel spaces, most likely sometime during last decade of the fourteenth century. The latter

work continued over the first two decades of the fifteenth century.[115]

Throughout the renovations certain architectural elements of the early building were

intentionally preserved, such as the sixth-century tower adjacent to the Teodelinda Chapel. When

the construction of the Teodelinda Chapel partly demolished the tower's lower walls, feats of

engineering were undertaken to keep it standing, suggesting its importance to the site. Its

conservation may tell us something about the priorities that Monza's citizens, the church canons

and the *fabbricieri* had in rebuilding their Basilica. The significance of the tower probably lies is

in its perceived relation to Teodelinda. As indicated by the inscription on the seventh-century

golden evangeliary book covers in the Basilica's treasure, San Giovanni was thought to have

been founded by Teodelinda near (or adjacent to) the royal palace she also founded on the site:

"In Modicia/ Prope Palatium suum" (In Monza/ Near her palace).[116] In the later Middle Ages the

tower was believed to be part of the queen's palace.[117] Its preservation thus exemplifies how the

thirteenth century builders prioritized the special relation of the Basilica to its founder,

Teodelinda.

If, however, the goal of the Basilica was to keep alive its connection to Teodelinda's

foundation, the bell tower alone could not suffice. Between the original sanctuary and its

fifteenth-century successor laid years of modifications, rebuilding, and redecoration. In order for

the Basilica to represent its connection to Teodelinda, other means were needed. In some cases, a

structure associated with Teodelinda, and which had been physically demolished, could survive

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[115] As indicated by a 1417 request of import exemption for the materials used in the south chapel dedicated to the Virgin. Reproduced in Frisi, *Memorie storiche di Monza e sua corte II,* 195-196. In regard to the 1417 document, see Delmoro, "'Assai annose pitture,'" 112, n. 46. This document will be discussed in Chapter Two, page 70.

[116] The full inscription reads: De donis di offerit Theodelenda reg/ Gloriosissema/ sco Iohanni Bapt/ In Baselica/ Ovam /Ipsa Fund/ In Modicia/ Prope Palatium suum. The evangeliary covers are conserved in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo di Monza.

[117] See Cassanelli, "Monza: Il Palazzo e la Cappella Palatina da Teodolinda a Berengario," 75.

in non-material ways. For example, in the *Chronicon,* Bonincontro discusses the name popularly

given to what was once the main doorway to the Basilica, the "porta vitae" which was altered

after the Basilica's reconstruction:

> Etiam aliqui dicunt, quod de praedicta vite facta fuit porta ad dictum Oraculum, quod usque
> hodie dicta porta est in dicto Oraculo, non in eodem loco, ut in primis, quia erat per portam
> majorem; sed amplificatio dicto Oraculo facta fuit alia porta major; et ipsa porta de jure
> posita fuit ab una parte parietum dicti Oraculi per portas; et hodie vulgariter dicitur prae
> magna dignitate: haec porta est vitae.[118]

> Moreover some even say, concerning the aforesaid vine, that a door was made for the
> sanctuary, and that up to this day this door is in the sanctuary, not in the same location as
> before, because then it was the main doorway; but as the temple was amplified another main
> doorway was made and this door was rightly placed on one side of the sanctuary; today
> people say with great dignity: this is the door of the vine.[119]

By maintaining the name of the doorway, despite the structural changes, a connection to

Teodelinda's foundation and the vine she removed to build her sanctuary was perpetuated.[120]

There were numerous other ways to keep Teodelinda present in the new Basilica. These

included the performance of the liturgy and other ritual acts of devotion. These representational

strategies served to connect the present with the sacred origin where there were otherwise

disjunctures in the material record.[121] In Monza, as elsewhere, the liturgical and ritual

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[118] Morigia, 1070.

[119] Translation my own.

[120] On the subject of names as heuristic devices, Patrick Geary writes that "people's names were good things to remember with as were land and physical objects that by analogy or physical association might connect the present and the past." Patrick J. Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994), 20. The name Modoetiam also functions as a mnemonic device, in that it provides an abbreviated version of the foundation legend that cues the recollection of the entire story. Joined together, *modo* and *etiam* enmesh location and foundation in the collective memory of the site. It appears that the connection of the city's name to the foundation of the Basilica emerged in the fourteenth century. See Renato Mambretti, "Sed libere habeat potestatem: La canonica di San Giovanni Battista in età medievale (secoli VI-XV)," in *Monza. Il Duomo nella storia e nell'arte,* 15. Monza was a Roman *vicus* but relatively little is known of this early history. The city's name, in this sense, also serves as a place, although not of the physical kind, from which to access the relevance of the site. For a discussion of names and legends as mnemonic devices, see Mary Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought,* 24-29.

[121] An example from Santa Maria in Strada, a fourteenth-century church not far from San Giovanni, serves to clarify the way in which cult devotion was able to maintain continuity despite material disruptions over time. The object in question is a small book of miracles performed by the Virgin during the construction of Santa Maria in Strada. The manuscript was most likely written by Bonincontro Morigia in the 1350s and narrates the genesis of the church in relation to the miraculous interventions of the Virgin. Prior to the church of Santa Maria in Strada, Bonincontro tells

performances were especially potent agents. Margot Fassler has argued that for the Middle Ages, the liturgy was the "fundamental default mode of the representation of the past,"[122] as it reenacted and reshaped the past for the present. As a representational form, the liturgy presented the past as an eternally renewable source. The celebration of the Eucharist is the primary example of how the liturgy is at once a historical representation (that is, of the Last Supper) and a novel presentation of Christ's presence in the here-and-now. Operating on a cyclical calendar, and structured from texts and rites that draw from a wide array of sources, the liturgy is well-suited to the disruption of linear chronologies.[123] Such temporal flexibility is particularly conducive to the situation of commemorating the dead, allowing for the effective evocation of their continued presence among the living.[124]

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us, the site was occupied by the monastery of Santa Maria di Ingino which had a miraculous statue of the Virgin and Child over the entrance. The image of the Virgin was said to have the power to draw attention and devotion to herself and her son from those who passed by. Yet the monastery and the statue were destroyed in the mid-fourteenth century when Galeazzo Visconti (1277-1328) began rapid and expansive constructions in the southern part of Monza to make room for his fortified castle and its encircling moat. The destruction of the miraculous statue, however, did not delete her presence from local memory. The presence of the Virgin, once tied to her statue, lingered at that site for the local population. So much so, that the memory of her statue and cult provided the grounds for rebuilding a church. Indeed, this is how Bonincontro interprets the survival of cult devotion to this image when he cites the memory of the statue as the leading cause for the construction of a new church dedicated to the Virgin on the same spot. The Virgin was evidently pleased, since her miracles continued to grace those who built her church and she saved many from terrible accidents and impending disaster. In the miracle book, the origins of the new church rise from the lost statue and devotion to that older image of the Virgin is translated to the novel site. The collective memory of the lost statue acts as the immaterial thread that motivated and tied the previous site to the new one. See, Renato Mambretti, "I miracula della vergine per la chiesa di Santa Maria in Strada in Monza (sec. XIV): Storia politica e storia sacra nell'opera di Bonincontro Morigia," *Aevum* 89, no. 2 (2015): 371-391. A partial transcription of the manuscript was published in Frisi, *Memorie storiche di Monza e sua corte.* III, 215-217. See also Roberto Cassanelli, Mariaebe Colombo, and Giulia Marsili, *La chiesa e il Convento di Santa Maria in Strada a Monza* (Monza: Università popolare, 2001), 23-31. *Miracula meritis gloriose Virginis Marie facta in opera eius ecclesia de novo ediffiicate in Modoetia in contrata Strate,* cartella 2627, Fondo di religione, Archivio di Stato di Milano.

[122] Margot Fassler, "The Liturgical Framework of Time and the Representation of History," in *Representing History, 900-1300: Art, Music, History*, ed. Robert A. Maxwell (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010), 157.

[123] In the Middle Ages, Patrick J. Geary has argued, the liturgy assembled history by "weaving into a dense synchronic fabric materials from diverse epochs." Geary, "From Charter to Cartulary: From Archival Practice to History," in *Representing History, 900-1300*, 189.

[124] On the concept of *praesentia* in regards to the early Christian cult of saints, see Brown, *The Cult of the Saints.* See also Geary, *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1994); Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996). Rites of commemoration were avenues for establishing and rehearsing relationships between individuals across time as their memory was ritually activated.

Among the liturgical manuscripts housed in the Basilica's Biblioteca Capitolare, the *Obituario-Kalendario* (12th-16th century), and *Liber Ordinarius* (13th century) provide insight into how the liturgy was celebrated at Monza and for how they commemorated their dead. The *Obituario* records the death anniversaries of individuals associated to San Giovanni with notices of donations and other items related by their wills. Through these notices, it is possible to see what Monza' citizens chose to leave as donations to the Basilica for the celebration of their memory. Various individuals left instructions for masses to be said on appointed days, in particular locations, and with specific objects. Most request Monza's golden processional cross, whereas some ask that candles should be lit at specific altars and masses sung at certain times of the year.[125] These instructions become increasingly more detailed at the end of the fourteenth century, a pattern that continues over the course of the fifteenth century.[126] For example, the canon Georgius de Griliis (d. 1494) asks that four candles be lit at his grave, two at the altar of Saint Mary and two on the altar of Saint Sebastian.[127] By lighting candles at de Griliis' tomb and at the altars of Saints Mary and Sebastian, those performing the ritual inserted the deceased into a network of intercession in which multiple saints were invoked for help in the afterlife.

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[125] A gold processional cross was customarily used in the Basilica to celebrate funerary rites and appears in the funerary scenes of the Zavattari's painting. Renato Mambretti, "L'Obituario e la storia di Monza e della sua chiesa," in *Liber ordinarius Modoetiensis cum kalendario-obituario,* tomo II*,* 131-134.

[126] Mambretti, "Il contributo dell'obituario alla conoscenza della storia di Monza e della sua Chiesa," in *Liber ordinarius Modoetiensis cum kalendario-obituario,* tomo II*,* 131.

[127] *Liber Ordinarius*, ms. 7b10h14, Biblioteca Capitolare, Monza, folio 43r: "GEORGIUS DE GRILIIS. C NONAS DECEMBRIS. SANCTI DALMATII MARTYRIS. MCCCCLXXXXIIII o. dominus Georgius de Griliis canonicus huius ecclesie, qui pro remedio anime sue iudicavit capitulo huic ecclesie fictum unum libellarium libr. quinque imperialium per instrumentum testamenti traditum per dominum Iohannem Christoforum Deganum notarium Modoetie die XV martii 1486; et debet fieri annuale cum tribus nocturnis et missis XX computata cantata et debent poni candele quatuor, ontiarum 4 pro qualibet, super sepulcro canonicorum et due candele super altari Sancte Marie et due super altari Sancti Sebastiani; fictum vero solvebatur per Thadeum de Seregnio et nunc solvitur per dominum Andream Aliprandum." Transcribed in *Liber ordinarius Modoetiensis cum kalendario-obituario,* 404-405. Translation my own.

The *Liber Ordinarius* offers instructions for the celebration of the Offices throughout the liturgical calendar and its numerous festivities, many of which were saint's feast days.[128] The two most important anniversary celebrations it records are those for the Basilica's founder, Teodelinda, and its patron saint, Saint John the Baptist. The fact that Teodelinda was neither a canonized saint nor a biblical figure did somewhat complicate the way in which her local cult was organized, but it did not undermine her status as patron and intercessor.[129] Her ambiguous status only meant that some concessions had to be made. If Teodelinda could not stand alone either as an official saint or as the sole subject of liturgical celebrations, she could nevertheless be celebrated in conjunction with other saints. Since her death anniversary fell on January 22nd, the same date as that of Saint Vincent of Saragossa, the two were celebrated in tandem.[130]

The description in the *Liber Ordinarius* of the anniversary festivities for Saint Vincent and Teodelinda states that they unfolded around the altar of Saint Vincent and the adjacent tomb of Teodelinda.[131] The significance of this rite will be further developed in Chapter Three. Prior to

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[128] On the nature of ordinals, Margot Fassler writes that: "every one of these books is a plan of action, and each requires a remaking of events from the past, giving every place a liturgical landscape fundamental to any sense of history." Fassler, "The Liturgical Framework of Time and the Representation of History," 165.

[129] On sainthood and local cults, see André Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 145-246. Teodelinda was never canonized officially, but there was nonetheless an established association of Teodelinda as saint or blessed from the Late Middle Ages to the early modern period. She was considered especially key for her relation to Saint John the Baptist and as an example of good Christianity for the conversion of her husband as early as Jacopo da Voragine's *Chronica Ianuensis* (1298). She is commonly referred to as a saint or blessed (as seen in Bonincontro Morigia) from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries. For example, her image is portrayed among the blessed and saints in the Sforza Hours (ADD.MS 34294, f. 255, British Library) illuminated by Giovan Pietro Birago around 1490. On the many mentions over time of Teodelinda as a model of virtue and saintliness, see Gabriella Maroni, "Teodolinda: immagini e metamorfosi di una regina tra medioevo ed età moderna," *Aevum* 2 (2016): 293-332. In the first decades of the seventeenth century, Bartolomeo Zucchi tried to solicit the Duke of Bavaria, William V, to intercede on the matter to Pope Innocent XI. Zucchi's letters to the Duke are included in volume three of, *De' Complimenti* (Venice: Pietro Dusinelli, 1614), 252. Witnessing to the German interest in Teodelinda as saint, is her inclusion in Matthaeus Rader's *Bavaria Sancta* (1615-1627) and dedicated a full-page engraving. It is not clear, however, why her beatification never started. My hypothesis rests in the fact that the controversy over the cult of the Iron Crown took precedence by mid-century and shifted focus from Teodelinda's sainthood. For more on this subject, see the Conclusion.

[130] Saint Anastasius was later added to the chapel dedication as his feast is also is celebrated on January 22nd. This dedication appears in the documents in the pastoral visit of Carlo Borromeo in 1582.

[131] The full transcription of the celebration is given in Chapter Three.

the late-medieval reconstruction of the Basilica, Teodelinda's tomb took the form of a ground burial, most likely in the area that is now the left transept. As confirmed by Luca Beltrami's excavations in the chapel, the cult was focused in an area that remained more or less consistent over time.[132] Beltrami established that the perimeter walls of the fourteenth-century chapel were contained within the present-day Teodelinda Chapel.[133] Building on Beltrami's studies, Roberta Delmoro has suggested that Teodelinda's ground burial may have been located roughly around the south-east corner of the current chapel.[134] When the queen's body was exhumed in 1308, it was placed in a marble sarcophagus behind the altar of Saint Vincent in the same area that had long been, and which had remained, dedicated to her cult.[135]

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[132] Piero Majocchi has questioned the evidence that the historical person of Teodelinda was ever buried in the Basilica. Paul the Deacon does not mention her burial location and no other early document confirms it as such. Majocchi, "The Treasure of Theodelinda: Ideological Claims and Political Contingencies in the Construction of a Myth," in *Archaeology of Identity*, ed. Walter Pohl and Mathias Mehofer (Wein: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2010), 245-267. However, the historical accuracy of the claim that Teodelinda's body rested in the Basilica is not as relevant to the present study as is the local and traditional belief that Teodelinda was indeed buried in San Giovanni. According to Bonincontro and to notices in the *Kalendarium* and *Liber Ordinarius*, Teodelinda was truly buried in the Basilica. Recent excavations have uncovered three decorated seventh-century ground tombs in the left transept of the present Basilica. One of the tombs was immediately proclaimed as Teodelinda's although historical records do not prove the veracity of this claim. On the tombs, see Roberto Cassanelli, "Sepolture altomedievali dipinte," in *Monza. Il Duomo nella storia e nell'arte,* 71-74; Luca Beltrami, "La tomba della regina Teodolinda nella Basilica di S. Giovanni in Monza," 665-678; Luca Beltrami and Carlo Fumagalli, *La Cappella detta della Regina Teodolinda*. For discussions of Beltrami, see Massimiliano David, "Luca Beltrami e lo scavo nel restauro," in *Monza: La cappella di Teodolinda nel Duomo,* 34-38; Amedeo Bellini, "Luca Beltrami e il Duomo di Monza," in *Atlante Iconografico,* 47-60.

[133] Beltrami and Fumagalli, *La Cappella detta della Regina,* 8-9.

[134] *Obituario-Kalendarium* and *Liber Ordinarius*, ms. 7b10h4, f. 46v, Biblioteca Capitolare, Monza: "E VIIII KL. DECEMBRIS. ROME NATALE SANCTI CLEMENTIS PAPE (ET MARYRIS) ET SANCTE FELICITATES MATRIS VII FILIORUM ET SANCTI COLLUMBANI CONFESSORIS ET ABBATIS. MCCCVIII traslatio Theodellende regine in ecclesia Modotiensi, in terra sepulta et posita in quodam navello lapidis una cum Aiulfo rege, in qua traslatio[ne] interferunt magna multitudo religiosorum et laicorum et mulierum et etiam interfuit ibi dominus Zonfredinus de la Turre potestas Modoetie et dominus Albertus de Candino eius vicarius et multi alii burgenses Modoetie et magnum offitium factum fuit in ecclesia Modoetie ad honorem et predicte Theodellende regine atque Sancti Iohannis Baptiste." Transcribed in *Liber ordinarius Modoetiensis cum kalendario-obituario,* 400. In regards to this notice, see Delmoro, "Per la committenza artistica," 16. The burial of Teodelinda in Monza is only documented from the mid-thirteenth century. According to Piero Majocchi, the claim that Teodelinda's body lay in Monza corresponds with the Visconti's interest in recovering the memory of the queen as their heir. See Majocchi, "The Treasure of Theodelinda," 245.

[135] See Beltrami "La tomba della regina Teodolinda nella Basilica di S. Giovanni in Monza," 665-678; Beltrami and Fumagalli, *La Cappella detta della Regina Teodolinda,* 8-9; Delmoro "Per la committenza" 16. The altar was rededicated in 1346 to Saints Vincent and Vitus a note in the *Kalendarium-Obituarium*, ms. 7b10h14, f. 22r, signals that on the 19th of June, 1346 the Bishop of Bobbio consecrated and placed relics at the altar of Victor and Vincent

Prior to its fifteenth-century architectural and decorative remaking, the smaller fourteenth-century chapel area was also decorated with inscriptions and images. Beltrami describes wall paintings that showed the bottom-half of two figures dressed in priestly attire (probably made in the 1300s) which he found around the entrance between the chapel and the choir. However, no photographs were taken of these fragments.[136] Bonincontro records that the following inscription was painted on the walls:

> Condidit hoc templum multa virtute verendum, Theodolenda potens regni diademate pollens. Pro se, pro natis votum vovit dulcedine matris Christi Baptiste, cui sacratur locus iste. Hic nostre gentis caput voluit esse decentis Lombardorum, talemquem parare.

> Teodelinda, powerful as crowned regent, built this venerable temple with much virtue. For herself and for her children, with a vow, and the sweetness of a mother, she consecrates this place to Christ and the Baptist. Here she wanted the honorable capital of our people and such a protector she wished to assign to the Longobards. [137]

The surviving evidence for the wall decorations of the fourteenth-century chapel is however too scant to allow for even a hypothetical reconstruction.

In the fifteenth century, Teodelinda's funerary monument was placed behind the altar in the newly expanded chapel, probably sometime after the altar was re-consecrated in 1433.[138]

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near the tomb of Teodelinda: "consecravit altare situm prope sepulcrum regine Theodolende ad honorem Dei et beatorum martirum Viti et Vincencij et ibi reverenter sacras reliquas collocavit."

[135] Beltrami, "La tomba della regina Teodolinda nella Basilica di S. Giovanni in Monza," 672.

[136] Beltrami, "La tomba della regina Teodolinda nella Basilica di S. Giovanni in Monza," 672.

[137] Morigia, 1071. Translation my own.

[138] *Obituario-Kalendarium*, ms. 7b10h4, f. 46v, Biblioteca Capitolare, Monza: "MCCCCXXXIIJ, die quinto aprilis, dominus Bartolameus ordinis Sancti Francisci, Episcopus Castoriensis, consecravit altare Sancti Vincentij, et hoc fuit in die palmis ollivarum." The sarcophagus was moved out of the chapel and relocated in the transept in the sixteenth century. Probably this happened under Carlo Borromeo (c. 1580) who did not want to support veneration of Teodelinda as a saint. See Beltrami, "La tomba della regina Teodolinda," 673-678. Girolamo Carminati de Brambilla, sixteenth-century ducal chaplain, records the sarcophagus still in the chapel, "L'Altare di S. Vincenzo Martire nella cappella delle maggiori, detta della Regina, dove è il corpo di detta Regina in una tomba di marmore." Carminati de Brambilla in Frisi, *Memorie di alcune antichità delle chiese di Monza,* 243. Roberto Cassanelli has recently refuted the possibility of Teodelinda's sarcophagus ever having been located in the chapel. "Teodelinda: la regina e il suo sarcofago," in *Atlante iconografico*, 352. However, this hypothesis is highly unfounded for various factors. First, that documents such as the above-mentioned note states that the sarcophagus was in the chapel. Second, due to Beltrami's discovery of a perimeter that corresponds to the exact dimensions of the sarcophagus under the modern flooring. And third, the inscriptions and imagery of the chapel are centered on the presence of the sarcophagus.

Delmoro convincingly argues that the late antique sarcophagus currently used for Teodelinda's body replaced a fourteenth-century funerary monument.[139] According to descriptions, this funerary monument was in marble, bore the queen's effigy sculpted on the lid, and had spiral columns. According to the same sources it also bore an inscription.[140] An annotation in sixteenth-century cursive script in the *Obituario*, notes that Teodelinda's body was still in the chapel in the 1500s. Referring to the queen's body it reads, "sepulta nunc in capella Sancti Vi[n]centii," (now buried in the chapel of Saint Vincent).[141] It was a priority for Teodelinda's cult that her body was present in the Basilica as it was the most prized relic. Nevertheless, at the end of the sixteenth century, Teodelinda's sarcophagus was moved out of her chapel.[142]

Beyond Teodelinda's body, the Basilica possessed numerous relics associated with the queen. The earliest group of relics, that are believed to have been gifted by Pope Gregory the Great (540-604) to Teodelinda between the sixth and seventh century, are still preserved and displayed in the Basilica's museum.[143] This papal donation consists in twenty-eight glass *ampullae* filled with oils from saint's tombs in Rome, sixteen metal pilgrim *ampullae,* and a terracotta medallion from the Holy Land (figs. 12-13). The first group of relics, held in the glass

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[139] Delmoro, *La bottega degli Zavattari,* 74; Idem, "La memoria di Teodolinda," 979-989. Delmoro thinks the change happened during its relocation to the transept in the sixteenth century.

[140] Ibid. I shall discuss the fourteenth-century monument further in Chapter Three.

[141] A notice in the *Kalendarium-Obituarium*, ms. 7b10h14, f.3v, records Teodelinda's death in Gothic script and then a cursive early sixteenth-century hand notes that Teodelinda is currently buried in the chapel: "A XI KL. In Spaniis vincenti diaconi/ Ipso die obiit Theodolinda regina, anno ab incarnatione Domini DCXXVII./ O. domina domina regina Thedolenda anno Domini CCCCCC die XXVII ianuarii et sepulta nunc in capella Sancti Vi[n]centii." Delmoro in "Per la committenza artistica," 15, n. 5, writes that this hand is present elsewhere in the manuscript where it indicates the date as 1525. Teodelinda was removed from the chapel under Carlo Borromeo's indication during his pastoral visits in 1566 and 1582. See Delmoro, "per l'antico aspetto del duomo di Monza," 41–81; Idem, "Per la committenza artistica," n. 4.

[142] For the removal of the queen's sarcophagus and the changes in the Basilica after the sixteenth century, see the Conclusion.

[143] On the *ampullae* and the relics in the Monza treasure in general, see André Grabar, *Ampoules de Terre Sainte* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1958); Xavier Barbier de Montault, *Le Trésor de la basilique royale de Monza* (Tours: P. Bouserez, 1883); *Monza: Il Duomo e i suoi tesori*; Augusto Merati, *Il tesoro del Duomo di Monza* (Monza: Comune di Monza, 1963); Lamberto Vitali, ed., *Il tesoro del Duomo di Monza* (Milan: Banca Popolare di Milano, 1966).

ampullae are recorded by a remarkable document, the so-called *notula* or *notitia* (fig. 14).[144] The

notitia is a sheet of papyrus with two columns of saint's names divided in the middle by the line-

drawing of a vine. The names on the *notitia* match the names on strips of papyrus, or *pittacia*,

tied around the necks of the *ampullae* (fig. 15). Ordered in accordance with the topographic

location of the saint's graves in and around Rome, the names identify the holy men and women.

As Dennis Trout has suggested, they thus evoke the "cityscape" of Rome.[145] At the bottom of the

sheet, the scribe has noted: "the holy oils, which in the time of the pope, Lord Gregory, were

brought from Rome to the ruler Theodolinda, by John, unworthy and a sinner."[146] Like their

glass counterparts, the sixteen metal *ampullae* also held contact relics of saints. They are filled

with substances (oil, wax, or dust) from saint's tombs in Palestine. The *ampullae* were then

brought to the West by pilgrims, as a means for bringing Rome and the Holy Land to Monza.[147]

Once gathered in Monza, the relics bestowed onto the new site the authority and sanctity of their

ancient origins.

Jaś Elsner and Dennis Trout have both underlined the significance of these relics in

relation to the foundation of Monza's Basilica as a sacred place.[148] Both emphasize the *ampullae*

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[144] The dating of the papyrus is debated. It is likely a seventh-century document based on paleographic considerations for some, while others consider it a later medieval copy from the tenth century. For the two contrasting points of view, see Alessandro Sepulcri, *I papiri della basilica di Monza e le reliquie inviate da Roma* (Milan: Cogliati, 1903), 243-244; Jan-Olof Tjader, *Die Nichtliterarischen Lateinischen Papyri Italiens aus der Zeit 445-700* (Lund: C.W.K. Gleerup), 207-209. For an up-to-date bibliographic account of the dating which upholds the earlier seventh-century date, see Dennis Trout, "Theodelinda's Rome: 'Ampullae', 'Pittacia', and the Image of the City," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 50 (2005): 131, n.1; Delmoro supports a tenth-century date, see Delmoro and Colombo, *Testimonianze di arte medievale a Monza e in Brianza,* 57.

[145] That the relics are listed according to their topographic tombs in Rome, see Jaś Elsner, "Replicating Palestine and Reversing the Reformation: Pilgrimage and Collecting at Bobbio, Monza and Walsingham," *Journal of the History of Collections* 9 (1997): 122; Idem, "Place, Shrine, Miracle, " in *Agents of Faith: Votive Objects in Time and Place*, ed. Ittai Weinryb (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018), 19-22. For the collection of relics as a "cityscape," see Dennis Trout "Theodelinda's Rome," 138.

[146] "Quas olea s(an)c(t)a temporibus domni Gregorii papae adduxit Iohannes indignus et peccator domnae Theodolindae reginae de Roma." Translation by Trout, "Theodelinda's Rome," 132.

[147] From this group of metal *ampullae*, Teodelinda and Agilulf gave a portion to the new monastery of San Colombano at Bobbio. On both the Monza and Bobbio *ampullae*, see Elsner, "Replicating Palestine and Reversing the Reformation," and Idem, "Place, Shrine, Miracle."

[148] Trout, "Theodelinda's Rome."

relics as collections of holy people and places. Elsner, for instance, frames the collection as a genealogy of sanctity for Teodelinda's Monza, one that provides the Basilica with deep roots in the preeminent sites of Christianity.[149] Within the economy of sanctification, relics are understood as generative in the sense that they provide the substantial means for making and sustaining a sacred place. Saint Paulinus of Nola (353-431) captures this idea of generative essence when he describes scattered sacred ashes as "life giving seeds," which "have begotten rivers of life."[150] Paulinus's poetic image turns relics into a life force capable of renewing the world of both vegetation and water.[151]

In the earlier Middle Ages, the Basilica of Monza displayed its relics on a periodic basis.[152] An annotation under July 6th, 1042, in the *Obituario,* bears witness to the translation of the relic *ampullae* from a wooden casket to a marble box.[153] Sometime after this move, the *ampullae* and their whereabouts fell into oblivion. According to legend, they were rediscovered in the first Jubilee year of 1300 on the feast of the Invention of the Holy Cross. The story of the miracle story is narrated in Bonincontro's *Chronicon*:

> Modoetiae suprascripto anno [1300] in Sancti Johannis Oraculo duae mulieres, quarum una senex, et earum vestimenta era candida sicut nix, in Festa Sancta Crucis circa horam nonae apparuerunt cuidam venerabili illius Ecclesiae Presbytero nomine Franzio de Gluxiano. Illarum una ei dixit: In isto Oraculo sancto magnalia Dei, et sanctorum eius veneranda, et indulgentiae infinite sunt; et propter decessorum virorum ignorantiam per multum temput usque hodie incognitae remanserunt. Mementete quod scriptum est, quarite, et invenietis. Ad haec subito disparuerunt. Creditur, quod fuerunt Sancta Elisabeth, et Beata Theodelinda, quae per divinum revelationem dictum sanctum Oraculum construi fecit. Qui Presbyter quasi alliteratus per stuporem tantae visionis, sine mora in sagrestia intravit et librum veterem Bibliae aperuit, et in quodam secreto loco dicti libri, sicut Deo, et Sancto Johanni

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[149] Elsner, "Replicating Palestine and Reversing the Reformation," 123.

[150] Paulinus of Nola, *The Poems of St. Paulinus of Nola,* ed. P.G. Walsh (Paramus, N. J.: Newman, 1975), poem 27.

[151] As Cynthia Hahn has noted, Paulinus "envisions relics as a sort of sustenance." Hahn, *Strange Beauty*, 12.

[152] On the early display of the relics and its functions, see Elsner, "Replicating Palestine and Reversing the Reformation," 119.

[153] *Obituario-Kalendarium* and *Liber Ordinarius*, ms. 7b10h4, Biblioteca Capitolare, Monza: "secondo traslatio reliquie sanctorum facta in ecclesia beati Joannis Baptiste in Modoetia ex arca lignea in marmorea." The thirteenth and fourteenth-century annotations in the *Obituario-Kalendario* record the consecration of new altars and the placement of relics therein.

placuit, scripturam unam reperit talis tenoris: Hae sunt Olea Sancta, quae adduxit Johannes indignus et peccator tempore Domni Gregorii Papae de Roma in Modoetia Domnae Regina Theodelinda etc. Eidem hora miraculose populus de Modoetia ad dictam Ecclesiam concurrit, in quo loco sunt magnalia Dei, et Sanctorum eius veneranda, quae dicuntur hic esse reperta.[154]

In Monza, in the above-mentioned year [1300] in the sanctuary of Saint John, two women, one of which was the elder, dressed in snow white, on the feast of the Holy Cross around the ninth hour, appeared to the venerable priest, Franzio de Gluxiano. One of them said to him: In this sacred sanctuary, there are many holy and venerable relics for the infinite indulgence of God. Those who came before ignored them so that they have remained unknown. Remember what is written, search and you will find. With this, they immediately disappeared. It is believed that they were Saint Elisabeth and the Blessed Teodelinda, who had this temple built by divine revelation. The priest, almost without words from the stupor of such a vision, without delay went to the sacristy and opened an old Bible, where, as it pleased God and Saint John, he found written in a secret place of said Bible the following: These are the holy oils that the unworthy sinner John, in the time of Gregory the Great, brought to Monza from Rome to the lady, queen Teodelinda etc. In that same hour, by a miracle, the people of Monza ran to the church, in which place are the great things of God, and venerable things of His Saints, which were said to have been found there.[155]

It is remarkable that this legend is put together from the material cache of the Basilica. Not only are the above-mentioned relics identifiable with the *ampullae* that are today in the museum, but also other objects mentioned in the narrative are readily identifiable among the possessions of San Giovanni. For one, the Bible to which the priest, Franzio de Gluxiano, turns is one of the Basilica's treasures, namely the ninth-century Bible of Alcuin.[156] According to the text of the legend it was in this Bible that Gluxiano found the papyrus *notitia* that had originally served as a witnessing document for the relics brought to Teodelinda from Rome. Beyond the physical objects, the very words that testify to the presence of forgotten relics in Bonincontro's narrative are lifted from the same papyrus sheet. The authentication of both the relics and the means by which they were found is accomplished in the legend by appeal to objects that are present to this day in the Basilica.

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[154] Morigia, 1092-1093.
[155] Translation my own.
[156] Today in the Biblioteca Capitolare, under the signature: g-I/I.

In sum, one might say that the Basilica of San Giovanni had two moments of foundation, both of which relied—to greater or lesser degree—on the same relics.[157] The second foundation of the Basilica was fueled by the resources already present. It is as if the relics provided the Basilica with a constant source that only needed to be (re)invented, or found again, for renewal to take place. As Saint Elisabeth and Teodelinda urged, if only you search, you will find ("invenietis") the existing and lifegiving relics. The relic's energy supplied the active charge for the ensuing re-construction of the Basilica. Among the miraculous events that accompanied the invention of relics in 1300 and the ensuing reconstruction of the church, Bonincontro cites a miracle in which young boys gathered immensely heavy stones and columns without difficulty from the surrounding areas for re-use in the Basilica.[158] What Bonincontro evokes through this story is the idea that the newly invented relics released a miraculous energy that allowed for the rapid reconstruction of the Basilica.

Unsurprisingly, San Giovanni's foundation legend, which is tied to the invention of relics, has illustrious precedents. When Saint Ambrose (337-397), the bishop of Milan, described the origins of the Christian empire, he did so by invoking Saint Helena's invention of relics: "the beginning of the faith of emperors is the holy relic which is upon the bridle…Thereafter, the succeeding emperors were Christians, except Julian alone."[159] Ambrose's equation of relics and imperial foundation is also intriguing for the relation it draws between founder, relic, and

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[157] I am consciously allowing the legend to account for a larger cultural understanding of the deep reasons for why and how the Basilica was erected. It is true that there were many reasons for the rebuilding of the Basilica that included the building of San Francesco in Monza (now destroyed) and other practical and political factors. But I wish to concentrate on the way in which the narrative of the foundation reveals a more esoteric layer for the Basilica's rebuilding that has to do with spiritual, historical, typological and devotional factors.

[158] Morigia, 1167.

[159] Saint Ambrose, *De obitu Theodosii*, February 25, 395, cited in Diliana Angelova, *Sacred Founders: Women, Men, and Gods in the Discourse of Imperial Founding, Rome through Early Byzantium* (Oakland, California), 4.

empire.[160] Perhaps it is no coincidence that the finding of relics in Monza coincides with the feast of Helena's invention of the Holy Cross.[161] Analogously to Helena, Teodelinda as founder is given a privileged position in the scheme of relics and foundation. Her agency is key to both the first and second foundation. Without her mediation, that which was hidden—whether that is a geographical place or the presence of relics—would have remained invisible.

The deep interrelation of relics and foundation established the founder's body as equal to, if not of greater importance compared to other relics in Monza. Over the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, a new focal point for the cult activity of the Basilica was established, namely Teodelinda's body. Although the queen's body could not officially be considered a relic, since she was not a canonized saint, locally the queen was repeatedly referred to as *beata* and *sanctissima*. The rites recorded in the *Liber Ordinario* and the new funerary monument erected in the fourteenth century show that Teodelinda's cult was active. When Teodelinda's remains were exhumed in 1308, the Basilica's chapter undertook a series of operations to reframe and represent her remains as relics. The remains were translated from their simple ground burial to a stone arc, which was more fitting to royal funerary display. The funerary monument for Teodelinda, a casket raised onto high spiral columns with an effigy sculpted on the lid, followed a widely diffused thirteenth-century typology for saints' funerary arcs in Northern Italy (such as the 1263 arc of Sant'Antonio in Padova).[162] By adopting a model that was used for saint's bodies, the chapter of Monza's Basilica sought to frame the queen's body as a saintly one.

[160] As Angelova suggests, "In Ambrose's telling, the story of Helena's finding of the cross, woven out of both legendary and historical threads, became the foundation myth of the Christian Roman Empire. Helena's pious resolution and inspired sense of mission made the monarchy Christian," in *Sacred Founders*, 9.
[161] Moreover, the cult of the relics of the nails, discovered by Helena, had ground in Milan, where the bridle was brought to the Cathedral in 1380. It has been tentatively proposed that the cult of the iron crown as a reliquary for the relic of the nail of the cross can be associated to the bridle. See Roberto Cassanelli, "Arte e politica delle immagini alla corte dei Visconti e degli Sforza (secoli XIV-XV)," in Graziella Buccellati and Annamaria Ambrosioni, eds., *La Corona Ferrea nell'europa degli imperi* (Milan: Mondadori, 1995), 106-107.
[162] Michele Tomasi, *Le arche dei santi. Scultura, religione e politica nel Trecento Veneto* (Rome: Viella, 2012).

By framing the queen's body as a relic, the overseers of the project to reconstruct the Basilica of San Giovanni secured the continued presence of Teodelinda in an otherwise rapidly changing church fabric. The Basilica's place in sacred history was justified by the visible connection to its more sacred origin through the display of Teodelinda's bodily relics. Further legitimation for the Basilica's privileged status were the queen's "secondary relics," that is, objects that once belonged to the queen and that were donated by her to the Basilica.[163] The existence of these objects is recorded by Paul the Deacon in the *Historia Langobardorum*:

> At the same time, queen Theudelinda dedicated the church of St. John the Baptist, which she had built in Modicia (Monza), a place which is twelve miles from Mediolanum (Milan). And she decorated it with many ornaments of gold and silver and endowed it amply with estates.[164]

The objects historically associated with Teodelinda that are still present today include the so-called crown of Teodelinda, the cross of Agilulf, the evangeliary covers, and the sapphire cup (figs. 16-19).[165] Other objects such as the hen and chicks and the comb of Teodelinda are likely to have been of later manufacture. By the fourteenth century, however, they were associated to the queen's donation (figs. 20-21).[166] Other objects came to the Basilica as gifts from Gregory

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[163] Teodelinda's relics, like the *ampullae*, were at once the roots that sink into the sacred ground and the seeds that spring up for renewal.

[164] "Per idem quoque tempus Theudelinda regina basilicam beati Iohannis Baptistae in Modicia construxerat, qui locus supra Mediolanum duodecim milibus abest, dedicavit multisque ornamentis auri argentique decoravit, praediisque sufficienter ditavit." Paul the Deacon, *History of the Langobards* 4.21. Translation my own.

[165] Andrew Martindale, in an unfinished posthumous publication, asks whether we can understand the treasure to be the most important thing to the Basilica's chapter in the fifteenth century. However, he overlooks the importance of the relics on site and claims that they are only minor relics. See Martindale, "Theodolinda: The Fifteenth-Century Recollection of a Lombard Queen," *Studies in Church History* 33 (1997): 195–225.

