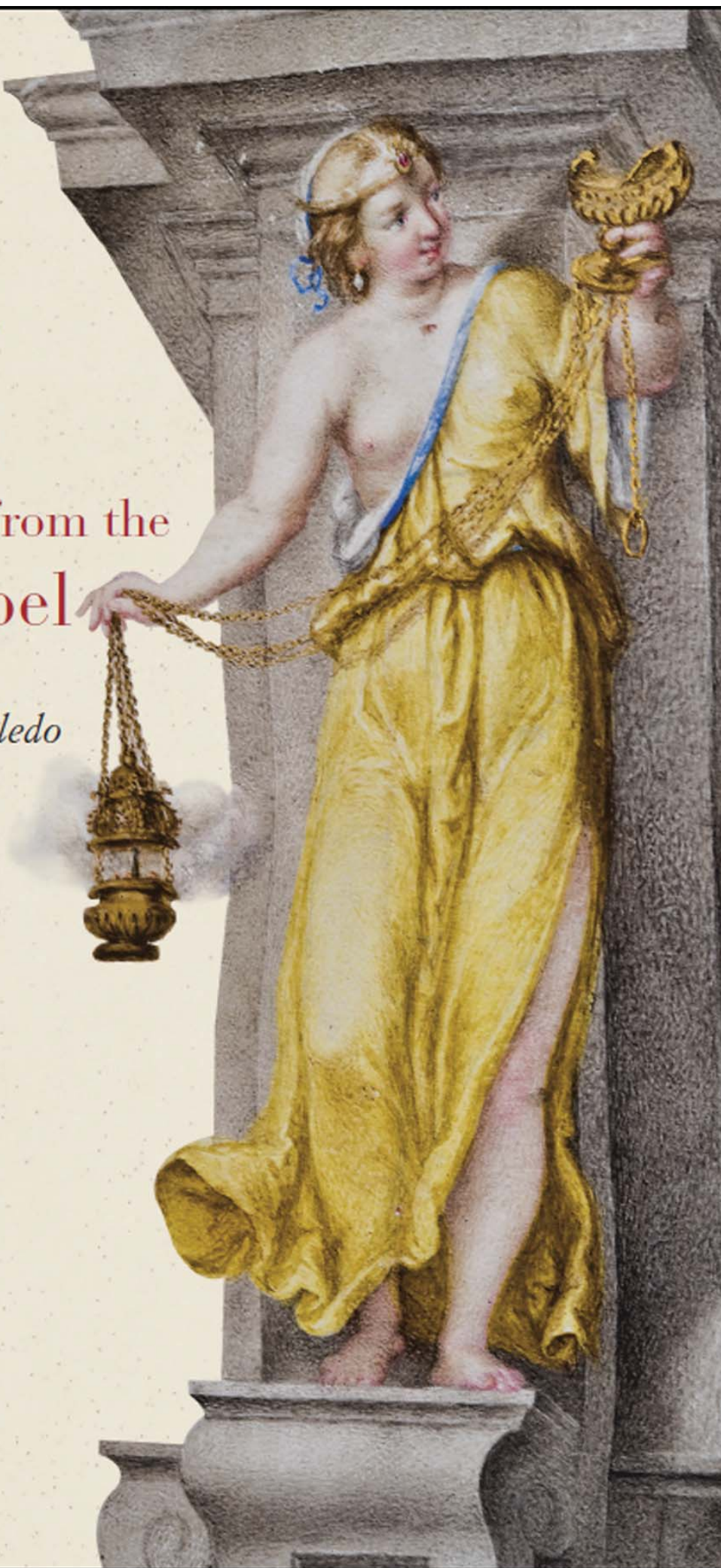


Elena De Laurentiis
Emilia Anna Talamo

The Lost Manuscripts from the Sistine Chapel

*An Epic Journey
from Rome to Toledo*



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*Catalogue of the
Exhibition Edited by*
Elena De Laurentiis

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Introduction

Elena De Laurentiis and Emilia Anna Talamo

The Lost Manuscripts from the Sistine Chapel: An Epic Journey from Rome to Toledo is an exhibition that focuses on the codices from the sacristy of the Sistine Chapel in Vatican City. These richly illustrated manuscripts were originally used by generations of popes, cardinals, archbishops, and bishops in the Catholic Church to celebrate liturgical services in the Papal Chapel. In 1798, the entire collection was dispersed during the French occupation of Rome, and many of the codices were subsequently broken apart and stripped of their miniatures. Today, the resulting fragments can be found in various private and public collections around the world.

The presence of a large number of codices from this collection—some of them completely intact and perfectly preserved—in Toledo, Spain, has made it possible to reconstruct and present, at least partially, what was formerly one of the most important collections of liturgical manuscripts in the history of the papacy. In 1798, these exquisite illuminated manuscripts were recovered in Rome by Cardinal Francisco Antonio de Lorenzana y Buitrón (1722–1804), Archbishop of Toledo, who donated them to the Catedral Primada de Toledo (Primate Cathedral of Toledo) later that year. While the majority are still preserved in its Biblioteca Capitulare de Toledo (Chapter Library of Toledo), others ended up—after various vicissitudes—in the Colección Borbón-Lorenzana (Borbón-Lorenzana Collection) of the Biblioteca Pública del Estado de Toledo / Biblioteca de Castilla-La Mancha (State Public Library of Toledo / Regional Library of Castilla-La Mancha) in Toledo as well as in the Biblioteca Nacional de España (National Library of Spain) in Madrid.

A recently undertaken systematic analysis of the decorative schemes of the manuscripts in Toledo—together with an examination of every known torn-out page, fragment, collage, and miniature currently preserved in other collections—has yielded a more complete understanding of the range of pictorial production in the papal *scriptorium* (manuscript workshop) between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries. An especially compelling component of this analysis has been the investigation of the art of the illumination in Rome during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when the refined method of artistic production was still being upheld, especially in the papal court, thanks to the patronage of its many popes and cardinals.

This volume, *The Lost Manuscripts from the Sistine Chapel: An Epic Journey from Rome to Toledo*, begins its tale with an essay section that discusses the unique problems of the Sistine Sacristy collection, the overall diaspora of its materials, and the specifics of Cardinal Lorenzana's acquisition of the codices that are now in Toledo. The catalogue which follows offers an in-depth profile of

the individual codices themselves, rendered in a chronological order that highlights the different types of liturgical books—each belonging to the popes or high ecclesiastical dignitaries of the papal court—as revealed through the illuminated coats of arms that figure in the codices. Each of these manuscripts has its own peculiarity and a complex history that is frequently made up of suppositions, additions, and reuses that are difficult to identify.

The appendices of this volume include the archival documentation pertaining to this project: a transcription of the payments that were made by the Vatican to its illuminators, the records of several inventories that were undertaken of the Sistine Sacristy, an inventory of the manuscripts that were donated by Cardinal Lorenzana to the Catedral Primada de Toledo, and the auction records of a major sale of Sistine Sacristy miniatures that were dispensed by Abbot Luigi Celotti (Italian, 1759–1843) at Christie's in London on May 26, 1825. A reconstruction of the Sistine Sacristy collection is also included, based off of the inventories, along with a report on the present location of each codex, torn-out page, and fragment that has been found to date.

Not surprisingly, the bulk of this publication is the catalogue which addresses the manuscripts of the Sistine Sacristy collection. As the exquisite works therein form the foundation of both this publication and the highlights of the exhibition, a brief overview is warranted here to orient the reader from the outset.

The oldest section of the catalogue consists solely of two illuminated manuscripts: the beautiful *Benedictine Evangelistary* (cat. 1), which dates to the eleventh century, and the *Sacramentary of Brescia* (cat. 2), which dates to the late twelfth/early thirteenth century.

Though these manuscripts may have entered the Sistine Sacristy collection, perhaps as the bequest of a prelate in the papal court, they were not executed in Rome.

The following section leaps forward significantly to the fifteenth century, which is well represented by fourteen codices. The Sistine Sacristy collection preserved liturgical books, including those not necessarily of Roman production, from the fifteenth century onward. In fact, the *Sistine Sacristy Inventory of 1547* lists among its oldest holdings—apart from an odd “*vecchio*” missal that is difficult to identify—several codices that belonged to Pope Eugene IV (r. 1431–1447) and Pope Nicholas V (r. 1447–1455), as well as two manuscripts that were reused by Pope Paul II (r. 1464–1471) after they were made in Avignon, France, for Antipope Benedict XIII (r. 1394–1417)¹. Today the latter two works reside at the Biblioteca Capitulare de Toledo.

The fifteenth-century codices begin with the *Breviary of the Order of Preachers* (cat. 3), a codex with a characteristic decorative scheme that consists of two friezes and various initials that are



The Codices of the Sistine Sacristy

Emilia Anna Talamo

It is not very often that two friends or colleagues decide to write a book together and, in my limited experience, almost impossible when each is also an art historian. In fact, this type of scholar is particularly jealous of his or her own research and especially of any personal discoveries, which are typically spoken about only after they have been published.

Therefore, it seems incredible that my friendship with Elena De Laurentiis was born out of a love of the same subject and a desire to collaborate on a single research project. The decisive step was to jointly write a book that would address a problem that is complex, difficult, extremely intensive, and all the more interesting and attractive for these very reasons: the codices of the Sistine Sacristy.

Some years ago, I wrote—with great effort but also with great delight—a book on the illuminated codices of the Sistine Chapel: the volumes that were used on a day-to-day basis by the singers of the Pontifical Chapel.¹ Over the course of my research, as I could not have failed to do, I ran into another large problem: the codices of the Sistine Sacristy, or the liturgical manuscripts that were used by the cardinals and other high prelates of the papal court. The subject had been covered, albeit partially, by the leading scholars of the history of illumination. These included Mirella Levi D'Ancona and Jonathan J.G. Alexander, who had, on various occasions, published articles on the illuminations of the Sistine Sacristy collection. The origin of these works was revealed through their shared provenance at the sale of the collection of Abbott Luigi Celotti (1759-1843), an auction that was held at Christie's in London on May 26, 1825.²

In their contributions, both Levi D'Ancona and Alexander cite two eighteenth-century inventories of the Sistine Sacristy which are preserved in the Archivio di Stato di Roma (State Archive of Rome). However, they had confined themselves to brief transcriptions. Therefore, I decided to include the Sistine Sacristy inventories in my book, in full and together with an inventory from 1547 that had been previously published, albeit in incomplete form, by Xavier Barbier de Montault in the late nineteenth century.³ I should add here that I did not understand then—nor do I understand now—why those two scholars only concerned themselves with the complex problem of the dispersed collection, leaving aside any analysis of the illuminated manuscripts of the Sistine Chapel, which have also been preserved, for the most part, in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Apostolic Vatican Library) in Vatican City. As a partial explanation of this anomaly, it has been pointed out that the work of both scholars was conducted principally in the United States and in the United Kingdom. Even so, it remains hard to understand why a legacy of such size and

importance would have been almost ignored by those experts in the field of illumination. At best, they were covered only briefly by Léon Dorez, in his early twentieth-century studies of the French illuminator Vincent Raymond (French, active c. 1522-1557), and by the Spanish musical expert José María Llorens, in his more recent analysis of the Sistine Sacristy codices.⁴

In 1998, after overcoming so many difficulties and doubts, I finally published my book on the codices of the Sistine Chapel. At the time, I was hoping to write another on the codices of the Sistine Sacristy. Though I had promised that I would do so, it was certainly not going to be an easy task. I lacked the time—and perhaps the inclination—to lock myself inside another labyrinth of illuminations, provenances, and attributions for another three years. Also, I would have been alone in tackling a subject that had already been addressed by Levi D'Ancona and Alexander, those two great students of the art of illumination, who very surely would come down hard on any inaccuracies in my work.

For those reasons, I thought that I had said goodbye to the codices of the Sistine Sacristy forever. The work was too difficult and complex; besides, the publisher who had brought out my volume on the Sistine Chapel codices did not seem predisposed to financing my research in tracking down the heady diaspora of the Sistine Sacristy codices. Therefore, my notebook remained closed. In the years that followed, I did try to resume work on the planned study through a large exhibition devoted to the art of illumination in Rome from the Middle Ages to the twentieth century. The scale of the subject was undoubtedly the chief reason why that project also remained unachieved. Several years later, even when it had been scaled down in size and limited to solely the sixteenth century, the exhibition again failed to materialize. This was due not only to funding problems but also, perhaps, to the conviction—never expressed openly—that it was unlikely to succeed with the general public, as the subject was too specific and too confined to the scholarly world.

Nevertheless, the plan for the exhibition—which, naturally, would have been held in Rome—did give me the opportunity to get to know a number of students of the art of miniature. Among them was Elena De Laurentiis, an unforeseen revelation, who had been looking for me for years since discovering an important group of codices in Spain that originate from the Sistine Sacristy. Miraculously, De Laurentiis had rediscovered the very same arrangement of the eighteenth-century inventories: the registers were identical and the volumes were practically undamaged. However, the most unexpected thing was that she wanted to involve me in the project.



books of the papal Chapel and Sacristy shortly afterward. Even so, it is difficult to find evidence of his first works for the papal court, and the manuscripts preserved to this day in the Sistine Sacristy collection are undoubtedly attributed to other artists.⁴¹ In the past, an attempt was made to attribute a loose folio with the *Birth of the Saint John the Baptist* (fig. 41) to Raymond,⁴² but the stiffness of some of the figures appears to have been rendered by a different hand. Therefore, the notion that this is a work from Raymond's juvenile period—which is why the figures are not yet well defined—is untenable: Raymond had come to Rome with a well-defined artistic palette and was welcomed at the papal court for precisely that reason.

For all of these reasons, I believe that the miniature in Toledo can be attributed to Raymond's first period and that it was perhaps made during the reign of Pope Clement VII. Support of this hypothesis can be found in the figure of the Virgin Mary, which, in its obvious reuse of the *pleurant* form, shows Raymond's still-strong links with his culture of origin. Although he no longer used that figurative model to craft his later works, the artist's sophisticated training can still be recognized in the elegance of the frames and friezes. It is possible that the *Crucifixion* currently in Toledo comes from a missal made for Cardinal Clermont-Lodève himself, but as no trace of the cardinal can be found in any of the inventories, this is merely a suggested hypothesis at this point in time.