[166] Today, the most famous object in the treasury is the so-called *corona ferrea*, or Iron Crown. The crown has a complex history and its identity shifts over the centuries from votive crown, crown for imperial coronation and reliquary for the Holy Nail. It is unknown exactly when it was made or for whom, or even when it entered the treasury. It probably was a votive object that hung over an altar with a cross pendant. By the mid-thirteenth century, a three-crown coronation rite for the Holy Roman Emperor (German, Italian, Holy Roman Empire) was elaborated wherein Monza was designated as the location for the iron crown coronation for King of Italy. However, the number of coronations in Monza with the Iron Crown prior to the sixteenth-century were few (notably Charles IV in 1355). The association of an Iron Crown in the coronation rite with the actual object in Monza is of later medieval date (certainly in place by 1530 for Charles V crowning in Bologna). The crown is first mentioned in inventories as "*corona auri cum uno circulo ferri*" only from 1353 onwards. The crown was considered a gift from Teodorico (as attested by Giovanni Codagnello in the thirteenth century). In the portal relief and in the Zavattari's paintings,

the Great. These included the reliquary cross of Adaloaldo, a copy of Gregory's *Dialogs*, three

rings, and other manuscripts. Many objects have since been lost, notably the crown of Agilulf

and a basin with an inscription bearing witness to the queen's donation.[167]

A twelfth-century manuscript of the *Historia Langobardorum,* made and preserved in the

Basilica of San Giovanni, includes a marginal gloss stating that under no circumstances should

the treasures donated by Teodelinda be tampered with by anyone other than the Basilica's clergy:

"In no way should anyone intervene with the objects of San Giovanni, except for the priests who

serve there day and night."[168] This small annotation goes a long way as evidence indicating just

how necessary the queen's gifts were for the health of the Basilica. Through their association to

the queen, the treasures—those gifted by Teodelinda or believed to have otherwise belonged to

her—became quasi-relics of the queen.[169] Along with her bodily relics, they helped substantiate

her presence in the chapel.

Teodelinda's donation shows various votive crowns. In the paintings, possibly one crown can be identified with the Iron Crown. This suggests that at least by the fifteenth-century, the votive crowns (four votive crowns were listed in the inventories) and the greater part of the treasure was *grosso modo* associated to the queen. The first indications from the inventories that the treasury objects were associated with Teodelinda occurs in the thirteenth century. The connections of the crown with the Holy Nail is documented only by the later sixteenth century (in 1587 by Gasparre Bugati) likely coinciding with Carlo Borromeo's reinvigoration of the cult of the Sacro Chiodo. See *La Corona Ferrea nell'europa degli imperi*; Majocchi, "The Treasure of Theodelinda," 245–67. An articulate defense of the Iron Crown as reliquary and as a donation from Gregory to Teodelinda is made by Bartolomeo Zucchi. Bartolomeo Zucchi, *Breve historia della corona ferrea*, 1609 and *Tre illustrissime glorie di Monza città imperial. Per la vita della Reina Theodelinda, per la corona ferrea, e per la vita di S. Gherardo,* Milano, 1613. The cult of the Iron Crown as relic was suspended in 1655 and 1687 and permanently re-instated in 1717. See the Conclusion for a detailed discussion.

[167] On the early nucleus of the treasure, see Margaret Frazer, "Teodelinda committente d'opere d'arte," in *Monza: la cappella di Teodelinda nel Duomo*, 19-21. On the treasure in general, see Talbot-Rice, *Il tesoro del Duomo di Monza*; Angelo Lipinsky, "Der Theodolindenschatz im Dom zu Monza," *Das Münster* (1960): 146-173; *Monza: Il Duomo e i suoi tesori*.

[168] "De rebus sancti Iohannis nullo modo se debet aliquis intromittere, nisi tantum sacerdotes, qui ibi deserviunt die ac nocte." Paolo Diacono, *Historia Longobardorum*, ms. b/18-135, Biblioteca Capitolare, Monza. Translation my own. See Giovanna Princi Braccini, "La glossa monzese alla Historia Langobardorum, altri documenti del culto di San Giovanni Battista presso i Longobardi e l'incantesimo del Cod. Vat. Lat. 5359," *Paolo Diacono: uno scrittore fra tradizione longobarda e rinnovamento carolingio: convegno internazionale*, ed. Paolo Chiesa (Udine: Forum, 2000), 427-468.

[169] Hahn suggests that the so-called Teodelinda comb was hung over her tomb. Her hypothesis is based on the presence of a ring that indicates that the object was intended to be hung. However, no other evidence for this particular installation is present. See Hahn, *Strange Beauty*, 172.

Over the centuries, San Giovanni's treasury grew in size and prestige.[170] A number of

inventories give a sense of what the medieval treasury might have contained and where it was

kept.[171] Annotations in liturgical manuscripts are the earliest documentation of San Giovanni's

treasures. The first record appears in the sacramentary of king Berengar (9th-10th century).[172] The

treasures are listed both in marginal notations and in a full-page list.[173] Another early record is to

be found among the annotations added to the ninth-century Bible of Alcuin (which also

preserved the papyrus *notitia*) in 1042.[174] More formal inventories appear in the late thirteenth

century, beginning with the inventory of 1275 made at the request of Omnebonus de Ravenna,

the vicar to the archbishop of Milan. Another inventory was drawn up in 1277 to record the

return of objects pawned to the casa degli Umiliati di Sant'Agata in Monza.[175] An extended

inventory was made in 1345 when the treasure was recovered from its sojourn at the Papal palace

of Avignon. In 1353 another inventory was written at the request of the archbishop of Milan,

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[170] The objects that are currently on exhibit under illuminated glass cases in the Basilica's underground museum make up only a fraction of what once was a substantial, heterogenous collection of prized objects, liturgical vestments, and manuscripts. The well-ordered and museological presentation of the treasure reflects nineteenth-century practices for ordering treasury objects in museum displays. An early advocate of such a mode of display was the French scholar, Xavier Barbier de Montault, who published a comprehensive study of Monza's treasures in 1882. When Montault visited the treasure in the mid-nineteenth century, he was accompanied by two guardians of the treasures, or *ostiarii*, to the octagonal room adjacent to the sacristy where the treasures had been kept in large armoires since the seventeenth century (with the exception of a brief French sojourn following the Napoleonic lootings of 1796-7). Documents from Napoleon's looting are housed in Fondo Achille Varisco, N.I (7) inf. inserto 70, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan. The file contains letters written in 1797, by the French captain, Alexandre Berthier, to Monza to request artifacts and manuscripts. The treasures—with considerable losses such as Agilulf's crown—were returned in 1815. Barbier de Montault, *Le trésor de la basilique royale de Monza* (Tours: Bousrez, 1882). The post-medieval history of the treasure is marked by the Napoleaonic sieges and sequestering of cultural artifacts in Italy. The treasure was brought to France in the late eighteenth century and only returned in the early nineteenth.

[171] For the inventories, see Barbier de Montault, "Inventaire de la Basilique Royale de Monza," *Bulletin Monumental* 8-9 (1880): 18-82, 145-186, 313-341, 464-488, 615-705, 700-768. Chiara Maggioni and Renato Mambretti, "Il tesoro della chiesa monzese: elenchi e inventari (X - XIV)," *Scienza e Tecnica* 2 (1998): 307-315; Delmoro and Colombo, *Testimonianze di arte medievale a Monza e in Brianza*, 67-72, 110-117; Majocchi, "The Treasure of Theodelinda," 245-267; Delmoro, "Monza 1403," 13-46.

[172] This sacramentary is one surviving example of the objects in a chapel endowed by the king.

[173] Sacramentary of Berengar, ms. 7b-15/98, annotations on f. 116v and 124v, Biblioteca Capitolare, Monza. The list of objects from Berengar's chapel is on f. 124v.

[174] Bible of Alcuin, ms. g-I/I, Biblioteca Capitolare, Monza.

[175] The 1275 inventory was lost and survives in a seventeenth century copy, *Pergamene*, cart. 10 n. 142, Biblioteca Capitolare, Monza. For the 1277 inventory, *Pergamene*, cart. 10, n. 144, Biblioteca Capitolare, Monza.

Giovanni Visconti.[176] For that same year, Bonincontro listed the donations given by the

archbishop Visconti to the Monza treasury in his chronicle.[177] Finally, in 1403 an inventory was

drawn up following an outbreak of plague (1399-1402).[178]

While some of these documents are more eloquent and detailed than others, the overall

collection of inventories for the treasury at Monza gives a glimpse of the medieval treasure in all

its diversity and sumptuousness.[179] The objects listed range from liturgical vestments and

textiles, to gemmed reliquaries, *vasa sacra*, manuscripts and relics kept in coffers in the sacristy

or in individual chapels. There are mentions of textiles in silk, velvet and brocade with pearled

borders and gold thread embroideries depicting figures such as griffons and lions.[180] A

particularly striking description from the 1403 inventory is that of a silk *antependium*, or altar

frontal, with the stories of Saint John the Baptist.[181] The entry lists 448 pearls applied to the silk

depiction of a mystical lamb with another eighteen lacquered pearls at center, and vegetal motifs

along the borders.[182] The inventories also bear witness to the treasury as a dynamic collection.

Over the years, the composition of the treasure changed. Some pieces were lost or damaged,

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[176] For the 1345 inventory, *Pergamene*, cart. 11, n. 163, Biblioteca Capitolare, Monza; For the 1353 inventory, *Pergamene*, cart. 12, n. 168, Biblioteca Capitolare, Monza.

[177] Morigia, 1181.

[178] The 1403 inventory was discovered in the Archivio di Stato di Milano and published by Roberta Delmoro. See Delmoro and Colombo, *Testimonianze di arte medievale a Monza e in Brianza,* 110-117; Delmoro, "Monza 1403." A short list of objects in the chapel dedicated to Saints Peter and Paul was drawn up in 1400. See Notaio Gerardo Crippa di Petrolo, *Notarile*, filza 60, f. 674v, Archivio di Stato di Milano; For the 1403 inventory, Notaio Gerardo Crippa di Petrolo, *Notarile*, filza 60, f. 759r-763v, Archivio di Stato di Milano.

[179] The 1275 inventory, for example, is striking in the precision of its descriptions and the thoroughness of its listing. Perhaps this reflects the making of the inventory for an outside party, the archbishop of Milan. The 1277 inventory, by contrast, is a document for internal circulation in the Basilica and is remarkably terser. The 1345 inventory, which records the treasure's return from Avignon, goes so far as to list the weight of objects.

[180] The list of objects in the 1403 inventory includes a high proportion of textiles that were elaborately embroidered and decorated with pearls and costly materials.

[181] Notaio Gerardo Crippa di Petrolo, *Notarile*, filza 60, f. 762r, Archivio di Stato di Milano.

[182] Delmoro, "Monza 1403," 19.

others were added through the process of donations, while still others were renamed and given new identities.[183]

In the course of the thirteenth century, economic strains on the Basilica's chapter (such as those resulting from territorial expansion) contributed to the dispersal of the treasure. It periodically passed into the hands of institutions and noble individuals as security for their loans to the chapter.[184] The 1275 inventory testifies to the periodic dispersal of the treasure as it lists a number of its objects as absent from the Basilica because they were pawned at the Umiliati di Sant'Agata.[185] Two years later, when the treasures were brought back to San Giovanni, another inventory was made. If the first inventory secured the notional presence of the treasures in their physical absence, the second inventory attempted to fix the objects' presence in the Basilica and to prevent further movement, but the inventory alone could not stop the treasures from circulating as mobile (if not liquid) wealth. [186]

When the treasures were returned to the Basilica in 1319 by Matteo Visconti (1250-1322), a visual inventory was carved in relief in the tympanum over the main entrance of the Basilica (fig. 22).[187] This low relief shows Matteo Visconti, backed by three crosses, as he kneels to the left of Teodelinda and her children. Teodelinda, in turn, presents Saint John the Baptist with objects from the treasury.[188] Among the recognizable treasury objects in the right

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[183] For example, what is now called the Iron Crown, was perhaps referred to as the *corona parva* prior to the 1353 inventory. The name *corona ferrea* is not used until 1621.

[184] Dell'Oro and Mambretti, *Liber ordinarius Modoetiensis cum kalendario-obituario,* 73-75.

[185] The pawning of the treasure under the Torriani family rule of Monza and its Basilica was used for Visconti propaganda. The pro-Visconti rhetoric, such is found in Bonincontro's *Chronicon*, paints the Torriani as irresponsible guardians of the treasure and the Visconti as its rightful redeemers.

[186] Philippe Cordez, "Gestion et médiation des collections de reliques au Moyen Âge. Le témoignage des authentiques et des inventaires," *Pecia* 8–11 (2005): 33–63. Three functions outlined by Cordez in relation to relic inventories—to secure, renew, and commemorate—are equally pertinent to the inventories of Monza's treasures.

[187] For Areli Marina, the tympanum bears direct evidence of the political and personal ambitions of Matteo Visconti, who mobilizes the Longobard past, via its material record, to cast himself as the heir to Teodelinda and hence to the imperial throne. Marina, "The Langobard Revival of Matteo Il Magno Visconti, Lord of Milan," *I Tatti Studies* 16 (2013): 377-414.

[188] The relief shows few traces of an original polychromy.

compartment of the relief are the sapphire cup, the hen and chicks, and a votive cross. As Chiara

Frugoni has remarked, even the *ampulla* in the dove's beak—the element that bridges the top

register of Teodelinda's donation with the bottom register depicting Christ's baptism—can be

seen as a reference to the Basilica's collection of *ampullae* relics.[189] The stone relief granted

notional security to what was otherwise the precarious existence within the Basilica of the

treasure of San Giovanni. Being located over the principal entrance to the church, the relief

furthermore ensured that visitors saw the treasures before entering the church. Through the visual

rhetoric of the carving, the visitor would have seen the treasure as a durable link, in their own

present, between the founder and titular saint.

Anxieties about the continued residence of the treasure in the Basilica were well justified.

Tensions between the Guelph and Ghibelline factions escalated into a series of wars between

1322 and 1324 which, on multiple occasions, left the city of Monza ransacked.[190] Over the

course of these wars, the Guelph, philo-Torriani, rule was replaced by that of the Ghibelline

Visconti. Galeazzo I Visconti (1277-1328), with his wife, Beatrice d'Este (1268-1334), became

the Lords of Monza in 1324 and there began building their castle and refortifying the city the

following year. In light of these turbulent events, the Basilica's chapter had every reason to be

concerned about the welfare of their treasure. According to Bonincontro's chronicle, nothing, not

even the Basilica, was considered sacred by the hordes of mercenary troops that entered

Monza.[191] San Giovanni's four canons had taken precautions against the raids and had buried the

treasure in a hidden location. The four had agreed to absolute secrecy until death. One canon,

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[189] Chiara Frugoni, "Immagini fra tardo antico e alto medioevo: qualche appunto," *Settimane di studio del centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo* (Spoleto: Centro di Studi sull'alto medioevo, 1998), 740-741, n.99.

[190] The Visconti-led mercenary troops sacked Monza in 1322, which was then sacked again in 1324 by the papal, anti-Visconti troops. See Gian Luigi Barni, *Dall'eta comunale all'eta sforzesca* (Milan: Edizione il Polifilo, 1970), 265; Dell'Oro and Mambretti, *Liber ordinarius Modoetiensis cum kalendario-obituario*, 73-75; Delmoro and Colombo, *Testimonianze di arte medievale a Monza e in Brianza,* 62-63.

[191] Morigia, 1117-1160.

Alchino da Vercelli, fearing that the end was upon him, confessed where the treasure was located to the pontifical legate, Bertrando del Poggetto. Word traveled swiftly, and in 1323, the treasure was stolen and taken away to the papal palace at Avignon. When the treasure finally returned to Monza in 1345, an inventory was drawn up on archbishop Giovanni Visconti's request. The 1353 inventory makes explicit its purpose as a witnessed document meant to secure the presence of the treasure against future calamities.[192]

As has been demonstrated in other cases, the treasure secured more than material wealth for the Basilica. Jennifer Kingsley, for example, has argued, in relation to the Bernward Gospels, that, "as a depository of both monetary and symbolic capital the medieval treasury had the capacity to carry *memoria*," and that the written and visual records of these treasures were then "attempts to construct memory."[193] The treasury's strong relation to memory and the construction of historical continuity has been noted by scholars such as Eric Palazzo and Cynthia Hahn.[194] In considering the imperial ambitions of Monza as the seat of the emperor's coronation, which will be further discussed in Chapter Two, Hahn writes that the treasury is "an excellent example of the legendary 'conversation,'" which "turns back to its founder as well as forward

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[192] *Pergamene*, cart. 12, n. 168, Biblioteca Capitolare, Monza: "volentis certificari si thesaurus Ecclesie Sancti Iohannis Baptiste terre Modoetie, Mediolanensis diocesis, fideliter et bene gubernator, et a quibus personis gubernator et an si de ipso tesauro aliquid est furtive subtractum vel diminutum et inventatarium consignationem seu repertorum de eo fieri fecere…" (wanting to certify that the treasure of the Church of Saint John the Baptist in Monza, in the dioceses of Milan, is faithfully and well conserved, and by whom it is conserved, and if of this treasure something is furtively subtracted or diminished, [wished] that an inventory be made…) Translation my own.

[193] Jennifer P. Kingsley, "Picturing the Treasury: The Power of Objects and the Art of Memory in the Bernward Gospels," *Gesta* 50 (2011): 29.

[194] Eric Palazzo, "Le Livre dans les trésors du Moyen Age: Contribution à l'histoire de la Memoria médiévale," *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, 52 (1997): 93-118, 12-13; Cynthia Hahn, "The Meaning of Early Medieval Treasuries," in *Reliquiare im Mittelalter*, ed. Bruno Reudenbach and Gia Toussaint (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2005), 1-20; Hahn, *Strange Beauty,* 165-179. Similar arguments are also put forth by Anne E. Heath, "The Treasury of Monza: A Study of Visual Reception and Missionary Strategies" (MA Thesis, Florida State University, 1998); Majocchi, "The Treasure of Theodelinda," 245-267; Marina, "The Langobard Revival," 377–414.

toward the future of medieval Italy as a coronation site for its kings."[195] William Durandus

(1230-1296) lends support to the memory-function of treasuries for the community of faithful

when he describes the motives for displaying church treasures during high feasts:

> On the principal feasts, one exposes the treasures of the Church to the view of the people for
> three reasons: First, for reasons of precaution…Second, for the solemnity of the occasion,
> and third in memory of their donation. That is to say of those who first offered them to the
> Church.[196]

Durandus's final point draws an explicit link between founder, treasure, and commemoration in

the moment the treasure is displayed for the community. The treasury objects, for Durandus, cue

the imagination and provide the material links for the past to emerge in the present.

In Monza, the long absence of the stolen treasure made its renewed presence and display

all the more pressing. In the final pages of the *Chronicon*, Bonincontro describes the return of the

treasure to Monza from Avignon as a highpoint in the life of the community. He relates that the

treasure entered Monza in procession and was set upon the high altar of San Giovanni for its

public ostentation. Bonincontro's description of the treasure's reception casts the people's

collective memory of the treasure as the motive for the ensuing joy:

> Eo die maxima multitude populi Terrarum Lombardiae, qui venerant ex devotione ad
> visitandum dictum sanctum Oraculum, vociferabantur clamore magno in laudando
> Dominum, eo quia restitutus et restauratus est Thesaurus magni principis sui sancti Johannis.
> Plurimi etiam de Sacerdotibus et canonicis principes, patres, et seniores, qui viderant
> Thesaurum, prisquam esset restitutus, et hunc Thesaurum sub oculis habeant, flebant, et
> eorum multi vociferantes in laetita elevabant vocem in Ecclesia, videntes gaudium pretiosi
> ac inestimabili valoris, et pulcherrimi Thesauri in loco suo sancto repositi.[197]

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[195] Hahn, *Strange Beauty,* 172. Monza wanted to cast itself as the appointed site for the Holy Roman Emperor's
second crowning with the iron crown. The concept was elaborated in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and was
not associated with the so-called Iron Crown in the Monza treasury until the fourteenth century at the latest. Monza
was granted the title of *caput lombardiae* in 1354 thanks to a papal brief from Innocent VI in Avignon. See Delmoro
and Colombo, *Testimonianze di arte medievale a Monza e in Brianza,* 60. See Chapter 2, pages 80-81.

[196] "Ut thesaurus, sive ministerium vel ornamentum ecclesiarum, fideliter devotioni eorum, qui haec vel ad honorem
domus dei, vel ad sustentationem familiae ecclesiasticae, si necessitas egerit, obtulerit, custodiatur." William
Durandus, MGH conc. 3:363, cited in Palazzo, "Le Livre," 102, as *Rational des divins offices*, livre III, XLII, and
translated in Hahn, *Strange Beauty,* 174. Both Hahn and Palazzo rely on Durandus to articulate the point that the
treasury performed a memorial function for medieval viewers, and moreover, that this was the intended effect of
displaying the treasures.

[197] Morigia, 1182-1183.

That day, a great multitude of people came out of devotion from all of Lombardy to visit said holy sanctuary, and were yelling in great clamor the Lord's praises, that here the treasure of the great prince, Saint John, was returned and restored. Many among the priests and canons, and princes, fathers, and elders had seen the treasure before it had been returned, and with this treasure under their eyes again, they cried and made much noise in happiness raising their voices in the church, seeing with joy the precious and inestimable value and most beautiful treasure returned to its sacred location.[198]

When Bonincontro writes that the people shouted in happiness because they remembered seeing the treasures in this very place, he underscores the active role of objects and collective memory in the making of a sacred place. The people are overjoyed not only because they have regained what was once theirs, but because their memory of the Basilica as a sacred place has been restored.

With the return of the treasure the people of Monza reclaim the materials that support the memory of their Basilica's sacred past. The event described in the chronicle reestablishes the collective experience of the place as one chosen by God, and mobilizes a material and spiritual renewal for the community. This aspect of renewal is further rehearsed in the restoration of the treasure, which, according to Bonincontro, was in deplorable conditions after its residence at the papal palace. Bonincontro writes that the archbishop of Milan had the treasure restored by the goldsmith Antellotto Braccioforte from Piacenza, who he equates typologically to the Old Testament artisan, Bezalel, the maker of the Ark and Tabernacle:

De magna fide et devotione praedicti Reverendissimi Patris, et Domini Domini Archiepiscopi nunc est dicendum…ut Exod. XIII. Prout locutus est Dominus Moysi, praecipiendo ei, quod faceret arcam, et tabernaculum: Ecce vocavi ex nomine Beseleel filii Huri de Tribu Juda, et implevi eum spiritu Dei, sapientia, et intelligentia, et Scientia in omni opera ad excogitandum fabre quidquid fieri poterit ex auro, et argento, aere, marmore, et gemmis, et diversitate lignorum, ut faciat quae praecepi. Quia cum supradictus Thesaurus esset mactatus fractus, et suo colore, et pristine statu turpiter mutatus, sic devotissimus Pater et Dominus Dominus Archiepiscopus suprascripto die nono mensi Junii a Mediolando mandando Modoetiam praedicto sapienti viro Domino Jacobo Vicecomiti, et aliis Canonicis praedictae Ecclesia scripsit: Ecce mitto vobis quem vocavi hominem Antellotum Brachium-

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[198] Translation my own.

fortem de Placentia domicellum meum, plenum spiritu, sapientia, intelligentia, et Scientia in omni opera ad excogitandum fabre quidquid fieri poterit ex auro, et argento, aere, marmore, et gemmis. Qui restauravit Thesaurum nobilissimum Sancti Johannis, ita ut melius quam sicut erat in suo pristino statu…[199]

Now the great faith and devotion of the aforementioned reverend father and lord Archbishop must be mentioned…as in Exodus XIII. [Exodus: 31] Just as the Lord said to Moses, instructing him to build the ark and the tabernacle: Behold I call by name Bezalel the son of Uri of the Tribe of Judah, and filled him with the spirit of God, wisdom, and understanding, and knowledge in everything in order that he may devise whatever can be made in gold, and silver, brass, marble, and gems, and different woods, and it shall be done as I command. Since the above mentioned treasure was bruised and broken, and its color and pristine state had been turned torpid, so the above-mentioned devout father and lord archbishop of Milan, on the ninth day of the month of June, wrote to Monza to the aforementioned wise man, lord Jacob Vicecomiti, and to the canons of the aforementioned Church: Here I send you he who is called Antellotum Brachium-fortem of Piacenza, my servant, who is full of spirit, wisdom, understanding, and knowledge in all things for making all that can be made in gold, and silver, brass, marble, and gems. He restored the treasure of the noble Saint John, and it was better than it had been in its original state…[200]

In Bonincontro's narrative, material remaking is closely tied to spiritual and devotional reawakening. Like the biblical Bezalel, Antellotto is filled by the Holy Spirit, which grants him the wisdom, knowledge, and understanding needed to work materials into sacred treasures.[201] With the treasure returned to its splendor and glory, the people can once again see and feel the power of God in the Basilica of San Giovanni. As Cynthia Hahn remarks, the renewal of treasury objects matters beyond physical repair, as it follows a certain theological logic, such as expressed by Paulinus of Nola: "All things renewed are pleasing to God; Christ is ever renewing all things, and ennobling them to enhance His light."[202] The treasure is renewed so that the faith of the people of Monza might also be renewed. By reworking sacred treasures, itself an act of devotion,

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[199] Morigia, 1182.

[200] Translation my own.

[201] Wolf-Dietrich Löhr cites Bezalel as a type in the discourse of artistic labor as connecting corporeal and devotional labor. The pictorial example given of the representation of Bezalel and Oholiab comes from the *Bibbia istoriata Padovana*, ms. 15277, British Library, London, ff. 15v-16r. See, Löhr, "Handwerk und Denkwerk des Malers. Kontexte für Cenninis Theorie der Praxis," in *Fantasie und Handwerk*, 158-159.

[202] Hahn, "What Do Reliquaries Do for Relics?" *Numen* 57, 3/4 (2010): 291; P.G. Walsh, *The Poems of St. Paulinus of Nola* (New York: Newman Press, 1975), 308.

the community's devotion to Saint John is rekindled. When the treasures are displayed before the community, the joyous shouts of its members witness their renewed devotion.

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The assembled evidence indicates that, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, San Giovanni in Monza was a vibrant but contested site: objects were stolen, returned, and restored; relics invented, and bodies translated. The entire church fabric was rebuilt. Far from static or stable, the material treasures of Monza needed to be secured and refashioned to function as memorial links to the Basilica's immaterial spiritual wealth and venerable past. If Monza was unmade by political and social warfare, it was also remade and expanded in the multiple building projects that unfolded in those years.[203] These upheavals, however, were also fundamental to the gradual surfacing of Monza's dormant or hidden wealth, both spiritual and material. From this general instability, a moment emerged and provided the conditions of visibility for the articulation of the sacred. In the rebuilding of Monza's Basilica, the sacred origins on which it rested were excavated, and its relics and treasures were restored. When, in the mid-fifteenth century, the chapel dedicated to Teodelinda was ready for decoration by the workshop of the Zavattari, the moment for visualizing and framing sacred space was ripe.[204] Monza's relics and treasures were newly available to be reworked by the artist's brush for the decoration of the queen's chapel, the most sacred place in her Basilica.

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[203] For a summary account of the political turmoil—between Torriani, Visconti, papal, and imperial forces—of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries in relation to what building projects were underway in Monza, see Renato Mambretti, "La terra di Monza tra Visconti e Sforza," in *Monza: La sua storia*, ed. Stefano Agnoletto and Francesco de Giacomi (Cinisello Balsamo, Milan: Silvana, 2002), 119.

[204] On the concept of the *moment* in visualizing the sacred, see Hills, *The Matter of Miracles*, 314.

Chapter Two.

San Giovanni in the Fifteenth Century

At the close of the nineteenth century, the architect Luca Beltrami oversaw a series of restoration projects for the Basilica of San Giovanni, including those for the Teodelinda Chapel.[205] Beltrami's mission was to return the chapel to its original "Gothic" state. He sought to remove any accretions that did not fit his idea of a Gothic style and added elements that, to his mind, better fit the label. To restore the chapel to a more "authentic" state he remade the floors, added a gate and lower wall molding, returned Teodelinda's sarcophagus to the chapel, and designed a neo-Gothic altar to house the Iron Crown (fig. 23).[206] The results of Beltrami's work in the Teodelinda Chapel were published in 1891 in a monographic study, accompanied by Carlo Fumagalli's photographs.[207]

One of Beltrami's goals was to find the exact position of Teodelinda's sarcophagus. To do so, he conducted a number of archaeological studies, which he recorded in plan drawings with added commentary.[208] During these digs, several elements of an earlier chapel resurfaced. These

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[205] See Ponticelli Righini, "La facciata della Basilica di S. Giovanni Battista: i restauri ottocenteschi e il recente intervento conservativo," in *Monza anno 1300*, 41-61; David, "Luca Beltrami e lo scavo nel restauro," in *La cappella di Teodelinda nel duomo,* 34-38; Sanvito, "Gotico 'fin de siècle'. Schizzi e progetti autografi riguardanti lo scavo del 1889 e la restaurazione della cappella di Teodelinda nel Fondo Beltrami presso le Civiche d'Arte del Castello Sforzesco di Milano," in *La cappella di Teodelinda nel duomo*, 42-43; Bellini, "Luca Beltrami e il duomo di Monza," in *Atlante iconografico,* 47-60.

[206] According to Beltrami, popular tradition holds that it was Carlo Borromeo who ordered that the queen's sarcophagus be removed from the chapel. However, he shows that if it was on Borromeo's command, it was not in light of specific orders following the Council of Trent on church burials. More likely, the sarcophagus was moved to temper a local cult. See Beltrami, "La tomba della regina della regina Teodolinda nella Basilica di S. Giovanni in Monza," 673-678.

[207] Luca Beltrami and Carlo Fumagalli, *La cappella detta della regina Teodolinda.*

[208] Archival material is conserved in Milan, Civiche Raccolte d'Arte del Castello Sforzesco, Gabinetto disegni e stampe, Fondo Beltrami. For the printed plan, see Beltrami, "La tomba della regina Teodolinda nella Basilica di S. Giovanni in Monza," 665-678; Beltrami and Fumagalli, *La cappella detta della regina Teodolinda,* 9.

included smaller and rectangular-shaped foundations of the walls, the foundations of the altar and those of Teodelinda's sarcophagus. In what was once a side-entrance, Beltrami found fragments of wall paintings.[209] According to Beltrami, the earlier foundations belonged to a thirteenth-century chapel that existed prior to the Basilica's reconstruction. It is more likely the case, however, that the foundations belonged to the first phase of the fourteenth-century reconstruction, that is, prior to Matteo da Campione's expansion of the apse chapels at the end of that century.[210] While Beltrami hoped to find the chapel's original state, he ended up revealing that it had multiple historical moments. Indeed, the archaeological evidence bears witness to the many revisions that the chapel underwent between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, both in its architecture and decoration. It thus attests to the chapel's dynamic gestation.

This chapter has two goals, first, to provide a sense of how the fifteenth-century Basilica's interior would have looked, and second, to reveal what purpose or purposes the artistic renewal that culminated in the decoration of the Teodelinda Chapel might have served in the life of the Basilica. Even a partial reconstruction of what the apse area decoration would have included will help frame the Teodelinda Chapel within the wider context of the Basilica's efforts of regeneration. The first part of this chapter will describe the reconstruction and decoration of the apse area. Building on the evidence for the fifteenth-century Basilica, the second part of the chapter will ask why such a vast project of artistic renewal was undertaken in Quattrocento Monza. The focus will turn finally to the Zavattari's contribution, and particularly to their methods and techniques. The aim is to reframe the Teodelinda Chapel not as an isolated example of regional Gothic style but as a complex and multi-media ensemble created within a historically complex site to which their style responded.

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[209] Beltrami, "La tomba della regina Teodolinda nella Basilica di S. Giovanni in Monza," 672.
[210] David, "Luca Beltrami e lo scavo nel restauro," 34.

The reconstruction of San Giovanni began at the façade-end of the Basilica in 1300 and was completed with the expansion of the three apse chapels at the turn of the fifteenth century. The apse area was the final portion of Matteo da Campione's rebuilding project, and was finished posthumously.[211] The main apse was dedicated to the titular Saint John the Baptist, the north chapel was dedicated to Saint Vincent and Teodelinda, and the south chapel to the Virgin.[212] The three apse chapels would have been similar in size and shape until the main apse was expanded in 1577 (fig. 24, see also fig. 2).[213] Once construction of the three apse chapels was completed, a series of decoration projects began. Although multiple workshops and individuals are responsible for the Basilica's decorations, the Milanese family of the Zavattari was the foremost workshop at the Basilica in the first half of the fifteenth century.[214] The Zavattari were likely involved in the decoration of the Basilica at different moments from the late fourteenth century to first half of the fifteenth century. Delmoro hypothesizes that Cristoforo Zavattari took part in the early stages of the apse decoration, namely in the entrance pilasters of the chapels.[215] Perhaps from as early as 1408, Franceschino Zavattari was active in Monza on-

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[211] A plaque commemorating the death of the master mason in 1396 is immured on the exterior wall of the south apse chapel. There is no break in the wall for the plaque's insertion, which indicates that construction of the apse chapel was not finished at the time of Matteo's death. The inscription reads: "Hic iacet ille magn(us) edificator devot(us)/ m(a)g(ist)er M(a)the(us) de Campiliono q(ui) huius sacro/ stante (sic) eccl(esi)e fatiem edificavit evan/genliçatorium ac babtisterium q(ui) obiit/ anno D(omi)ni MCCCLXXXXVI die XXIIII/ mensis maii." (Here lies the great and devout builder, master Matteo da Campione who made the façade, the pulpit, and baptistry of this holy church. He died in the year of our Lord 1396, on the 24th day of the month of May. (Translation my own).
It is possible that Matteo was entombed within the wall of chapel as construction progressed. On this hypothesis, see Stefano Lomartire, *"Ille magnus edificator devotus,"* in *Monza Anno 1300,* 73.
[212] These chapels were built where two smaller side-chapels had existed in the fourteenth century. Delmoro discusses the documentary evidence for the existence of these earlier chapels in, Idem, "'Assai annose pitture,'" 108, n.33, where she states that the *Obituario* in 1259 records the consecration of two altars by the Bishop of Brescia to *beate Marie* and *beati Stephani*. Delmoro also uncovered documents from 1283, copied in the sixteenth century, that mention both the Virgin Chapel and the altar dedicated to Vito and Vincent. Idem, "Per l'antico aspetto del Duomo di Monza," 69. Morigia also mentions the altar dedicated to the Virgin. Idem, *Chronicon Modoetiense,* 1083. The altar re-dedicated to Saints Vito and Vincent was perhaps the same one previously dedicated to Saint Stephen. See Selvatico, "Gli scavi," in *Monza. Il Duomo nella storia e nell'arte,* 84.
[213] The two side chapels were conceived as symmetrical polygonal spaces with vaulted roofs, thus it is highly probable that they were designed and built in tandem.
[214] For the most up-to-date and comprehensive study of the Zavattari, see Delmoro, *La bottega degli Zavattari.*
[215] Ibid, 31.

and-off for the decorations of the Virgin Chapel until 1417 when work was suspended. Around

1420, the Zavattari were again employed by the Basilica, during which time they painted the

transverse arch and main apse chapel, probably in collaboration with Stefano da Pandino. The

timing of the latter campaign would coincide with Franceschino's residence in Monza from

1420-21.[216] The final campaign took place in the 1440s, when the Zavattari returned to San

Giovanni to complete the decorations of the third apse chapel: the chapel dedicated to

Teodelinda.

There are few remaining documents related to the construction and decoration of the apse

area. Those that survive include a testament dated to 1407, relating to the Virgin Chapel. In the

document, a certain Ardico della Porta bequeathed property to benefit the chapel, with the

stipulation that a chaplain was there to say mass annually, accompanied by organ music, for the

benefit of his soul.[217] The document suggests that construction on the Virgin Chapel was

finished by this date and the walls would have been ready for decoration shortly thereafter.[218]

Another document relating to the early phases of work on the Virgin Chapel is a letter dated the

21st of April 1417. In this letter, addressed to Filippo Maria Visconti, duke of Milan, the chapter,

canons, and *fabbricieri* of San Giovanni request a tax abatement for pigments and materials

needed to continue to decorate the Virgin Chapel. They express the need for, "various different

colored pigments, gold, and whatever else is necessary…so that this devout work in the making

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[216] Delmoro, "'Assai annose pitture,'" 117-124; Idem, *La bottega degli Zavattari*, 40-68.

[217] *Notarile*, Atti dei Notai di Milano, filza 61, notaio Gerardo Crippa di Petrolo, ff. 66r-67v, Archivio di Stato di Milano. Cited in Delmoro, "'Assai annose pitture,'" 112, n. 44.

[218] Painting may have started in the spring of 1408. From the 1445 contract for the Teodelinda Chapel, we know that the season for painting in the Basilica excluded the coldest winter months and ran from early spring (March/April) until fall (October/November). The earliest record for the Teodelinda Chapel is the dedication of the altar in 1433, but due to its symmetry with the south chapel, it is presumed that work for both was carried out in roughly the same time. The Virgin Chapel was designated as the place of burial for the church canons.

may reach the desired perfection."[219] The Basilica's representatives make their plea by recalling

the benefits generously granted to San Giovanni by Filippo Maria's ancestors, declaring: "By no

means would a tax be imposed on marbles, bronze, pictures, wood, and other necessary things

that were needed to build and ornament this very church."[220] The letter implies that decoration of

the chapel had commenced at a date earlier than 1417. It refers to works already begun (operis

initiate) and suggests that activity was currently on hold at the time of writing due to financial

and material difficulties.

It makes sense that Filippo Maria would be asked to assist with the Basilica's financial

concerns. Like previous members of the Visconti family, the duke had a share in the material

wealth of San Giovanni. In 1415, Filippo Maria had established six chantries in the Basilica.

Masses were to be celebrated in his name at either the high altar or in the chapels dedicated as

chantries by his mother, Caterina Visconti (1361-1404), and grandmother, Bianca di Savoia

(1336-1387).[221] Whereas Caterina's chapel is known to have been the first from the entrance on

the right side of the nave, it is less clear which chapel was dedicated to Bianca. One hypothesis is

that the fourteenth-century chapel that preceded the rebuilt Teodelinda Chapel was endowed by

Bianca.[222] If this hypothesis is correct, it would mean that the Teodelinda Chapel had a notional,

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[219] variae diversorum colorum picturae, aurum, et quamplura alia necessaria… ut sic tam ceptum opus devotum ad votiuam deducatur perfectionem. Translation my own. The letter has since gone missing, but is reproduced in Frisi, *Memorie storiche di Monza e sua corte* II, 195-196.