The *Pontifical of Cardinal Pietro Barbo* (cat. 6) has the second illumination by Vincent Raymond that is currently held in Spain: a panel with the *Four Evangelists* (fig. 42). The image includes the device of the rolled-up folio and is inserted within the text border of the folio, where it is surrounded by a frame rendered with elegant volutes and, at the bottom of the page, the coat of arms of Pope Julius III (r. 1550-1555). The latter heraldic detail is important as it indicates that the illumination was done before the end of the pontificate of the Italian in 1555.

The style here is less dense and the figures are drawn with less precision. They have lost the brightness of tone, not only because of the different colors that were used, but also because of the absence of a special figurative taste that had previously united the figures and friezes. The artist was still elegant in his maturity but, at the same time, undoubtedly plainer. This was possibly a consequence of Raymond's need to quickly execute all of the codices that were required of him as the official illuminator to the Sistine Chapel and Sacristy, as created by the *motu proprio* of 1549. On account of this agreement—and even upon the death of Pope Paul III in 1549—Raymond was able to retain his office indefinitely. His name appears on the payment rolls until February of 1556, when he relinquished his post, perhaps due to illness. Almost exactly a year later, on February 10, 1557, Raymond died at his home near the Church of San Girolamo della Carità in Rome, suc-

The Codices of the Sistine Sacristy in Toledo (Spain)

Elena De Laurentiis

During the French occupation of Rome in 1798, Cardinal Francisco Antonio de Lorenzana y Buitrón (1722-1804) (fig. 45),¹ Archbishop of Toledo and Special Ambassador of King Charles IV (r. 1788-1808) to the Holy See, managed to recover a group of liturgical codices from the Sistine Sacristy at the Vatican. These manuscripts had long been used in the service of the Sistine Chapel, and to save them from dismemberment and dispersion, the cardinal sent the codices to Spain. With the exception of eleven manuscripts—which he set aside for his own collection and are now amalgamated with the Colección Borbón-Lorenzana (Borbón-Lorenzana Collection) of the Biblioteca Pública del Estado de Toledo / Biblioteca de Castilla-La Mancha (State Public Library of Toledo / Regional Library of Castilla-La Mancha, Toledo)²—Cardinal Lorenzana donated the entire group to the Catedral Primada de Toledo (Primate Cathedral of Toledo), where nearly all of them are still preserved.³ Among the evidence establishing this extraordinary provenance are the old Vatican filing marks which are located on the bindings of each codex. These display the abbreviated titles of each work and were summarily used in the *Sistine Sacristy Inventory of 1714* to precisely identify each work.⁴ Additionally, there are Latin inscriptions that are located on the first end-papers of many of these codices. They bear the signature of Cardinal Lorenzana and record that the codices were both saved from looting by the French and donated to the Catedral Primada de Toledo in 1798 (fig. 46).⁵

The codices, acquired by Cardinal Lorenzana in Rome,⁶ belonged to the Sistine Sacristy, the liturgical books collection which was distinct from and more important than that held by the Sistine Chapel.⁷ Reserved for the use of the pope and the cardinals, patriarchs, archbishops, and bishops who officiated mass in that papal chapel (fig. 47), the codices of the Sistine Sacristy were far more richly decorated than those of the Sistine Chapel, which were only used by the singers. In contrast to the latter collection—which, for the most part, is still preserved in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Apostolic Vatican Library, Vatican City), albeit with much impairment to its figurative scheme⁸—the Sistine Sacristy collection was completely dispersed among various public and private collections. It has been partially reconstructed by scholars on the basis of several inventories of the Sistine Sacristy,⁹ as well as through the auction catalogue for the sale of the Collection of Abbot Luigi Celotti, which took place at Christie's in London on May 26, 1825. In that catalogue, ninety-seven total lots are described, sixty-five of which consisted of miniatures originating from the codices of the Sistine Sacristy.¹⁰

The discovery that the codices of Cardinal Lorenzana originate from the papal chapel—already established by José Janini and Ramón González in their *Catálogo de los Manuscritos*

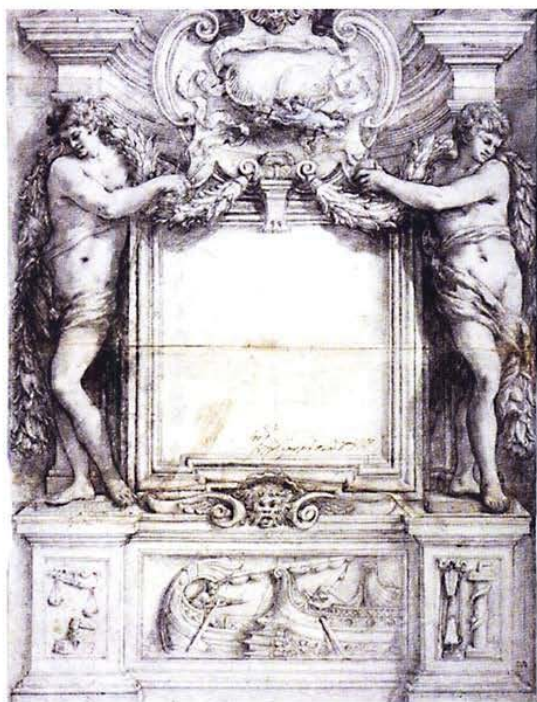
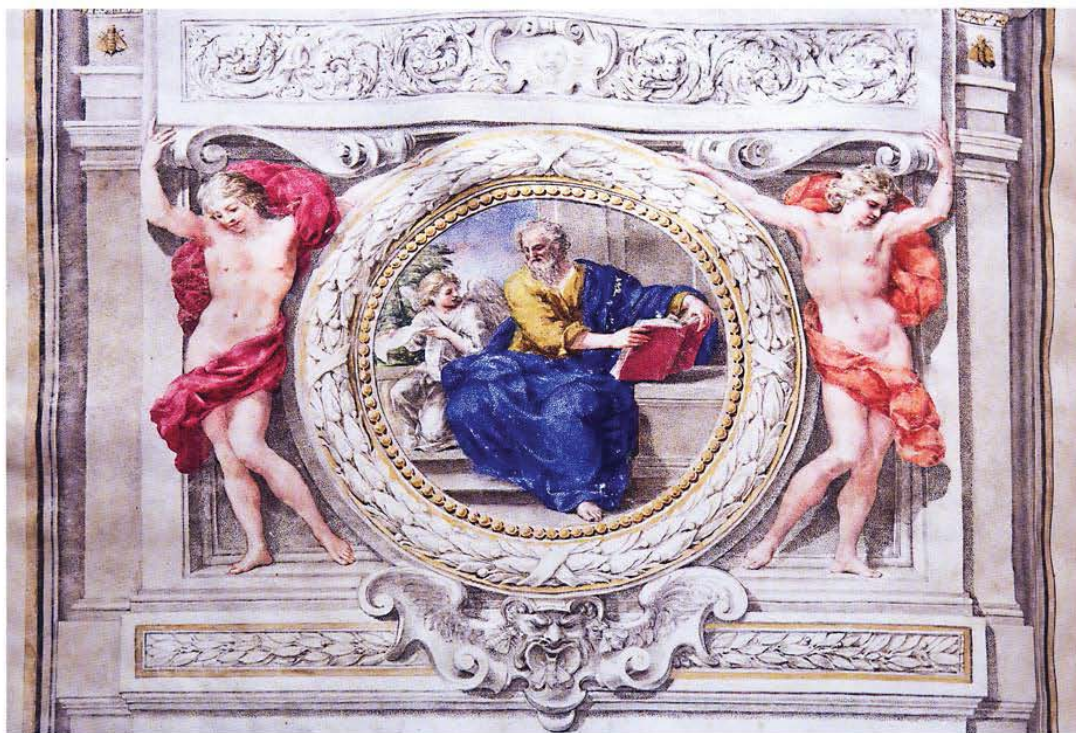
litúrgicos de la Catedral de Toledo (Toledo, 1977)¹¹—has been a notable contribution to the reconstruction of the Sistine Sacristy collection, and has permitted a more exhaustive study of the production of the illustrations of the papal *scriptorium* (manuscript workshop).

Biblioteca Capítular de Toledo: Fondo Lorenzana

The Biblioteca Capítular de Toledo (Chapter Library of Toledo) preserves one of the most important and abundant collections of liturgical manuscripts in Spain. The original nucleus of the library is the Fondo Antiguo Toledano (Old Toledan Collection), which consists primarily of books on the Roman liturgy and of Visigothic manuscripts on the Spanish rite from Mozarabic parishes. In the late eighteenth century, the collection was enriched by two important and independent donations made by Cardinal Francisco Antonio de Lorenzana y Buitrón (fig. 48) and Cardinal Francesco Saverio de Zelada (r. 1773-1801) (fig. 49).¹² Today, these noteworthy ensembles are known, respectively, as the Fondo Lorenzana (Lorenzana Collection) and the Fondo Zelada (Zelada Collection).

The Fondo Lorenzana is the least consistent of the three, being comprised of “some sixty manuscripts, for the most part liturgical of the papal Chapel.”¹³ The liturgical books of the Sistine Sacristy, when they were originally donated by Cardinal Lorenzana to the Catedral Primada de Toledo in 1798, comprised a group of thirty manuscripts that dated from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries, in addition to an older evangelistary and sacramentary.¹⁴ These manuscripts are now all housed in the Biblioteca Capítular de Toledo, apart from three codices that were requisitioned, together with the rest of the library, by the government of the First Spanish Republic (1873-1874) and subsequently transferred to Madrid in 1869 during the process of expropriating all ecclesiastical endowments.¹⁵ In 1875, the library was returned to the Cathedral Primada de Toledo with the exception of 234 codices—including the three Sistine Sacristy volumes—which were selected by José María Octavio de Toledo (1829-1890) to be “provisionally” deposited in the Biblioteca Nacional de España (National Library of Spain, Madrid) for study, where they remain today.¹⁶ During the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939), several of the Sistine Sacristy liturgical codices that were held in the Biblioteca Capítular de Toledo suffered losses to their figurative schemes and one of them even disappeared.¹⁷ However, the latter volume had already been documented in a nineteenth-century inventory of the library's manuscripts, a document composed when the codices received new shelfmarks.¹⁸ Additionally, sometime before 1934, a campaign to photograph the miniatures of Cathedral Primada de Toledo was carried out by the Archivo Mas (in the Institut Amatller d'Art Hispànic, Barcelona).¹⁹ That campaign was accompanied by the

76. Antonio Maria Antonozzi (Italian, active 1633-1662), *Frame with Saint Matthew the Evangelist* (detail), 1634. Folio 17v of the *Missal of Pope Urban VIII with the Mass of the Apostles Saints Peter and Paul*, Biblioteca Capitulare de Toledo, MS 39.2
77. Pietro Berrettini da Cortona? (Italian, 1597-1669), *Drawing for the Frontispiece of a Book*, National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh
78. *Frontispiece of Antonio Bosio* (Maltese, 1575-1629), *Roma sotterranea*, Rome, Guglielmo Facciotti, 1632



Biographical Notes on the Illuminators and Copyists of Pope Urban VIII

Elena De Laurentiis

Antonio Maria Antonozzi (Italian, active 1633-1662)

Antonio Maria Antonozzi was born in Osimo (Ancona), Italy. He was active as a papal illuminator during the reign of Pope Urban VIII (r. 1623-1644) and, very likely, for several additional years during the reign of Pope Innocent X (r. 1644-1655).¹ Antonozzi frequently worked together with his two brothers: Leopardo Antonozzi (Italian, 1589-1659) and Innocenzo Antonozzi (Italian, active 1634-1635), an artist who was documented as a scribe in 1634 and 1635. A series of payments, dated from 1633 to 1640, document him as working on several works for the Vatican, including “alcune miniature fatte per un tavolino di ebano nelle stanze del Palazzo vecchio vaticano” and various decorated stories and ornaments for the missals of the Sistine Sacristy. The illuminations for the Sacristy missals were commissioned by Pope Urban VIII and newly fashioned in ancient lettering: “si scrivano di nuovo in lettera antica tonda.”²

In a letter dated May 17, 1659, from Carlo Antonio dal Pozzo to Carlo Dati, Antonozzi was mentioned as one of the “amorevoli” (well-loved) miniaturists of Cassiano dal Pozzo (Italian, 1588-1657), along with Giovanna Garzoni (Italian, 1600-1670), Maddalena Corvina (Italian, 1604-1667), and Jean de Saillant, called “Father Saliano” (French, active c. 1618-c. 1640) (fig. 94).³ In recent decades, Francesco Solinas has shown that Antonozzi, together with Father Saliano,⁴ was part of the *Museo Cartaceo* (*Paper Museum*) beginning in the early 1630s. A pet project of Pozzo, this ambitious venture involved copying miniatures, Late Antique ornamented ivories, and Greek and Roman engraved gems. Solinas considers that the miniaturists undertook the drawings of the cameos, engraved stones, medals, and coins among the materials acquired by Pozzo upon the death of Lelio Pasqualini (1549-1614), a canon of the Church of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome who had collaborated with Cardinal Baronius (r. 1596-1607) on the *Annales Ecclesiastici* (Rome, 1588-1607).⁵

Some of the most important initiatives—at least, those regarding the reproduction of illustrations from ancient manuscripts—of Cassiano dal Pozzo and Carlo Camillo Massimo (Italian, 1620-1677), his younger friend and a future patron in his own right, concern a demonstrated interest in antiquarian studies and copies from antiquity. These initiatives led to the formation of *corpora* (collections) of drawings and repertoires of engravings that now constitute veritable graphic archives. As they are indicative of the role of Antonozzi in the cultural sphere, they bear some discussion here.