[220] "nullatenus intercipiebatur pro aliquibus marmores lapidibus, bronzio, picturis, lignaminibus, ac aliquibus necessariis, vel requisitis ad ipsius Ecclesiae hedificium, seu ornamentum." Translation my own. Both Gian Galeazzo Visconti (1351-1402) and Giovanni Maria Visconti (1388-1412) had granted privileges to San Giovanni in Monza.

[221] Record of the 1415 chantries is transcribed in Frisi, *Memories storiche* II, 187-195. Documents related to Caterina Visconti's death in 1404, her imprisonment in the Visconti castle, and burial behind the main altar are printed in Idem, *Memorie storiche* I, 60-61. See also Barni, *Dall'età comunale all'età sforzesca*, 318-319; Federica Cengarle and Maria Nadia Covini, eds., *Il ducato di Filippo Maria Visconti* (Florence: Firenze University Press, 2015), 53, n.112. For a recent discussion of Filippo Maria Visconti's patronage at San Giovanni and of Caterina Visconti and Bianca di Savoia's chantries, see Delmoro, "Per la committenza artistica," 28, n. 50. The chapel endowed as a chantry by Caterina was dedicated to Saints Claudius and Catherine and was the first chapel on the right-side of the nave.

[222] Such a hypothesis is suggested and supported by Delmoro, "Per la committenza artistica," 29.

if not material, continuity as a Visconti ducal chapel.[223] Unlike the Virgin Chapel, the

Teodelinda Chapel has no remaining paper trail to connect it financially to Filippo Maria.

However, the prominent display of the Visconti coats of arm in the east-wall lunettes, coupled

with raised gesso (*pastiglia*) ducal crowns and FI-MA lettering in the rib vaults, suggests a

strong ducal influence.[224]

  The documents that could establish the precise chronological coordinates for the

Teodelinda Chapel are just as scarce as those for the Virgin Chapel. The *Kalendario-Obituario*

records that on the 5th of April 1433, the altar of the chapel was re-consecrated to Saints Vitus

and Vincent by Bartolomeus Cremonensis, bishop of Castoria.[225] Sometime after the

consecration, the entry arch and vaults were painted by an unknown workshop, often identified

as that of the Piemontese Antonio da Monteregale (fig. 25).[226] The Zavattari painted the life of

Teodelinda shortly thereafter. The dating of the chapel's decorations has been subject to

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[223] Evidence of a long-standing ducal chapel would further lend support to one of several political readings for the decorations of the Teodelinda Chapel, in which the focus on weddings in the life of Teodelinda is understood as an allusion to the marriage of Bianca Maria Visconti and Francesco Sforza in 1441. Nevertheless, such an interpretation only grazes the surface as it simply describes one of many possible relations between an external event and a painted fiction. For one, the number of people who were involved in carrying out the paintings on both the commissioning side and the making side were too numerous to have pursued a blinkered programmatic meaning. As indicated by the number of parties involved in both the 1417 letter for the Virgin Chapel and in the 1445 contract for the Teodelinda Chapel, the duke (who is not mentioned in the later contract) was only one among many parties interested in the decoration of the two apse chapels. The analogy between Bianca Maria Visconti and Francesco Sforza with Teodelinda and Agilulf was first suggested by Castelfranchi Vegas, "Intorno agli affreschi Zavattariani," 95–104. The connection to Bianca Maria and her namesake ancestor, Bianca di Savoia, as support for this analogy is provided by Delmoro, "Per la committenza artistica," 29. For the complex and multi-person patronage of the chapels, see Hirschel, "Problems of Patronage at Monza," 105-13; and Delmoro, "Per la committenza artistica," 18-23.

[224] On the heraldry in the chapel, Stefano Zuffi, "L'eraldica ducale," in *La cappella di Teodelinda nel duomo,* 119-121. The joint coats of arm of Filippo Maria Visconti and his son-in-law, Francesco Sforza, at the base of the windows were made legible during the recent conservation. See Delmoro, *La bottega degli Zavattari*, 75-76. Delmoro argues that Filippo Maria commissioned the first four registers and not the fifth.

[225] *Kalendario-Obituario*, ms. 7b10h14, f. 12v, Biblioteca Capitolare, Monza: "MCCCCXXXIII, die qu[i]nto aprilis, dominus frater Bartolameus ordinis Sancti Francisci, episcopus Castoriensis, consecravit altare Sancti Vi[n]centii, et hoc fuit in die palmis ollivarum, etc." For the transcription and discussion of this passage, see Dell'Oro and Mambretti, *Liber ordinarius Modoetiensis cum kalendario-obituario,* 313. The re-consecration altered an earlier dedication to both Saints Vitus and Vincent.

[226] On the dating and attribution of the arch and vault paintings, see Mauro Natale, "La cappella di Teodolinda: pitture della volta e dell'arcone," in *La cappella di Teodelinda nel duomo* 182-188.

disagreement. For a long time, the date 1444, painted over the dedicatory inscription in the fourth register, was thought to indicate the moment of completion (fig. 26). However, this dating was overturned when Janice Shell published a contract signed on March 10, 1445. [227]

Penned by the notary Gerardo Briosco, the contract was drawn between the Zavattari family (including Franceschino, his two sons, Gregorio and Giovanni and a *famulo,* or apprentice), on the one hand, and representatives of the Basilica chapter and Monza's civic government, on the other hand. Among those gathered in the rectory on occasion of the contract were Battista Bossi (archpriest and *fabbriciero*), Simone de Medici da Seregno (*fabbriciero* and presbyter), Stefano Vecchi (presbyter), and Cristoforo da Lesmo (ducal chaplain), all representing the Basilica's chapter. The two representatives of the civic government were Bertolino Rabia (procurator) and Francesco Seroldono (*fabbriciero* and deputy).[228]

In the contract Franceschino and his sons were asked to paint "half of what needed to still be painted in the above-mentioned chapel" (medietatem eius quod deficit ad pingendum in infrascripta capela.)[229] The contract stipulates that work should be completed by the fall of 1446, or at the latest, the spring of 1447. It further notes that work should be carried out during the temperate seasons of the year, namely, from early spring to late fall.[230] The contract indicates

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[227] For an account of the documentary evidence prior to the recovery of the 1445 contract, see Giuliana Algeri, *Gli Zavattari: una famiglia di pittori*. Shell, "La cappella di Teodelinda," 189-215. This contract likely represents one of many different agreements between painters and patrons or amongst the painters themselves during the creation of the chapel. The document was found by Grazioso Sironi.

[228] Delmoro suggests that Battista Bossi's portrait is included in Teodelinda's funerary procession and furthermore notes that the Rabia coat of arms in the chapel might indicate their added financial support. *La bottega degli Zavattari*, 83.

[229] Minuta del contratto del 10 marzo 1445, Atti dei notai di Milano, cart. 1024, Archivio di Stato di Milan: "obligati sint ipsi magister Francischinus et filii pingere medietatem eius quod deficit ad pingendi, teneantur et deviant et obligati sint ipsi magister Francischinus et filii pingere medietatem eius quod deficit ad pingendum in infrascripta capela quibuscumque diebus laborativis sumptibus propriis seu expensis cibi et potus eorum, in capella Sancti Vincentii constructa in ecclesia Sancti Iohannis suprascripti noviter pingendi."

[230] Ibid: "Item quod, teneantur incipere pro anno presenti ad kalendas mensis aprilis proxime futuri, et anno sequenti ad kalendas mensis marzii, finiendo ad kalendas novembris cuiuslibet anni, si tempus non erit congruum ad pingendum."

that the chapel was not finished before 1445, but it does not specify what is meant by the "half

remaining to be painted." Some scholars have argued that the only work completed by 1445 was

the vault. In this scenario, 1445 signals the start date for the entire cycle. Yet if this timeline were

correct, it would have allowed very little time for the workshop to finish such a vast undertaking.

Multiple years were required in order to paint and gild the five walls of the chapel with such a

level of refinement. The argument that the 1445 contract signals the start of the fifth and final

register of the wall, (with the first four registers being complete by 1444) is more convincing.[231]

The recent discovery, in the fifth register, of traces of incisions laying out a project for painted

drapery supports this hypothesis.[232] For Anna Lucchini and Roberta Delmoro, these incisions

suggest that there was a change of plan for the final register, and that the new plan substituted

narrative scenes of Basilica's foundation for the planned fictive drapery.[233] The 1445 contract

would therefore signal this change in iconography. Considering these factors, a probable date

range for the Zavattari's decorations is between 1441 and 1446.

Still largely intact, the Teodelinda Chapel gives some sense of the overall appearance of

the apse area of the Basilica in the fifteenth century. Its elaborate and evidently costly

decorations reveal how important artistic renewal must have been for the Basilica's chapter. As

in the Virgin Chapel, the pilasters of the Teodelinda Chapel are decorated with grisaille prophets

in architectural niches, with scrolls of vegetal motifs, and with votive images of saints on gold

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[231] Delmoro, "Per la committenza artistica," 18-22. Delmoro claims that the contract refers to the fifth and bottom register of the wall, which can be distinguished from the other four registers for its interest in localizing the story of Teodelinda in Monza. By tracing the identity of the members listed in the contract, Delmoro concludes that the civic authorities of Monza would have had greater stakes in this last portion of the narrative cycle.

[232] Lucchini, Lanterna, and Seccaroni, "Il restauro della cappella di Teodelinda," 217, n. 2. Conservation revealed cord snaps on the plaster, which indicate that the fifth register originally was intended to have painted drapery. This observation was made by head conservator Anna Lucchini during a public talk on June 22nd, 2016 for the publication of "Monza Illustrata, 2015." Monza, Liceo Dehon. See also Delmoro and Lucchini, "'De Zavattarijs hanc ornavere capellam,' precisazioni storiche sull'epigrafe nella cappella di Teodelinda alla luce degli interventi di restauro," *Venezia Arti* (2017): 71-87.

[233] Ibid.

ground (figs. 27-28).[234] On the crescent arch Saint John the Baptist is depicted in a gesture of blessing (fig. 29). Next to his right hand is a scroll of text that reads, "modo etiam," and kneeling on either side of the Baptist are Agilulf and Teodelinda with their respective courts of men and women. Here, the king and queen are depicted as the essential link for the continued intercession of the Basilica's titular saint for the people of Monza. The image of Saint John in the arch introduces the saint's relationship to Teodelinda and links the entrance to the interior of the chapel where the theme of Saint John's protection for the Longobards is reinforced. Beyond the archway of the Teodelinda Chapel, gilded *pastiglia* runs from the vault down the length of the sidewalls (fig. 30-31).[235] Like a net of gold tapestry, the *pastiglia* acts as background and support for the painted life of Teodelinda, which unfurls from top to bottom, cyclically around the walls. Figures in silken brocades and soldiers in gleaming armor act out Teodelinda's life from her arrival in Italy to her death (fig. 32). The walls vibrate with processions, battles, banquets and hunts depicted against a background of gilded floral motifs in low relief (figs. 33-35).

Despite chronological discontinuities and authorial variations in the execution of the sanctuary decorations, the consistent use of gold leaf, floral motifs (in both *pastiglia* and paint), and delicately crafted figures throughout the sanctuary chapels, once visually unified the space.[236] However, unlike those in the Teodelinda Chapel, the decorations of the rest of the spaces of the sanctuary did not withstand the test of time.[237] Only a few fragments remain of the original

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[234] The entrance pilasters and prophets may belong to the earliest decoration campaign, likely started at the end of the fourteenth century perhaps with the involvement of Cristoforo Zavattari. See Delmoro, *La bottega degli Zavattari*, 31.

[235] In 1884, the Colla brothers were hired to restore the metal leaf in the chapel and on this occasion, they redid the gold *pastiglia* of the vaults.

[236] Fragments from elsewhere in the Basilica, such as the crucifixion from the main apse (now in the Basilica's museum) or the Annunciation in the transverse arch, also show signs of gilded patterns.

[237] See Roberto Cassanelli and Roberto Conti, eds., *Cinque secoli di pittura a Monza: opere d'arte restaurate, 1980-1995: Monza, Serrone della Villa Reale e Duomo, 7 novembre 1997-31 gennaio 1998* (Milan: Mondadori, 1997); Castelfranchi Vegas, "Gli affreschi gotici," in *Monza. Il Duomo nella storia e nell'arte,* 173-181; Conti, "Testimonianze storiche e artistiche dall'epoca dei Visconti agli Sforza," in *Monza: la sua storia*, 148-185.

decoration, which was largely repainted and updated in the eighteenth century (fig. 36).[238] What

is known of the organization and subject matter of the early painted cycles in the late medieval

Basilica comes from an array of sixteenth to eighteenth-century descriptions.[239] Records of

pastoral visits by Cardinal Carlo Borromeo (1582), and those undertaken on the Cardinal's behalf

by Baldassare Cipolla (1595-96) and Cardinal Federico Borromeo (1621) are valuable sources of

information.[240] The Basilica's interior spaces as they existed prior to modern redecoration are also

noted by Girolamo Carminati de Brambilla (c. 1600), Giuseppe Maurizio Campini (1767), and

Antonio Francesco Frisi (1794), and finally, in an anonymous manuscript, the *Giubili in Monza*

(1718).[241]

From these early accounts we know that the Virgin Chapel was painted with scenes from

the life of Christ and the Virgin, and that the apse chapel had one wall painted with scenes from

Genesis.[242] A fragment of a Crucifixion, today conserved in the Basilica's Museum, was most

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[238] The chapel was entirely redecorated in 1719 by Giovan Angelo Borroni and Antonio Castelli when the Iron Crown, confirmed as a relic in 1717, was placed inside the chapel. Consecrated as the chapel of the Sacro Chiodo, the need arose to renovate the fifteenth-century decoration and a new cycle was made that reflected, in splendor and subject-matter, the new function of the chapel as reliquary for the crown. See the Conclusion for more on the redecoration of the Basilica.

[239] The fragments that do remain inside the chapel proper are that of a bearded male head (perhaps of an apostle or Christ) which was uncovered behind a Baroque altar frame. The paintings on the three entrance pilasters between the main apse and the Virgin Chapel are somewhat better preserved. These images are not chronologically consistent. The top-most image on the central pilaster is that of the so-called Madonna of the Rose. The Virgin holds a rose in one hand and the Christ Child in the other and is represented against a rectangular frame rendered in gilded *pastiglia* with flowers and pseudo-Cufic script. The Madonna of the Rose is roughly contemporary to the lost paintings inside the Virgin Chapel (first two decades of the fifteenth century), as are the fragments of a Saint John the Baptist painted below. Further down the pilaster, is a Virgin and Child likely dating to the early fourteenth century. It shows traces of a script that names Saint Mary Magdalene, and was probably added to cover the image at a later moment. By far the most integral figure is a standing Saint Peter Martyr dated to the latter half of the fifteenth century. Other painted images on the two adjacent pilasters include fifteenth-century busts of prophets depicted in gold cartouches, a full standing figure of a prophet in grisaille within an architectural niche, and a fourteenth-century tondo of an emperor's head, also in grisaille.

[240] See Delmoro, "Per l'antico aspetto del Duomo di Monza."

[241] Carminati de Brambilla, in Frisi, *Memorie storiche di Monza e sua corte,* 239-250; Campini, *Descrizione dell'insigne real Basilica*; *Giubili in Monza*, 1718, ms. 2 A 112, Biblioteca Capitolare, Monza; Frisi, *Memorie storiche di Monza e sua corte,* I-III.

[242] In regards to the Virgin Chapel, Federico Borromeo writes: "parietes habet omnina pictura exornatos perantiqua: a latere evangelii Vita et Passione Domini nostri, a parte vero epistola vita Beatissimae Virginis Mariae exprimitur satis eleganter, verum in latere evangelii pro vetustate decrustantur." And in regards to the main apse chapel, "Pars

likely part of a larger Crucifixion scene in the apse (fig. 37).[243] In the fifteenth century, the high

altar stood in front of the apse, directly below the cupola. Dedicated to Saint John the Baptist, the

high altar was framed by depictions of the Baptist's *vita*. On its front, was Borgino dal Pozzo's

spectacular 1357 gilt silver and enamel antependium (fig. 38), and behind the altar, in the arch

over the apse chapel, was a wall painting of the Baptism of Christ. Above the altar, the

pendentives of the cupola had representations of the four Evangelists, whereas the drum

displayed images of the Apostles. These figures were paired with Gothic-lettered tituli from Pope

Gregory's *Moralia seu postilla super Job*.[244] Finally, the octagonal dome rose over eight latticed

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ea qua formam quadratam exhibet tota perantiquis picturis et auro ornatur, tum in parietibus, tum in fornice, verum pro vetustate squallidis, hae varias sacrae scripturae e Libro Genesis desumptas historias representant non ineleganter si vetustatem spectes. Altera pars, quae non multis ab hinc annis fuit extructa, tam in fornice, quam in parietibus, rudis omnino est … Arcus cappellae eiusdem ab inferiori parte ingenti traversa trabe auro picturisque ornata concingitur. In ea media Christi e cruce pendentis tum Beatissimae Virginis Mariae et Sancti Joannis Baptistae immagines decenter sunt collocatae," in *Status materilais ecclesiae collegiatae et curatae insignis Sancti Ioannis Baptistae oppidi Modoetiae...*, 1621, ms. 6-B-87, ff. 162v-163r, 36rv-37r, Biblioteca Capitolare, Monza. Cited in Delmoro, "Per l'antico aspetto del Duomo di Monza," 67, 70-71.

[243] The attribution of this fragment has been subject to debate. Castelfranchi Vegas first suggested the work was done by Michelino da Besozzo and that it came from the Virgin Chapel. Idem, "Una Crocifissione di Michelino da Besozzo," *Arte Lombarda* 98/99 (1991): 181-188. Castelfranchi's attribution and location have been convincingly disputed by Delmoro who believes the work to be by Stefano Pandino (brother in-law to Franceschino Zavattari) based on documents that show Stefano da Pandino to have been actively working in the Basilica in the early 1400s. Delmoro further uses descriptions by pastoral visits to argue that the fragment came from the apse. On these matters, see Idem, "'Assai annose pitture,'" 108-121. Nonetheless, there is continued disagreement as to the original location of this fragment.

[244] Campini, *Descrizione dell'insigne Real Basilica*, f. 81: "Si conoscevan in più luoghi tratti chiarissimi e lineamenti di pitture, sparsi d'oltremare, e d'oro in abbondanza; ma non si sa né il quando, né il come ciò si eseguisse. Allo sguardo compariva più vasta, e di fatto lo era, poiché fu ristretta dai capi maestri alle istanze de' novelli pittori, che diffidavano poter altrimenti campeggiare le opere che imprendevano; onde s'imbottirono gli ottagoni del tamburo, e lo stesso involto, ove si turò pure il lanternino. Eranvi intorno otto finestre, quattro rivolte ai venti cardinali in croce quadrilatere, e le altre quattro bislonghe, che furono immurate e aperte altre quattro assai più capaci nelli angoli. Nella sommità un cielo stellato in vago azzurro: ne' campi di sotto distinguevasi qualche ombra di figure ma non potevasi comprendere quali fossero, ma ben si conoscevano per li Evangelisti quelle abbasso nei quattro angoli, siccome ne era antico costume, ancor mantenuto ai dì nostri, apporre le loro effigie oppure li geroglifici a que' siti di qualsivoglia cupola." Cited in Delmoro, "'Assai annose pitture,'" 108. The manuscript mentioned of the *Moralia* belonged to the thirteenth-century canon of the Basilica, Obizzone da Osa. A manuscript from the ninth century exists at Monza: Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Job,* c-7/ 67, Biblioteca Capitolare del Duomo di Monza. Mario Marubbi disagrees with Delmoro's early dating of these works and rather argues for a later execution, possibly closer to that of the Teodelinda Chapel. His evidence for this dating is based on stylistic similarity, but is otherwise not supported. Idem, "La bottega degli Zavattari e i dipinti della Cappella di Teodelinda," 77-81.

windows to represent the heavens in a starry blue vault. None of these early paintings remain visible.[245]

Fragments of an Annunciation (c. 1420) do remain on the transverse arch separating the nave and the cupola and are visible from the attic above the Baroque barrel-vault (fig. 39).[246] From this position, one can also see the medieval wood-beam ceiling, which was decorated with floral motifs in the early fifteenth century. The gilded ground of the Annunciation stands out against the spare white walls of the fourteenth-century nave, which was painted with simple geometric shapes.[247] Although there are differences evidencing the series of decoration campaigns undertaken over the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the repetition of color schemes and floral motifs (fig. 40) suggest an attempt at creating a continuity amongst the Basilica's many decorations.

The Basilica was also filled with an assortment of objects—textiles, sculptures, glass, reliefs, altar pieces—that were materially, chronologically, and functionally diverse.[248] A few sculptural pieces survive *in-situ*, such as the marble pulpit attributed to Matteo da Campione (fig. 41) and the antependium by Borgino dal Pozzo.[249] Many other kinds of objects have not survived, but are known through their descriptions in pastoral visits.[250] Although these accounts

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[245] Carlo Borromeo, 1582, Archivio Spirituale, Sexione X, vol. III, ff. 173-178, Archivio di Stato di Milan: "Coelum navis maioris apud capellam maiorem est fastigiatum, forma quidem octoangulari decenter constructum, in quo adsunt octo fenestrae clathris ferreis et vitro opere munitae." Cited in Delmoro, "Per l'antico aspetto," 43.

[246] On the decorations of the transverse arch see Delmoro, "'Assai annose pitture.'"

[247] See the image reproduced in Hans-Peter Autenrieth, "Policromia architectonica e pittura decorative medievale," in *Monza. Il Duomo nella storia e nell'arte,* fig. 134-135.

[248] On the left side of the nave (starting from the entrance) were the chapels dedicated to Saint John the Evangelist, Saint Gothard, Saint Lucy, the Holy Sacrament, and Saint Stephen. On the right, were those dedicated to Saint Catherine, Saints Peter and Paul, the Beheaded John the Baptist, and Saint Anthony. The Chapel to Saints Magnus and Magdalen was in the sacristy. See Carminati de Brambilla in Antonio Francesco Frisi, *Memorie storiche di Monza e sua corte,* III, 239-250

[249] In the eighteenth century, Matteo da Campione's pulpit was taken apart and re-arranged into the shape we see it today. It was likely elongated into a rectangular shape when it originally would have been square for functional reasons. Lomartire, "*Ille magnus edificator devotus*," in *Monza Anno 1300,* 76-77.

[250] A fourteenth-century baptismal font which was located near the entrance of the Virgin Chapel has also been lost.

date from the sixteenth century onwards, many of the objects and images described were there

from previous centuries. The later descriptions thus help complete our understanding of the

Basilica's early decorations. For example, when Carlo Borromeo describes the chapel of Saint

Catherine (first to the right of the entrance), he mentions a stone altar, poorly conserved

fourteenth-century frescoes (which included a Crucifixion of which fragments survive today),

bronze candelabras, and a tabernacle.[251] Elsewhere, Borromeo describes fifteenth-century

altarpieces with gold backgrounds, bronze crosses, colored marble floors, table cloths, and

painted walls.[252] When Baldassare Cipolla describes the altar in the Teodelinda Chapel at the end

of the sixteenth century, he evokes a variety of materials and objects:

> In which is an altar of the proper shape…which has a stone surface entirely covered by a wax cloth of canopy of proper shape with necessary linens on which are two wood steps on top of which is a golden painted icon in the middle of which is well depicted in gold the image of the holy Virgin Mary, on the right side is Saint John the Baptist and to the left is Saint Sebastian. On top of said altar is a bronze cross, bronze candelabra, and tabernacle covered by a red cloth.[253]

While recognizing that the specific objects that adorned the chapels would have changed over time,

it is fair to use the descriptions given in these pastoral visits as general evidence with which to

visualize the decorated spaces of the fifteenth century. These accounts give a strong impression

that San Giovanni would have been, at mid-fifteenth century, a space rich with layers of material

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[251] Carlo Borromeo, 1582, ff. 101-102: "In ingressu ecclesiae a parte meridionali constructa est *cappella sub titulo S. Catharinae*, in qua est altare consecratum quod copertum est mensa lapidea satis decenti. Loco icona est imago Christi Crucifixi cum multis aliis imaginibus vetustate aliquantulum corrosis. Duobus candelabris aurichalchi decentibus et tabula secretorum ornatum est." Cited in Delmoro, "Per l'antico aspetto," 50.

[252] For instance, the altarpiece by Stefano de' Fedeli from 1478 (today dismembered and partly conserved in the Museo del Duomo di Monza) is described in its location in the chapel of the beheaded St. John. See Delmoro, "Per l'antico aspetto," 54-57.

[253] "In qua extat altare ad formam… habet mensam lapideam integram copertum tela cerata ex canopa ad formam cum nappis necessariis, in quo sunt duo gradus ligneis super quibus est icona aurata pincturis in cuius medio est depicta in auro imago santissimae Virginis Mariae, a latere dextro item imago santi Joannis Baptistae et a latere sinistro sancti Sebastiani decen(ter). Super dictum altare adest crux ex airichalco, candelabra ex aurichalco, cappella secretorum, tegiturque tela … rubea." Baldassare Cipolla, 1595-96, Archivio Spirituale, Sezione X, vol. XXII, ff. 139-140, Archivio di Stato di Milano. Translation my own. Cited in Delmoro, "Per l'antico aspetto," 68. The altarpiece described by Cipolla does not match any extant works in the Basilica or its museum.

and representational wealth. In sum, the evidence, while fragmentary, suggests that the apse area was a resplendent space with textured surfaces and reflective metal leaf. To have undertaken such an extensive, costly and time-consuming endeavor, the Basilica's chapter must have sought through artistic renewal another kind of renewal. The reconstruction of the Basilica is all the more remarkable when considered within its historical moment.

The fifteenth-century decoration of the Basilica came at the tail-end of a complicated and turbulent period for Monza. By the Late Middle Ages, Monza's status as a royal city was more historical than actual. While Monza never abandoned its claim to the imperial seat, the *sedes regni,* the title was contested by other Lombard cities such as Milan and Pavia.[254] For instance, while Monza traditionally reserved the right to host the imperial coronation, the coronations were often held elsewhere.[255] When the Holy Roman Emperor, Conrad III was crowned in Italy in 1128, he split the ceremony between Monza's church of San Michele and Milan's Sant'Ambrogio.[256] When the tradition of a three-crown coronation (gold for Holy Roman Emperor, iron for Italian, and silver for German) spread in the thirteenth century, Monza was named as the location of the Italian coronation. However, practice did not always follow tradition.[257] When Henry VII came to Italy for his coronation in 1310, he wished to be crowned in Monza and wrote to the chapter at San Giovanni asking whether the Iron Crown was available for the coronation.[258] The response, which has not survived, must have been negative since in

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[254] On the *sedes regni*, see Majocchi, "The Treasure of Theodelinda," 245-67; Annamaria Ambrosini, "Tra re, arcivescovi e mondo comunale. Monza e la sua Chiesa nel cuore del Medioevo," in *Monza. La sua storia,* 108-110.

[255] Majocchi, "The Treasure of Theodelinda," 249-253.

[256] Three emperors were crowned in Monza in the High Middle Ages: Conrad II (1093), Conrad III (1123), and Fredrick I Barbarossa (1155). Roberto Cassanelli, "Arte e politica," 73-79; Majocchi, "The Treasure of Theodelinda," 246-247.

[257] For a succinct overview of the legend, see Majocchi, "The Treasure of Theodelinda," 249-253.

[258] Cassanelli, "Arte e politica," 79-83. The letter written to the Chapter stated: "Devotioni vestrae seriose praecipimus et mandamus quantenus archipresbyter et tres vestrum de Capitulo seniores et prudentiores quibus de negotio coronae ferreae magis constet, sine contradictione et dilatione qualibet ad nostram praesentiam accedatis, privilegia vel instrumenta si quae sunt in Modoetia et habueritis, apportantes, et super his strenuis viris Alard de Robaes et Clecumpher de Genuille militibus nostris exhibitoribus praesentiam, fidem credulam apponentes." Letter

1311, Henry VII chose to be crowned in Sant'Ambrogio in Milan with an iron crown fashioned for the occasion.[259]

Not only was Monza's imperial status undermined, but so was its civic autonomy. Throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Monza had to endure both external sieges by the Milanese duchy and imperial powers and internal feuds, between Ghibelline (Visconti) and Guelf (Torriani) factions.[260] Ghibelline forces lay siege twice, in 1322 and 1324, and in 1327, Ludwig of Bavaria imprisoned Galeazzo Visconti, the ruling duke, and his brothers in Monza's dungeons.[261] At the turn of the fifteenth century, Monza's castle became the battleground for the Visconti family ducal succession.[262] The verses by Bonamente Aliprandi (1350-1417), written in his chronicle of Mantua (c.1414), evoke the turbulence in Monza at the time:

> On the sixteenth of June power was seized; Giovan the younger and Estor' were running away, in Monza they went without wasting time. The duke of Milan ruled/ and in Monza there was a great war/ and with many people it was besieged. In February the duke Visconti fought/ in Monza throwing bombards and stones/ Tough battles were there fought every day. Estor Visconte, who ruled Monza/ was wounded by a bombard with a stone/ In such a way that he didn't live much longer. The said duke made war/ with Monza because he wanted to have it/ The heirs of Estor defended it.[263]

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transcribed by Bonincontro Morigia, 1098 and edited by Frisi, *Memorie Storie di Monza e della sua corte, tomo II*, doc. CLXXI.

[259] Cassanelli, "Arte e politica," 79-83.

[260] Mambretti, "La terra di Monza," 116-120; Gian Luigi Barni, Irma Bitto and Adriana Soffredi, *Storia di Monza e della Brianza, I: Le vicende politiche dalla preistoria all'età sforzesca* (Milan: Edizione il Polifilo, 1973), 262-269.

[261] The seiges of 1322 and 1324 led to the fortification of Monza and to the construction of the castle and its infamous dungeon, known as *i forni* (the ovens). See Barni, Bitto and Soffredi, *Le vicende politiche,* 262-269; Mambretti, "La terra di Monza," 116-120; Luigi Zerbi, "I fortilizi di Monza prima del 1325. Notizie e documenti," *Archivio Storico Lombardo* 18 (1891): 796-840; Idem, "Il castello di Monza e i suoi forni," *Archivio Storico Lombardo* 19 (1892): 29-80; 261-343. On Ludwig of Bavaria, see Barni, Bitto and Soffredi, *Le vicende politiche,* 271-273; Mambretti, "La terra di Monza," 119.

[262] Barni, Bitto and Soffredi, *Le vicende politiche,* 323- 330; Mambretti, "La terra di Monza," 119.

[263] A sedici giugn' in Signoria entrava; Giovan Picinin' ed Estor' si fuggia, A Monza andaron, che non dimorava. Lo duca di Milano dominava/ E a Monza grande guerra si facia/ E con gran gente quella si assediava. Di febrar duca Visconte combattire/ A Monza con bombard, pietre gittava/ Dure battaglie a quello ogni dì fire. Estor Visconte, che Monza dominava/ D'una bombarda con pietra ferito/ Per tal modo, che poco temp campava. Lo detto duca guerra si facia/ A Monza per voler quella avire/ Gli eredi d'Estor si la difendia. Translation my own. Bonamente Aliprandi, "Alprandina o Cronica de Mantua," in Muratori, *Antiquitates italicae medii aevi* V (Milan: Societatis Palatinae, 1741), coll. 1232. Also recorded in Barni, *Dall'età comunale*, 325.

After Filippo Maria Visconti came to power in 1413, there began a period of relative calm. Nevertheless, Monza's civic government wrote a letter to the duke expressing concern that their statutes, decrees and ordinances might be imperiled, and requesting that the duke uphold their ancient privileges.[264] The redecoration of the Basilica was undertaken during this period of relative peace and political stability, which continued into the 1440s, when the Teodelinda Chapel was decorated. While the expensive and complex commission was only possible because of the current stability, the days of violence and unrest were not so distant and were still feared.

If Monza's citizens turned to Paul the Deacon's account of their Basilica's foundation, they would have there read a warning to not neglect the church's riches. Paul the Deacon writes that Teodelinda had granted the Longobard people the protection of Saint John the Baptist through her foundation and endowment of the Basilica.[265] As proof of Saint John's help, Paul the Deacon recounts that the Byzantine emperor, Constans II, was unsuccessful in his attempt to invade Italy in 663 due to the Baptist's protection. The story goes that the emperor was warned by a hermit that he could not defeat the Longobards because Teodelinda had secured the Baptist's intercession. The hermit went on to prophesize that such privilege would cease when the people in Monza no longer cared for the ornament and donations of the Basilica.[266] When citizens stop caring for their church and its ornaments, the patron saint stops interceding on their behalf, and the city is left vulnerable to siege. To ensure Saint John's continued intercession,

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[264] Mambretti, "La terra di Monza," 120. "*omnia Statuta, Decreta et Ordinamenti dictae nostrae Terrae, et antiqua privilegia*," recorded in Frisi, *Memorie Storie di Monza e della sua corte* II, n. CCIX, 180-181.

[265] Paul the Deacon, *History of the Langobards* 4.6. The *glossa Monzese* added to the manuscript preserved in the Basilica (b/18-35 adds that the people of Monza, "de suorum facultatibus in honore…Sancti Iohannis Baptiste omni tempore in die nativitatis sue…ad ipsum oraculum" (H.L.4.21). Bonincontro Morigia also follows the *glossa Monzese* in adding that gifts were given on St. John's feast annually in his *Chronicon*. For the paragraphs with added text, see Frisi, *Memorie storiche di Monza e della sua corte*, tomo 3, 202-213; Princi Braccini, "La glossa monzese alla Historia Langobardorum," 431-435.

[266] Ibid. For Paul the Deacon, this prophecy referred retrospectively to the Carolingian invasion. These events are painted in the final register of the Teodelinda Chapel.

there was an annual presentation of gifts to the Baptist on his feast day.[267] It was an important

tradition that aimed to reaffirm Monza's sacred ties and well-being through donation. Paul the

Deacon's warning may have provided the rationale behind the city's problems and proposed a

way to resolve these issues. The reconstruction and decoration of the Basilica, a large-scale

donation, may be understood as an expanded form of this tradition of devotional renewal aimed

to return peace and good favor to Monza.

The motivations behind redecorating the Basilica can be further contextualized within

such a medieval Christian framework. Throughout the Middle Ages, artistic renewal was a

means for gaining heavenly favor. Recovering lost grace entailed caring for the appearance and

material goods of the church, and thus, artistic ornament was more than an aesthetic choice as it

bestowed honor. To ornament an ecclesiastical building was a devotional act that aimed to

glorify the divine.[268] In other words, artistic and devotional renewal went hand in hand.

Teodelinda, had honored the divine by founding and endowing the sanctuary, which granted the

people of Monza the protection of Saint John.[269] In turn, by honoring Teodelinda, the decoration

of the queen's chapel would have served to secure the continued protection and good fortune of

Monza. In this manner, the decoration of the chapel was a powerful witness to the continued care

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[267]This annual presentation of gifts is noted in Monza's gloss of the *Historia Langobardorum*, and restated by Bonincontro Morigia. Bonincontro remains close to the wording of the Monza manuscript of Paul the Deacon: "Ipsa vero gens suppliciter ac devotissime de suorum facultatibus in honore Domini et Sancti Iohannis Baptiste omni tempore in die Nativitatis sue offert ad ipsum oraculum loco qui in Modoetia dicitur," in Frisi, *Memorie storiche di Monza e della sua corte,* tomo 3, 209.

[268] On the topic of fifteenth-century painting, ornament, and the sacred see the essays in Stephen Campbell, ed., *Carlo Crivelli: Ornament and Illusion* (London: Paul Holberton, 2015). As Stephen Campbell writes, "Painting adorns what it represents, the sacred or sacred prototype of the Virgin or other holy figure figured in his images," in Ibid, 30. Within the Byzantine context of artistic ornament and devotion (the greek *kosmos*), its function and meaning, see Ivan Drpić, *Epigram, Art, and Devotion in Later Byzantium* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016). The relevance of this study beyond Byzantine topics lies in the relational implications that Drpić charts for adorning sacred images.

[269] This kind of logic served to justify lavish spending on building and decorating new or existing churches. Brigitte Buettner, "Towards a Historiography of the Sumptuous Arts," in *A Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic*, ed. Conrad Rudolph (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), 466-487.

for the ornament of the Basilica. Not by chance, the final register of the Zavattari's paintings shows the Byzantine emperor's arrival in Italy with his numerous troops. The emperor is shown as he consults the hermit who warns him not to invade Italy because the Longobard queen had secured the protection of Saint John the Baptist for her people and dedicated a sanctuary to his name. The hermit's warnings to the emperor are located in text spandrels that are held at eye-level by an angel, the Baptist and Saint Peter (fig. 42-44).[270] The troops retreat and their procession is cut-off by the edge of the chapel wall, making it appear as if the soldiers were continuing their march beyond the chapel. Through artistic renewal, the prophecy of ruin was kept at bay and Saint John's favor was secured.

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The artists chosen to carry out this renewal, the Zavattari, were well-suited to the task. Their craft, with its goldsmith's techniques and gem-like finishes, was an ideal vehicle for bestowing honor on the sacred.[271] Through the manipulation of materials and cross-media techniques, the Zavattari's achieved luxurious effects approximate to those associated with metalwork and treasury objects. The evidence provided by conservators shows that the Zavattari used an array of techniques, often translated from other media.[272] The artists meticulously constructed their paintings by layering and manipulating materials to achieve different surface

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[270] On the sources for this part of the legend, see Daniela Veronesi, "Gli affreschi della cappella di Teodolinda attraverso le fonti storiche, contestualizzati nel duomo di Monza," *Monza Illustrata: annuario di arte e cultura a Monza e in Brianza 1. 2015*, 103-104. Beyond Paul the Deacon and Bonincontro Morigia, Veronesi notes that Jacopo da Voragine includes the episode in the *Legenda Aurea*.

[271] Because the Teodelinda Chapel is the only surviving portion of their paintings that remains largely intact, we shall focus on those images. However, as discussed in this chapter, we are to imagine that at least the entire apse area would have had similar decorative elements.