In 1632, Pozzo wrote a letter to Cardinal Librarian Francesco Barberini (r. 1623-1679) in which he requested the loan of three ancient illustrated manuscripts that were preserved in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Apostolic Vatican Library, Vatican City): the *Vergilius Vaticanus* (*Vatican Virgil*; Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, Vat. Lat. 3225), dating to the fifth century;

the *Vergilius Romanus* (*Roman Virgil*; Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, Vat. Lat. 3867), dating to the sixth century; and the *Terentius Vaticanus* (*Vatican Terence*; Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, Vat. Lat. 3868), dating to the ninth to tenth century. Pozzo did so with the intention of having the renowned artist Pietro Berrettini da Cortona (Italian, 1597-1669) and his disciples copy the miniatures in order to collect drawings that might serve as models, or, as he put it, “per meglio arrivare alla realtà degl’habiti, e de personaggi che vi si vedono.”⁷

Some years later, Massimo followed Pozzo’s example as a patron in his desire to have the *Vergilius Vaticanus* and the *Terentius Vaticanus* manuscripts copied.⁸ In a letter dated July 5, 1641, in which Massimo writes to Pozzo about the latter’s refusal of a request to copy the *Vergilius Vaticanus*, Antonozzi is mentioned as being an intermediary between them.⁹ According to José Ruyschaert, the copies of these two ancient codices were ultimately made between 1641 and 1642, and they have been identified, respectively, with a codex in London (The British Library, London, Lansdowne Ms. 834) and with several folios that are preserved in the *Baddeley Codex* (Eton College Library, Eton, Ms. 354).¹⁰ The scholar remarks about the former codex that, unlike Pozzo, Massimo had the *Vergilius Vaticanus* copied as a quasi-facsimile. This meant that Massimo had both the text and the illustrations reproduced, even if the former was interrupted in Book IV of the *Aeneid* of Virgil and never fully completed. That volume, with a frontispiece dated 1642, was deposited in his library until it was rebound in 1677,¹¹ at which point another frontispiece was included to stress the book’s dependence on the ancient Vatican manuscript.¹² Several years later, Massimo returned to this project, commissioning a series of engravings from Pietro Santi Bartoli (Italian, 1635-1700), works that were taken from the *Vergilius Vaticanus* and ultimately published in 1677, the year in which Massimo died.¹³

Even so, modern critics are divided about the dating and attribution of the illustrations in the Lansdowne codex. For David H. Wright, the manuscript is datable to 1677 and attributable to Bartoli,¹⁴ with the exception of the first frontispiece. Other scholars follow the lead of Ruyschaert, who dates the codex to the early 1640s and rejects that attribution, or propose ascribing the works to Antonozzi.¹⁵

The reproductions of the *Vergilius Vaticanus* miniatures in the Lansdowne codex, like those of the *Terentius Vaticanus* that were included in the Eton album, are among the most representative works of the prolific activity of Bartoli, the Italian painter, draftsman, and antiquarian engraver.¹⁶ After Massimo’s appointment as cardinal, Bartoli maintained assiduous contact with him and made various colored drawings reproducing Roman antiquities.¹⁷

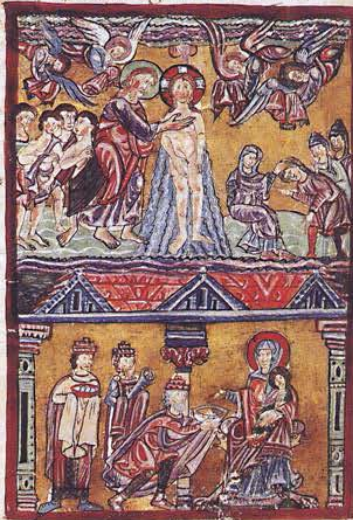
The Eton codex belonged to the heirs of Massimo until 1762, when it was acquired by Thomas Jenkins (c. 1722-1798), on the orders of a William Lock,¹⁸ and later passed down to the William St

Transiunt usq; bethleem. & in
deum hoc uerbu[m] qd factu[m] e[st]. qd fecit
dñs & ostendit nob. Et uener[unt] festi
nantes. & uener[unt] maria & ioseph.
& infans postu[m] in presepio. Uidentes
aut[em] cognouer[unt] de uerbo qd dictu[m]
emissit[ur] de puero hoc. Et om[ne]s q[ui]
audier[unt] mirant[ur]. & debet[is] qd dicta em[is]it
pastorib[us] ad ipsos. MARIA aut[em] ter
cebat omnia uerba hec. & stans in corde
bo. Et reuer[unt] pastor[es] glorificans
& laudans dñm. In omib[us] glaudier[unt]
audierant. sicut dictu[m] e[st] ad illos.

EPTOSTEYA etiam in deserto interueni
tides puer uocatur in ciuitatib. Quod
uocatur ab anglo. in qua uita exspectat



POSTEVA CONSVONATIS. Vse INVO
cipit. hoc euglin in cap. Pastore. 109.

[illegible]

1.5.



2. Sacramentary of Brescia

Late 12th–early 13th century
Biblioteca Capitulare de Toledo, MS 39.3
Formerly “Missal Antiq.”

Parchment; 350 x 250 mm; fols. I (paper) + 159 (II–CLX) + I (paper). Transitional minuscule book script. Old Roman numbering. Written space in one column of twenty-one lines (250 x 115 mm). Scripted by Rogerius (Italian, active 13th century). In the fifteenth century, the codex belonged to the archpriest or parish priest “Vallistenensis Nicolinus de Mussis” (Italian, ?–1482), who bequeathed it to Tommaso, a nephew, as shown by annotations on folios IVr and VIIv.

BINDING: Parchment, with the remains of a torn-off label on the outside front cover. On the back cover, in ink: “Missal Antiq.”

PROVENANCE: Vallistenensis Nicolinus de Mussis, Brescia; Sistine Sacristy, Vatican City. On the recto of front end-paper folio I, a note with the signature of Cardinal Lorenzana: “Anno 1798 / Codex M.S. magna cura pretioque maxima / in Urbis direptione redemptus S. Ecclesie Toletane / dono datus a suo Praesule Cardle. de Lorenzana.” Below it, a shelf-mark from the Biblioteca Capitulare de Toledo Inventory of 1808: “Cajón 39. Núm. 3.”

TEXT

Fols. IIr–VIIr Brescia Calendar. *Rusticiani ep.* (January 5); *Faustini et Iovite* (February 15); *Faustini ep. br.* (February 16); *Translatio s. Filastri ep.* (April 9); *Apolloni ep. br.* (July 7); *Filastri ep. br.* (July 18); *Gaudentii ep.* (August 3); *Ursicini ep. br.* (December 1); *Saints Canonized in the 13th Century* (later addition); and *Dedicatio ecclesie sancte Marie Vallistenensis* (October 6; later addition).

Fols. VIIIr–LXXIIIr Sacramentary of the First Sunday of Advent. The Seasonal Calendar until Pentecost has been fused with the Saints' Calendar.

Fols. VIIIv–IXv *Nicholai ep.*; *Ambrosii archiep.*; *Zenonis ep.*; *Damasi pp.*

Fols. xr–xixr Second and Third Sundays of Advent, Christmas Cycle, and Four

Sundays after the Octave of Epiphany.

Fol. XIXv *In ss. Marii et Marthe.*

Fol. XXIIv *Ordo in die Purificationis sancte Marie. In primis benedicatur sal et aqua ad respergendos inde cereos.*

Fols. XXIII–XXXI [Missing.]

Fol. XLIIr *Ordo in ramis palmarum. In primis benedicatur sal et aquam postea incipiat ant. Osanna filio David.*

Fol. XLVIIIr *In Cena domini. Hora tertia pulsatur tabula.*

Fol. XLIXr *In parasceve. Hora nona sonetur tabula.*

Fol. LIIv *In sabbato sancto. Post primam lavetur ecclesia.*

Fol. LIIIv *Exultet*, with musical notation.

Fol. LXIr *In die Resurrectionis.*

Fol. LXVIIr *In sancti Floriani mr.* (May 4).

Fol. LXVIIIv *In sancte Iulie vg.* (May 22).