[272] Work began with extensive preliminary analyses in 1991 and was subsequently carried out between 2009 and 2014. For studies on the restauration of the Teodelinda Chapel, see *La Cappella di Teodelinda nel Duomo*, 130-183; Cristina Danti and Roberto Boddi, "Un sistema di rilevamento microclimatico-ambientale per la cappella di Teodolinda nel Duomo di Monza,"*OPD Restauro* 7 (2006): 135-140; Danti, "Le storie di Teodelinda degli Zavattari nel Duomo di Monza," 243-257; Brunetto, Lanterna, Lucchini, Picollo, "Pulitura con tecnologia laser,"169-192; Lucchini, "Sinopie,"; Lucchini, Lanterna, and Seccaroni, "Il restauro della cappella di Teodelinda," 211-219; Lucchini, "Il restauro della cappella di Teodelinda (2009-2014)," 191-199.

effects. The plaster (*intonaco*), to give one example, was not just the support for their

decorations, but a malleable ground that could render specific surface qualities. The Zavattari

used different kinds of sand for the *intonaco* to obtain varying degrees of polish and made the

top coat of plaster (*intonachino*) smoother for the faces in order to achieve the appearance of soft

skin.[273] To produce special effects on metal leaf, such as the plays of light and shadow, the artists

polished, abraded, punched, and incised the plaster underneath. The tin leaf of the soldiers'

armor shows many areas in which the plaster was tooled to alter the effects of the metal. In the

detail of an armor from scene 22, we see that the punch work defines the interior contours of the

chest piece (fig. 45). To heighten these effects, the metal leaf was sometimes worked with

incisions or shaded with a top layer of black pigment. In other cases, preparatory drawings made

from pigments laid *a fresco* were topped by coats *a secco.* By working on dry plaster, the

Zavattari could paint over longer stretches of time and could therefore attain more detailed and

precise surfaces. Moreover, they used tempered pigments to increase the chromatic intensity and

the degree of sheen of the overall finish.

The gilding techniques used by the Zavattari also relied on a system of stratification,

which produced an array of different textural effects. The most common method used in the

chapel is known as gilding *a missione*, a technique in which gold leaf is applied over an oil base.

The ground is prepared with a layer of red paint and is overlaid with oil mixed with a given

amount of colored pigments—often some combination of ochres or vermillion and San Giovanni

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[273] Even though they generally made very finely smoothed *intonaco* with an equally smooth *intonachino*, the *intonachino* under the faces was all the smoother so as to render the effect of soft skin. In a personal communication with conservator Emanuela Marelli, she explained that the team had noticed that the *intonachino* was extra polished under the faces. For an analysis of the *intonaco*, see Danti, "Le storie di Teodelinda degli Zavattari nel Duomo di Monza," 251-252. The relief patterns in *pastiglia* were added to the *intonco* by *pontate*. Danti, "Le storie di Teodelinda degli Zavattari nel Duomo di Monza," 252.

white.[274] Similar layering techniques were used to add decorative details to armor, clothes and weapons.[275] To create a gem-like quality, the Zavattari overlaid gold leaf with red and green glazes. An example can be seen in the patterned wall hangings of the architectural backgrounds, where floral and cross-shaped patterns were created with colored glazes over gold leaf (figs. 46-47).[276] Elsewhere, the tin-leaf spears are embellished with red glaze to look like silk ribbons (fig. 48). To render a damask vestment, tin leaf would be gilded with silver or gold and laid directly over the plaster or on top of a red layer of paint (fig. 49). Teodelinda's gowns were made in such a fashion and were meant to appear as if entirely made of gilded brocades, although this effect is now almost entirely lost.[277]

In decorating the Teodelinda Chapel the Zavattari workshop did more than illustrate the events of her life on the walls of the chapel. What they accomplished through their craft was to honor her funerary chapel. The artists created a painted environment that was approximate to a goldsmith's objects, inlaid with colorful gems and rich in material variety. The Teodelinda Chapel crowned the efforts carried out in the Basilica that had, over the course of the fourteenth century, renewed its material fabric in order to strengthen its spiritual capital.

In fact, the chapel painted by the Zavattari was only one of several artistic projects undertaken in the fifteenth century that sought to invoke Teodelinda's intercession. Writing in 1767, Maurizio Campini described a fifteenth-century processional cross that, like the tympanum and the chapel's arch, visually connected Teodelinda to Saint John.[278] According to Campini, the

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[274] Lucchini, Lanterna, and Seccaroni, "Il restauro della cappella di Teodelinda," 213; Danti, "Le storie di Teodelinda degli Zavattari nel Duomo di Monza," 254. Throughout the chapel there are cases in which the gold leaf and oil are followed by a second and thinner layer of oil and another leaf of gold to either intensify the visual effects, patch empty spots or add material solidity. In all, the many coats give the metal leaf depth and a rich tonality. Danti, "Le storie di Teodelinda degli Zavattari nel Duomo di Monza," 254-255.
[275] Ibid.
[276] Ibid.
[277] Ibid.
[278] Campini, *Descrizione dell'insigne real Basilica,* ff. 272-273.

cross showed the life of Teodelinda on one side and the life of the Baptist on the other. Although

the cross no longer exists, the central medallion was described by Campini and reproduced in a

frontispiece engraving for Anton Francesco Frisi's *Memorie storiche* (fig. 50).[279] It showed the

Enthroned Madonna with Teodelinda prostrate at her feet. The circumference of the circle was

inscribed with a variant of the phrase frequently used in the Basilica to describe its foundation:

"Of the gifts offered by Queen Theodelinda to Christ and Saint John the Baptist in her Basilica

built in Monza. Her death was in 627."[280] Campini records a second inscription located further

down the cross naming the goldsmith and giving the date of production. This second inscription

reads: "This work was made by Bertoldus on the 21st day of June 1487."[281] Finally Campini

notes that the artist's signature was followed by an exhortation: "May Teodelinda live for

eternity."[282]

What is most significant about this final pairing of Bertoldus and Teodelinda's names is

that the authorial claim supports the wish for Teodelinda's eternal life, as if the making of this

cross and its representation of the queen actively participated in making her live on "in eternum."

Bertoldus' artistic work is consciously proposed as a medium for sustaining Teodelinda's life

and for animating her relationship with the Baptist. Bertoldus' cross exemplifies that artistic

work in the fifteenth century, like the Zavattari's paintings, was intended to make Teodelinda

present *in eternum* as an intercessory force. An analysis of the Zavattari's techniques for painting

the Teodelinda Chapel will demonstrate how the manipulation of relics, treasures, and rituals

succeeded in making present Teodelinda's history and person. The next chapter considers the

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[279] Frisi, *Memorie Storiche di Monza e la sua Corte,* tomo II, frontispiece.
[280] De donis offert Theodelinda Regina Christo et Sancto Johanni Baptiste in Baseleca suam condit in Modoetia. Obitus eius fuit DCXXVII. In Campini, ff. 272-273. Translation my own.
[281] Hoc opus fecit Bertoldus a dì 21 Junii 1487. Translation my own.
[282] Theodelinda vivat in Eternum. Translation my own.

mechanics of this kind of artistic making, which drew from its surroundings in order to activate the past in the present.

Chapter Three.

The Zavattari Workshop and the Teodelinda Chapel

Visitors who walk down the left side-aisle of Monza's Basilica will arrive at an archway

painted with the image of Saint John the Baptist, Teodelinda, Agilulf and their court. Through

this arch, the underside of which is painted with warrior-saints, is the Teodelinda Chapel (figs.

51-52). Once inside the chapel, one stands below a vault painted with the figures of the

Evangelists at center and, at the far end, Saints Vincent, Stephen and Lawrence (figs. 53-57).[283]

Turning towards the entrance, and still looking towards the vault, one encounters the figure of

Saint Anastasius seated between two blessed figures (fig. 58). Below this group, on the chapel's

counter-façade, four Church Fathers appear (fig. 59).[284] Smaller details of the chapel come into

focus as one's vision adjusts to the glittering gold backgrounds: half-bust figures of prophets in

cloud-like frames, scrolls of text, music-playing angels, and, on the pilasters, full-length grisaille

prophets in painted niches (figs. 60-62). Shifting the gaze to the side walls, one encounters the

story of Teodelinda's life painted in a spiraling sequence along the length of five registers.

Although these distinct architectural areas are interconnected in the physical experience

of the Teodelinda Chapel, scholarship on the chapel makes sharp divisions between parts. The

decorations of the archway, vault and walls have generally been studied as separate units,

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[283] Often, they are grouped together as early Christian deacon martyr saints.

[284] It is not entirely clear which Anastasius is here represented or who the two adjacent figures are meant to be.
Antastasius has an inscription which names him whereas the others only have partial inscriptions that from left to
right read, "Qui veni[s…] d[…] erit tibi benediction[m…]," and "]avabit in vino/]ola samguine (sic) uve."
Convincingly, Marco Petoletti has argued that this is Anastasius the Persian whose anniversary falls on January 22nd
like that of Saint Vincent and Teodelinda. This is likely the reason for his inclusion. The two figures, Petoletti
suggests, are the two companions that Anastasius had leading into his martyrdom, to which the inscriptions allude.
See Petoletti, "Le iscrizioni dipinte," in *Atlante Iconografico,* 90-91.

presumably to avoid the challenges posed by apparent authorial, stylistic and thematic incongruences.[285] In photographic reproduction, each section of the chapel is printed alone as if it were an autonomous flat surface or a paper cutout (fig. 63).[286] Even the guided tour of the chapel, which is not limited by the constraints of two-dimensional print reproduction, largely ignores everything but the story of Teodelinda, focusing the visitor's attention on the narrative rather than on the chapel as a painted space.[287]

There is evidence, however, that the painters and their advisors not only thought about the site in three dimensions but also responded to the complex authorship of its decorations. The inscriptions encountered to the immediate right of the entrance, just above eye level, provide evidence in support of the latter point (fig. 64-65).[288] Written in gothic script over the painted backdrop of the crenellated city wall, the four lines of text name the Zavattari workshop as makers of the wall paintings. The text, likely the product of a collaboration between the Zavattari and a clerical advisor, reads:

> Suspice qui transis ut vivos corpore vult(us)/peneque spirantes et signa simillima verbis/de Zavatarijs hanc ornavere capellam/preter in excelso convexe picta triune.

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[285] For a focused discussion of the vault, see Natale, "La cappella di Teodolinda: pitture della volta e dell'arcone," 182-188. The fact that the artists who made the vault and the entry arch are different from those who painted the side walls has only widened the divide between the studies dedicated to different parts of the chapel. In the current scholarship, the vault is treated separately from the Teodelinda cycle, which in turn is approached as an isolated series of vignettes.

[286] The most recent example of a "paper cut-out" division and reproduction of the chapel is Cassanelli, ed., *Atlante iconografico*.

[287] Dissecting the paintings according to subject, author, date and location is problematic for understanding a painted space. It is not that these categories are negligible: that there are perceivable differences in artists, chronology, and architectural areas is fundamental and productive for understanding the dynamic construction and experience of the Teodelinda Chapel. The issue is that these differences are often used to define an autonomous object of study at the expense of all other elements. To consider the making of the chapel walls without the vault is equivalent to thinking that an architect might build a house without taking the roof into account.

[288] Delmoro and Lucchini, "'De Zavattarijs Hanc Ornavere Capellam,'" 71–87. See in particular page 76 note 17 for the possible iconographers involved in Monza's chapel and its inscriptions, and page 80 for the technical study of the *intonaco* which determined that the signature was made contemporaneously with the rest of scene 32.

Look, you who pass by, how the faces look alive and almost breathe, and how the gestures correspond in every way to the words. This chapel was decorated by the Zavattari except the paintings of the convex vault above.[289]

The first two lines of the inscription present a series of rhetorical commonplaces typically used to praise paintings, and will be discussed more fully later in this chapter.[290] The final line diverges from these commonplaces. It openly differentiates the authorship of the paintings on the wall from those on the vault. The inscription acknowledges that the Zavattari worked within a chapel that was already painted, in part, and that the decoration of the chapel involved at least two workshops. According to the common reading of the inscription, the final line expresses a negative value judgement on the style and execution of the vault. It is taken to indicate that the Zavattari did not want responsibility for this portion of the decorations.[291] This explanation is plausible and does not need to be overturned, but the inscription's heuristic significance does not end here. The fact that the Zavattari, within the limits of four lines of text, felt it necessary to have their contribution to the chapel's decoration qualified with reference to the vault is significant and requires careful attention.

Together, the last two verses claim authorship both by naming the artists with the phrase, "this chapel was decorated by the Zavattari," and by defining the limits of the claim with the phrase, "except the paintings of the convex vault above." Rather than isolating the Zavattari's paintings from the other paintings of the chapel, the inscription evokes the complex and varied

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[289] Translation my own. The inscription will be more fully discussed at the end of this chapter.

[290] On the inscription, see Antonio Cadei, "Gli Zavattari nella civiltà pittorica padana del primo Quattrocento," in *Il Polittico Degli Zavattari in Castel Sant'Angelo*, 17-21; Fabrizio Lollini, "'…Et Signa Simillima Verbis…': Alcune considerazioni sulle epigrafi dipinte nella cappella di Teodelinda (e sul contratto del 1445)," in *Monza: La cappella di Teodelinda nel Duomo,* 122-129; Petoletti, "Le iscrizioni dipinte," 82-91; Delmoro and Lucchini, "'De Zavattarijs hanc ornavere capellam,'" 71-87. As noted by Delmoro, the verses are close to Virgil (Aeneade 4.38): "Excudent alii spirantia mollius aera/ (credo equidem), vivos ducent de marmore vultus," as well as Petrarch's evocation of his predecessor (De otio religioso, 2): "Vivent in pario lapide imagines defunctorum secundum illud principis poete: 'Vivos ducent de marmore vultus,'" in Ibid, 73.

[291] Alternatively, the inscription is taken as proof that the immediate reception of the Teodelinda Chapel favored the Zavattari's style above the earlier paintings.

space in which they are located. It suggests that the Zavattari painted portions of a chapel with interest in and awareness of the areas decorated by others, registering their consciousness of working dialogically within an existing set of conditions.

This chapter will consider how the Zavattari constructed their paintings in dialog with the existing material and spiritual wealth of the Basilica. It will examine how their artistic work functions, in part, to connect and hold together the different threads that make the chapel a particularly sacred space within the Basilica. Beginning with the hypothesis that the locus of making both supports and generates artistic creation, I will seek to answer two related questions for the Teodelinda Chapel: first, how do the paintings interact with the functions of the place within which they are made, and second, what pre-existing materials and immaterial conditions constituted the realm of possibilities from which the artists worked?[292] By focusing on how the paintings connect objects, images and activities to create sacred space I aim to open a view to the mosaic of temporalities, authors and functions that mobilized the chapel's making and experience in the fifteenth century.

The Zavattari's paintings are the only known full pictorial narrative cycle of the life of Teodelinda. As a result of their unique status, the Zavattari's figural images have often been reduced to mere illustrations to accompany the textual sources, Paul the Deacon and Bonincontro Morigia. Their illustrative potential was extracted as early as the eighteenth century, as shown by Fossati's album of drawings. The most recent monograph publications show that the isolation of the narrative continues to this day.[293] To move beyond the limitations of strictly iconographic or formal readings, one must consider how artists, their collaborators and advisors created paintings from a web of activities, traditions, and objects that shape and give meaning to a place. The

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[292] The workshop's artistic treasury will be discussed in Chapter Four.
[293] See Introduction for a discussion of Fossati and his legacy.

challenge is to reassess how we understand narrative painting, not as a separable category, but within a holistic view of the chapel.

The layout of Teodelinda's life within the chapel indicates that the story and its component parts matter not only for what the story tells us, but also for how it is experienced in space. The legend begins in the first register, which is composed of two lunettes, high above the viewer, in a place that is difficult to view (figs. 66-67). These first and most distant scenes are the precursors to Teodelinda's story. In the lunettes, one sees the series of scenes in which King Authari's messengers, having received their orders, travel to find a consort for the king. In the first scene, the messengers appear at the court of Childebert I (496-558), King of the Franks, to be told that Childebert had already promised his sister, Ingarde, in marriage. The following scenes, in the second register, take place at the court of Garibald I of Bavaria (540-593), Teodelinda's father (fig. 68). The messengers are successful and Garibald promises Teodelinda's hand in marriage to Authari. Teodelinda, who was then a princess residing in a faraway Bavaria and who was not yet the protagonist of her own story, is difficult to make out in these initial images. As the sequence of events progresses, and the action comes closer to the viewer as it is depicted lower on the walls, the viewer is drawn into the life of the queen. In the second register, Teodelinda meets Authari, in the third register she leaves her native land (amid the battles between the Bavarians and the Franks) and marries in Italy to become queen of the Longobards (figs. 69-71). By patiently moving around the circumference of the chapel and straining the eyes to the farthest and darkest corners, the viewer is engaged in the progression of Teodelinda's life, and witness her become the well-known Longobard queen and founder of the Basilica in the fourth and fifth registers.

As visitors turn and move within the chapel, so does the story. There are, in fact, visual prompts to indicate the order of movement. For instance, there are ceremonial scenes in which figures exchange objects like cups and rings. These moments record the movement of an object from one person to the next and are generally tied to a momentous event, such as a wedding (figs. 72-73). Painted to straddle the corners of the chapel, so that the action unfolds across adjoining walls, the movement of things between people is mirrored by the viewer's own movement, in gaze or body, from one wall to the next (figs. 76-77). Not only are these scenes of pivotal narrative significance, but they also occur at pivotal points within the architecture of the chapel.[294]

The procession is another pictorial technique repeatedly used by the Zavattari to convey narrative progression along with physical movement (figs. 78-81). The consecutive stages of the nuptial ceremonies depicted in the chapel are linked by courtly processions that usher the regents from one location to the next: from the fields of Verona to the interior of royal palaces. The processional movement of figures serves to make a pictorial transition between one scene and the next. Yet the painted processions are more than a narrative device cuing the visitor to move in space and follow the images across the walls.[295] They also conjure the ritual processions that took place in the chapel, overlaying the subject of the paintings and the subject of liturgical activities performed in the chapel. For instance, the scene representing Authari's death serves to remind the visitor of something beyond the end of Authari's life. It is depicted in a manner that echoes the contemporary ritual celebrating the Office of the Dead (a moment within the liturgical

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[294] For a compelling argument of how chambers and their representations could operate between narrative, performance and experience, see Laura Weigert, "Chambres D'amour: Tapestries of Love and the Texturing of Space," *Oxford Art Journal* 31, 3 (2008): 317-336.

[295] As Anne Dunlop notes, the "dynamic relation between the viewer and the work," was in part due to the perceived permeability of the body through vision. See Dunlop, *Painted Palaces*, 121.

hours) and includes the anointing of the body with holy water and the singing of the rite amongst candles and gold processional crosses (fig. 82). One might recall here the fifteenth-century descriptions in Monza's *Obituraio,* discussed in Chapter One, that list gold processional crosses and candels for funerary rites along with the singing of the Office of the Dead.[296]

By engaging with Teodelinda's life in images, the viewer would gradually be presented with different aspects of the queen's identity. For instance, when Teodelinda receives the right to choose her new husband from the Diet of the Longobards (scene 24), she is represented seated frontally on a throne, her robe generously extending from her waist in folds that accentuate her widely bent knees. With one hand she presents the letter with her choice of spouse—Agilulf—to a member of the court as she raises the other hand, palm open, to shoulder height. Teodelinda's pose is that of a regent, but it is also a posture adopted from the iconography for the figure of Justice, for example, as seen in Jacobello del Fiore's triptych representing Justice and Saints Felix and Fortunus (1436). The Zavattari adapt the iconographic type for Justice by substituting the attributes of a sword and scale with a letter and open hand (figs. 83-84). This scene presents the viewer with a new facet of Teodelinda's person. If she is portrayed first as a beautiful princess, then, as queen by virtue of a fortuitous marriage, now, in the second register from the ground, she is presented far more directly to the viewer as a powerful ruler whose exercise of judgement is virtuous and just.

The final register of images, those at the immediate eye-level of the viewer, are also the most relevant to the site. These images show the foundation and endowment of the Basilica and the translation of the queen's body into the church following her death. Teodelinda, "face to face" with the viewer, becomes not only the just ruler of her people, but also the saint-like figure

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[296] On the use of gold processional crosses in San Giovanni as recorded by the *Obituario*, see Mambretti, "L'Obituario e la storia di Monza e della sua chiesa," 131-134.

who was led by God to establish in Monza the Basilica dedicated to the Baptist. In other words, as the queen emerges, through her portrayal, into close proximity with her local audience, she takes on a highly localized aspect, as the holy founder of the Basilica.

Even if the chronological sequence of Teodelinda's life had determined the organization of the narrative along the chapel walls, the effect of such a narrative-spatial disposition needs to be explored within the larger question of how monumental narratives work. The first consideration must be that such narratives are not encountered as lines of text on a page. They are rather experienced within the spaces they decorate and within the bodies that move through and coordinate their experience of pictures and their space. Embodied perception is elicited on many levels. The viewer has to move around the chapel to see the full sequence of events, some of which can only be discerned with great difficulty. When considered within its holistic context, the pictorial narrative of the Teodelinda Chapel yields more than a story-line that would, afterall, have been familiar as a legend to most visitors.[297] By moving, physically and imaginatively, through the painted story of Teodelinda's life, the viewer would have been brought into a more intimate knowledge of the queen. The Zavattari's paintings would not have only told of her life, but also made her visually, physically and spiritually closer to the beholder.

In achieving this aim, the painters and their advisors had recourse to materials housed in the Basilica itself. The Basilica's treasures, for instance, are a significant source for the Zavattari's paintings. The objects that made up the treasury were of great importance to the Basilica for many reasons. Most significantly, for the matter at hand, they provided the impetus and material model for the building and the decoration of the chapel. Close attention to the content and surface quality of the Zavattari's decorations will reveal how the Basilica's store of

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[297] Afterall, we must keep in mind that most visitors to the chapel would have already known the story of Teodelinda.

treasures were fundamental to the inventive process, involving the artists and their advisors, that brought the chapel into being as a sort of treasury.

From surviving objects and inventories, we know that the treasury at Monza included relics and reliquaries, objects of different types and made of a variety of precious materials— metal, gems, and ivory. The treasury, as indicated in the inventories discussed in Chapters One and Two, comprised votive objects (like crowns and sacred vessels), liturgical furnishing, textiles, and gems, among other things.[298] The heterogeneity of Monza's treasure is typical of medieval church treasuries in general. Here as elsewhere, objects of diverse provenience entered the collection for different reasons over time.[299] The word treasury, furthermore, did not always indicate one specific location in the church; rather, as the Latin term *thesaurus* implies, the treasury could mean both the collection of objects and the place that houses them.[300] The core of Monza's treasure, for instance, was kept in a few locations: the sacristy (probably in coffers), and in the high altar.[301] Apart from feasts and other rare occasions when the objects were publicly displayed, the treasure was not visible to visitors. The objects were, however, named and described in the chronicles of Monza (i.e., Paul the Deacon and Bonincontro Morigia). As will be discussed below, they were also visually represented in several places in the Basilica. Through these representations, the Basilica's foundation and its material history constituted by

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[298] See Chapters One and Two for a detailed analysis of the inventories and make-up of the Monza treasure. Monza's collection had been accumulated over time as objects were gifted by various regents over the centuries.

[299] On church treasuries, see the essays collected in Jean-Pierre Caillet and Pierre Bazin, eds., *Les Trésors de sanctuaires, de l'Antiquité à l'époque romane* (Paris: Université de Paris X-Nanterre, 1996); Lucas Burkart, Philippe Cordez, Pierre Alain Mariaux and Yann Potin, eds., *Le trésor au Moyen Âge: Discours, pratiques et objets* (Florence: SISMEL, 2010); Cordez, *Schatz, Gedächtnis, Wunder. Die Objekte der Kirchen im Mittelalter* (Regensburg: Schnell & Schneider, 2015).

[300] Anita Guerreau-Jalabert and Bruno Bon, "Le trésor au moyen âge étude lexicale," in *Le trésor au Moyen Âge: Discours, pratiques et objets*, 14.

[301] At least in part, relics were stored with the treasure until Carlo Borromeo requested that they be moved to more appropriate locations in 1566. Archivio Storico Diocesano di Milano, sezione 10, Pieve di Monza, vol. 18, 22. For the citation, see Delmoro, "La memoria di Teodelinda," 979, n.5.

its treasury were woven together in what Amy Remensnyder has termed, "imaginative memory."[302]

Monza's treasure was not always a fixed or secure presence in the Basilica. When economic capital was needed, it was dispersed and pawned; whereas during periods of political turmoil, it was hidden or stolen. Because of its physical precariousness, other ways to display and represent the treasure were used. Not only did the treasure's presence in the Basilica need to be asserted, especially when the treasure was not physically visible, but its spiritual meaning for the community had to be articulated, effectively and repeatedly. It was necessary that the treasure remain notionally, if not physically, present in the Basilica, because it was through the treasure that the church secured and substantiated its links to holy people. Via the objects it contained, the treasury made good the claims to the sacred history of the place.[303]

The rapport of the treasury objects with their donors was also critical to the cultivation of a sacred place. Indeed, a treasury was not just a storage of things, it was also a repository containing the material *evidentia* of relationships. According to Jennifer Kingsley, treasury objects "are sites of communication and presence," or "mediating membranes," whereas for Cynthia Hahn the treasury is an essentially dialogic or "conversable space," where narratives are generated from the relationships between the objects, people and location."[304]

Monza's relic ampullae are good examples of treasury objects that give evidence of relationships. They were significant not only because they contained the relics of saints, but also

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[302] Remensnyder, "Legendary Treasure at Conques," 885. The phenomenon is not unique to Monza. For the Abbey of Conques, Remensnyder has shown how two of its reliquaries were incorporated into the text of the foundation legend, so that "from treasure, these shrines became legendary treasure, rich objects that themselves told this story." (885).

[303] On the narrative potential of treasuries, see Hahn, *Strange Beauty,* 162.

[304] Kingsley, "Picturing the Treasury," 28; Hahn, *Strange Beauty,* 162. Hahn notes that, "we must imagine an ecclesiastical figure, the *custos sacrarii*, appointed to care for the treasury, the keeper of the keys but also the keeper of stories," in Ibid, 163.

because they were gifts from Gregory the Great. On these latter grounds they were durable witnesses to the privilege granted by Gregory to the Basilica. Likewise, the objects gifted by Teodelinda to the Basilica were meaningful beyond their monetary value, since they were markers of the queen's foundation and endowment. The collection of treasury objects thus presented the history of the Basilica as a sacred site that had been chosen and enriched by holy people.

Since access to the treasury objects was generally limited, the function of the treasury as the storehouse of sacred presence and history had to be extended beyond the physical treasure. Other spaces in the Basilica and other works of art therefore took on the function of the treasury, such as the entrance tympanum (c.1320), the Teodelinda Chapel, and the organ doors (c. 1500) (fig. 85-87). In the tympanum relief, Teodelinda is depicted presenting Saint John with a votive crown and cross. Other treasures (chalices, crosses, the hen and chicks) are sculpted to the right of the Baptist, while three votive crowns and crosses are represented in the far-left corner. In the Teodelinda Chapel, the treasures are depicted in the donation scene in the bottom register, while the organ doors are decorated with a representation of the 1345 ostentation of the treasure on the high altar. These images of the treasures substituted for the periodic performative ostentation of the objects, but unlike the actual ostentations, they had the advantage of being perpetually on view.

The most extensive representation of Monza's treasure is to be found on the walls of the Teodelinda Chapel. In fifth and lowermost register, in the sequence that shows the construction of San Giovanni, the Zavattari painted a series of scenes in which the treasures feauture prominently, including the making of liturgical vessels, the donation of treasures, the death of Agilulf, Gregory the Great's gift of relics, and Teodelinda's death (figs. 88-92). What the

depicted events have in common is that they all reference things that belong to the treasure of San Giovanni, those relics and objects donated by Gregory the Great and Teodelinda (sapphire glass, the hen and chicks, and votive crowns and crosses), as well as the bodies of Agilulf and Teodelinda. Some of these treasures, such as the body of Teodelinda, were present in the chapel itself, while others were safeguarded in the adjacent sacristy.

The Basilica's treasure is furthermore evoked in the chapel by means of the ornamental background. The extraordinary rich background is the result of an imaginative reuse and manipulation of patterns and material derived from the treasures. The primary mode by which the painters approximated the appearance of a treasury object in the chapel as a whole, was their application of gilt *pastiglia* to the surface of all the walls (fig. 93). The gilt relief pattern is extensive and dominates the sensorial experience of the space. The gold itself is so striking in its shine and materiality that entering the Teodelinda Chapel is like entering a reliquary turned inside out. The background surface of each scene is built up in gilt *pastiglia* to imitate a meshwork metal wall hanging. The fictive mesh descends in circular hoops, each of which is connected to the surrounding circles by four bands. Inside each loop is a flower, also in raised *pastiglia*. The gilding takes the place of atmospheric background for each scene of Teodelinda's life. Within each scene it frames the architecture, land and cityscapes, all of which are represented in color. The overall effect is that of an elaborate goldwork coffer displaying the life of the queen while at the same time encasing the visitor's body.

Beyond the generic effect of a treasury object produced by the gilded *pastiglia*, the chapel's decorations make specific references to treasures located within the Basilica. An example of an object whose appearance is evoked in the decoration of the Teodelinda Chapel is Borgino dal Pozzo's antependium (c. 1360), which was located on the front of the high altar, adjacent to the

Teodelinda Chapel. In Borgino's antependium the background of each scene from the life of Saint John the Baptist is filled with a raised pattern of gilt-silver dots (fig. 94). In the chapel, the pattern of colorful scenes with gilt relief background is repeated in the life of the queen. However, the echo of the antependium's ornamental idiom in the chapel decorations does not end with the narrative scenes. The framework of the chapel (including the standing prophets at its entrance) and its enamel-like lacquered colors reproduce the effect of Borgino's antependium, where each scene from John's life is framed by colorful geometrical patterns in enamel, and studded with gems of figures of prophets and saints. Another possible inspiration for the chapel's decorative framework can be found in a second treasure object: the tooth reliquary for Saint John the Baptist (figs. 95-97). In the reliquary, gold filigree creates a net of interlocking shapes, including loops bound together at four points, in a configuration that is comparable to the gilded meshwork of the Zavattari's wall pattern. Where the reliquary's gold filigree structures are the setting for gems, the chapel's *pastiglia* gilt mesh sets off the colorful paintings, as if they were gems.

Beyond the role it plays in providing the backdrop for the figures and scenes from Teodelinda's life, gilded *pastiglia* patterns also appear as wall decoration within the fictive architecture of individual scenes. In the room that provides the setting for the ball scene, for instance (scene 21, fig. 98), the wall hanging is made with gilt *pastiglia* in the form of flowers within star shapes, alternating with crosses.[305] Although this pattern is common across media (metalwork, manuscript illumination and wall paintings), the Zavattari's material rendering of it

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[305] The pattern is drawn from a stock repertoire of geometric shapes shared across a range of media from textiles and goldsmith objects to wall painting and miniatures. For instance, the quatrefoil and star pattern is present as punchwork in the background gilding of a sixteenth-century wall painting of the Madonna and Child in Monza's Santuario della Madonna delle Grazie, or as a gilded background to the Incoronation of the Virgin wall painting in the Chiaravalle abbey, and as wall hangings in the drawings in the Palatino 556 manuscript. The list of related examples is here far from exhaustive. Of these common patterns, the Zavattari's architectural interiors show five variations. The five patterns can be defined as: cross with diamond and circle; quatrefoil with cross; star, quatrefoil and cross with circle; cross with diamond and circle and quatrefoil; square, cross with circle, diamond with circle.

in gilt *pastiglia* with colored glazes specifically recalls the techniques of goldsmiths.[306] Its use in the context of the Teodelinda Chapel, moreover, elicits comparisons with the goldwork objects that filled the Basilica's treasury.

While there is reason to suggest that the repertoire of relief gold patterns belongs to an established and desired characteristic of Quattrocento North Italian painting, its particular context in the Teodelinda Chapel demands further attention. The best example of the use of this pattern among the objects in Monza's treasure, is on the base of the fourteenth-century statuette of Saint John the Baptist (fig. 99). The base of the statuette is decorated with raised silver threads which outline the shapes of glazed stars and crosses, similar to those decorating the wall hanging in the banquet scene in the life of Teodelinda.

Another comparison for the gilded *pastiglia* mesh of the chapel as a whole, and the gilt and lacquered interiors of the rooms with individual scenes presenting the queen's life within the chapel is the so-called Iron Crown. Although the crown is not historically related to Teodelinda's donation, the Zavattari's paintings include it in the scene depicting her donation witnessing the fact that, in the fifteenth century, the crown (like most of the treasure) was associated primarily with Teodelinda. The diadem's cross-shaped gold florets, inlaid blue and purple gems, and enamel patterns in green, blue and white (fig. 100) are repeated, in the chapel's decoration, in a number of places.[307] For instance, the gold florets of the crown reappear in the flowers of the pastiglia wall

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[306] On the roots of *pastiglia* and gilding and its demand by patrons, see Vincenzo Gheroldi, "Materiali e ricezioni. Decorazioni murali milanesi del primo Quattrocento," in *Mirabilia Vicomercati. Itinerario in un patrimonio d'arte: il Medioevo*, ed. G.A. Vergani (Venice: Marsilio, 1994), 403-404.

[307] On the Iron Crown, see Graziella Buccellati ed., *La Corona Ferrea nell'Europa degli imperi*, vol.1-2. For an overview of the dating and function of the objects, see Victor H. Elbern, "Die 'Eiserne Krone' von Monza Gegenstand und Technik," in *La Corona Ferrea nell'Europa degli imperi* vol. 2, 3-14. Elbern dates the crown to the early Carolingian period (perhaps a gift from Beregarius I) and confirms its function as a votive crown. The crown became associated with the triple coronation of the Holy Roman Emperor in the thirteenth century, only at a later point was it also considered a reliquary for the Holy Nail, gifted by Constantine to Gregory and then to Teodelinda, and a cult developed around mid-sixteenth century.

decoration, whereas the enamel jewels are imitated in color and material effect through the lacquered patterns of the fictive wall hangings (fig. 101). In the pictorial breaking down and reuse of the crown's patterns and materials, the Zavattari seem to have made their decorations out of the material belonging of the queen.

There are other examples of fifteenth-century chapels where treasury objects are reworked into a painted fiction. On the *piano nobile* of the Medici family Palace on Via Larga in Florence is a small chapel which was painted on three walls with the procession of the Magi by Benozzo Gozzoli in 1459 (figs. 102-105).[308] The Chapel of the Magi offers a fruitful comparison to the Teodelinda Chapel when considering how the re-use and representation of treasury objects in painting is capable of linking the present with a more sacred past.[309] The Chapel of the Magi is furthermore relevant to the present discussion as it helps to see how pictorial invention in the fifteenth century was grounded in the materials of a site.

This chapel was built adjacent to the so-called *stanzino* of Piero di Cosimo de Medici, a room where treasures and curious objects were collected and stored.[310] The inventories for the objects that first belonged to Piero di Cosimo (1456) and then to Lorenzo de Medici (1492)

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[308] Benozzo's paintings, although in the family chapel, were in a decidedly more public space than the individual chambers, and guests were there received and entertained. In 1459, before the room was painted, Pope Pius II, Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatesta and Galeazzo Maria Sforza met in the Medici palace and were brought to the chapel. See Sergio Raveggi, "Da Galeazzo Maria Sforza ad Alexandre Dumas: L'immagine del palazzo nei testi scritti," in *Il Palazzo Medici Riccardi di Firenze*, ed. Giovanni Cherubini and Giovanni Fanelli (Florence: Giunti, 1990), 262. Although Lorenzo did show illustrious visitors his treasures, such as in 1480 when Giovanni of Aragon visited, he was given a tour of the collection. See Stapleford, *Lorenzo de' Medici at Home,* 8.

[309] On Palazzo Medici Riccardi and Benozzo's chapel, see Giovanni Cherubini, Giovanni Fanelli, and Cristina Acidini Luchinat, *Il Palazzo Medici Riccardi di Firenze* (Florence: Giunti, 1990); Franco Cardini, *La cavalcata d'Oriente. I Magi di Benozzo a Palazzo Medici* (Rome: Tomo, 1991); Cristina Acidini Luchinat, *Benozzo Gozzoli: La Cappella dei Magi* (Milan: Electa, 1993).

[310] The inventories are transcribed in Marco Spallanzani, *Inventari Medicei 1417-1465: Giovanni di Bicci, Cosimo e Lorenzo di Giovanni, Piero di Cosimo* (Florence: Studio per Edizioni Scelte, 1996); Mediceo Avanti Principato Filza CLXII and MaP Filza CLXV, Folio 47v, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, transcribed in Marco Spallanzani and Giovanna Gaeta Bertelà, *Libro d'inventario dei beni di Lorenzo il Magnifico* (Florence: Studio per Edizioni Scelte, 1992). See also Richard Stapleford, *Lorenzo de' Medici at Home: The Inventory of the Palazzo Medici in 1492* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013).

include numerous vases, jewels, cameos and stones among other riches.[311] A close look at

Benozzo's frescoes reveals numerous citations and adaptations of the Medici treasures. From the

rendering of the lavishly painted horse bridles to the jewelry, vessels and clothing there is a

consistent recall—both explicit and implicit—to the treasury of objects and heraldic devices.

Piero's portrait is accompanied, for example, by his full device—diamond ring, motto *SEMPER*,

and three feathers—woven in gold in the bridle of his horse (fig. 106-108).[312] This and other

ornate gilt bridles (fig. 109) recall descriptions of objects in the palace inventory:

> A decorative bridle set and a [horse's] breast piece and a rump cover, all embroidered in
> silver, and a saddle cover with a frieze of gold around, and a headpiece for a horse,
> embroidered in the same fashion, that is, in square pattern, and other pieces of silver and
> also plaques, and we estimate all the silver at about 3 libbre.[313]

Benozzo's pictorial fiction drew from and was grounded in the Medici's material and symbolic

treasure. This is furthermore evident in the ornate painted costumes, which seamlessly integrate

into their fabric the possessions from Piero's adjacent room. For example, the descriptions of

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[311] Mediceo Avanti Principato Filza CLXII and MaP Filza CLXV (1512 copy of lost 1492), Archivio di Stato di Firenze. According to Cristina Acidini Luchinat, the gems in particular became a point of reference for Florentine artists who either literally represented a specific gem or whose representations drew from their more general formal aspects. Acidini Luchinat, ed., *Tesori Dalle Collezioni Medicee* (Florence: Octavo, 1997), 14. "Artisti fiorentini più prossimi alla cerchia medicea che, ammessi alla contemplazione delle gemme del Tesoro, ne mutuarono suggerimenti iconografici, soluzioni compositive, indicazioni stilistiche riconoscibili in pitture e sculture del Quattrocento e del primo Cinquecento. Desunzioni letterali, o anche solo echi e riverberi dal mondo formale delle gemme, servivano a progagare all'esterno, oltre i muri degli stanzini private per loro natura protetti e accessibili a pochi, la fama e l'apprezzamento del Tesoro mediceo." Within the walls of the Medici palace, scholars have noted how select gems were recast by Maso di Bartolomeo in 1452 as marble medallions for the palace courtyard (fig. 107-108). See Mariarita Casarosa Guadagni, "Le gemme dei Medici nel Quattrocento e nel Cinquecento," in *Tesori dalle Collezioni Medicee*, 73-74. For instance, one of the roundels in the courtyard shows the sardonyx cameo representing Icarus and Dedaelus (c. 27 BCE- 14 CE), which belonged to Lorenzo de' Medici, now in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli. However, that Benozzo's paintings also are related to the treasures has not been the subject of sustained study.

[312] Although at this point, the Medici coat of arms were shared among multiple members of the family. The insignia is represented in full for the first time in the Medici-Tornabuoni *desco da Parto* in the Metropolitan Museum, see catalog entry in Andrea Bayer and Sarah Cartwright, *Art and Love in Renaissance Italy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 154.

[313] "Una falsiredine e uno pettorale e una groppiera, tutte richamate d'ariento et una coperta da sella con fregio d'oro intorno e una testiera da chavallo, richamate di quello medesimo, cioè quadri e atro pezuoli d'ariento e piastre, stimiano tutto d'ariento sodo, libber iii incircha." Mediceo Avanti Principato Filza CLXII and MaP Filza CLXV, Folio 47v, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, transcribed in Spallanzani and Gaeta Bertelà, *Libro d'inventario dei beni di Lorenzo il Magnifico*, 92. A translation of the inventory is provided by Stapleford, *Lorenzo de' Medici at Home*, 155.

head brooches from Piero's inventory (e.g., "a head brooch with three pearls and a pierced

balas")[314] could be used to describe the numerous jeweled brooches on the foreheads of the

elegant pages (figs. 110-111). Likewise, the gold and jeweled belts of the Magi (figs. 112-113)

or the gilt damasque belts of the entourage recall objects that once belonged to the Medici ("A

belt of silver damascene brocade, buckle and tips in whitened silver…").[315] Attention is

furthermore directed towards these objects by the figures' poses, such as the page on foot in front

of Caspar who slips his thumb under his belt, as if to better exhibit its delicate blue velvet and

gilt floral pattern to the viewer (fig. 114).

In addition to the paintings, the stone floors of the Magi chapel reference the abundance

of *pietre dure* stored in Piero's *stanzino* (fig. 115-116).[316] From the descriptions of vessels in the

inventory, we know of a variety of objects made from different colored stones.[317] Examples of

this diversity include: "a large cup made of agate and sardonyx with handles…an agate and

sardonyx cup decorated in gilt silver…a cup of jasper and amethyst with a cover, decorated in

gold, on the base 12 rubies, 18 pearls, and on the cover 18 rubies, 18 pearls."[318] The document

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[314] "Una brochetta da testa con 3 perle et un balassico forato." Mediceo Avanti Principato, Filza CLXIII, ff. 60-68 Archivio di Stato di Firenze, f. 61v. in Spallanzani, *Inventari Medicei 1417-1465*, 139. Translation my own.

[315] "Una cintola di dom.o brochato ariento, fibia e puntale d'ariento biancho, peso lib. una." Ibid, fol. 28r. Translation by Stapleford, *Lorenzo de' Medici at Home: The Inventory of the Palazzo Medici in 1492,* 113. Original transcribed in Spallanzani and Gaeta Bertelà, *Libro d'inventario dei beni di Lorenzo il Magnifico*, 51. Benozzo Gozzoli had worked for Lorenzo Ghiberti for the second door of the Baptistry and therefore had a training as a goldsmith, a training which was translated into painting. See Acidini Luchinat, *Benozzo Gozzoli: La cappella dei Magi*, 74.

[316] Acidini Luchinat, "The Florentine Tradition of 'Pietre Dure': from the 'Galleria dei Lavori to the Modern Day Opificio," in *Meraviglie: Precious, Rare and Curious Objects from the Medici Treasures*, ed. Marilena Mosco (Florence: Centro Di, 2003), 19.

[317] Some still exist in the Museo degli argenti in Palazzo Pitti, the Museo di Mineralogia dell'Università di Firenze and the Tesoro di San Lorenzo. See Mario Scalini, "La formazione del tesoro Quattrocentesco, la sua dispersione e il ritorno a Florence dei preziosi medicei," in *Tesori dalle Collezioni medicee*, 29-52.

[318] Stapleford, *Lorenzo de' Medici at Home: The Inventory of the Palazzo Medici in 1492*, fol 18r, 96. ASFi, Mediceo Avanti Principato Filza CLXII and MaP Filza CLXV, Folio 47v, transcribed in Spallanzani and Gaeta Bertelà, *Libro d'inventario dei beni di Lorenzo il Magnifico*, 35: "Una choppa d'aghata e sardonio grande, cho manichi, col piè e choperchio d'ariento dorato, Una coppa chol coperchio di diaspro e amatiste, fornita d'oro, entrovi nel piè 12 rubini, 18 perle, nel choperchio 18 rubini et 18 perle."

goes on to list dozens of equally impressive items.[319] It is as if the decorative motifs are composed from a notional "decomposition" of extant treasures.

Beyond stones and gems, comparisons for the painted objects can be found in the inventories of the Medici palace for textiles, such as the silk and gold brocades, or armor, including daggers, cross-bows, lances, and swords in elaborately gilt scabbards. In the ornament and detail of the Magi's procession, Benozzo has combined the symbolic and material wealth of the Medici. His paintings translate the present world of the Medici and their possessions into sacred time: the result is a composite image that is site-specific, of the present, and yet of historical depth. In the wall paintings, the symbolic valence of the heraldry intersects with the very material possessions of Palazzo Medici, many of which were emblazoned with the Medici arms in order to strengthen the claim of the Medici to the sacred past.[320]

In the Chapel of the Magi there is an intentional elision of difference between Quattrocento Florence, its people and their possessions, and first century Palestine. Two disparate locations, moments and situations in history are brought together in the fictional apparatus of the Chapel of the Magi. In Monza, the desire to bring past and present together did not require such geographic and contextual leaps. Rather, the challenge was of a different order: to make the historical and material inheritance of the site continue to have meaning in the present. Unlike the Medici treasures which have little to do with the story in which they were inserted, Monza's treasures were defined by the history of the Basilica's foundation. In the

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[319] It is true that the *commesso* (Florentine mosaic) floor, and especially the porphyry disks, were part of a more general imperial image economy, and had been previously used by the Medici for the old sacristy in San Lorenzo. However, the use of *pietre dure* within the context of the Medici Palace assumes novel and more site-specific connotations. On the tradition of pietre dure in Florence, see Acidini Luchinat, "The Florentine Tradition of 'Pietre Dure,'" 19-20. On the Medici impresa used as a setting for the vessels, see Scalini, "La formazione del tesoro Quattrocentesco," 37-38.

[320] The kind of combinatory operation is also noticeable in the three feathers adorning the heads of Gaspar's pages, which reify Piero's three-feather device.

queen's chapel, the painted treasures can be considered true portraits. The insertion of the Basilica's treasury objects into the painted narrative of the chapel was an effective means for attaching the actual objects in the church to the story of their origin. As artefacts that existed in the Basilica, the treasury objects were physical connections to the past. Once they were painted into the history of the Basilica's founder, the connection of the objects to their history and site was made perpetually evident. At the same time, the painted narrative was legitimized by the existing objects, the objects' significance was articulated and confirmed by the images.

However, the chapel's decoration was not limited to a direct representation of the queen's material heritage. In its evocation of precious materials, the decorations can also be understood as a means of portraying Teodelinda herself and all her virtues. Brigitte Buettner has underlined that the correlation of costly materials to relics in the Middle Ages was not necessarily a literal one, but one that elicited a system of metaphorical interpretation.[321] As Buettner observes, gems and other rare materials were a common trope in hagiography for describing saints and their virtues.[322] In the late Middle Ages, alongside the hagiographic literature, there existed a robust poetic tradition for describing beauty and virtue by analogy to gems and other rare materials. From lauds to the Virgin to verses in praise of beautiful women, the image of beauty was shaped by the comparison to jewels, flowers, gold, and so on.[323] When named in such verses, these materials were not meant only as visual comparisons. Since many gems and stones were thought

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[321] Brigitte Buettner, "From Bones to Stones - Reflections on Jeweled Reliquiaries," in *Reliquiare Im Mittelalter* ed. Bruno Reudenbach and Gia Toussaint (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2011), 43-59. Buettner writes, "At the same time, and just as ubiquitously, saints were said to be like precious stones, as glorious an ornament of heaven as gems were of the physical world." (44).

[322] Ibid.

[323] For a general overview of the literary history, see Giuseppe Marotta, *Lirica mariana. Antologia con introduzione, note e illustrazioni classiche* (Turin: SEI, 1932), 13-15; Roger Dragonetti, *La technique poétique des trouvères dans la chanson courtoise: Contribution à l'étude de la rhétorique médiévale* (Bruges: De Tempel, 1960), 248-72; Patrick S. Diehl, *The Medieval European religious lyric: an ars poetica* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985).

to possess special virtues and powers, their analogy to the beloved was meant to reveal the virtuous qualities of the person.

For example, in an anonymous Bolognese laud from the thirteenth century, the poet praises the Virgin, comparing her to a rose and claiming her worth to be more than that of gold:

> Hail, Virgin of love,/ in you comes the sweet flower…
> Hail, loving Virgin,/ who of Christ you were spouse…
> Hail, garden rose,/ more precious than fine gold;
> In you comes the divine sun,/ bright morning star.[324]

Jacopo da Lentini (1210-1260), one of the founders of the thirteenth-century Sicilian school of poetry, uses gems as imagery to describe the extent of his beloved's virtuous beauty:

> No diamond, no emerald, no sapphire,
> No other gem that we deem precious,
> No topaz, no jacinth, and no ruby,
> No heliotrope, which has so many virtues,
> No amethyst, and no fine carbuncle,
> Which shines forth its bright light,
> Possess so many beauties
> As my beloved.[325]

An even more literal example of this kind of poetic analogy can be found in the *Teseida*, in which Giovanni Boccaccio (1313-1375) admires Emilia's features, comparing her teeth to white pearls:

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[324] Ave, vezene d'amore,/ in te vene el dolze flore…
Ave, vezene amoroxa,/ che de Christo fusti spoxa…
Ave, rosa del zardino,/ più preziosa che oro fino;
In ti venne il sole divino,/clara stella matutina.
Cited in Maria Teresa Sotgiu, "L'immagine poetica di Maria (secoli XIII-XVI)," in *La Madre del Signore dal Medioevo al Rinascimento*, ed. Ermanno M. Tonniolo (Rome: Centro di Cultura Mariana, 1998), 211. Translation my own.

[325] Diamante, né smiraldo, né zafino,
né vernul'altra gema prezïosa,
topazo, né giaquinto, né rubino,
né l'aritropia, ch'è sì vertudiosa,
né l'amatisto, né 'l carbonchio fino,
lo qual è molto risprendente cosa,
non àno tante belezze in domino
quant'à in sé la mia donna amorosa.
Text in Giacomo da Lentini, *Poesie*, ed. Roberto Antonelli (Rome: Bulzoni Editore, 1979). Translation my own.

> And her teeth could be likened
> To white pearls, wide and ordered
> And small, well proportioned.[326]

As Jean Campbell and Elizabeth Cropper, among others, have shown in their work on the vernacular poetics of Renaissance painting, these poetic descriptions were sometimes carried over to inform the making and reception of visual imagery.[327] This line of investigation suggests another level upon which an encounter with the elaborate decorations of the Teodelinda Chapel may have operated, namely as a highly ornamental description of the queen's virtues, in the form of a visual prayer making recourse to the conventions of lyric praise. In other words, the efforts made by the Zavattari workshop to evoke a resplendent realm of gold and gems, may be appreciated as a means of representing, on a material register that supplements the narrative one, the virtues of Teodelinda.

This general hypothesis can be confirmed on a specific level by considering some of the non-narrative aspects of the scenes representing Teodelinda's life. For example, in the wedding banquet (scene 30), the crowned queen is set against an architectural interior, which is decorated with an ornamental pattern of gilding and colored lacquers (fig. 117). The juxtaposition of Teodelinda and the decoration would have invited the visitor to compare the queen's beauty to the ornament. Following the logic of panegyric descriptions of beauty, Teodelinda's crown, in

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[326] e' denti suoi si potean somigliare
a bianche perle, spessi e ordinati
e piccolini, ben proporzionati.
For the full passage, see Giovanni Boccaccio, *Opere in versi*, ed. Pier Giorgio Ricci (Milan: Ricciardi, 1965), XII; 54-63. Translation my own.

[327] This would be an analogous yet different way to access Teodelinda's presence to that of her funerary monument and effigy. For the relationship between the vernacular poetic tradition and Trecento painting, for example, see C. Jean Campbell, "Simone Martini, Petrarch, and the Vernacular Poetics of Early Renaissance Art," in *Studies in the History of Art* 74 (Washington D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 2009), 207-221; Idem, *Commonwealth of Nature*, esp. 66. On how the visual arts of the sixteenth century took part in this poetic tradition, see Elizabeth Cropper, "On Beautiful Women: Parmigianino, Petrarchismo, and the Vernacular Style," *The Art Bulletin* (1976): 374-394.

gilt *pastiglia* with flower pinnacles, might be compared with her braided hair: its blonde coloring likened to the crown's golden reflections; and the pleated hair folds likened to the delicate petals of the crown's flowers. Likewise, the queen's small mouth might find its match in the *pastiglia* roses, with the petals used to describe her parted lips. Once taken up by a spectator, such materially grounded analogies could have allowed access to an image of Teodelinda's virtues. By insistently representing the materials upon which such analogies could be built, the Zavattari gave shape to a place that, for a viewer familiar with the tropes of lyric praise and prayer may also have functioned as a mechanism for the perpetual re-construction of Teodelinda's portrait.

In all the ways I have detailed so-far in this chapter, the Zavattari transformed the chapel space into a *thesaurus*, that is, a "place" that is both a collection of treasures and their suitable container. In the same process the chapel became a space in which the visitor might come to understand the material and spiritual relationships that existed between the relics, the treasures and the queen, and which shaped the chapel into a sacred place. By representing the treasury, and giving it a particular order, the chapel's decorations both extended and added to the elaborate framework for the presentation of Teodelinda throughout the Basilica. The queen's chapel was both a container for Teodelinda's relics and, through its pictorial decoration, an eloquent interpreter of her person. In this large-scale reliquary, the disparate pieces that belonged to the queen—her relics, her story, her gifts, etc.—were gathered in one space to create a unified, integral, and renewable image of the queen.[328] Contained and container worked together to make the queen available: the chapel acted as her *thesaurus*.

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[328] "Christian images fulfill a function of *recordatio*: they must record, bring back to life, make present, transmit the memory of the past *gesta* of Christ and the saints," writes Jean-Claude Schmitt in "Images and the Work of Memory, with Special Reference to the Sixth-Century Mosaics of Ravenna, Italy," in *Memory and Commemoration in Medieval Culture*, ed. Elma Brenner, Meredith Cohen, Mary Franklin-Brown, trans. Marie-Pierre Gelin (Burlington: Ashgate, 2013), 20.

One particularly significant item contained in the queen's chapel was the funerary

monument created in the fourteenth century for Teodelinda's relics. Unfortunately, the original

monument is lost. The sarcophagus that is presently in the chapel is a replacement, perhaps

dating to the sixteenth century when the queen's remains were moved outside the chapel (fig.

118).[329] The tomb monument that was made as part of the fourteenth-century renovation

campaign is known from early descriptions. These descriptions indicate that the sarcophagus was

made of white marble and was supported by spiral columns. They also tell us that the monument

included an epigraph and a sculpted *gisant* figure of the queen (fig. 119).[330] Roberta Delmoro,

who has amassed and studied the relevant descriptions, concludes that the fourteenth-century

sarcophagus would have resembled other Lombard funerary monuments of the same era, such as

those for Ottone Visconti (1295), Berardo Maggi (before 1308), and Guglielmo Longhi (1315-

1320) (figs. 120-122).[331] Another possible comparison can be made with an early fifteenth-

century tomb slab from Monza's Basilica, that of Ursina Castiglioni (d. 1433), now in the

Chiostrino dei morti (fig. 123). The relief effigy on the tomb of Ursina Castiglioni shows a

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[329] On the fourteenth-century sarcophagus, see Delmoro, *La bottega degli Zavattari*, 74; Idem, "La memoria di Teodelinda," 979-89; Delmoro and Lucchini, "'De Zavattarijs hanc ornavere capellam,'" 73-74 n. 10

[330] See Roberta Delmoro, "La memoria di Teodolinda," 979-989. The main source for the fourteenth century sarcophagus is Fiamma, *Manipulus Florum*, 592: "Theodolinda traslatum fuit…in urna marmorea alto loco sita cujus etiam imago ibi decenter sculpta conspicitur." (Teodelinda was translated…in a marble sarcophagus and in high location placed and whose sculpted image fittingly can there can be seen.) Translation my own. Other eighteenth-century sources indicated by Delmoro for the original shape of the sarcophagus are Giovanni Pozzobonelli and Maurizio Campini who would have seen a composite of the new sarcophagus with the old spiral columns before the latter were replaced, too. Pozzobonelli records: "Prope latus alterius parietis e regione, conspectuque praenarratae capellae, assurgit tumulus marmoreus, albi coloris, quattuor tortuosis similibus columellis innixus, in quo conditos ajunt cineres Reginae Theodolindae, apposita in eiusdem summa parte, marmorea ipsius statua, ut ex inscriptione sequenti, ibi exculpta: Theodolindae Langobardorum Reginae /Basilicam hanc /Sancti Iohannis Baptistae/ condenti locupletanti/ Monumentum perenne." In Pozzobonelli 1763, Archivio Storico Diocesano di Milano, sezione X, Pieve di Monza, vol. 30, ff. 83-84. Campini writes: "Il sarcofago assai machinoso e di marmo bianco tutto liscio senza un menomo segno di scritura si sostiene da 4 piccole colonne pure di marmo, e di maniera gottica come quello." In Campini, *Descrizzione dell'Insigne Real Basilica*, f. 83. According to Delmoro, this new understanding of the sarcophagus places it in line with common thirteenth and fourteenth-century Lombard funerary monuments. Another example of this type of funerary monument is that of Agnese Besozzi (d. 1417) in Sant'Eustorgio (Milan) which has both a low-relief *gisant* and epigraph that is close to that of the Teodelinda Chapel, "In hoc sepulcro iacet."

[331] Delmoro, "La memoria di Teodelinda," 979.

distinguished lady in the typical Quattrocento attire of a high-waisted robe with mantle and bee-hive hat with wrists crossed at her waist. Although Ursina's effigy was made after Teodelinda's funerary monument and was an independent slab, rather than the lid of a sarcophagus, it provides a plausible local example from which to reconstruct the appearance of the effigy on Teodelinda's tomb.

We do not know the exact nature of the epigraph or its relation to the *gisant* figure of the original tomb monument in the Teodelinda Chapel. Galvano Fiamma, who provides an eyewitness account of the monument in the fourteenth century, is vague. He only mentions a sculpted image.[332] By the time Maurizio Campini was writing on the Basilica in the eighteenth century, Teodelinda's sarcophagus stood outside the chapel under a niche. In the niche above was an eighteenth-century stucco sculpture of Teodelinda with dedicatory verses: "To Teodelinda the Longobard queen who founded and enriched this Basilica to Saint John the Baptist [is dedicated] this eternal monument."[333] Campini informs us, however, that before this arrangement, there was a cloth with the painted image of Teodelinda on the wall over the sarcophagus.[334] He furthermore notes that the elegiac verses replaced a more ancient couplet, which read: "Teodelinda, the queen who erected this serene temple lies stretched under this coffin." Variations of the latter couplet appear throughout the Basilica, most notably as an inscription in the Zavattari's funerary scene.[335] Some version of the latter couplet may have appeared on the fourteenth-century funerary monument.

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[332] Galvano Fiamma, *Manipulus Florum sive historia Mediolanensis ab origine urbis ad annum circiter 1336. Ab alio continuatore producta ad annum usque 1371,* in Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores tomo 11*, 592.

[333] "Theodelindae langobardorum reginae/ basilicam hanc/ sancti joannis baptistae/ condenti locupletanti/ monumentum perenne." I would like to thank Francesco Gangemi with the translation of this inscription which revealed that it dedicates the sculpture above to Teodelinda. This niche and inscription are still visible today.

[334] Campini, *Descrizzione dell'Insigne Real Basilica*, f. 84. For a discussion of Campini in relation to the funerary monument, see Delmoro, "La memoria di Teodelinda," 979, n.6-7.

[335] Ibid. "Hoc que composuit Templum regina verendum/ strata sub hoc feretro Theodelinda iacet." Translation my own.

Delmoro proposes that the Zavattari's paintings are the best evidence for the reconstruction of both the effigy and *gisant* as parts of the original funerary monument. The image of Teodelinda in the paintings, which shows the queen's body stretched out on a bed with wrists crossed at the waist, follows the traditional manner of representing dead figures for funerary monuments and is likely to have been inspired by the actual tomb effigy (fig. 124). Delmoro furthermore suggests that the inscription painted just above Teodelinda's dead body in the scene of her funeral procession (fig. 125) was drawn from the inscription on the funerary monument. The latter inscription reads: "Teodelinda, the queen who erected this serene temple lies stretched under this coffin."[336] Whatever the precise wording of the fourteenth-century inscription, the suggested correspondences between the images painted and the wall and the makeup of the actual fourteenth century tomb monument may be significant in other ways.

Let us suppose that the Zavattari used the relief effigy on the queen's sarcophagus as the principal referent for the painted image of Teodelinda in the funerary procession. The effigy would have been an important source for a scene that is not described by textual sources, either Paul the Deacon or Bonincontro Morigia. This scenario would have resulted in two closely related representations of Teodelinda's body inside the chapel. The two images—one in stone and the other in paint—would, moreover, have appeared near to each other. As an effigy placed on top of the queen's tomb, the sculpted image would have functioned as a surrogate for Teodelinda's body, which was otherwise invisible, while the stone effigy made visible the real body hidden within the sarcophagus. It may also have legitimized—by similarity—the painted image of the queen on the nearby wall. The stone relief would have thus given the painted image

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[336] "Hoc que composuit templum regina serenum/ Strata sub hoc feretro Theodolenda iacet." Translation my own. See Delmoro and Lucchini, "'De Zavattarijs hanc ornavere capellam,'" 73-74 n. 10; Delmoro, "La memoria di Teodolinda," 979, n. 6.

a relic-like legitimacy. In its turn, the painting would have potentially animated the stone effigy. By inserting the effigy along with its epitaph into a lively and colorful narrative, the Zavattari also effectively brought the historically distant lifeworld of Teodelinda into the present of the viewer.[337] The painted image can be understood simultaneously as the evidence of the invention or discovery of the sacred body/site, and as a pictorial invention that evokes for a fifteenth-century audience—who would have recognized the clothing and rituals depicted—the real presence of the queen.

A similar sort of reciprocal relationship is recognizable among the inscriptions. Assuming, as seems likely, that the sepulcher featured an epitaph that claimed that Teodelinda "lies stretched under this coffin," that epitaph could have been read, in situ, as a literal indication that the queen's bodily remains rested within. The same assertion is written over her painted image on the wall. In this instance it would have indicated her "real" presence in a less literal manner. While the wall inscription was displaced in space with regards to the queen's remains, it nevertheless conveyed something demonstrably "true" about the presence of the relics. That claim was corroborated by the relationship of identity it bore with the inscription on the tomb.

The recognition of a visual connection between the sarcophagus and the paintings is paramount to the dynamic understanding of the site in ways that become clearer once we recognize the scene in the bottom left-hand corner of the lowermost register on the same wall as the death of Agilulf (fig. 126). Within the space of the chapel, the scene of Agilulf's death—

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[337] This kind of shifting, from stone sepulcher where the dead body physically turns to dust, and a visually animated "resurrection" of the body in an adjacent painted scene is not without precedent. In the Bardi chapel in the Basilica of Santa Croce in Florence, the tomb of a gentleman is set against a painted image of his resurrection as he awaits Final Judgement. The combination of painting and tomb is effective for shifting between the registers of fixed mortality (stone) and vivacity (color and narrative flow in painting). The two media re-enact for viewers the Christological cycle of life, death, and eternal life. But unlike these combinations of painting and stone tombs, the Teodelinda Chapel would have had a double funerary image of Teodelinda. See Erwin Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture: Four Lectures on its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini* (New York: H.N. Abrams, 1992). For a survey of monuments, see especially pages 67-96.

which shows the king's crowned head and naked shoulders emerging from under his bed sheets while his wrists appear crossed over his outstretched body—forms a visual pendant to that of Teodelinda's funerary procession. In the fifteenth century, Teodelinda's sarcophagus, which reputedly also contained the body of her husband Agilulf, would have been bracketed by Teodelinda's funerary scene in the right-hand corner of the bottom register and Agilulf's death in the left-hand corner (fig. 127). Such an arrangement would have revealed and unpacked, in narrative form, and as a marital relationship, the hidden contents of the sarcophagus.

The suggestion that the paintings are intended to make Teodelinda present is also supported by the dedicatory inscription which exhorts the passerby to "look," promising that the figures decorating the walls will appear "alive and almost breathing."[338] These first lines of the inscription attest to the critical role of painting in retrieving and representing Teodelinda's sacred presence. While the trope of painted figures appearing to come alive was long established in rhetorical culture, its context in the chapel suggests a more specific function. Both the presence of the relics of Teodelinda and the narrative subject of the paintings indicate that a significant part of what is to be enlivened in the spectator's experience of the chapel is the presence of the queen.[339]

The text of the inscription relies not only on tropes from rhetorical tradition but also on liturgical texts that lend the semblance of animation to speech and images.[340] "Look you who pass by," recalls Lamentations 1:12, "O all you who walk by on the road, pay attention and see."[341] This and similar biblical verses were used in a variety of liturgical functions. In such

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[338] For full transcription of the inscription see note n. 287.

[339] As put by Michel de Certeau, "Demonstratives utter the invisible identities of the visible," in "Practices of Space," in *On Signs,* ed. Marshall Blonsky (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985), 143.

[340] Petoletti, "Le iscrizioni dipinte," 84. On the literary and humanistic tradition of the inscription see Cadei, "Gli Zavattari nella civiltà pittorica padana del primo Quattrocento," 17–21; Petoletti, "Le iscrizioni dipinte," 84. On the Petrarchan tradition in particular, see Delmoro and Lucchini, "'De Zavattarijs hanc ornavere capellam,'" 73-77.

[341] Petoletti, "Le iscrizioni dipinte," 84.

contexts, the verses were often associated to the Passion of Christ. The speaker was assumed to

be either Christ or the Virgin, and the audience a congregation. The verses were used in liturgical

dramas, sermons, and the Office of the Dead. Variations of the verses appear in the visual arts to

accompany crucifixions and *imagines pietatis,* both in Latin and in vernacular Italian (figs. 128-

131).[342] In each of these uses, the citation functioned to generate the presence of Christ for the

beholder. The Zavattari's inscription marries the rhetorical and liturgical traditions, which would

have been recognizable to fifteenth-century visitors. The Zavattari, as the speakers of the

inscription, call on their audience to stop and take note of how they are capable of generating the

presence of Teodelinda through the liveliness of her painted story.[343] The dedicatory

inscription's adaption of the language of liturgical rituals is one of the many ways in which the

paintings in the Teodelinda Chapel generate meaning by making a legible and experiential link

with cult activities.

The Zavattari's decorations interact with and build upon the liturgical offices in other

important ways; for example, through the painted inscriptions in the chapel. These painted texts,

accompanied by singing angels and musical instruments, would have evoked the aural dimension

of the locally performed liturgy for a fifteenth-century audience.[344] The text scrolls held by the

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[342] I have found that the identical line of text occurs on a now-lost fifteenth or early sixteenth-century German Crucifix described by Georg Helwich, *Syntagma monumentorum et epitaphiorum*, c. 1611-1623, folio 278, Martinus-Bibliothek, Mainz. For a discussion of the Lamentations verse in the visual arts, see Millard Meiss, *Painting in Florence and Siena after the Black Death* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951), 121-127; Hans Belting, *The Image and Its Public: Form and Function of Early Passion Paintings* (New Rochelle: A.D. Caratzas, 1990), 86-90 and Appendix B. Examples include Giovanni della Robbia's crucifixion in the sanctuary at La Verna (c. 1481) and Iacopo di Cione's panel from Santa Croce with the words in Italian around Christ's arms in the predella (c. 1370).

[343] Speaking of medieval poetic invention, Douglas Kelly writes that in reworking and adapting topoi to different contexts, poets imbued traditional knowledge with renewed purpose. Idem, "Traslatio Studii: Translation, Adaptation, and Allegory in Medieval French Literature," in *The Subtle Shapes of Invention: Poetic Imagination in Medieval French Literature* (Louvain: Peeters, 2011). According to Kelly, "such topical invention 'translates', transfers the past to the present," in Ibid, 29.

[344] On painted inscriptions that relate to the liturgy and local context, see Luyster, "Christ's Golden Voice," especially pages 344-345. For the inscriptions in the Teodelinda Chapel more generally, see Lollini, "…Et signa

prophets in the vaults are specifically associated with the aurality of liturgical rites (figs. 132-133).[345] For example, as Marco Petoletti has shown, Ezekiel's words, "I saw a closed door to the Orient" are a citation of the antiphon and responsorial used for the feast of the Annunciation, "I saw a closed door in the house of God" and "Ezekiel, turned to Orient, had seen the closed door."[346] The other three prophets, likewise, have biblical inscriptions that reference specific liturgically performed verses.[347] In the case of Daniel, the inscription reads, "when the saint of saints arrives, your unction will cease." The origins of this last inscription can be found in a sermon that, in the Middle Ages, was believed to have been delivered by Augustine.[348] The invocation of the liturgy by means of painted inscriptions would likely have connected the painted space with the sacred rites of the Mass, adding an aural and performative dimension to the visual one.[349]

Other inscriptions that invoke liturgical rites are located on the two side pilasters on the interior wall of the entry arch.[350] Four angels hold text scrolls, one under each of the enthroned

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simillima verbis…," 122-129; Cadei, "Gli Zavattari e la civiltà pittorica padana," 17-18; Petoletti, "Le iscrizioni dipinte," 83-91.

[345] Petoletti's study of the chapel's inscriptions has shown that the text scrolls held by the prophets are liturgical in derivation. "Le iscrizioni dipinte," 88.

[346] Ibid, 88. All six inscriptions read as follows:

All six inscriptions read as follows:

David: In sole posuit tabernaculum suum

Isaya: Rorate celi desupe[r et] nube[s]

Ieremia[s]: Creavit Deus novu[m] sup[er] terram

Moises: Ostende mi[chi] facie[m] tua[m], ut s[ciam] te

Ezeziel: Vidi portam clausam ad orientem

Daniel: Cu[m] ven[er]it s[an]c[t]or[um], cessabit un[n]ctio ves[tra]

Petoletti cites the *Corpus Antiphonalium* as the source for the antiphon and responsorial texts. Latin Vulgate, Douay-Rheims translation.

[347] Dorothy Glass, "Otage de l'historiographie: l'Ordo prophetarum en Italie," *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale,* 44 (2001): 261-263. Glass notes that the inscription is not a literal transcription of the Bible, but a derivation.

[348] Petoletti "Le iscrizioni dipinte," 88. Petoletti states that modern scholarship attributes the sermon to the bishop of Carthage, Quodvultdeus: sermo contra Iudaeos pagatos et Arrianos (XII 2). Petoletti also notes that the inscriptions below Daniel and Ezekiel are present in other medieval sites, for instance the cupola of the Parma cathedral and the portal of Cremona's cathedral and would therefore have been already part of an artistic repertoire.

[349] Ibid.

[350] These inscriptions were painted by the Zavattari.

figures of Saints Thomas Aquinas, Ambrose of Milan, Gregory the Great, and John Chrysostom (fig. 134). Only the scrolls below Gregory and John are still legible today (figs. 135-136), while the remaining two survive in modern transcriptions.[351] The scroll for Gregory reads: "Oh Pope, you who sat in the pontifical seat, I ask, that your admonishments help our offices."[352] It is possible that Gregory's assistance with the liturgical offices was a reference to specific texts housed in the Basilica. When Teodelinda's son, Adaloald, was baptized by Secundus of Non in the Basilica of San Giovanni in 603, Pope Gregory wrote to congratulate Teodelinda for saving her people from heresy.[353] From his letter to the queen, we know that Gregory sent her a manuscript copy of his *Dialogues* among other books.[354] In addition to Gregory's personal gifts, the Biblioteca Capitolare of Monza still holds a ninth or tenth-century manuscript of Gregory's *Regula pastoralis*. [355] It is perhaps to this body of writings that the inscription below Gregory's painted figure refers. Certainly, the invocation reads like a prayer. This added dimension to the scroll's text comes from the direct address, on behalf of the Basilica's clergy, to the Pope, whose image is painted immediately above. The inscription acts as if it were spoken to Gregory's painted likeness, whereas the image, which stands for Gregory's presence, secures his beneficent force in the functions of the Basilica.

The inscription below John Chrysostom also appeals to the painted image of the saint as intercessor and suggests that his painted likeness acts as guarantor of his protection. The

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[351] The lost inscriptions were recorded by Achille Varisco (Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana, N.I. 96 inf., ins. 167-168) in the nineteenth century. See Petoletti, "Le iscrizioni dipinte," 86. The illegible inscriptions are recorded as follows for Ambrose of Milan and Thomas Aquinas respectively: "Diva tibi merito fecit ambrosia nomen: prosint nunc nobis dulcia verba tua," and "Est magis ethereo Thomas nunc sole coruscus, cum utrique simul luceat inde polo."

[352] "Sospes qui sedes sedisti, papa, supersint nostris offitiis monita, queso, tua." Translation my own.

[353] The epistolary correspondence of Gregory the Great is partly preserved by Paul the Deacon, *History of the Langobards,* 4.9.

[354] Record of the donations come from the letter recorded by Paul the Deacon. See Majocchi, "The Treasure of Theodelinda," 245-267. Gregory the Great, *Dialoghi*, ms. c-6/66, Biblioteca Capitolare del Duomo di Monza.

[355] Gregory the Great, *Regula pastoralis*, ms. C-5/65, Biblioteca Capitolare, Monza. See Petoletti, "Le iscrizioni dipinte," 86.

activation of this role of protector is achieved through the words that address him as if they were a spoken prayer: "Oh Chrysostom, defend us, we pray, for we have placed you here as our protector."[356] The final part of the verse, "we have placed you here as our protector" refers to the act of painting Chrysostom, which has placed his likeness in the chapel. Painting as a representational art, joined by the words of prayer, enacts a process that makes the saint accessible in the present site.

The four Church Fathers—Augustine, Thomas Aquinas, John Chrysostom and Gregory the Great—although unusual as a group, are not unique in fifteenth-century painting.[357] Nevertheless, there may be precise motives for their representation in the Teodelinda Chapel. Gregory and Ambrose have a clear local significance for Monza, the former as donor and protector of the Basilica and the latter as patron of Milan. Aquinas, however, and especially the Greek father, Chrysostom, at first do not seem to have a specific relevance for the site. Nevertheless, the four saints do share a common trait as foremost interpreters of doctrine and Scripture. It is possible, therefore, that these four doctor saints were chosen for the entrance pilasters of the chapel because their copious liturgical writings and sermons offered guidance in the liturgy. As noted with Gregory, the inscription explicitly asks for the Pope's intervention in the offices. Chrysostom, the patron saint of preachers and whose name in Greek means golden mouth, may also have been chosen for his ability to offer liturgical assistance.

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[356] "Ut nos defendas, chrisostome sancte precamur nam pro tutore te posuimus ibi." Translation my own.

[357] In 1298, pope Boniface VIII officially declared Augustine, Jerome, Gregory and Ambrose as church doctors and in 1568 Athanasius, Basil, John Chrysostom and Thomas Aquinas were officially added to the list. However, even before they were officially declared doctors of the church, these saints were often associated together as a group. For example, in the Niccolina chapel in the Vatican, painted by Beato Angelico in 1448, John Chrysostom, Aquinas, Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome, Athanasius and Pope Leo the Great are represented in the intradoses. See Gerardo de Simone, *Il Beato Angelico a Roma 1445-1455* (Florence: Olschki, 2017), 124-127, 138-142; tav. 58-59, 62-63.

The scenario that would have these four saints providing aid was not entirely abstract. In fact, the Basilica's collection of manuscripts included works by all four saints. Their painted representation may therefore have been directly related to their ability to help with the liturgy thanks to the writings contained in these manuscripts.[358] If this were the case, it would be yet another way in which the painters and their advisors turned to a collection of objects in the Basilica, this time, to manuscripts, in order to invent the chapel's decoration.

There is also evidence of a specific liturgical office that took place in the queen's chapel, which was dedicated to Saint Vincent and Teodelinda. Starting on the Vigil of January 22nd and proceeding into the following day, the daily offices were sung between the altar of Saint Vincent, the "official" saint with which Teodelinda shared her anniversary, and the queen's tomb. Candles were lit and bells rung, and the rites concluded with the Office of the Dead recited by her grave. These rites are recorded in the thirteenth century *Liber Ordinarius* (fig. 137):

> In vigilia sancti Vincentii. Pulsatis vesperis, in primis facimus anniversarium regine nostre ante sepulchrum eius absque Laudibus. Cantatis Vesperis, revertimus ad sepulchrum eius absque Laudibus. In Vesperis est propria ant. *Ad Magnificat de beata Agnete*, scilicet *Christi virgo*. Cantatis Vesperis revertimur ad sepulchrum eius et dicitur R/*Levita vincentius*. Ad Magnificat ant. *Sacram huius*. Post Benedicamus domino dicuntur Vespere de mortuis ibi iuxta sepulchrum eius. In Matutinis leguntur lectiones VIIII. De passione eius, que sic dicitur probabile satis. Et dicuntur antiphone et sex responsoria de uno martyre. Et habet tria responsoria propria et proprias antiphonas de Laudibus et ad Benedictus. In laudibus, vadimus ad sepulchrum regine et dicuntur antiphone de laudibus de sancto Vincentio. Matutinis de laudibus expletis dicuntur ibi laudes de anniversario regine. (Et interim pulzentur campane insimul pro anniversario regine, quondam candelle dantur)[359]
> Missa dicitur ad altare sancti Viti et habet proprium offitium, scilicet *Letabitur iustus*. Et iuxta Tertiam dicitur Missa; et si fuerit dies dominica in eodem altari ab archipresbitero vel aliquot sacerdotum cum diacono et subdiacono, pro anniversario regine. Et dicuntur

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[358] For a list of surviving manuscripts, see Belloni and Ferrari, *La Biblioteca Capitolare Di Monza*. The manuscripts that include Ambrose are: e-18,e-19, h-I, e-14, c-I, b-10, g-9; Augustine: b-15, e-18, f-2, f-3, e-14, g-4, g-5, b-23, c-6; Gregory: b-15, e-18, f-2, f-3, h-3, c-4, c-5, g-9; Chrysostom: c-11, b-23, h-I; Aquinas: k-5.