Fol. LXXIv *In die Pentecostem.*

Fol. LXXIIIv *Incipiunt prefationes totius anni.*

Fol. LXXVIIr Canon with the variants *Michi quoque indignissimo famulo tuo propitius esse digneris et ab omnibus me delictorum offensionibus emundare; Memento domine famulorum famularumque tuarum, et qui de elemosinis commemoraverunt locum istum et qui in suis orationibus memoriam mei habent, vel qui michi peccatori propter tuum timorem confessi sunt vel qui se in nostris orationibus commendaverunt. Et omnium circumstantium.*

Fol. LXXVIIv *Communicantes... Cosme et Damiani, Faustini et Iovite.*

Fol. LXXIXv *Nobis quoque... Cecilia, Iulia, Anastasia.*

Fol. LXXXr *Libera nos quesumus... et beato archangelo tuo Michael et beato Iohanne Baptista... atque Andrea.*

Fols. LXXXIv–CXIIv Seasonal Saints' Calendar (second part, 1st to 25th Sundays after Pentecost).

Fol. CXIVr *In s. Filastri ep.* (July 18).

Fol. CVIIIr *In s. Galli abb.* The Saints' Calendar ends with the Mass of the Apostle Saint Andrew.

Fol. CXIIv Common of Saints.

Fol. CXXIIIv Dedication of a Church.

Fol. CXXVr Votive Masses.

Fol. CXLIVr *Ad sponsam benedicendam.*

Fol. CXLIVv Masses for the Dead.

Fols. CLVv–CLIXr *Benedictio incensi... capillorum... panis in diebus dominicis.*

Fol. CLXr *In nat. ss. Firmi et Rustici.*

Fol. CLXv *In nat. s. Savini.*

Italian musical notation on one red and one yellow line.

DECORATION

Fol. VIIIr Initial E of *Excita*.

Fol. XIVr (fig. 14) Initial C of *Concede*, as the Child Jesus (70 x 64 mm).

Fol. XVIr Initial D of *Deus*.

Fol. XVIIr Initial D of *Deus*.

Fol. XLIVv Initial D of *Domine*.

Fol. LXIIr (fig. 15) Initial D of *Deus*, as Christ Blessing (62 x 47 mm).

Fol. LXIXv Initial C of *Concede*.

Fol. LXXIV Initial D of *Deus*.

Fols. LXXXIv–LXXXIIIr (figs. 16–17) Initials V+D of *Vere Dignum* (94 x 94 mm) and T of *Te igitur* (86 x 62 mm), at the beginning of the canon.

Fol. LXXXIV Initial D of *Deus*.

Fol. XCIV (fig. 18) Initial D of *Deus*, as Saint John the Baptist (50 x 58 mm).

Fol. XCIIv (fig. 19) Initial D of *Deus*, as the Apostle Saint Peter (65 x 42 mm).

Fol. Cv (fig. 20) Initial F of *Famulorum*, as the Virgin Mary (60 x 52 mm).

Fol. CIXv Initial D of *Domine*.

Fol. CXVII (fig. 21) Initial I of *In illo tempore*, in red, with the inscription “Rogerius fecit hunc librum” written a *risparmio* (letting the white background of the parchment show through) by the copyist and illuminator to record his name.

The presence of Saint Faustinus and Saint Jovita—the patron saints of Brescia, Italy—as well as Saint Apollonius, Saint Philastrius, and Saint Gaudentius—three revered bishops of the same northern Italian enclave—in the *Saints' Calendar* has enabled the *Sacramentary of Brescia*, a work that is signed by the scribe Rogerius (Italian, active 13th century) on folio 116v, to be linked to the city.¹

The illuminated decoration of this codex consists of five historiated initials; two large decorated initials, located at the beginning of the canon; eight small decorated initials; and

Quando pontifex parat se
ad celebrandum missam dic.



Ulam dilecta
tabernacula
tua domine ui-
tuti: occupata
et deficiat ani-
ma mea in a-

tra domini.

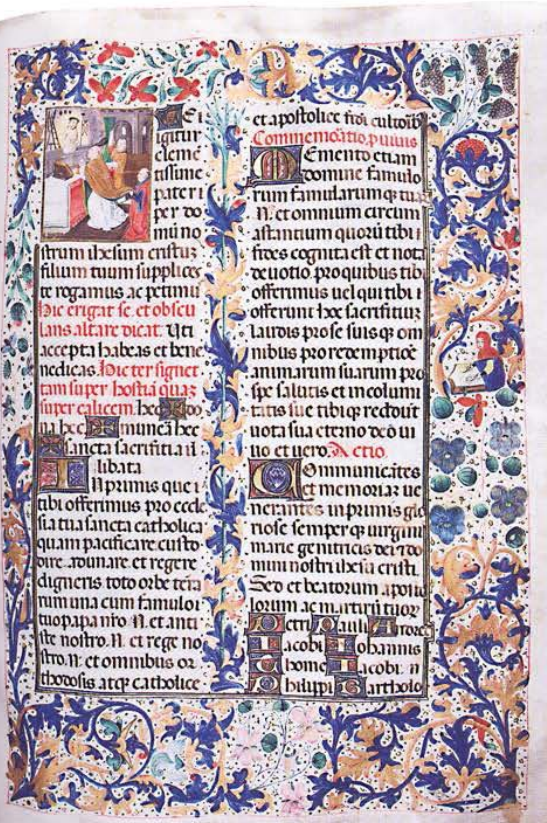
Oz meum
et caro mea: occultauerit in
teum uiuum.

Et eni pas-
ser inuenit sibi domum: et tur-
tur nidum: ubi reponat pul-
los suos.

Alemania tua domine
uirtutum: rex meus: et deus in-
us.

Bcati qui habitant in
domo tua domine: in secula





mentioned in the *Sacristy Inventory of 1714* [B.I.20]. See Alexander 1997, p. 69.

³ The present binding, in leather on board, dates to the eighteenth century.

⁴ On Apollonio de' Bonfratelli, see Talamo 1998a; Talamo in *DBMI* 2004, pp. 42-44.

⁵ Talamo 2004.

⁶ "miniature singularissimo e molto pratico nelle cose del disegno, come di ciò possono far fede le miniature lavorate da lui per i Monaci di S. Fiore e Lucilla nella Badia d'Arezzo, et in particolare un messale che fu donato a papa Sisto, nel quale era nella prima carta delle segrete una Passione di Cristo bellissima; e quelle parimente sono di sua mano che sono in S. Martino, Duomo di Lucca" (Vasari 1568, vol. III, p. 459).

⁷ Levi D'Ancona 1994, pp. 313, 315 n. 3, 329, 330 fig. 12. The interpretation of M. Levi D'Ancona—who considers the *Crucifixion* to be the frontispiece of the *Missal of Pope Sixtus IV* and, therefore, the first leaf of manuscript A.II.25 of the *Sistine Sacristy Inventory of 1714*—comes from an incomplete reading of Vasari's text, in which she has omitted the detail "delle segrete," or the prayers said after the preparation of the gifts (offertory) that are chosen for the sacrifice of the mass. See Dillon Bussi 1996, pp. 39-41. On the *Crucifixion*, see Appendices, *Location of the Lots of the Celotti Sale of 1825*, lot 40.