[359] This line is added to the right margin of the text.

Kyrie et *De profundis* et *Sanctus* et *Agnus dei* sollempniter. Post Vesperas iterum dicuntur ante sepulchrum eius Vespere de mortuis.[360]

On the vigil of Saint Vincent. With the start of Vespers, first the anniversary of our queen is celebrated before her tomb except for Lauds. With Vespers sung, we return to her tomb without singing the Lauds. The propers for Vespers are the antiphon *Ad Magnificat de beate Agnete*, or *Christi virgo*. When the Vespers are sung, we return to her tomb and say the responsorial *Levita vincentius*. At the Magnificat, the antiphon *Sacram huius*. After the *Benedicamus domino* Vespers of the dead are said there by her tomb. For Matins the nine readings of his [St. Vincent] passion are read, which are said to have probably occurred. And the antiphon and six responsorials of a martyr are read. There are three proper responsorials and antiphons for Lauds and at the Benedictus. At Lauds, we go to the tomb of the queen and the lauds of Saint Vincent are there said. With Matins except for Lauds completed, there Lauds of the queen's anniversary are said. (And in the meantime, bells are rung all at the same time for the anniversary of our queen, once candles are given). Mass is said at the altar of Saint Vitus[361] and it has its own office, or *Letabitur iustus*. Close to Terce Mass is said for the anniversary of the queen; and if it is Sunday on that same altar [Mass is said] by the archpriest or several priests with the deacon and subdeacon. The *Kyrie*, *De profundis*, and *Sanctus*, and *Agnus dei* are solemnly said. After Vespers, Vespers of the dead are said again before her tomb.[362]

In the old Basilica, the rituals would have been celebrated around the ground burial of the queen.

When the architecture was transformed and the grave site relocated into the present-day chapel,

the rituals continued around the new funerary monument.[363] The cult activity surrounding

Teodelinda's body was repeated annually following the cyclical time of the liturgy in order to

reactivate the space of the Basilica as a viable point of access for the faithful to their long-

deceased queen.[364]

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[360] *Liber Ordinarius*, ms. 7b10h14, ff. 63r-63v, Biblioteca Capitolare, Monza. For the transcription and discussion of this passage, see Dell'Oro and Mambretti, *Liber ordinarius Modoetiensis cum kalendario-obituario, tomo II,* 287; 499.

[361] Saint Vitus also shared the altar's dedication in the chapel.

[362] I would like to thank Mary Grace DuPree for her insights and edits on this translation.

[363] *Liber Ordinarius*, ms. 7b10h14, Biblioteca Capitolare, Monza. As indicated in Chapter One, note 50, the rites continiued to be celebrated in the sixteenth century as indicated by Carminati de Brambilla in Frisi, *Memorie Storiche di Monza,* III, 243. See Chapter One for a description of the early medieval burial location and the fourteenth-century relocation of Teodelinda's tomb.

[364] As Honorius Augustodunensis indicated in the twelfth century, memory of deceased individuals was carried forward by their painted images: "Laquearium picturae sunt exempla justorum, quae Ecclesiae repraesentant ornamentum morum. Ob tres autem causas fit pictura: primo, quia est laicorum litteratura; secundo, ut domus tali decore ornetur; tertio, ut priorum vita in memoriam revocetur." ("the pictures by the artisans are examples for the just, which, in churches represent the ornament of character. For these three reasons the picture is made: first, since it is the literature of the laity; second, so that the domus will thus be appropriately ornamented; third, so that the life

The ritual movement from Saint Vincent's altar to Teodelinda's tomb, as described in the account of the anniversary celebration, would have created a link between the two holy figures, a link which activated the space between them as sacred. Through its movements, orations and rites, the ceremony performed and concretized the interrelated presence of Saint Vincent and Teodelinda within the space of the chapel. The performance of the anniversary celebration ritually united Teodelinda and Vincent as if in a spiritual marriage. In so doing, the ceremony contributed to the annual "building" of the chapel, in a spiritual sense, on the co-presence of these two holy people.

The spiritual alliance between Teodelinda and Vincent has implications for how we might understand the function of the Zavattari's paintings. To address the question of function, it is necessary to think about the chapel as a "practiced space," where ritual activities shaped the experience of the decorations.[365] Teodelinda's sepulcher and Vincent's altar were focal points for those visitors who participated in the anniversary celebrations, or for those who came to the chapel for devotional reasons. When viewed in the context of the anniversary celebrations, the chapel's paintings would have aided in focusing cult devotion. As visitors ascended the three steps of the chapel, they were faced by the oversized figure of Saint Vincent in the vault (fig. 138). The combined effect of his large size and the vault's canopy make the saint appear as a

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of our ancestors may be recalled to memory.") In Honorius Augustodunensis, *Gemma Animae*, I, cap. CXXXII: "De pictura," in PL, 172, col. 586.

[365] Allie Terry-Fritsch's adaption of Michel de Certeau's concept of "practiced place" is particularly apt for interpreting how images function within a living space. Terry-Fritsch contends that the idea of a "practiced place" helps to explain how spatial relationships in Fra Angelico's decorations in the convent of San Marco in Florence were created and understood by visitors. She argues that the visitor's perambulation activated "spatially-contingent meanings of the architecture and frescoes of San Marco," in Ibid, 236. Terry-Fritsch stresses that meaning comes from the mobile practices of people within an architectural site, which is useful for understanding how performed rituals influenced the making and reception of the Zavattari's painted walls. Idem, "Florentine Convent as Practiced Place: Cosimo de' Medici, Fra Angelico, and the Public Library of San Marco," *Medieval Encounters* (2012): 230-271; Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013).

looming protective figure for those within the chapel. From his throne, the titular saint both oversaw the chapel and the queen's life that unfolded below him (fig. 139).

Inside the chapel, the viewer's gaze moved between the queen's life and the saint's portrait in a movement that imitated the ritual action between her tomb and his altar. Those who partook in the anniversary celebrations might have recognized, in the movement of their gaze, the processional movement that united Teodelinda to Saint Vincent. In the representation of queen and saint, the chapel's decorations address and amplify the connection between the two figures. Considering the chapel's paintings and cult activities as interrelated directs attention to how contemporary viewers might have engaged with the painted space.[366] The paintings in the chapel represent and activate for viewers the funerary monument for Teodelinda and the altar dedicated to Vincent. Multi-sensory, materially rich and performative, the anniversary celebration was a recurrent event in the Basilica's liturgical calendar. It enlivened the space and thereby established a micro-community of "saints," one that aspired on those special occasions to the full communion of saints in Heaven.

Both the religious rites and the painted walls are concerned with the renewal of the devotional energy that makes holy presence accessible. In decorating the Teodelinda Chapel, the Zavattari drew from the living cult practices in order to re-stage the effects of ritual on the walls of the chapel. The paintings function as proxy for ritual as if they were the eternal re-enactment of the anniversary celebration around Teodelinda's tomb. To pay attention to the effects of the painted chapel is to try to understand how living energy—such as that of the anniversary rites—

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[366] Although we do not have any documents that discuss everyday access to the chapel, we can assume that the clergy would have been one of the main audiences, and that larger numbers would have entered the chapel for the anniversary rites. The chapel has graffiti (with dates as early as 1489, 1519 and 1548) that suggests that there was a decent degree of access for lay members of the community or visitors.

was mobilized by the Zavattari in the act of making and, in turn, how that energy was translated from the pictorial register back to the realm of experience.[367]

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The sacred origins of Monza's Basilica stood on Teodelinda's foundation and depended on her enduring protection. Her bodily remains were physically available in the chapel, but they alone were not enough to sustain her presence for visitors. Her painted representation was needed to act as a mediator.[368] The Zavattari's paintings successfully retrieved, collected, and represented the multiple aspects of Teodelinda's person—her material and immaterial history— for the beholder. In making the paintings and inventing her life and presence the Zavattari and their advisors relied on the Basilica as a place and used its holdings as the material for their paintings. If the Zavattari's creation proceeded from the Basilica's riches, there are other kinds of treasuries that, if we widen our theoretical angle, come into view. Their examination, which we

[367] Aby Warburg, "Sandro Botticelli's Birth of Venus and Spring," in *The Renewal of Pagan Antiquity: Contributions to the Cultural History of the European Renaissance* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 1999), 125; Georges Didi-Huberman writes with regards to Warburg's ideas that, "An image, every image, is the result of movements that are provisionally sedimented or crystalized in it…They oblige us to think of the image as an energy-bearing or dynamic moment, even though it may have a specific structure," in *The Surviving Image: Phantoms of Time and Time of Phantoms, Aby Warburg's History of Art,* trans*.* by Harvey L. Mendelsohn (College Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2017), 19. For Warburg, the problem of translating living movement into art, was more than a matter of form. At stake was the very possibility that the vital pulse of the past might have an afterlife (*Nachleben*) in the very images that make that energy manifest. My own—and more modest—goals are directed towards understanding artistic making as the means by which the energy of specific lived experiences might be seized and re-channeled into images, which in turn, cue an engagement that might re-activate this stored energy.
[368] On painting as medial to sacred presence, see Klaus Krüger, *Das Bild als Schleier des Unsichtbaren: Asthetische Illusion in der Kunst der Fruhen Neuzeit in Italien* (Munich: WFink, 2001). Krüger argues that different layers of reality can become part of the very aesthetic structure of a picture and thus become productive towards communicating, in pictorial terms, truths about the Christian faith. The mode of being of the image as medial engages the beholder in an aesthetic reflection as part of the interpretive act. The image becomes a place, not so much of mere identification for the beholder, but for the staging of the experience of salvation. It is an aesthetic experience, but capable of producing concrete religious experience. On ornament as that which mediates interpretive relationships, see Oleg Grabar, *The Mediation of Ornament: The A.W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts, 1989* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992). Grabar writes, "that to study and to understand an object, an artifact, or a building is to establish a relationship with it and that these relationships are practical, physical, sensory, and psychological, but in large part emotional. They are or can be relationships or love…" in Ibid, 44.

undertake next, shall bring into focus how practices of artistic making function as collective treasuries of invention.

Chapter Four.

Treasury as Model and Metaphor

The lowermost register of the Teodelinda Chapel, to the left of the entrance, represents the sequence of events moving from the foundation, to the construction and endowment of the Basilica (fig. 140-141). In the third scene (scene 36), Teodelinda oversees small groups of artisans who are busy at work for the new Basilica. The subject of this scene is the process by which an antique statue is transformed into sacred vessels by the artist's craft. In the foreground, three artisans, seated on small stools, are huddled around a work bench (fig. 142). The focus of their attention is the armored body and detached head of a sculpture, which is shown stretched out before them. The laurel-crowned head, the solemn and elegant features, and the ornate armor of the statue all suggest that it is meant to represent either a Roman emperor or, more generically, a pagan idol.

Within the painted scene, one artisan clasps the armored shoulder of the statue with one hand while with the other, he severs its joint with a small axe. Acting more energetically, the middle artisan pins down the body with his left forearm as he raises a hammer over his head. The final artisan, depicted with a sly smirk on his lips, torques his pliers to loosen a bolt from the statue's collar. Under the bench, at the artisans' feet, lie a dismembered forearm with a pointed finger, and a crown: presumably those items that have already been successfully detached by the artisans' labor. Behind the figure representing Teodelinda, two workers stand by a furnace (fig. 143). One holds a gold vessel with pliers over an open flame, while the other, poker in hand, is

ready to stoke the fire. Directly below the furnace, two more artisans are seated at a bench as they turn sacred vessels in their hands in order to work the surfaces with their goldsmithing tools.

Through this sequence of depicted events, where old objects are gathered, dismantled and otherwise manipulated, artistic making is characterized in a certain way. The scene shows, in microcosm, a process wherein the artifacts from a given site are taken apart, and a new place is put together from their remains. This new space is thus furnished by the artisan's craft. Viewed in this light, the scene may be taken as a "portrait" of the Zavattari workshop. The artists here have self-referentially represented their craft, by analogy with that of the metalworkers depicted in the scene, as one that creates new objects from existing material.

The re-use of drawings and other workshop materials in the Teodelinda Chapel will be the focus of this chapter, whose intent is to show how the workshop relied on a treasury of physical and mental models for the creation of the Teodelinda cycle. The concept of the treasury will not only describe the workshop's cache of tools and their importance to the creation of new works, but will also serve as model and metaphor for artistic composition, memory, invention and *fantasia.* The treasury, as a model for pictorial invention, provides a framework within which it is possible to theorize how large-scale projects might be carried out by collective work.

Throughout Antiquity and the Middle Ages, the various Latin and vernacular terms for treasury often served as metaphors for describing the faculties of the individual's mind. In descriptions of rhetorical practice, the term treasury might refer to the *facultas memorativa*; in descriptions of poetic or artistic composition it might refer to the *facultas imaginativa* or *fantasia*. Following Aristotelian concepts of the mind and its faculties, medieval and Renaissance theories of composition saw thinking as a process that was spurred by sense perceptions, which were subsequently stored and processed by the faculties of the brain (*sensus communis, facultas*

imaginativa, fantasia, facultas estimativa, facultas cogitiva, and *facultas memorativa*).[369] A visual diagram for this cognitive model is provided by a woodcut printed in a 1512 edition of Gregor Reisch's *Margarita philosophica.* Reisch's diagram, which gives pictorial form to received understanding, shows the division of the mind into defined cells (fig. 144).[370] The exact configuration and distribution of the faculties was subject to much variation over time, and it is not here the intention to offer an exhaustive analysis of that history.[371] Of interest is a more general period understanding of the faculties, which saw the different functions of the intellect as locational, that is, placed in specific areas of the brain. These were the places where knowledge could be stored and retrieved.[372]

The number one place from which a poet or orator could draw material was memory. The memory faculty was often compared to a treasury, both for its organization and for its content. In order to retrieve something to put to new use (or invent), one must know where to look in memory. In the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (c. 1st c. CE), a widely available text in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, memory is defined as the "thesauru[s] inventarum," the treasury of invented things.[373] Augustine asks, "where are the innumerable treasures of images?"[374] and Thomas Aquinas calls the *facultas imaginativa* the "thesaurus...formarum."[375] As Dante explains

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[369] For seminal studies on the art of memory in the Middle Ages, see Frances Yates, *The Art of Memory* (Hardmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1969); Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*; Idem, *The Craft of Thought*; Lina Bolzoni, *La stanza della memoria: modelli letterari e iconografici nell'età della stampa* (Torino: Einaudi, 1995).

[370] Gregor Reisch, *Margarita philosophica* (1512, 10th edition), book 10.

[371] On the ventricular theories of the mind, see C. D. Green, "Where did the ventricular localization of mental faculties come from?" *Journal of History of the Behavioral Sciences*, 39 (2003): 131-142. For Leonardo da Vinci's thoughts regarding the mind and artistic making, see Mary Pardo, "Leonardo Da Vinci on the Painter's Task: Memory, Imagination, Figuration," *Leonardo da Vinci and the Ethics of Style,* ed. by Claire Farago (Manchester: Manchester Press, 2008), 58-95.

[372] As Carruthers puts it, "In order to understand something we must first have a place to put it, something to attach it to in the inventory of all our previous experience." Idem, *The Book of Memory,* 33.

[373] Cicero, *Rhetorica ad Herennium* 3.16, trans. Harry Caplan (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954).

[374] "ubi sunt thesauri innumerabilium imaginum." Augustine, *Confessions* 10.8, ed. Rosalie de Rosette (Chicago: Moody Classics, 2007). Translation my own.

[375] "…quasi thesaurus quidam formarum per sensum acceptarum." Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Teologica*, Part I, Vol. I., ed. Colman E. O'Neill (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 876.

in the first *canto* of *Paradiso*, his process of poetic composition proceeds from that which he has treasured in his memory. He says, "As much, however, of the Holy Realm/ as in my memory I could treasure up,/ shall now become the subject of my song."[376] Dante's verses give a vivid picture of the creative act as one which retrieves, shapes and works with the mind's store of material treasures. Memory, as the treasury of images, experience and knowledge, was indispensable to the process of composition because it provided the raw material that if well-ordered, could serve as an inventory or well-spring for new creations. It was this mental inventory that structured and provided the basis for *inventio.*[377]

A rich image treasury was likewise indispensable to the artist's craft. The care and expansion of an image-bank was central to the training of artists in medieval and Renaissance Italy. In the *Libro dell'Arte* (c.1400), Cennino Cennini describes how the artist's memory is stocked with images through the practice of drawing. For Cennini, learning to draw entailed a long period of copying. Years of training were needed before a personal image-bank might be sufficiently refined and ready for use.[378] As Cennini writes, drawing will train the hand and fill the head with drawing.[379] Nearly a century later, Leonardo da Vinci stressed the importance of drawing for filling the memory and imaginative faculties with valuable material.[380] The individual's memory, in this manner, becomes an image treasury, a *fantasia tesoriera*, into which

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[376] "Veramente quant'io del regno santo/ ne la mia mente potei far tesoro,/ sarà ora materia/ del mio canto." Dante Alighieri, *Divina Commedia*, "Paradiso," Canto I: 10-12. For the translation see, Courtney Langdon, *The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri. The Italian Text with a Translation in English Blank Verse and a Commentary, vol. 3, Paradiso* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1921).

[377] In rhetorical tradition, invention refers to the preliminary stage at which material is found, gathered, and located in the mind as the foundation from which to compose speeches and persuasive arguments.

[378] On Cennini, drawing and *fantasia*, see Wolf-Dietrich Löhr, "'Disegna secondo che huoi' Cennino Cennini e la fantasia artistica," in *Linea I: Grafie di immagini tra Quattrocento e Cinquecento*, ed. Marzia Faietti and Gerhard Wolf (Venice: Marsilio, 2008): 163-190.

[379] "tti farà sperto, praticho e chapacie di molto disegno entro la testa tua." Cennino Cennini, *Il libro dell'arte,* ed. Fabio Frezzato (Vicenza: Neri Pozza Editore, 2003), chapter XIII, 71. The phrase can translated as: "Expert, practiced and your head will hold much drawing." On the question of memory and drawing in Cennini, see Pardo, "Leonardo Da Vinci on the Painter's Task," 58-95.

[380] Pardo, 67. Pardo notes that Leonardo blurs distinctions between the *imaginativa* and *memoria*.

practice places its fruits and from which the artist's practice feeds.[381] Both the physical drawings

and the skill acquired through the repeated exercise of the hand would become part of a personal

artistic treasury.

As Beate Fricke has suggested, a modern theorization of the process of using what is

readily available can be found in Claude Lévi-Strauss' figure of the *bricoleur*: a "devious"

tinkerer who manipulates found material towards novel solutions.[382] Drawing on the French

verb, *bricoler*—an act of repairing, making, or arranging— Lévi-Strauss characterizes the

bricoleur and his work in the following passage:

> His first practical step is retrospective. He has to turn back to an already existent set made
> up of tools and materials, to consider or reconsider what it contains and, finally and above
> all, to engage in a sort of dialogue with it and...he interrogates all the heterogenous objects
> of which his treasury is composed to discover what each of them could 'signify' and so
> contribute to the definition of a set which has yet to materialize but which will ultimately
> differ from the instrumental set only in the internal disposition of its parts.[383]

According to Lévi-Strauss, the *bricoleur* has a treasury which allows him to find, consider,

engage and alternatively define the instruments at his disposition. The *bricoleur*'s treasury

provides possibilities for creation which are simultaneously restrained and generated by the

conditions of their location and context.

Adapting Lévi-Strauss' concept of bricolage to the characterization of medieval treasuries,

Fricke underlines the importance of an aesthetic of heterogenous assemblage for treasury

objects.[384] Objects like reliquaries, covered by constellations of stones, relics and materials of

diverse provenance and nature, are small-scale collections. In making manifest the different

provenances of the constitutive elements of treasury objects, the final product remains attached

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[381] Löhr, "'Disegna secondo che huoi,'" 170.
[382] Claude Lévi-Strauss, *The Savage Mind* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1966), 12.
[383] Ibid.
[384] Beate Fricke, *Fallen Idols, Risen Saints: Sainte Foy of Conques and the Revival of Monumental Sculpture in Medieval Art,* trans. Andrew Griebeler (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015).

to other worlds, always potentially open to remaking.[385] For treasury objects, this often means that links to things that make the object sacred (such as relics or items with a holy place of origin) are made visible on the surface.

The assembled quality of the treasury object helps bring into focus an analogous quality of the Zavattari's decorations for the Teodelinda Chapel. It may be obvious enough that a treasury object, like Berengar's cross in Monza's treasury, which is decorated with many stones of different origins is not a homogenous product (fig. 145). Less obvious is that the Zavattari's paintings are also a collection of models with different origins. The assembled models identifiable in the Zavattari's paintings are analogous to the rare stones that together decorate a reliquary. Despite the surface appearance of unity, close observation of the frescoes of the Teodelinda Chapel reveals not only that many artisans collaborated to create the images, but also that they did so by drawing on a heterogeneous, but shared body of material.

As the restoration of the walls of the Teodelinda Chapel has shown, each section of the paintings was carried out by a team, with multiple artists working at once on the same area of the wall (fig. 146).[386] In order to have a final amalgamation of the work carried out by so many different hands, the workshop had to have a common body of material. These tools were essential to the visual and stylistic coherence of the chapel and as such, can be understood as workshop treasures. Without the aid of these materials, it would have been nearly impossible for

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[385] Ibid, 251: "This manner of dealing with works of art (or objects from medieval treasuries) demonstrates that we cannot understand them in terms drawn from modern art, which are based on the idea of a closed form."

[386] On medieval workshops, see Bruno Zanardi, *Giotto e Pietro Cavallini. La questione di Assisi e il cantiere medievale della pittura a fresco* (Milan: Skira, 2002), 45-48. Zanardi discusses the large number of artisans employed for mural painting at sites such as the Papal palace at Avignon and the Vatican palace in the fourteenth century. By assessing payments, he averages the number of workers present on a given day and month. The normal number of artisans is around 10, whereas he notes that the workshop for the chapel of St. Stephen in Westminster (1350) had 30 documented workers. In other sites, too, artists worked on different areas, both figural and decorative, and with different materials. For instance, in the Cappella Maggiore in Santa Croce, Firenze (1380). See Alessio Monciatti, "'Con molta pratica ma con non molto disegno'. Qualche nota per la storia di un cantiere pittorico alla fine del Trecento," in *Agnolo Gaddi e la Cappella Maggiore*, 89.

many artisans to paint large portions of wall space with any consistency. This shared corpus

included transfer drawings such as *patroni* and cartoons.[387] *Patroni* are silhouettes made of

reinforced paper, which are traced onto the wall by outlining the contours with a brush or by

incision. *Patroni* can be used either for entire figures and designs or for a specific part, say a

head or a hand.[388]

The great advantage of *patroni* is that the same *patrono* can yield an array of figures simply

by shifting its position and direction.[389] The strength of this technique is that the repetition of the

silhouette is not always obvious to the viewer once the figures are fleshed out in paint. One must

look closely to see that the same *patrono* was used to portray two kneeling figures in scene 45

which have identical outlines in mirror reversal (fig. 147).[390] The use of many different

patroni—for the clothes, heads, hands, feet, etc.—allowed for a variety of figures to emerge

from the same body of material.[391] The Zavattari used six different *patroni* for the numerous

female heads, including Teodelinda. We also know that in addition to *patroni*, the Zavattari used

cartoons. Cartoons, although similar to *patroni*, were useful for transferring more detailed

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[387] The Zavattari's workshop organization for large-scale mural painting, which included numerous artisans and a wide range of transfer techniques, is part of a long and robust tradition on the Italian peninsula that reaches back to antiquity. The striking continuity in workshop practices for mural painting allows for comparative studies that range chronologically and geographically. Where documents and materials are missing for the Zavattari, they are more abundant for other sites, such as the Cappella Maggiore in Santa Croce in Florence, executed by the workshop of Agnolo Gaddi around 1380. On the history of workshop organization in medieval Italy, see Cecilia Frosini, "L'organizazzione artigiana del mestiere nel secolo XII," in *La pittura su tavola del secolo XII: riconsiderazioni e nuove acquisizioni a seguito del restauro della Croce di Rosano; convegno, Firenze, Kunsthistorisches Institut, 8 - 9 gennaio 2009* (Florence: Edifir, 2012), 81-88.

[388] For an in-depth description of *patroni* in the medieval workshop, see Zanardi, *Giotto e Pietro Cavallini,* 62-66. On workshop drawing techniques, see Carmen Bambach, *Drawing and Painting in the Italian Renaissance Workshop. Theory and Practice. 1300-1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

[389] On an earlier use of *patroni* for hands, heads, feet etc., in various positions across the paintings of a chapel, see Zanardi, "Relazione di restauro della decorazione della cappella del Sancta Sanctorum con due appendici sulle tecniche d'esecuzione dei dipinti duecenteschi," in *Sancta Sanctorum* (Milan: Electa, 1995), 230-235; 248-249.

[390] Giovanni Battista Armenini, writing in 1578, offers a vivid description of *patroni*: "Conciosiacosaché qualunque figura, per poca mutazione d'alcuni membri, si leva assai dalla sua prima forma, perciò che, col ritrovarle o con mutarli un poco la testa o alzarli un braccio, torli via un panno o giungerne in altra parte o in altro modo, o rivoltar quel dissegno, over ungerlo per minor fatica o pur con l'imaginarselo che sia tondo di rilievo, pare che non sia più quello. Giovanni Battista Armenini, *De' veri precetti della pittura,* ed. Marina Gorreri (Torino: Einaudi, 1988), 95.

[391] For a visual, see Zanardi, "Appendice prima", in *Sancta Sanctroum*, 248.

drawings, such as faces. They could be reproduced onto the wall by tracing through the paper

with incisions, or rather by a technique known as *spolvero* in which holes were made along the

contours and pounced with charcoal. An error on the part of an artisan working in the Teodelinda

Chapel has allowed for the survival of *spolvero* marks on the face of a soldier in scene 45 (fig.

148).[392]

Cartoons and *patroni* had to be safeguarded since they often needed to be reused over the

course of a project or for multiple projects.[393] The Zavattari, for instance, reused a template from

the transverse arch in the Basilica painted in the 1420s for the queen's chapel in the 1440s (fig.

149).[394] As re-usable material, these templates were prized and passed down generationally

within a workshop and its collaborators. In 1497, the painter Bernardino Simundi, for instance,

bequeathed Claudio Ruffi, also a painter, "All of my *patroni* [*patronos interstitos*]."[395] These

workshop materials were so valuable that they were at risk of being stolen. In 1398, the painter

Jacquemart de Hasdin was put to trial and accused by a certain John of Holland of having broken

the lock on a chest that contained: "Certain colors and *patroni* [*patrons*] belonging to him."[396]

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[392] See Lucchini, "Sinopie," 43.

[393] Generally, *patroni* and cartoons were waxed or oiled in order to preserve them from the damage incurred from use and from the calcification of the wall plaster. It is hypothesized that there were *patroni* made on transparent parchment or canvas. See Zanadri, *Giotto e Pietro Cavallini*, 63.

[394] See Chapter Two for Lucchini's suggestion that a *patrono* was reused in the Teodelinda Chapel. It is also possible that the Zavattari reused a *patrono* for the fragment of the panel of the Madonna del Bosco in Cascina Gatti (Sesto San Giovanni) attributed to Gregorio Zavattari in 1466. See Lucchini, "Considerazioni sui disegni e sulle tecniche pittoriche 'di bottega'," in *Monza Illustrata: annuario di arte e cultura a Monza e in Brianza 3. 2017* (Rome: Aracne, 2018), 90-91. On the re-use of *patroni* or cartoons for diachronic projects in Giotto's workshop, see Roberto Bellucci and Cecilia Frosinini, "'Di greco in latino.' Considerazioni sull'underdrawing di Giotto, come modello mentale," in *L'officina di Giotto: il restauro della Croce di Ognissanti*, ed. Marco Ciatti (Florence: Edifir, 2010), 170-176. The authors demonstrate that reflectorgraphy has revealed identical outlines for the Madonna di Borgo San Lorenzo and the Madonna of San Giorgio alla Costa. Likewise, the faces of the Madonna and Christ in the crosses of Santa Maria Novella and Ognissanti have the same tracing.

[395] "omnes meos patronos interstitos." See Zanardi, *Il cantiere di Giotto. Le storie di san Francesco ad Assisi* (Milan: Skira, 1996)*,* 34. Zanardi understands *patronos interstitos* as internally cut templates. Translation my own.

[396] "Certaines coleurs et patrons estant icelui." Cited in Zanardi, "Appendice prima," 257. Translation my own. Millard Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry*, I (London: Phaidon, 1967), 246; R.W. Scheller, *A Survey of Medieval Model Books* (Harlem: Erven F. Bohn, 1963), 34-35.

If, on the one hand, the medieval workshop relied on a stock of templates for mural painting, on the other hand, this kind of material was ephemeral by nature of its use. Indeed, very few of these templates have survived to the present.[397] Despite best intentions, paper drawings inevitably decayed; even the wax and oil used to protect them had undesired side effects as they darkened and made the paper more brittle.[398] Yet, for monumental wall painting, these tools were indispensable. It is worth asking whether there were other methods for preserving a workshop's store of material. One hypothesis takes its departure from the possibility that *sinopie* (preliminary drawings made directly on the plaster) were traced to create *patroni* and cartoons. Lucchini has argued that in fifteenth-century Lombardy, *sinopie* and cartoons were not mutually exclusive methods for preparing monumental compositions, and that they did not have entirely different functions.[399] As Bruno Zanardi notes, it is possible that *sinopie* were traced onto walls with *carta lucida* (tracing paper) from which various templates could be made.[400] This suggestion would resolve both why *sinopie* were so elaborately constructed and how they were transferred to the upper layers of *intonaco*.

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[397] A *patrono* for a hand on waxed paper was found in a scaffold hole of the cappellone di San Nicola in Tolentino, which was painted around 1325. See the discussion with Aldo Angiolini in Alfio del Serra, "Sodoma a Monteoliveto Maggiore e discussioni su tecniche miste, pigmenti e cartoni (ca. 1505-08)," in *Tecnica e Stile: esempi di pittura murale del Rinascimento italiano*, ed. Eve Borsook and Fiorella Superbi Gioffredi (Milan: Silvana, 1986), 64. Another hand patrono was found at the abbey of Pomposa during restoration. Zanardi, "Appendice prima," 257.

[398] Zanardi, *Giotto e Pietro Cavallini,* 63.

[399] The debate on *sinopie* and cartoons, and their mutual or exclusive use, has a long tradition in conservation studies. For an early iteration, see Ugo Procacci, *Sinopie e affreschi* (Milan: Electa, 1960). For additional studies on transfer drawing and workshop techniques, see Zanardi, "Le tecniche di riporto del disegno preparatorio," in *Bollettino del Museo Bodoniano di Parma* 7 (1993): 449-468; Idem, "Il problema dell'uso delle sagome nella trasposizione del disegno preparatorio," in *Sancta Sanctorum*; Idem, *Giotto e Pietro Cavallini*; Bambach, *Drawing and Painting in the Italian Renaissance Workshop*.

[400] Zanardi, *Il cantiere di Giotto*, 34. Zanadri notes that he is not the first to have had this hypothesis. The Pisan historian, Alessandro da Morrone, in the late eighteenth century, had considered the possibility that the paintings in the Camposanto di Pisa had been transferred from the *sinopie* via tracing to templates.

Lucchini has argued that the practice of tracing *sinopie* to make templates was especially in vigor in fifteenth-century Lombardy.[401] Lucchini's main example is another fifteenth-century wall painting in Monza, a Crucifixion in Santa Maria della Strada. Oddly, the *sinopia* for the Crucifixion was not painted underneath the finished image but on an adjacent wall. The physical division of the sinopia from the painting, along with discrepancies in the positions of heads and busts of figures, led Lucchini to suggest that the *sinopia* was used to make multiple *patroni*. These templates would have then been reassembled on the adjacent wall to paint the final image.[402] That a similar practice was in place in the Teodelinda Chapel is supported by Lucchini's technical observations of the murals. She notes that the Zavattari's paintings for the Teodelinda Chapel used small giornate for the *sinopie*, *a fresco* on the *arriccio,* (meaning that pigments were laid on a fresh lower layer of plaster). Successively, the artists made the underdrawings on the *intonachino* (the upper and more levigated plaster layer) with the help of *patroni* and cartoons.[403] Traces of *sinopie* were also discovered under the painting of a horse in scene 45 (fig. 150). Given the evidence that the Zavattari used both templates and *sinopie*, is it also possible that the Zavattari's *patroni* were drawn from the *sinopie* during the process of decoration?[404]

Let us follow this conjecture further. If artists traced their *sinopie* to make templates, they may also have traced other kinds of wall paintings to the same end. Indeed, in the numerous sections dedicated to the making of *carta lucida*, Cennini describes how one could use *carta lucida* to copy figures, including those on walls. [405] My hypothesis is that finished paintings were also, at times,

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[401] Lucchini, "Sinopie", 36: "...ritengo possibile che, nella seconda metà del Trecento, la sinopia, una volta eseguita, fosse ricalcata su carta lucida e da questa fossero poi tratte le sagome o lo spolvero e non viceversa." Lucchini's other example is the Sala del Gioco in Milan, 1445.
[402] Ibid.
[403] Ibid, 41. The disegno esecutivo (underdrawing) was completed with terra di Siena gialla and bruciata.
[404] It is also possible that some *patroni* were made from scaled model drawings on paper, but there is no evidence for this.
[405] On the use of tracing paper to copy drawings and paintings on walls, see Cennino Cennini, *Il libro dell'arte,* chapter XXIII, 77-78: "bisognati essere avvistato, ancora è una carta che si chiama carta lucida, la quale ti può

used to recover templates that had been lost. I am not suggesting that drawings were traced long after the workshop had finished, since scaffolding would by then be taken down.[406] What is possible is that during the creation of a cycle of mural paintings, when a *patrono* disintegrated, the workshop could have been able to retrieve the template from finished wall portions.[407] This would indicate that the chapel's finished areas were not untouchable, but rather part of an evolving site, a storehouse for the workshop's figures and patterns *in fieri*. Even if new templates were never derived from the wall paintings, the potential to draw new models from existing figures remained viable. A chapel, which contained within its decorations the variety and multitude of drawings used by artists to create full mural cycles, also became the collective memory of the workshop's materials. As a container of potential images, a chapel could function as the treasury of otherwise ephemeral riches.

Besides *patroni* and cartoons, medieval and Renaissance workshops had other types of drawings that were required for the execution of large-scale wall paintings. Smaller drawings on either paper or parchment (described by scholars as model or pattern drawings) were used to build a repertoire for anything from figures, ornament, iconographic references and compositional possibilities.[408] These model drawings were not necessarily specific to a single

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essere molto utile per ritrarre una testa o una figura o una mezza figura, secondo che l'uomo truova di man di gran maestri. E per avere bene i contorni, o di carta o di tavola o di muro, che proprio la vogli tor su, metti questa carta lucida in su la figura, o vero disegno, attaccata gentilmente in quattro canti con un poco di cera rossa o verde. Di subito per lo lustro della carta lucida trasparrà la figura, o ver disegno, di sotto, in forma e in modo che 'l vedi chiaro. Allora togli o penna temperata ben sottile, o pennel sottile di vaio sottile; e con inchiostro puoi andare ricercando i contorni e le stremità del disegno di sotto; e così gentilmente toccando alcuna ombra, siccome a te è possibile poter vedere e fare. E levando poi la carta, puoi toccare di alcuni bianchetti e rilievi, siccome tu hai i piaceri su."

[406] I would like to thank Giacomo Guazzini for his thoughts and suggestions on this topic. It is a different situation entirely when artists from outside the workshop and at chronologically distant moments would come to make copies of a painted chapel because of its fame.

[407] That *patroni* would disintegrate as work proceeded is supported by the duration of time needed to execute large-scale wall paintings. On average, with the winter break, each register of the Teodelinda Chapel took two years to finish. See Lucchini, "Sinopie," 41.

[408] On model drawings, see Robert Scheller, *Exemplum: Model-Book Drawings and the Practice of Artistic Transmission in the Middle Ages (ca. 900-Ca. 1470)* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press), 1995; Albert J.

project and could be copied and manipulated into a number of solutions. Other kinds of drawings were more specific to a given site, such as presentation or preparatory drawings for painted cycles.[409] These kinds of drawings, as described by Cennini, could also be used by artists in training in order to stock their personal image bank with mental models.[410] Like *patroni* and cartoons, these smaller drawings were another kind of workshop treasure.

Very few of these fragile objects have survived. There is, however, documentary evidence that confirms that drawings were essential for workshops involved in large wall decorations. For example, a document records that Giovannino de Grassi (c.1350-1398) kept a collection of drawings in a strongbox while working for the Milan Cathedral.[411] That he guarded his drawings in a chest is indicative of the value and importance afforded to such graphic material. Drawings were a primary tool for Giovannino and his workshop in the stages of planning and decorating.[412] Giovannino's surviving workshop drawings are bound together in the so-called *Taccuino di disegni*, made by the master and his pupils in the last quarter of the fourteenth century and today preserved in the Biblioteca civica in Bergamo (figs. 151-152).[413] The

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Elen, "Italian late-medieval and Renaissance drawing-books: from Giovannino de'Grassi to Palma Giovane: a codicological approach" (PhD diss., University of Leiden, 1995); Michael W. Kwakkelstein and Lorenza Melli, *From Pattern to Nature in Italian Renaissance Drawing: Pisanello to Leonardo* (Florence: Centro Di, 2012).

[409] See Frosinini, "Progettualità, pianificazione e disegno nelle Storie della Vera Croce," 217-231.

[410] On the dual function model drawings as training and as preparatory stock in Ghirlandaio's workshop, see Francis Ames-Lewis, "Drapery 'Pattern'-Drawings in Ghirlandaio's Workshop and Ghirlandaio's Early Apprenticeship," *Art Bulletin* 63 (1981): 49-62. For re-thinking the function of medieval model drawings from preparatory to instrumental to the training of the hand, memory and imagination of the artist, see Ludovico V. Geymonat, "Drawing, Memory and Imagination in the Wolfenbüttel Musterbuch," in Heather E. Grossman and Alicia Walker, ed. *Mechanisms of Exchange: Transmission in Medieval Art and Architecture of the Mediterranean, ca. 1000-1500* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 220-285; Weppelman and Lohr, "Introduction, " in *Fantasie und Handwerk*, 13-44.

[411] A document attests the repair of the lock on a strong box for Giovannino's drawings. "Item die suprascripto magistro Symoni de Orsanigo suprascripto pro / ponendo ad unum capsonum factum suprascripto magistro Johannino / pro gubernando et conservando intus eius designamenta / per ipsum fienda pro dicta Fabrica, ut patet per scriptum subscriptum / ut supra. Cum clave una seraturam i*."* Annali della fabbrica del Duomo, Registro 14, f. 160v; Registro 12, f. 269r e Registro 13, f. 63r. 1391 luglio 19, "Pagamento di Simone da Orsenigo per rinforzi alla cassa di disegni di G." Cited in Marco Rossi, *Giovannino de Grassi: la corte e la catedrale* (Milan: Silvana, 1995), 150, document 17.

[412] On Giovannino's work in the Milan Cathedral, see Rossi, *Giovannino de Grassi,* 83-117*.*

[413] Giovannino de' Grassi, *Taccuino di disegni,* inv. cassaf. 1.21. Biblioteca Civica Angelo Mai, Bergamo.

parchment album is a repertoire of different kinds of images which include animals, human figures, decorative and heraldic motifs, lettering, and full-page compositions. In its diversity of subjects, the *Taccuino* is a good example of the kinds of drawings that belonged to a Lombard workshop and which could serve multiple functions: as training for young artists and as the basis for multiple projects from manuscript illuminations to monumental wall paintings.

Another example of a collection of drawings from a Lombard workshop made around the turn of the fifteenth century is the *Libretto degli Anacoreti* (c. late 14th-mid 15th century), housed in Rome at the Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica.[414] Like the *Taccuino*, the *Libretto* was made by multiple artists and contains a range of subjects.[415] For one, the *Libretto* evidences that drawing was a tool for learning. Its pedagogical function is evident in a couple of folios that show signs of copying, probably by a pupil. For instance, on folio 7, the figure on the far left is traced by another hand in the adjacent space in metal point (fig. 153). Alternatively, on folio 23, three refined heads in pen, ink and bistre wash provide the reference material for another artist who used the remaining space to practice drawing heads in ink (fig. 154). These later additions to the folios demonstrate one of the functions of workshop drawings, that is, the training of apprentices. By copying a stock of models—from body parts to animals to architecture—such as those in the *Libretto* or the *Taccuino,* an artist would have filled his memory bank with images, as suggested by Cennini.

Ibid, 45-61; Elen, "Italian late-medieval and Renaissance drawing-books," 165-9; Scheller, *Medieval Model Books*, 142-154; Alfredo Aldovrandi, "Il 'taccuino' di Giovanni de' Grassi della Biblioteca Civica di Bergamo: tecnica di esecuzione e restauro," in *OPD restauro* (Florence: Centro Di, 1998), 15-37; O. Bravi and Maria G. Recanati, *Il taccuino di disegni di Giovannino de' Grassi* (Bergamo: Università degli studi di Bergamo, 2005).

[414] *Libretto degli Anacoreti*, F.N. 2487r, Istituto Calcografico, Roma. On the *Libretto*, see Anna delle Foglie, "Un taccuino tardogotico lombardo: studi sul 'Libretto degli anacoreti," *Arte lombarda* (2006): 55-62. Delle Foglie suggests that Leonardo Besozzo knew and used the drawings in this album for the anchorite scenes in the cappella del Caracciolo del Sole in San Giovanni a Carbonara in Naples (first half of fifteenth century).

[415] Its name derives from the significant number of drawings that show the stories of the anchorites, but there are others subjects represented.

If copying yielded an individual repertoire of images in memory, the physical drawings remained available as a form of external memory for the workshop. Similar to the *bricoleur*'s tool box, a collection of drawings could serve as the workshop's cache of tools. The heterogenous body of images could be searched and different models could be reused for different projects. For example, a hand with a falcon as seen on folio 27v of the *Libretto*, could alternatively be used for a hunting scene or as an attribute for a courtly figure. This kind of reuse of one motif for multiple settings occurs in the Teodelinda Chapel, where the motif of the hand and falcon appears in different contexts: in scene 19 as part of a courtly entourage, and then again in scene 31 as part of a proper hunt (figs. 155-157). Previous chapters have discussed how the Zavattari workshop, assigned with the task of making a cycle of paintings for which there was no iconographic precedent, made use of material they had at hand in the Basilica. Model drawings were likely to have been part of the workshop's own material wealth which could be manipulated and reused for different solutions. Rather than just searching in the inventory of one's memory, the workshop could also look in the inventory of its collected drawings.

Although it is likely that the Zavattari workshop had model albums, no such objects have survived. Nevertheless, a white paper folio with a highly refined drawing of trumpeters and a knight, now in the Civico Gabinetto dei Disegni in the Castello Sforzesco in Milan, Aggiunte 327, might have belonged to the Zavattari or at least to an artist closely associated to their workshop (fig. 158).[416] Certain factors make it difficult to locate the precise origin and typology of the Castello drawing. Prior to entering the Gabinetto dei Disegni in 1935, the drawing was

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[416] Wilhelm Suida, *Die Trivulzio- Sammlung im Castello Sforzesco in Mailand: Teil I* (Munich: Stiebner, 1935), 55-60; Elena Berti Toesca, "Un romanzo illustrato del '400," *L'Arte* 42 (1939): 141. I would like to especially thank Dr. Francesca Rossi, then curator of the Gabinetto dei Disegno at the Castello Sforzesco, for signaling the presence of this drawing and its relation to the Zavattari, and for her assistance in studying the drawing. See also, Laura Somenzi, "Drawing as Model and Mechanism of Invention: From the Rothschild Drawing Album to the Teodelinda Chapel," in *Monza Illustrata 3. 2017* (Rome: Aracne Editrice, 2018), 35-55.

part of the Trivulzio collection, but all earlier traces of provenance are lost. Further complicating the recovery of its original context is the fact that the folio is cut down from its original size and the edges are squared.[417] Despite the partial state of conservation of the support, which limits its material analysis, it is still possible to conceive that this drawing was once part of a larger collection.

The drawing represents a cluster of ten figures on horseback. All but one (a knight with a spear, a plumed helmet and amour with the Visconti ducal *capitergium*) are actively blowing into their long trumpets. The trumpeters don elaborate hats, each one slightly different, and robes (*cioppe*) belted at the waist.[418] The figures in the back rows are especially agitated as they lean back and extend their arms to better wield their long instruments, while their cheeks are fully puffed making a loud sound. The first row is far more composed with respect to the back ones, their instruments are shorter and so require less physical exertion. As the two outside figures blow calmly through a mouthpiece, the middle figure looks over to his neighbor, letting the trumpet lower for a moment.

The Castello drawing is not in a one-to-one rapport with any exact scene in the chapel. Rather, its elements and figures reappear in several reprises in the third register (scenes 17-20). The closest example is the wedding procession for Teodelinda and Authari (scene 20) (figs. 159-160). As in the drawing, there are three trumpeters in a front row, neatly staggered on their horses to recede into depth. The two side figures blow calmly into their short instruments while the middle figure pauses to look elsewhere. Behind them, the trumpeters appear in greater number, are more closely grouped and make greater efforts to play their longer trumpets. Akin to

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[417] The paper now measures 277 x 260 mm.

[418] For a description of the clothing in the drawing, see Alessio Francesco Palmieri Marinoni, "'Conzature de testa' nel ciclo pittorico della cappella di Teodolinda nel Duomo di Monza: per un'indagine sui copricapi e sulle acconciature," in *Monza Illustrata 3. 2017*, 157-158.

the drawing, the painting is an anthology of period headdresses, robes, and hairstyles. Another striking commonality between the Castello drawing and the Zavattari's paintings are the facial features: small round faces with pointed chins, miniature noses with well-defined contours leading into the arched eyebrow lines, the wispy beards and high cheeks. The horses, too, have the anatomical precision and refinement in the drawing as they do more generally in the Zavattari's paintings.

The relationship of the Castello drawing to the Zavattari's paintings points to how model drawings might have stocked the workshop's treasury and served as the material from which to elaborate novel compositions. The presence of the knight with plumed helmet and spear suggests that the Castello drawing was conceived as part of a chivalric tournament scene. However, in the place of the knight, the painting has Teodelinda and Authari and has thus shifted the narrative context to their wedding procession. Both drawing and painting reveal a common template, that of trumpeters accompanying other figures. Through minor changes, the template was pliable to serve different narrative and contextual ends. If the Castello drawing preceded the paintings, it signals a mode of using model drawings to create new narrative situations, one that selectively reuses and rearranges existing models. After all, the drawing is so finely modeled that it gives the illusion that it might be lifted off the page, taken in hand and reused in different contexts. The figures float in a neutral background and come off the page in their relief-like dimensionality, as if to invite an imaginative manipulation and re-composition of the drawing. If the drawing came after the paintings, it likewise indicates a reuse of the paintings as a store of possible new solutions. In both cases, the process of selection and reuse stimulates the transmission and circulation of pictorial ideas, whether those are stored in the form of drawing or in painting.

If the Castello drawing helps us understand how model drawings could be manipulated and reused for different pictorial ends, by a reverse mechanism, it is also possible to see how finished paintings are the result of this kind of gathering and remaking of existing image types. The group of scenes (31-32b) representing Teodelinda's dream (the moment she is instructed to found the Basilica of San Giovanni), provide a good example of a picture that is composed from a collection of stock images (fig. 161). The painting brackets the sleeping queen with a hunting scene to the left, and her departure from the city to find the location of her sanctuary to the right. Each part of the composite image—hunt, dream, and departure—derives from a different type of model drawing, of the kind that would have belonged to a workshop.[419] The greyhound, for instance, appears to have been transferred from a drawing like those found in Giovannino de' Grassi's *Taccuino* (figs. 162-163), whereas, the motif of a hawk diving towards storks also appears on folios 32r and 58r in a manuscript of Arthurian tales with drawings by the workshop of Bonifacio Bembo, dated to 1446 (Palatino 556, Biblioteca Centrale Nazionale, Florence, fig. 164-166) suggesting the use of a common model.[420]

The overall composition of the entry and exit of a city in Teodelinda' dream is also drawn from a common repertory of scenes. An exceptional comparison comes from the late fourteenth-century manuscript of Guido delle Colonne's *Historia destructionis Troiae* (MS H 86 sup.,

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[419] Daniela Veronesi notes the similarity, for example, of the sleeping queen in Monza to that in Padova's Santo, in the chapel of San Giacomo painted by Altichiero (1379). Veronesi notes that: "Probabilmente era stata compiuta dagli Zavattari una ricognizione su vasta scala di modelli esistenti per progettare un così vasto lavoro pittorico che aveva dato origine ad un taccuino di modelli poi utilizzati nell'intero ciclo." See Veronesi, "*Gli affreschi della Cappella di Teodelinda*," 95.

[420] Bonifacio Bembo, *La tavola ritonda,* Palatino 556, Biblioteca Centrale Nazionale, Firenze. On the Palatino 556 manuscript, see Roberto Cardini, ed., *Manoscritto Palatino 556* (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 2009); Nicolò Rasmo, "Il Codice Palatino 556 e le sue illustrazioni," *Rivista D'arte* (1939): 245-281; Amanda Luyster, "Playing with Animals: The Visual Context of an Arthurian Manuscript (Florence Palatino 556) and the Uses of Ambiguity," *Word et Image* (2004): 1-21. The similarity of the Palatino drawings to the paintings in the Teodelinda Chapel suggests that both were drawn from common models. On the practice of animal-drawing, see Joanna Woods-Marsden, "'Draw the Irrational Animals as Often as You Can from Life': Cennino Cennini, Giovannino de' Grassi, and Antonio Pisanello," *Studi di Storia dell'arte* 3 (1992): 67–78.

Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan).[421] Folio 14r of the Ambrosiana manuscript shows the entry of

soldiers into Troy, the capture of Helen, and the flight of Trojans from city gates (fig. 167). Its

composition is evidence of the kind of drawings that undergird the Zavattari's painting. Like the

scene of Teodelinda's dream in the chapel, the Ambrosiana drawing arranges a sequence of

events around city gates and places the narrative turning point within the city walls.

In Teodelinda's dream, a common repertory of images of animals and hunting scenes,

entries into cities, processions, and architecture are gathered and recomposed to represent a

moment in the queen's life. It is as if each model drawing were like a stone to be fit into the

overall composition of the chapel adding ornament and luster to the place. The chapel becomes

the repository of the tools, models and ideas that make up the workshop's know-how: an external

memory *cella* for the collective.

Over the five years in which the chapel was decorated, the site must have been filled with

the workshop's tools, drawings of different scale and purpose. Some of these objects had

belonged to the Zavattari for years and were reused, while others were made new. The many

artisans who were involved in decorating the chapel had to be able to access and share these

different objects and materials in order to paint the extensive surface of the walls together. While

work was being carried out, the chapel could function as an external version of the mind's

memory, filled with images, ready for use. In such a model, the inventive faculties—which for

the individual are located in the *cellae* of the mind—are actually located in a physical *cella*, the

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[421] *Guido delle Colonne's Trojan War*, codex H 86 sup., Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan. Adolfo Rivolta and Giulio Bertoni, *Catalogo dei Codici Pinelliani dell'Ambrosiana* (Milan: Biblioteca Ambrosiana, 1933), 25; Pietro Toesca, *Storia dell'arte italiana* (Torino: Unione Tipografico-Editrice Torinese, 1951), 844-846; Renata Cipriani, *Codici miniati dell'Ambrosiana: contributo a un catalogo*, *Fontes Ambrosiani 40* (Vicenza: Pozza, 1968), 68; Marco Ballarini and Luisa Sacchi, *Codex: i tesori della Biblioteca Ambrosiana* (Milan: RCS Libri, 2000), 109. The drawings in the Ambrosiana manuscript are model sketches intended for a more lavish illustrated manuscript and belong to the category of model drawings that circulated in North Italian workshops between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

chapel itself. After the chapel was completed, the walls continued to hold within them those models used by the Zavattari, materials to be mined for future creations. The decortated chapel can thus be understood as a treasury in two senses, first as a repository of those things that made up Teodelinda's history and perpetual presence within the Basilica; and second, as a storehouse of the artistic heritage of the Zavattari, a storehouse that provided material for future generations of painters. Just as the Basilica provided the stage and materials for the Zavattari's art making, its treasure was reproduced as a place by the Zavattari's art in the decorations of the Teodelinda Chapel. The making of place and the making of art in fifteenth-century Monza were symbiotic and recursive activities. [422]

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In a chapter dedicated to the art of memory and collecting, Lina Bolzoni writes that a long history culminated in the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as "mental loci were superimposed over physical loci," and the "map of the mind came to match up with the map of things."[423] Her conclusions are situated within a discourse of mnemotechnics and its spatial metaphors (the memory palace, the treasure) which she argues, gradually became literalized into real spaces with the advent of collecting. Bolzoni's account pertains to the tail end of a historical process, one that would not yet have matured in the mid-fifteenth century.[424] Yet, Bolzoni's idea that spatial metaphors are literalized into real spaces translates to the present

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[422] Rebecca Zorach draws an analogy between the productions of processions and the production of art in the Renaissance: she asks, "But what if painting in the Renaissance were more like this processional event than we generally admit? It was collaborative in planning and execution; it extended through time; it was often ambiguous in its positioning of producers and consumers; it was sometimes produced for an event or to frame particular activities…usually site specific," in "Renaissance Theory: A Selective Introduction," in *Renaissance Theory*, ed. James Elkins and Robert Williams (New York: Routledge, 2008), 25.

[423] Lina Bolzoni, *La stanza della memoria*, 246. "Questo è in un certo senso il momento culminante di una lunga storia, che abbiamo visto via via affiorare nel libro, della tendenza, cioè, a sovrapporre luoghi mentali e luoghi fisici, a far combaciare la mappa della mente con la mappa delle cose." Translation my own.

[424] Ibid. Bolzoni is interested in the birth of modern collecting practices, such as in the *studiolo*, and their relationship to memory practices.

discussion of the Teodelinda Chapel as treasury. As I have argued, the chapel functioned as a treasury in both literal and metaphorical ways. It contained within it many invaluable objects: relics and treasures as well as the remnants of the workshop's store of artistic treasures. As a treasury of the objects and images that undergird the inventive potential of the Zavattari, the chapel furthermore concretizes a familiar metaphor for artistic composition in which the mind's memory cell is said to be stocked, like a treasury, and always ready for use.

Conclusion.

Shortly after Archbishop Carlo Borromeo's final pastoral visit to the Basilica of San

Giovanni in 1582, Teodelinda's sepulcher was removed from her chapel and relocated to the left

transept. Borromeo's intentions, since his first visit in 1566, were to impose a new, post-

tridentine rigor on the Basilica's cult activities. As part of this effort, he had relics separated from

treasury objects. He also suspended cult devotion for the local "saint", Gerardo Tintori (1134-

1207), until he was officially canonized in 1583. Borromeo further regularized the liturgy to

follow the Roman rite.[425] For Borromeo, Teodelinda's cult along with her burial inside the

chapel were improper. Teodelinda was not a saint and could not be venerated as such.[426] Not

only was the sarcophagus relocated, but the chapel was also rededicated to the Blessed Virgin of

the Rosary.[427] The episode indicates that cult devotion for Teodelinda was robust at the end of

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[425] Paola Vismara, "Religione e società nell'epoca moderna," in *Monza. La sua storia*, 226-227; Angelo Giorgio Ghezzi, "Culto e devozione nell'epoca di San Carlo Borromeo," in *La Corona Ferrea nell'Europa degli imperi* vol. 2, 84-110; Delmoro, "Per l'antico aspetto"; Idem, "La memoria di Teodelinda," 979-89. The documents for the pastoral visits are in Archivio di Stato di Milano, *Archivio Spirituale, Sezione X, Visita Pastorale e documenti aggiunti*, vol. III, XVI and XX. The visit of November 28, 1566 is in Archivio Storico Diocesano Milano, Monza, XVIII, fasc. 1, *De praefecto*.

[426] See Beltrami, "La tomba della regina Teodolinda nella Basilica di S. Giovanni in Monza," 673-678. According to Beltrami, Teodelinda's sepulcher was not in direct violation of Tridentine norms. Rather, Borromeo's issue was the inappropriate nature of the cult that focused on her grave and which there celebrated her death anniversary each year. Beltrami confirms his hypothesis through a sixteenth-century chronicler, perhaps a Barnabite monk, who writes: "1580. S. Carlo consacra la Basilica di S. Gio. Battista. Vuolsi che in questa occasione egli facesse trasportare l'urne o cenotofio in onore della regina Teodelinda che stava dentro la cappella del S. Rosario, fuori della medesima, per impedire che il popolo portasse alla regina il culto dovuto ai santi." For the citation, see Beltrami, 676, n. 2. Beltrami does not give a proper citation of this source. In fact, Carminati de Brambilla confirms that the anniversary rites celebrated on January 22nd in the chapel of Saint Vincent were still happening in the sixteenth century. Carminati de Brambilla in Frisi, *Memorie di alcune antichità delle chiese di Monza,* 243.

[427] Borromeo changed the dedication of the chapel to the Blessed Virgin of the Rosary, and there installed the confraternity of the Rosary in 1584. An altarpiece with this new dedication, and a wooden Madonna and Child statue were placed over the altar between 1609 and 1621. See Danilo Zardin, "Il duomo nei secoli dell'età moderna," in *Monza. Il Duomo nella storia e nell'arte*, 31-43. As Campini writes: "Così viene denominata da quella Compagnia, che riconosce S. Carlo per autore, ma che anticamente era dedicata, come lo è pur ora ai Santi Martiri Vincenzo ed Anastasio, dicevasi altresì della Teodelinda, perchè vi giaceva il corpo sull'altare e per la storia della sua vita della quale tuttavia si vede dipinta tutta la cappella." Campini, *Descrizione dell'insigne real Basilica Collegiate San Giovanni Battista di Monza*. Saint Anastasius was added to the chapel's dedication in the sixteenth century.

the sixteenth century, at least enough to solicit the archbishop's disapproval.[428] However, the removal of Teodelinda's sepulcher marks the start of a new era, one in which the significance of Teodelinda for Monza would be redefined.

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Teodelinda had been referred to locally as a saint. By the turn of the seventeenth century, however, her status was under contention.[429] The queen needed to be officially canonized in order to claim sainthood, but this never happened.[430] In the early seventeenth century, the abbot and local historian, Bartolomeo Zucchi (1570-1630) took the matter of Teodelinda's beatification into his own hands.[431] Zucchi turned to the duke of Bavaria, William V, as a potential ally.[432] The duke fostered a special interest for Teodelinda based on their shared Bavarian origins. In a letter dated to 1611, Zucchi asks the duke to intercede on the matter of Teodelinda's beatification to Pope Innocent XI.[433] William V's

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[428] Writing after 1578, Girolamo Carminati de Brambilla indicates that a mass with distribution of candles was still celebrated on January 22nd in the chapel of Saint Vincent. Girolamo Carminati de Brambilla is transcribed in Frisi, *Memorie Storiche di Monza Memorie di alcune antichità delle chiese di Monza e sua corte* III, 243. For a discussion of these documentes, see Delmoro, "Per la committenza artistica," 16, n. 9.

[429] Outside of Monza, Teodelinda was often taken as an exemplary figure of the pious Christian woman who converted her husband and people to Catholicism and whose friendship with Gregory the Great was of great spiritual, diplomatic and literary merit. She was also included in the first volume of Matthaeus Rader's *Bavaria Sancta* in 1615. Rader's saints, like Teodelinda, were not all officially canonized. On the reception of Teodelinda throughout history, see Maroni, "Teodolinda: immagini e metamorfosi," 293-332.

[430] In the sixteenth century, another local saint, Gerardo dei Tintori was also under scrutiny. Unlike Teodelinda, Gerardo was officially canonized with the help of Carlo Borromeo in 1583.

[431] For a summary overview, see Cassanelli, "I restauri delle pitture murali della cappella. Appunti per una storia attraverso i documenti d'archivio," in *Monza: la cappella di Teodelinda nel Duomo*, 130-131.

[432] Zucchi, *De' Complimenti*. The correspondence with the duke began in 1610, when the duke was drafting a manuscript on Bavarian saints. Zucchi sent him a copy of his biography of Teodelinda (which the duke had translated into german) and then later a portrait of the queen. The duke's emissary, Marco Valserio, was often responsible of the epistolary communication. The biography of Teodelinda is printed as Zucchi, *L'historia della serenissima Theodelinda reina de' Longobardi, fabricatrice del tempio di san Giovanni Battista, e nobilitatrice di Monza, città imperiale* (Milan: Stamperia arcivescovile, 1609).

[433] February 8, 1611: "Al Serenissimo Guglielmo duca dell'una, e dell'altra Baviera Conte Palatino del Rheno. Fra me stesso considerando io la vita esemplare, e santa della serenissima Reina Theodelinda, e le sue attioni, gloriose per se, grate a Dio, e utili al christianesimo, ho talhora sentito alquanto rossore, che tuttavia in questa sua insigne Chiesa di San Gio. Battista si facciano annuali, e si celebrino messe per lei, credendo io ch'ella partita dal mondo, sia à dirittura volata al cielo. Questa è la cagione, che mi hà più volte mosso, e hora a viva forza violenta à scrivere à vostra stessa Serenissima per supplicarla con quella reverenza, che debbo, per honore di sì gran Donna, per ornamento della sua casa, e per consolatione particolarmente di questa chiesa e Communità à operare col Sommo Pontefice, che la conceda un Breve per poterla chiamar Beata…"

responses do not survive, so it is unclear whether he tried, unsuccessfully, to have her beatified

or whether he simply did not take up Zucchi's request. Nevertheless, the duke was sufficiently

interested in the cause to commission an engraved series of the Zavattari's cycle. These

engravings, however, were never completed.[434]

One explanation for why Teodelinda was never beatified is that the timing was not right.

Even if there were efforts to make the Longobard queen a saint, they were eclipsed by a matter

of greater concern: legitimizing the Iron Crown as a relic of the Holy Nail.[435] It is not clear when

the Iron Crown gained cult attention as a relic, but by the sixteenth century it was considered as

such. Shortly thereafter, in the seventeenth century, the Iron Crown's status as a legitimate relic

came under attack. In 1687 the cult was suspended and was not officially reinstated until

1717.[436] It is possible that Monza was forced to pick its battle: either to make Teodelinda a saint

or to confirm the crown as an authentic relic.

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[434] Frisi records a letter for February 14, 1615 in which the duke writes to Zucchi promising financial support for the restoration. "Quanto alla cappella della suddetta santissima Teodelinda, per la renovation della quale mi scrisse già alcuni mesi sono, che un pittore ne addimandava scudi centoventi, facci lei pure, che egli vi attenda con diligenza, et assiduità, et quando sarà compita l'opera avisi per mezzo se le habbi da far rimettere il denaro, che lo faro sborsar subito." This passage is cited by Frisi, *Memorie storiche di Monza e sua corte* I, 259. Roberto Cassanelli proposes that this passage was invented by Frisi, or modified, from the actual concern for the engravings to be made. For an overview of the correspondance regarding the cleaning and the engravings, see Cassanelli, "I restauri delle pitture murali della cappella," 130-131.

[435] See Buccellati and Ambrosini, eds., *La Corona Ferrea nell'Europa degli imperi*, vol.1-2. It is probable that the cult can be traced to Carlo Borromeo's renewed interest for the cult of the Holy Nail conserved in the Milan Cathedral and that he officially recognized the relic in Monza. See Giovanni Morello, "Il processo romano per il culto della corona ferrea," 129-133 and Angelo Giorgio Ghezzi, "Culto e devozione nell'epoca di San Carlo Borromeo," in *La Corona Ferrea nell'Europa degli imperi* vol. 2, 84-110.

[436] In 1655, the procession of the Iron Crown was prohibited by Antonio de Mattheis, vicar general of the dioceses of Milan, but which was immediately revoked by Cardinal Alfonso Litta. Francesco Antonio Tranchedini, vicar general of the archbishop, issued a decree that prohibited the cult of the Iron Crown during his pastoral visit in 1687. It was particularly under scrutiny for the ostentation and procession of the crown in a cross-shaped ostensory which conserved other passion relics and which was kept in the chapel of the Holy Nail (right apse chapel). The cult was officially reinstated on August 10, 1717 with a decree from the Congregazione dei Riti. See Morello, "Il processo romano per il culto della corona ferrea," 129-133.

From the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, the Basilica's large-scale decorations were updated in accordance with the general shift in concerns and cult focus.[437] These changes in devotional attention account for the redecoration of much of the apse area, which had been painted in the fifteenth century by the Zavattari and others. Updating the Basilica's decorations was also a practical matter, motivated by architectural changes to the nave and main apse.[438] However, the new pictorial and sculptural works reveal that Teodelinda's role had become ancillary to the crown's history.[439] The new decoration of the Basilica, following the barrel vaulting of the nave in 1644, witnessed a shift in Teodelinda's position vis-à-vis the crown. From 1697 to 1704 six artists (Sebastiano Ricci, Filippo Abbiati, Antonio Maria Ruggeri, Francesco and Federico Bianchi and Andrea Porta) worked on ten *quadroni* for the central nave (fig. 168).[440] The paintings combine the history of Teodelinda, the foundation of the Basilica and the Iron Crown (figs. 169-174). Compared to the life of Teodelinda as represented by the Zavattari, the *quadroni* have a different focus. Whereas the Zavattari's cycle was all about Teodelinda, her foundation and protection of Monza, the *quadroni* cast the queen as part of a larger story that strongly foregrounds the crown.

It must be kept in mind that during the creation of the *quadroni*, the Iron Crown's cult was suppressed. Since the crown was not an official relic, the Basilica's chapter cautiously chose to highlight the historical legitimacy of the crown, while refraining from dedicating the series

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[437] On the early modern period of Monza's Basilica, see Vismara, "Religione e società nell'epoca moderna," 226-227; Ghezzi, "Culto e devozione nell'epoca di San Carlo Borromeo," 84-110; Zardin, "Il duomo nei secoli dell'età moderna," 31-43.

[438] The updates were also necessitated by the poor state of conservation of the medieval paintings.

[439] On the redecoration of the Basilica in relation to the cult of the Iron Crown, see Conti, "La corona, il tesoro, Teodelinda attraverso sette secoli d'arte nel Duomo di Monza," in *La Corona Ferrea nell'Europa degli imperi* vol. 2, 145-186.

[440] Amalia Barigoni Brini, "I quadroni del Duomo di Monza," *Arte Lombarda* 15, 2 (1970): 91-98; Coppa, "Il rinnovamento artistico del Duomo di Monza dall'età dei Borromeo alla fine dell'ancien régime. Le fonti, lo stato degli studi e le nuove prospettive di ricerca," in Cassanelli and Conti, eds., *Il duomo di Monza. Itinerario barocco* (Milan: Electa, 1995), 40-59; Cassanelli and Conti, eds., *Cinque secoli di pittura a Monza. Opere d'arte restaurate 1980-1995.*

exclusively to it.[441] By including the crown within a broader history of Monza's foundation, with

a focus on imperial coronations and relics, the paintings argue for the importance of the object

without running the risk of heresy. As soon as the cult was authorized in 1717, however, the

decorations in the Basilica came to focus more insistently on the Iron Crown. In the years

immediately after the Iron Crown's legitimization, monumental paintings were dedicated entirely

to it. From 1718 to 1719 the cupola was painted by Pietro Gilardi and Giuseppe Antonio Castello

(Castellino) (fig. 175). The chapel of the Virgin was rededicated to the Holy Nail and repainted

between 1719 and 1721 by Giovan Angelo Borroni and Giuseppe Castelli (figs. 176-177). Later

in the century (1739-1740) the transept was painted by Carlo Innocenzo Carloni with other

instances in the history of the Iron Crown (fig. 178). Around 1718-1722, two stucco statues of

Teodelinda and Gregory the Great were made by Marco Mauro and placed in niches on either

side of the transept (figs. 179-180). The statue of Gregory the Great holds a model of the Iron

Crown in one hand, which in pendant with Teodelinda, represents the act of donating the relic to

the queen.[442] Although Teodelinda is portrayed as an important figure in the history of the

Basilica's foundation, the Iron Crown, Monza's "new" and most valued relic, is the main

protagonist of the new decorations.

Despite the extensive seventeenth and eighteenth-century renovations, the Teodelinda cycle

was left intact. Many efforts were even made to record and restore the work.[443] While her cult

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[441] On their argument of legitimization based on the double foundation of the Basilica (595 and 1300), see Conti, "La corona, il tesoro, Teodelinda attraverso sette secoli d'arte nel Duomo di Monza," 163-164. Particularly noteworthy is the addition of the Iron Crown in the *Apparition of Teodelinda and Saint Elizabeth* which modifies the original myth in which only the *ampullae* were rediscovered.

[442] In Zucchi, *Tre illustrissime glorie di Monza città imperiale, per la vita della reina Theodelinda, per la corona ferrea, e per la vita di san Gherardo* (Milan: Stamperia arcivescovile, 1613), the author claims that Gregory gave the crown to Teodelinda and that it was the one given to Constantine with one of the nails.

[443] For the history of restauration in the chapel, see Cassanelli, "I restauri delle pitture murali della cappella. Appunti per una storia attraverso i documenti d'archivio," 130-32, and in the same volume, Lucchini, "Metodologie di restauro negli interventi del passato sui dipinti della cappella di Teodelinda," 144-146. The history is here summarized in the Introduction.

had changed shape over the previous centuries, the survival of the chapel and its decorations

suggest that the queen was still an essential figure for Monza. Removing her life story would not

have been tolerated. Although the chapel was now dedicated to the Blessed Virgin of the Rosary,

no plan was ever made to repaint the chapel to fit its new dedication.[444] There was also no

suggestion of having modern artists repaint Teodelinda's story in her chapel.

A number of factors may have influenced the decision to preserve the Zavattari's cycle. By

the eighteenth century, there was an aesthetic appreciation for the Zavattari's paintings. For

Campini, who wrote his description of the Basilica in 1767, the Zavattari's paintings were a feast

for the eyes, "In our day" he declares, the paintings "win the admiration of experts, actually that

of everyone, because there the gaze is fed..."[445] In addition to their aesthetic qualities, the

paintings were also valued for their narrative function. As evidenced by Fossati's 1722 drawings,

which sought to record the text-image relation of the cycle, the paintings were used as a visual

accompaniment to Teodelinda's story. But there were reasons, beyond their documentary or

artistic value, for preserving the Zavattari's Teodelinda cycle.

An early eighteenth-century portrait of Teodelinda can serve as a point of entry in the effort

to explain not only why the Zavattari's paintings survived, but also how they assumed new

meaning in the modern period. The oil portrait, today preserved in Monza's decanal house, was

originally part of a series of fifteen portraits of the Basilica's benefactors kept in the chapter hall

(fig. 181).[446] On special holidays, such as the Feast of the Nativity of Saint John the Baptist and

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[444] With regards to the two heads detached from the wall when a marble altar was set against the wall in 1771 by the confraternity of the Rosary, later sold by Frisi, see Coppa, "A proposito di due frammenti pittorici zavattariani. Antonio Francesco Frisi, don Carlo Trivulzio e la Cappella di Teodelinda nella seconda metà del Settecento," in Cassanelli, *Atlante iconografico*, 93-99.

[445] "…riscuoton a' dì nostri da periti, anzi da tutti l'ammirazione, poiché vi si trova da pascere o sguardo, e le particolari cognizioni." Campini, *Descrizione dell'insigne real Basilica Collegiate San Giovanni Battista di Monza.* Translation my own.

[446] Cassanelli and Conti, eds., *Cinque secoli di pittura a Monza. Opere d'arte restaurate 1980-1995*, plates 60, 83. The painting is listed in the "sala grande terrena capitolare" in the 1754 inventory.

the Feast of the Holy Nail, the paintings were exhibited to the public on the outside walls of the church.[447] In the painting in question, the queen is depicted standing next to a table on which are displayed a number of treasury objects. With one hand, she lightly lifts the Iron Crown, while with the other hand, she holds a fleur-de-lis scepter.[448] The painting is rather static and would not be remarkable were it not that Teodelinda's portrait is a close citation of the Zavattari's representation of Teodelinda.[449] Specifically, the portrait replicates the Zavattari's image of Teodelinda from scene 35, in costume, pose and facial features (fig. 182). Both images show the queen standing and holding a scepter. Although the Zavattari's paint surface has worn, and the extent of the resemblance cannot be confirmed, it is likely that the queen's dress, as represented in the eighteenth-century portrait, was closely copied from the fifteenth-century depiction of the queen in the Teodelinda Chapel. Everything from the cut and style of the vestment to the details of the red cloth with dark brocade patterns and high jeweled belt are similarly rendered. The resemblance of the eighteenth-century portrait to the Zavattari's depiction of Teodelinda continues in the representation of the queen's face. In both cases, the face is a regular oval with small features. A strong resemblance can also be noted in the representation of the crown and the way in which the queen's locks of hair are pulled back softly around her countenance.

There is an additional factor that makes the eighteenth century copy of the Zavattari's Teodelinda significant, namely that the chapel decorations were perceived as antique: historically distant in both style and moment of creation. The eighteenth-century copy of her fifteenth

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[447] It is possible, as Delmoro has hypothesized, that this painting was copied from the seventeenth-century portrait placed over Teodelinda's sepulcher in the transept, later replaced by Mauro's niche statue. Delmoro, "La memoria di Teodelinda," 988.

[448] To the queen's right, is a pedestal which reads: TEODELINDAE/ LONGOB./REGINAE/FABRICAM HANC/ B.JOHANNIS BAPTAE/ CONDETI/ LOCUPLETANTI, MONUMENTUM, which is the same inscription painted on the transept wall below Mauro's statue.

[449] If this portrait did replicate the painting over the sepulchre, then the argument with regards to the imitation of the Zavattari shifts to that seventeenth-century painting, but remains valid.

century portrait certainly suggests that the early image had accrued the aura of authenticity. Campini referred to the chapel as "such a beautiful monument of antiquity" and also described the Zavattari's decorations on the transverse arch as "very old paintings."[450] It is entirely possible that the perceived antiquity of the paintings placed them in a category of objects—like the treasures and relics—that were temporally closer to Teodelinda than to the present.[451]

An interpretation of the Zavattari's paintings, which began in the early modern period, suggests more specifically how the paintings were understood as temporally closer to Teodelinda. In the 1718 manuscript, *Giubili in Monza*, the author writes that in the queen's chapel were painted: "The most heroic feats of the aforementioned most pious Longobard Princess portrayed from life by the able paintbrush of Troso of Monza in the year 1444 after the true models that were in ancient times painted in the rooms of her palace in the Corte Longa." [452] Furthermore, according to Campini's 1767 description of the chapel: "The historiated part, a good portion of the figures, and the different clothes—Longobard, Greek and Italian—must have been copied from older painting, which according to Bonincontro, could still be seen in the basement of a house in the *contrada*, which today is in fact still called Corte Longa, which was a portion of the royal palace of the Longobards according to tradition."[453]

A century after Campini, Antonio Francesco Frisi expressed a similar understanding of the Zavattari's paintings and their relation to the lost Longobard murals, as either revivals of the

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[450] "si bel monumento d'antichità" and "assai annose pitture." Campini, *Descrizione dell'insigne real Basilica Collegiate San Giovanni Battista di Monza,* ff. 99, 39. Translations my own.

[451] Many of the objects of the treasury which were believed to have been gifted by Teodelinda were actually made in later centuries.

[452] "Le più heroiche imprese della suddetta pijssima Principessa Longobarda ritratte al vivo dal virtuoso pennello del Troso di Monza l'anno 1444 secondo li veri esemplari già anticamente coloriti nelle stanze del suo Palazzo in Corte Longa." *Giubili in Monza*, 1718, ms. 2 A 112, Biblioteca Capitolare, Monza, 13. Translation my own.

[453] "L'istoriato, buona porzione delle figure, e li diversi abbigliamenti longobardi, greci ed italiani debbon esser stati ricopiati da più vecchie pitture, che, al rifferir di Bonincontro, ancora si comprendevano ne' sotterranei d'una casa nella contrada anche oggi apponto denominata Corte Longa, la quale era porzione del reale palazzo de' Longobardi per quanto ne corre costante tradizione." Campini, *Descrizione dell'insigne real Basilica Collegiate San Giovanni Battista di Monza,* f. 99. Translation my own.

paintings themselves or of their descriptions: "Nor will I consider far from likely that the story of

the Longobards, and especially of Teodelinda painted in this basilica by Troso da Monza, be a

revival of what either tradition or the remaining fragments indicated of the aforementioned

ancient paintings."[454] In these three sources, the Zavattari are given a critical role in recovering

the essence of the paintings that once adorned Teodelinda's palace, as described by Paul the

Deacon.[455]

If Frisi, Campini and other modern scholars believed that the Zavattari's decorations

were, indeed, copied from the palace paintings, it may have influenced how they understood the

queen's representation.[456] Not only had the fifteenth-century works drawn from Longobard

images, but they had copied the very ones that had belonged to Teodelinda's court, where her

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[454] "Nè io crederò lontano molto dal probabile, che la Storia de' Longobardi, e specialmente di Teodelinda dipinta in questa Basilica da Trosso da Monza, sia un ravvivamento di quanto o la tradizione, o i rimasti indizi dinotavano delle antiche menzionate pitture." Frisi, *Memorie Della Chiesa Monzese*, 47. Translation my own. For Frisi, the authorship of the paintings in the Teodelinda Chapel belonged to Troso (or Trosso) da Monza, due to a misreading of the Latin dedicatory inscription.