⁸ Dillon Bussi 1996. The codex was shown in the exhibition *Liturgia in figura* with no indications of attribution or place of provenance. See Morello in Morello and Maddalo 1995, pp. 162-164, no. 27. M. G. Ciardi Dupré Dal Poggetto has recently attributed the *Crucifixion* (fol. 132v) to Bartolomeo Caporali (Italian, c. 1420-c. 1505). See Ciardi Dupré Dal Poggetto 2005-2006b, p. 22.

⁹ De Marchi 1995, p. 124 fig. 8, cat. 29e; Dillon Bussi 1996, p. 41.

¹⁰ Talamo in *DBMI* 2004, pp. 837-838.

¹¹ Talamo and Roth in Morello and Maddalo 1995, pp. 184-186, no. 35; Talamo 1998a, pp. 57-61.

¹² Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, Chigi C VIII 230. See Talamo in Morello and Maddalo 1995, pp. 291-295, no. 72; Talamo 1998a, p. 60.

¹³ Ciardi Dupré Dal Poggetto 2005-2006b, pp. 17-19, 186-187 no. 22.

¹⁴ De Marchi 1995. On this illuminator, see also Marcon in *DBMI* 2004, pp. 10-13.

LITERATURE: Esteve Barba 1942, pp. 138-139, no. 168, il.

12. Epistolary of Cardinal Jean Balue

c. 1467-1469

Biblioteca Pública del Estado de Toledo / Biblioteca de Castilla-La Mancha, Toledo, MS 534
No Vatican shelfmark

Vellum; 395 x 275 mm; fols. II (paper) + I + I + 79 + I + II (paper). Gothic book script. No numbering. Written space in one column of twelve lines (200 x 123 mm).

BINDING: Eighteenth-century, leather on board, with gilt stamping of *fleurs-de-lys* in the four corners. On the back of the codex, an inscription: "EPISTOLAR. APOSTOLIC. APOCO-PAE MSS." On the outside front cover, a shelfmark: "S^a. 3^a. Et. 16.C. 1^o."

PROVENANCE: Sistine Sacristy, Vatican City, [B.I.21].

TEXT

Fol. 1r *Incipit epistolaris. Dominica prima de Adventu. Epistola Pauli ad Romanos.*

Fratres, scientes quia...

Fol. 79r Exp.: *...in revelatione domini nostri Iesu Xpi.*

DECORATION

Fol. IIIv (fig. 65) The folio was taken from a codex made for Pope Pius V (r. 1566-1572), with *incipit* (opening) of the Mass for the Feast of the Holy Trinity. It was cut out along the edges of the illuminated frame, mounted with a *passe-partout* (mat), and its back covered with a white parchment folio, which is stuck onto it. The continuation of the liturgical text is written on the verso as well as an initial *B* of *Benedicta*, in gold, set in a compartment. Initial *B* of *Benedicta*, in a gold compartment, as the *Holy Trinity*, decorated with flowers and strawberries in the loop of the letter. The folio is surrounded by a gold frame which is decorated with strawberries and blue, red, pink, and green plant motifs. The corner compartments contain images of the *Pope Saint Gregory*, *Saint Jerome*, and two bishop-saints. The upper margin contains an oval in the center with *God the Father*, while the side margins contain two more ovals with two bishop-

saints. Below the upper margin, there is a tablet bearing a title in gold letters on a blue ground. The lower margin contains a tondo in the center bearing the papal coat of arms of Pope Pius V and a phylactery with the inscription "PIVS V / P. M. A. VII," which permits the folio to be dated to 1572.

Fol. IVv (fig. 66) Full-page illumination of the *Crucifixion*. The folio was taken from a codex made for Pope Gregory XIII (r. 1572-1585). The folio was cut out along the edges of the illuminated frame, mounted with a *passe-partout*, and its back covered with a white parchment folio, which is stuck onto it. The rubrics and the text of the "Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabaoth pleni sunt coeli et terra gloria tua. Hosanna in excelsis... Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini. Hosanna in excelsis"—the chant that concludes the preface and serves as introduction to the Eucharistic Prayer, the central part of the celebration of the mass—are written on the verso. The folio is surrounded by a frieze with large plant motifs in blue, red, pink, green, and black on a gold background. The corners contain four compartments decorated with geometric motifs. The upper and lower margins both contain medallions in the center bearing the inscription "G. / XIII / P. M." The inner and outer margins contain medallions bearing the papal coat of arms of Pope Gregory XIII.

Fol. 1r (fig. 67) Initial *F* of *Fratres*, set in a compartment as the *Apostle Saint Paul Handing the Epistle to a Messenger* (84 x 82 mm). The folio is surrounded by a frieze a *candelabre* (candelabra-esque) of plant and floral scrolls that are inset with birds, *putti* (cherubs), butterflies, and a snail, all on a gold ground with black stippling. The lower margin contains the cardinalial coat of arms of Cardinal Jean Balue (r. 1467-1491)—argent, a chevron sable between three lion's heads erased gules—in the center, set within a laurel wreath supported by two angels on a green field, surmounted by a red cardinal's hat, and with a bishop's cross in pale behind the shield.

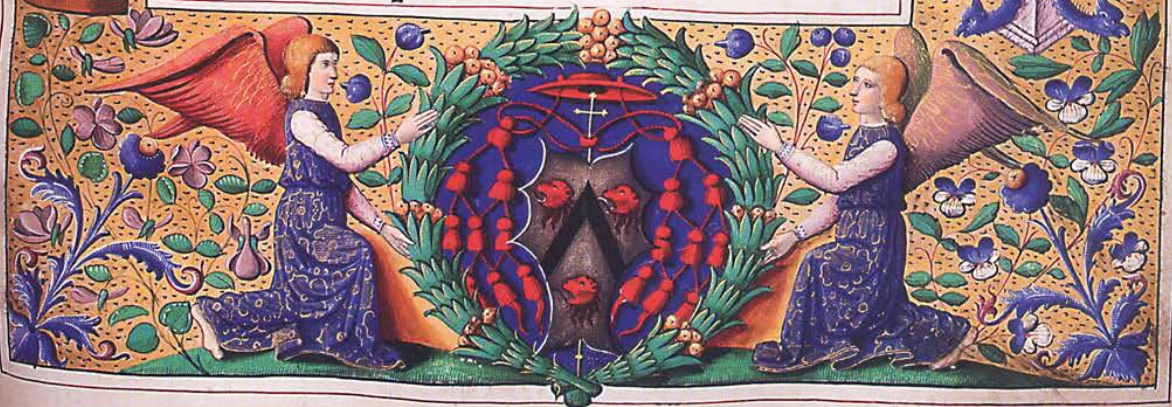
Fol. last end-paper (fig. 69) The folio is made of parchment, contains the *incipit* of the

Incipit epistolarum
Unica prima de ad
uentu. Epistola pauli.
Ad romanos.



Ratres.
Sciētes
quia ho
ra est i
nos de r

somno surgere. **N**unc
autē propior est nra
salus quā cum credi



The Sixteenth-Century Codices

17. Missal with the Mass of Christmas of Cardinal Antoniotto Pallavicini

1503-1507

Biblioteca Nacional de España,
Madrid, MS Vit. 22-7

Formerly "A.III.6 Missa Nativit. Dni."
and Biblioteca Capitular de Toledo,
MS 38.8

Vellum; 400 x 275 mm; fols. III (paper) + 122 + III (paper). Gothic book script. Modern numbering in pencil. Written space in one column of ten lines (230 x 145 mm). Rubrics with lines of text alternately in blue and gold.