[455] It is not clear when the idea that the Zavattari had copied Longobard paintings came into being, but that it comes up frequently in eighteenth century sources means that it was likely sometime in the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries. Paul the Deacon writes that the palace constructed by Teodelinda in Monza had painted gests of the Longobards. Paul the Deacon, *History of the Langobards,* 4.22. Paul the Deacon describes the paintings in Teodelinda's palace, which was likely erected adjacent to the Basilica of San Giovanni, as showing stories of the Longobard people in all the particularities of their ancient dress and costume: "Ibi etiam praefata regina sibi palatium condidit, in quo aliquot et de Landobardorum gestis depingi fecit. In qua picture manifeste ostenditur, quomodo Langobardi eo tempore comam capitis tondeband vel quails illis vestitus qualisve habitus erat. Siquidem cercicem usque ad occipitium radentes nudabant, capillos a facie usque ad os dismisses habentes, quos in utramque partem in frontis discrimine dividebant. Vestimenta vero eis errant laxa et maxime linea, qualia Anglisaxones habere solent, hornata institis latioribus vario colore contexts. Calcei vero eis errant usque ad summum pollicem pene aperti et alternatum laqueis corrgiarum retenti. Postea vero coeperunt osis uti, super quas equitantes tubrugos birreos mittebant. Sed hoc de Romanorum consuetudine traxerant." ["There also the aforesaid queen built herself a palace, in which she caused to be painted something of the achievements of the Langobards. In this painting it is clearly shown in what way the Langobards at that time cut their hair, and what was their dress and what was their appearance."] The other source for the location of the palace is the inscription on the evangialary covers: De donis di offerit Theodelenda reg/ Gloriosissema/ sco Iohanni Bapt/ In Baselica/ Ovam /Ipsa Fund/ In Modicia/ Prope Palatium suum. On Paul the Deacon's description, see Stefano Gasparri, *La cultura tradizionale dei Longobardi. Strutture tribali e resistenze pagane* (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1983), 55-61. The history of the palace is not well documented, but the literary fame of its lively paintings was wide spread. On the little information that we have on the palace, see Cassanelli, "Monza: il Palazzo e la Cappella Palatina da Teodolinda a Berengario," 75-80.

[456] Although is not known when the palace was destroyed, it is more likely that this happened before the fifteenth century. There are no Quattrocento sources that speak of the palace or its paintings and none that speak of the Zavattari having copied these images. It is more probable that this connection between the Zavattari's decorations and the palace paintings was created in the early modern period.

true likeness may have been recorded.[457] As a copy of the Zavattari's image of the queen, the decanal house painting, for its contemporaries, may also have been a true portrait of Teodelinda. The Zavattari's paintings may therefore have been perceived as a bridge between Teodelinda's lost antiquity and the present as they preserved in vivid colors what had otherwise faded with the passing of time.

In the fifteenth century, the Zavattari's paintings had activated Teodelinda's relics, treasures and other materials, and mediated between the Basilica's past and present. The mural decorations, which at the time framed the queen's funerary monument, assembled Teodelinda's presence in the space of the chapel and affirmed the sacrality of the location despite actual temporal and structural breaks. The Zavattari's paintings were effective not so much because of their novelty, but rather because they drew together and gave intelligible shape to an existing collection of items that already belonged to the community's *memoria* of Teodelinda. This *memoria* was gathered and given a recognizable and coherent form in the narrative cycle of Teodelinda's life. What is all the more remarkable is that in the following centuries, despite the drastic changes that took place in the Basilica's decoration, cult life, and organization, the Zavattari's paintings continued to function—albeit from a different angle—as a means for making Teodelinda and her past coincide with the present. The eighteenth-century portrait of Teodelinda further suggests that the Zavattari's paintings became a quasi-relic of the queen.

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[457] The paintings in the palace were known throughout the Renaissance thanks to Paul the Deacon's description and had considerable fame. Giorgio Vasari speaks of the Longobard paintings, but not in relation to the Zavattari. Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori, e architettori* (Florence: Giunti, 1568), Proemio, 23, 16. "Il tempio di S. Giovambatista a Monza, fatto da quella Teodelinda reina de' Gotti alla quale S. Gregorio papa scrisse i suoi Dialoghi. Nel qual luogo essa reina fece dipignere la storia dei Longobardi, dove si vedeva che eglino dalla parte di dietro erano rasi e dinanzi avevano le zazzere e si tignevano fino al mento; le vestimenta erano di tela larga, come usarono gli Angli et i Sassoni, e sotto un manto di diversi colori, e le scarpe fino alle dita de' piedi aperte e sopra legate con certi correggiuoli."

Even if the bodily relics of Teodelinda had been removed from her chapel, the paintings themselves had nevertheless maintained the relic-like legitimacy which they had accrued when they were in the presence of the body.

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Figure 1. Basilica of San Giovanni Battista, Monza. Image from Wikipedia Commons:
https://it.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Duomo_Monza.jpg
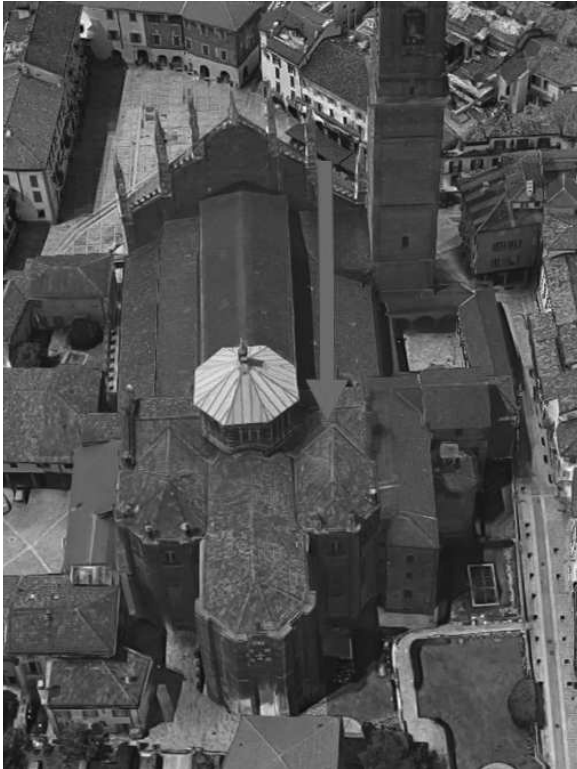
For image see Roberto Cassanelli and
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Figure 2. Aerial view of the Basilica of San Giovanni, Monza. Image from Google Earth.

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http://www.museoduomomonza.it/regina-teodolinda/la-cappella/

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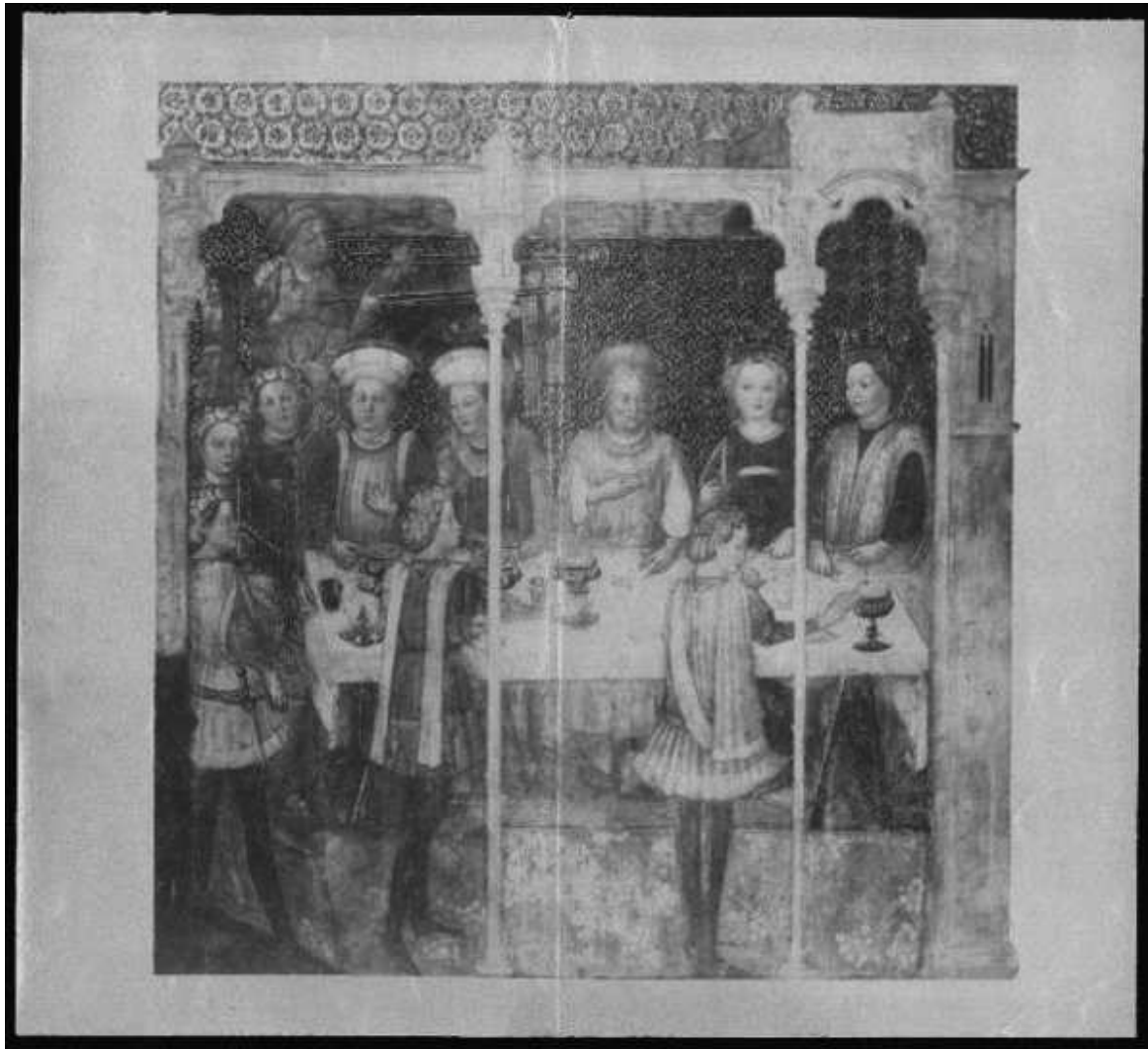
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For image see the website of Lombardia Beni Culturali:
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For image see Cassanelli, ed., *La cappella di Teodolinda nel Duomo di Monza, atlante iconografico*, 198.

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Figure 8. Giovanni Battista Fossati, *La Gesta più memorande della nazione Longobarda: e specialmente intorno alla vita di Flavia Theodolinda loro regina, dipinte in quaranta storiati sulle pareti della cappella detta Regina, da Troso da Monza nel 1444*, 1722, b-25/173, folio 30, pen and ink on paper, Biblioteca Capitolare, Monza.

For image see the website of the Museo del Tesoro del Duomo di Monza:
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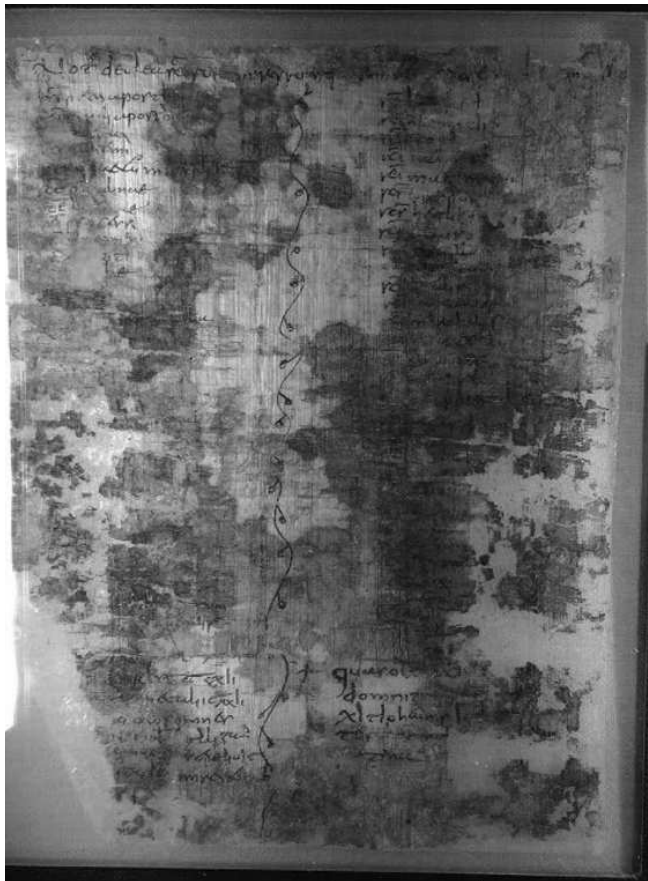
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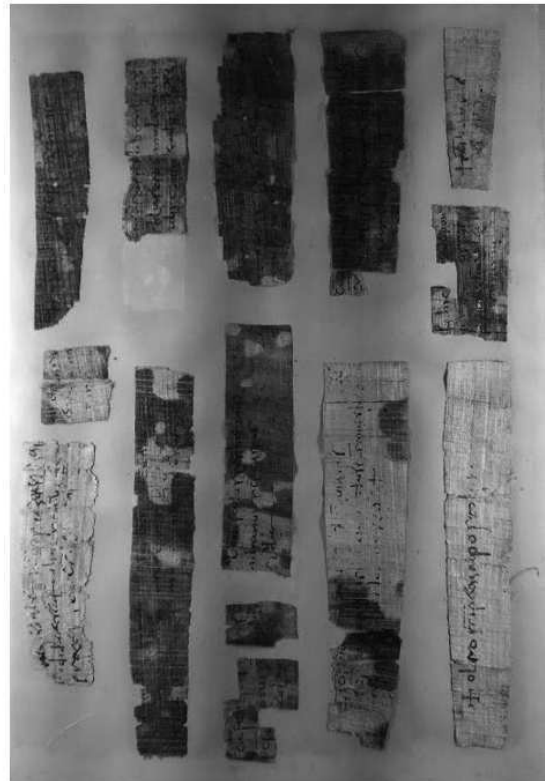
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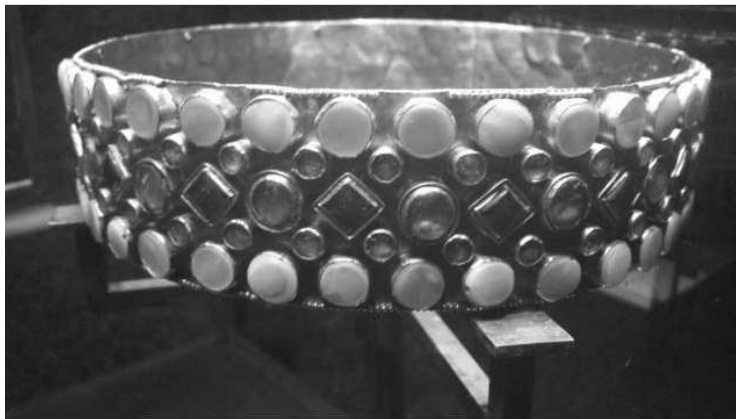
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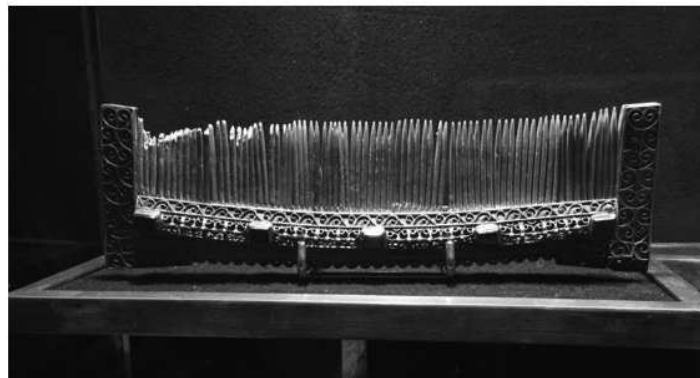
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For image see Roberto Cassanelli, ed., *La cappella di Teodolinda nel Duomo di Monza, atlante iconografico* (Monza: Fondazione Gaiani, 2016), 282.

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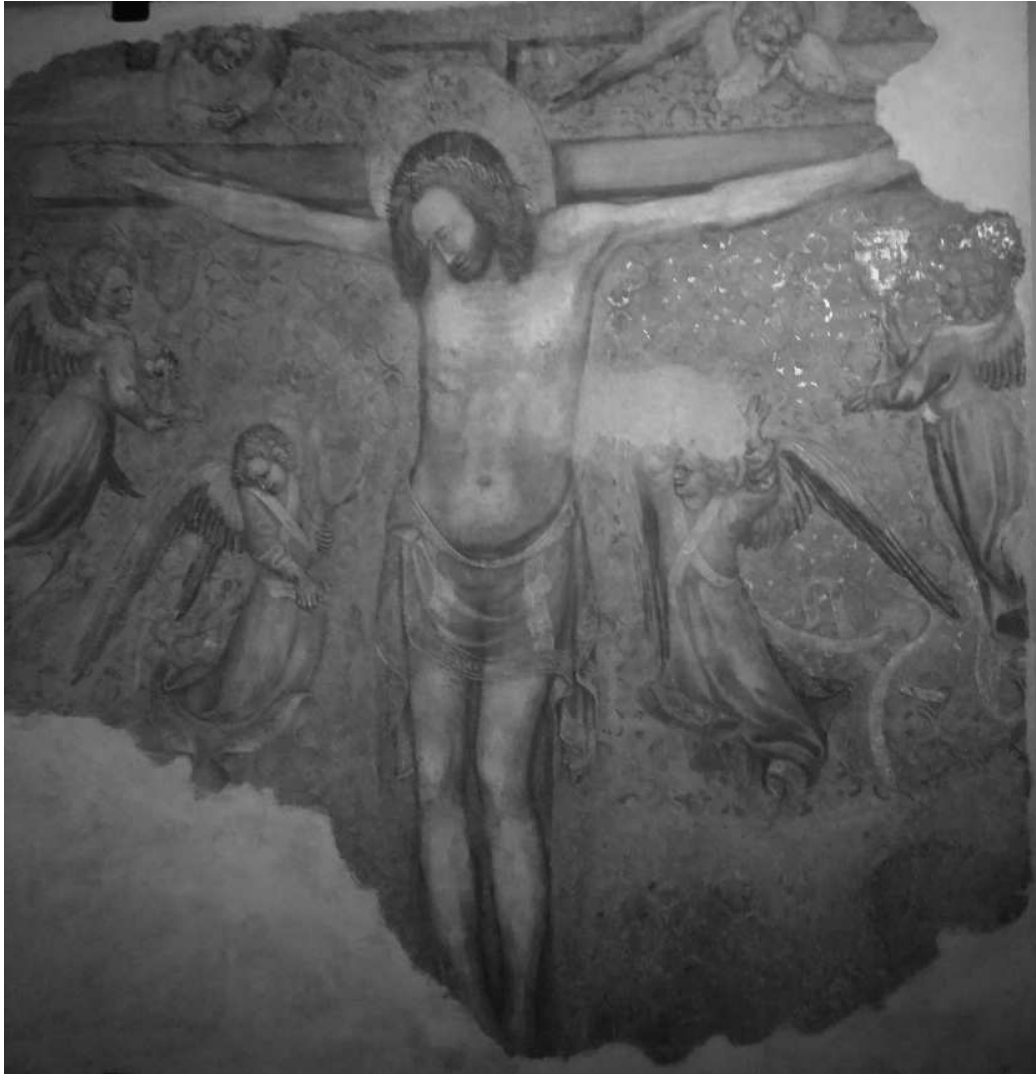
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For image see Graziella Buccellati and Annamaria Ambrosioni, eds., *La Corona Ferrea nell'europa degli imperi vol. 1* (Milano: Mondadori, 1995), 18.

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(Photo by Author)

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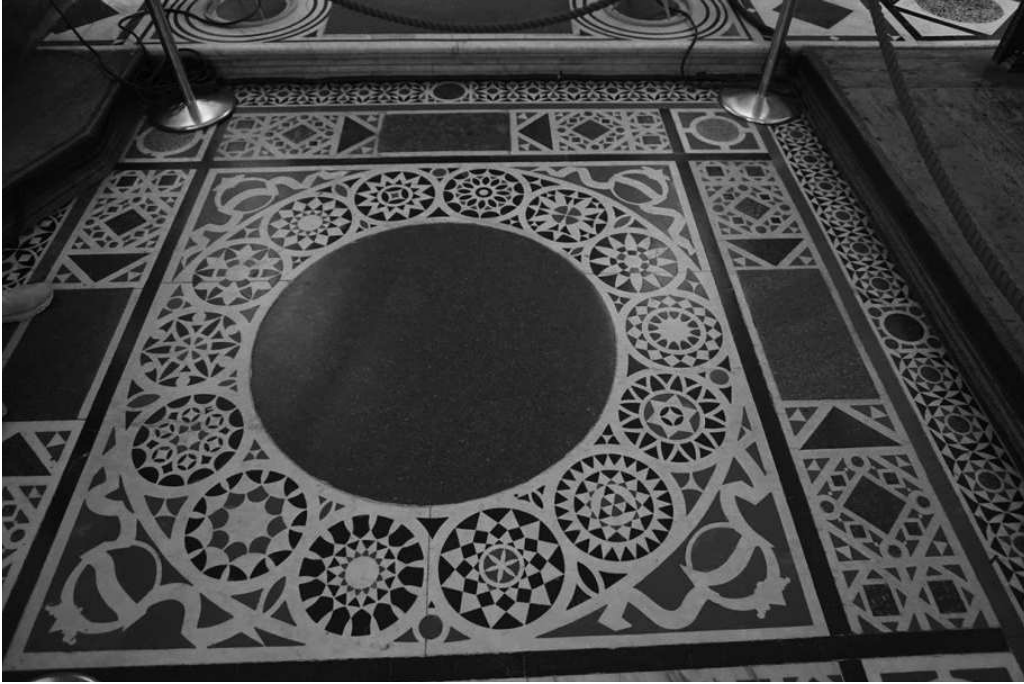
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(Photo by Author)

For image, see the website of the Uffizi: https://www.uffizi.it/opere/doppia-coppa.

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Figure 118. Teodelinda's sarcophagus as it is today. Teodelinda Chapel. (Image removed due to lack of copyright permission)
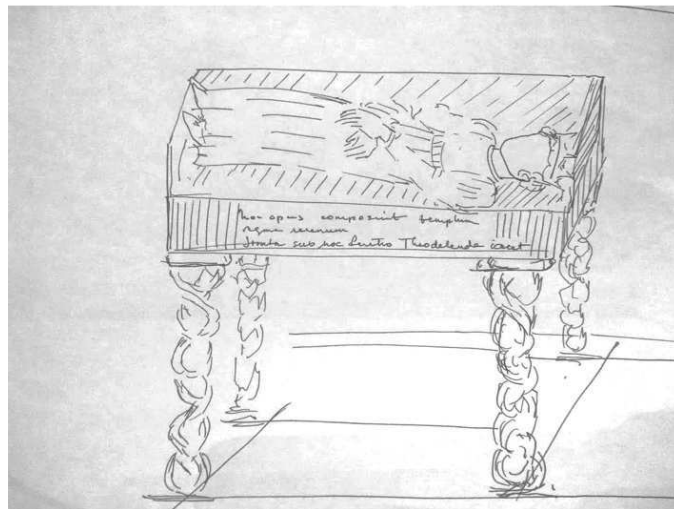

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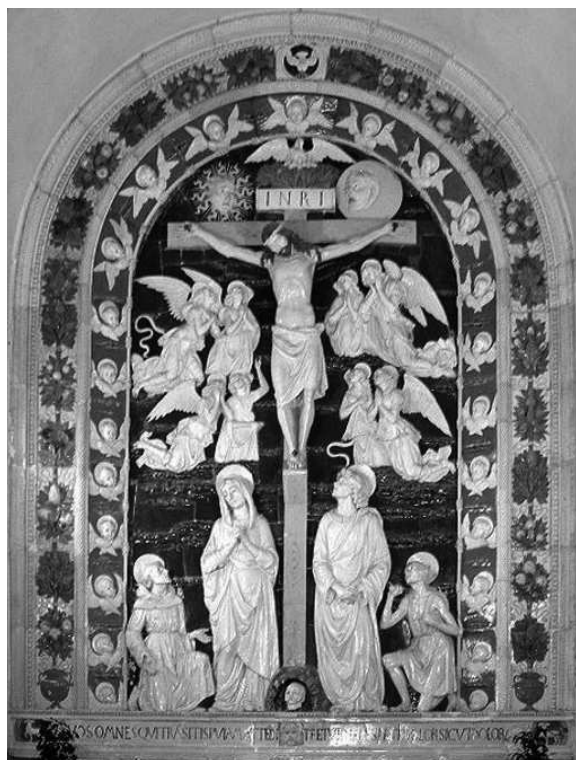
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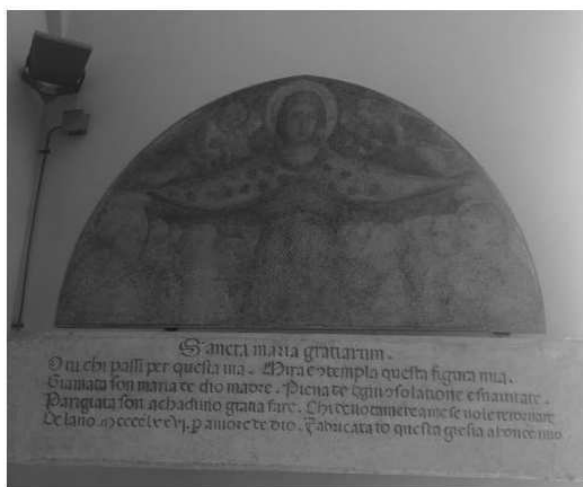
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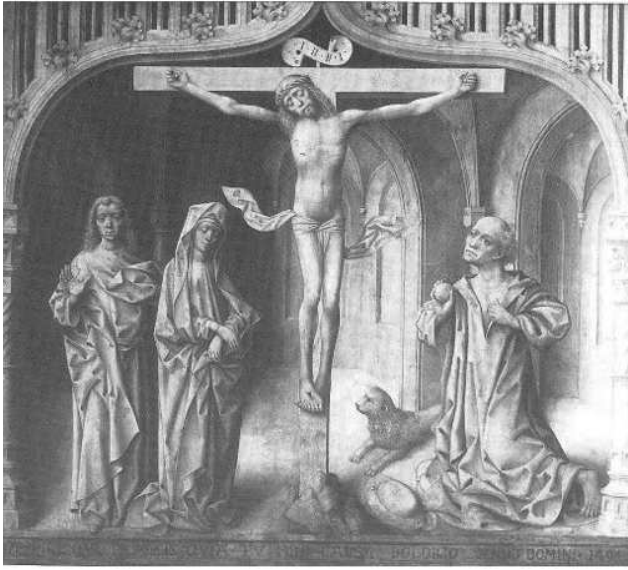
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Figure 133. Workshop of Antonio da Monteregale, David, c. 1430, wall painting, vault, Teodelinda Chapel. (Image removed due to lack of copyright permission)

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(Image removed due to lack of copyright permission)

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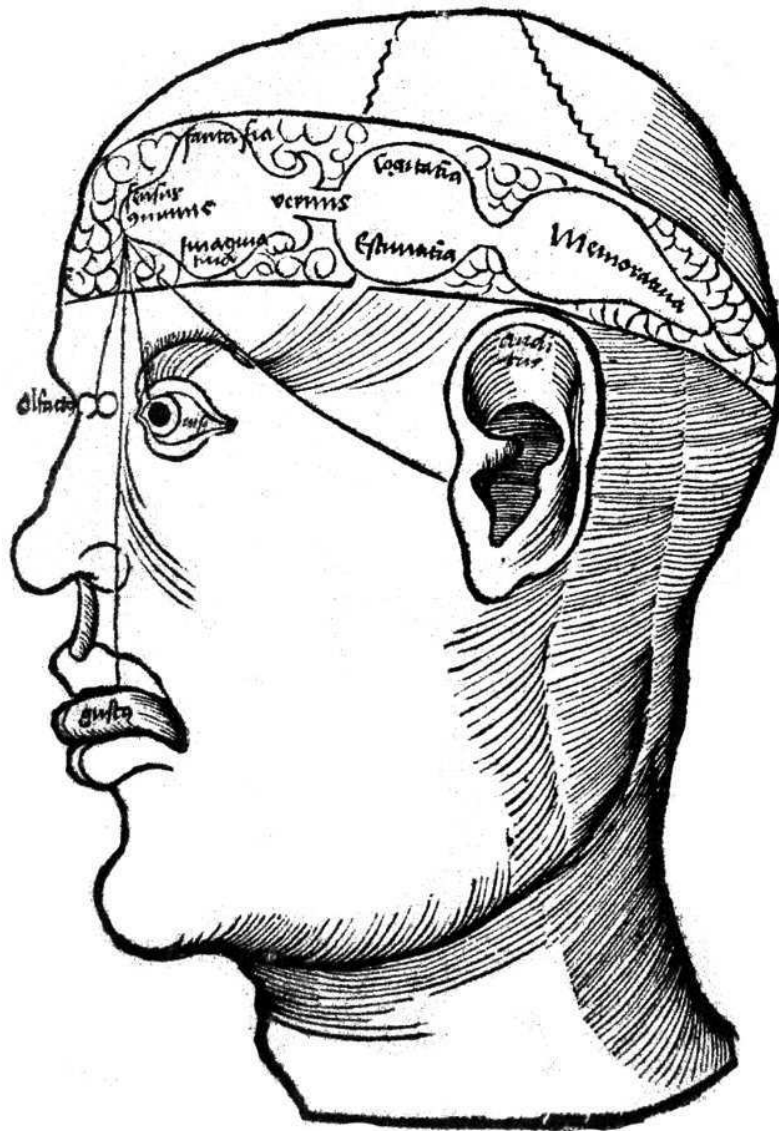
Figure 1444. Gregor Reisch, Margarita philosophica, 1512, engraving, 10th edition, book 10. For image, see Wikipedia commons:
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Figure 146. Analysis of different painters in the Teodelinda Chapel. Slide © Anna Lucchini. (Image removed due to lack of copyright permission)

(Image removed due to lack of copyright permission)

Figure 147. Zavattari, Detail of kneeling figure (study of patroni), Scene 45, 1441-1446, wall painting, Teodelinda Chapel. Photo and slide comparison © Anna Lucchini.

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Figure 149. Zavattari, Head of an angel, c. 1420, transverse arch, and Detail of scene 11, Head of a page, Teodelinda Chapel, 1441-1446, wall painting. Basilica di San Giovanni, Monza. Photo © Anna Lucchini. (Image removed due to lack of copyright permission)

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For image see facsimile edition: *Taccuino di disegni; codice della Biblioteca civica di Bergamo, prima ed. integrale in fac-simile promossa dalla Banca piccolo credito bergamasco* (Bergamo, Edizioni "Monumenta Bergomensia," 1961), f. 2.

Figure 151. Giovannino de' Grassi, Taccuino dei disegni, 1390s, inv. cassaf. 1.21, f. 2, painting on vellum, Biblioteca Civica Angelo Mai, Bergamo. (Image removed due to lack of copyright permission)

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Figure 152. Giovannino de' Grassi, Taccuino dei disegni, 1390s, inv. cassaf. 1.21, f. 3v, painting on vellum, Biblioteca Civica Angelo Mai, Bergamo. (Image removed due to lack of copyright permission)

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Figure 153. Libretto degli Anacoreti, F.N. 2487r, f. 7, c. late 14th-mid 15th century, pen and ink on vellum, Istituto Calcografico, Roma.

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Figure 154. Libretto degli Anacoreti, F.N. 2487r, f. 23, c. late 14th-mid 15th century, pen and ink on vellum, Istituto Calcografico, Roma.

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Figure 155. Libretto degli Anacoreti, F.N. 248 27v, f. 23, c. late 14th-mid 15th century, pen and ink on vellum, Istituto Calcografico, Roma.

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Figure 156. Zavattari, Detail of scene 31, Hunt, 1441-1446, wall painting, Teodelinda Chapel. (Image removed due to lack of copyright permission)

For image, see Roberto Cassanelli, ed., *La cappella di Teodolinda nel Duomo di Monza, atlante iconografico*, 234.

Figure 157. Zavattari, Detail of scene 19, Marriage of Authari and Teodelinda, 1441-1446, wall painting, Teodelinda Chapel. (Image removed due to lack of copyright permission)

For image see Laura Somenzi, "Drawing as Model and Mechanism of Invention: From the Rothschild Drawing Album to the Teodelinda Chapel," in *Monza Illustrata* 3. 2017 (Roma: Aracne Editrice, 2018), fig. 9.

Figure 158. Zavattari, Jousting scene, Aggiunte 327, mid-15th century, pen and ink on paper, Civico Gabinetto dei Disegni in the Castello Sforzesco, Milano. (Image removed due to lack of copyright permission)

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Figure 159. Zavattari, Detail of scene 19, Marriage of Authari and Teodelinda, 1441-1446, wall painting, Teodelinda Chapel. (Image removed due to lack of copyright permission)

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Figure 160. Zavattari, Scene 20, Marriage of Authari and Teodelinda, 1441-1446, wall painting, Teodelinda Chapel. (Image removed due to lack of copyright permission)

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Figure 1611. Zavattari, Scenes 31-32, Hunt and Entry into a city, 1441-1446, wall painting, Teodelinda Chapel. (Image removed due to lack of copyright permission)

For image see Roberto Cassanelli, ed., *La cappella di Teodolinda nel Duomo di Monza, atlante iconografico*, 283.

Figure 162. Zavattari, Detail of scene 31, Hunt, 1441-1446, wall painting, Teodelinda Chapel. (Image removed due to lack of copyright permission)

For image, see facsimile edition: *Taccuino di disegni; codice della Biblioteca civica di Bergamo*, f. 7v.

Figure 163. Giovannino de' Grassi, Taccuino dei disegni, inv. cassaf. 1.21, Detail f. 7v, 1390s, painting on vellum, Biblioteca Civica Angelo Mai, Bergamo. (Image removed due to lack of copyright permission)

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Figure 164. Zavattari, Detail of scene 31, Hunt, 1441-1446, wall painting, Teodelinda Chapel. (Image removed due to lack of copyright permission)

(Image removed due to lack of copyright permission)

Figure 165. Bonifacio Bembo, La tavola ritonda, Palatino 556, 1446, pen and ink on vellum Biblioteca Centrale Nazionale, Florence.

(Image removed due to lack of copyright permission)

Figure 166. Bonifacio Bembo, La tavola ritonda, Palatino 556, 1446, pen and ink on vellum, Biblioteca Centrale Nazionale, Florence.

(Image removed due to lack of copyright permission)

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Figure 168. Quadroni with life of Teodelinda and story of the Iron Crown, 1697-1704 central
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For image see Amalia Barigoni Brini, "I quadroni del Duomo di Monza," *Arte Lombarda* 15, 2 (1970): fig. 4.

Figure 169. Sebastiano Ricci, Foundation of the Basilica, 1697-1704, oil on canvas, central nave, Basilica di San Giovanni Monza.
(Image removed due to lack of copyright permission)

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Figure 170. Filippo Abbiati, Apparition of Saint Elizabeth and Teodelinda in 1300, 1697-1704, oil on canvas, central nave, Basilica di San Giovanni Monza.
(Image removed due to lack of copyright permission)

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Figure 171. Andrea Porta, Donation of the treasure, 1697-1704, central nave, Basilica di San Giovanni Monza.
(Image removed due to lack of copyright permission)

For image see Amalia Barigoni Brini, "I quadroni del Duomo di Monza," fig. 3.

Figure 172. Filippo Abbiati, Clement VII accepts the Iron Crown for coronation, 1697-1704, oil on canvas, central nave, Basilica di San Giovanni Monza. (Image removed due to lack of copyright permission)

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Figure 173. Antonio Maria Ruggeri, Carlo Borromeo welcomes the King of France, 1697-1704, oil on canvas, central nave, Basilica di San Giovanni Monza. (Image removed due to lack of copyright permission)

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Figure 174. Antonio Ruggeri, Crowning of a king with the Iron Crown, 1697-1704, oil on canvas, central nave, Basilica di San Giovanni Monza. (Image removed due to lack of copyright permission)

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Figure 175. Giovan Angelo Borroni and Giuseppe Antonio Castelli (Castellino), Glory of the Iron Crown, 1718-1719, fresco, Chapel of the Rosary (right apse chapel), vault, Basilica di San Giovanni Monza. (Image removed due to lack of copyright permission)

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Figure 176. Giovan Angelo Borroni and Giuseppe Antonio Castelli (Castellino), Invention of the True Cross, 1719-1721, fresco, Chapel of the Rosary (right apse chapel), Basilica di San Giovanni Monza. (Image removed due to lack of copyright permission)

For image see Cassanelli and Conti, eds., *Il duomo di Monza. Itinerario barocco*, fig. 47.

Figure 177. Giovan Angelo Borroni and Giuseppe Antonio Castelli (Castellino), Insertion of the relic of the Holy Cross in the Iron Crown, 1719-1721, fresco, Chapel of the Rosary (right apse chapel), Basilica di San Giovanni Monza. (Image removed due to lack of copyright permission)

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Figure 178. Carlo Innocenzo Carloni, Approval of the cult of the Iron Crown, 1739-1740, fresco, South transept, Basilica di San Giovanni Monza. (Image removed due to lack of copyright permission)

Figure 179. Marco Mauro, Gregory the Great, 1718-1722, stucco, south transept, Basilica of San Giovanni, Monza. (Photo by Author)

Figure 180. Marco Mauro, Teodelinda, 1718-1722, stucco, north transept, Basilica of San Giovanni, Monza. (Photo by Author)

For image see Cassanelli and Conti, eds., *Cinque secoli di pittura a Monza: opere d'arte restaurate, 1980-1995: Monza, Serrone della Villa Reale e Duomo, 7 novembre 1997-31 gennaio 1998* (Milano: Mondadori, 1997), 60.

Figure 181. Anonymous, Teodelinda, first half of 18th century, oil on canvas, decanal house, Monza. (Image removed due to lack of copyright permission)

For image see Cassanelli, ed., *La cappella di Teodolinda nel Duomo di Monza, atlante iconografico*, 313.

Figure 182. Zavattari, Detail of scene 35, Destruction of the idols, 1441-1446, wall painting, Teodelinda Chapel. (Image removed due to lack of copyright permission)