BINDING: Seventeenth-century, leather on board, with gilt stamping, gilt cornerpieces, and an inscription: "NATIVITATIS / DNI." Old shelfmarks: "Res. 39-3" and "Vitr. 1-14." On a printed label stuck on the front cover, board, and binding, an old Vatican shelfmark: "A.III.6 Missa Nativit. Dni."

PROVENANCE: Sistine Sacristy, Vatican City, A.III.6; Biblioteca Capitular de Toledo, MS 38.8. On the recto of the front end-paper folio III, a note with the signature of Cardinal Lorenzana: "Anno 1798 / Codex M.S. magna cura pretioque maxima in Urbis / direptione redemptus S. Ecclesie Toletane dono datus / a suo Praesule Cardle. de Lorenzana." Below it, a shelfmark from the *Biblioteca Capitular de Toledo Inventory of 1808*: "Cajón 38. Num. 8."

TEXT

Fol. 1r Order of Mass, with rubrics for its celebration in presence of the pope.

Fol. 10r Mass of Christmas, with pontifical rubrics and the text of the canon.

Fol. 112v Ends with the rubric *Et alia prout habentur in libro paramentorum. Finis.*

DECORATION

Fol. 1r (fig. 80) The folio is bordered on the upper, lower, and inner margins by a frieze of plant and floral motifs on a gold ground. The outer margin is demarcated by a gold molding flanked by an ornate frieze. The upper margin contains a tablet bearing an inscription: "AN. PALAVICINVS /

EPS. PRENES. CAR. / SACTE. PRAXEDIS." The tablet is supported by two angels and flanked by two others who are seated on scrolls. The lower margin bears the cardinalitial coat of arms of Cardinal Antoniotto Pallavicini (r. 1489-1507), which are supported by two *putti* (cherubs). Initial *S* of *Stans celebrans*, as plant and floral motifs, with two dolphins, pearls, and gems (equal to two lines of text).

Fol. 1v (fig. 81) The folio is bordered on the upper, lower, and outer margins by a frieze of plant and floral scrolls, with a few birds and a butterfly among the scrollwork, on a gold ground. The inner margin is demarcated by gold molding. The outer margin contains a tondo with two musk deer. Initial *I* of *In nomine*, with plant and floral motifs (equal to two lines of text). There are also two smaller initials (equal to one line of text).

Fol. 2r (fig. 82) The folio is bordered on the upper, lower, and inner margins by a frieze of plant and floral scrolls on a gold ground. The outer margin is demarcated by a gold molding adorned with blue leaves, strawberries, and gold buttons connected by filigree adornment done in pen. The upper margin contains a tondo in the center with *God the Father*. The inner margin contains a tondo with a deer, a gold medal with a bust in profile, and another tondo with two partridges. The lower margin is inset with an anthropomorphic figure in the decoration. Initial *I* of *Iudica me deus*, with plant and floral motifs, adorned with pearls (equal to two lines of text). There is also one smaller initial.

Fol. 7r (fig. 83) The folio is bordered on the upper, lower, and inner margins by a frieze of plant and floral scrolls on a gold ground. The outer margin is demarcated by a motif of gold knots, with an outline colored in dark blue, delicately shaded out, with inner backgrounds of red, dark blue, and green. The upper margin contains a gold medal in the center with a bust in profile. The inner margin contains a cameo on a red ground with a bust in profile and three tondos with, respectively, a musk deer, a partridge, and a kneeling

putto (cherub) with clasped hands on a landscape background. The lower margin contains a tondo in the center with a falcon in front of a lake with a swan, and is supported by two peacocks. Initial *A* of *Aufer*, with plant and floral motifs (equal to two lines of text).

Fol. 7v (fig. 84) The folio is bordered on the upper, lower, and outer margins by a frieze of plant and floral scrolls on a gold ground. The inner margin is demarcated by a molding of gold knots, with an outline colored in dark blue, delicately shaded out, with inner backgrounds of red, dark blue, and green, and adorned with gold buttons connected by filigree decoration done in pen. The upper margin contains a gold medal in the center with a female bust in profile. The outer margin contains three tondos with, respectively, swans, five partridges, and a female monkey on a landscape background, as well as two cameos with busts in profile on a red ground. The lower margin contains a tondo bearing the cardinalitial coat of arms of Cardinal Pallavicini, surmounted by two *putti* that are crowned with garlands of flowers and ride atop two dolphins. Initial *O* of *Oramus*, with plant motifs and a medal with a bust in profile (equal to two lines of text).

Fol. 10r (fig. 85) The folio is surrounded by a frieze *a candelabre* (candelabra-style) of plant and floral scrolls on a gold ground. The lower margin contains a tondo in the center bearing the cardinalitial coat of arms of Cardinal Pallavicini, supported by two *putti* (cherubs). The upper margin contains a tablet, supported by two *putti*, that bears an inscription: "ANTONIOTVS PALAVICINVS EPVS. PRE/NESTINVS CAR. S. / PRAXEDIS." The outer margin contains a tondo with a female monkey eating fruit on a landscape background. The inner margin contains a gold medal with a bust in profile and an inscription: "CESAR IMPERA. DOMICIANVS." Initial *P* of *Puer natus*, as the *Nativity*, with the *Annunciation to the Shepherds* in the background (equal to four lines of text).

Fol. 12v (fig. 86) The folio is surrounded by a frieze of plant and floral scrolls on a gold

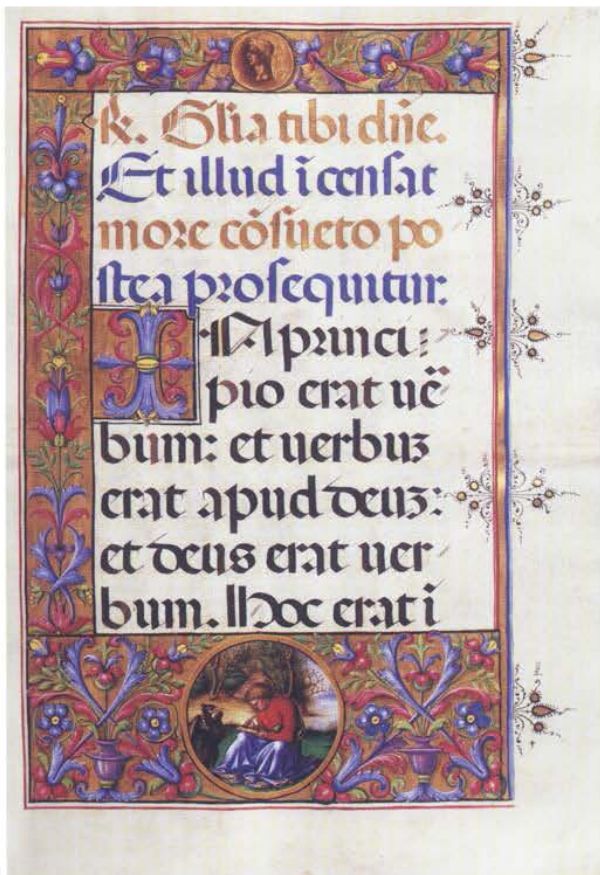


17.89.



17.90.

157



17.91.



17.92.



The Seventeenth-Century Codices

25. Blessing of Saint Peter's Basilica by Pope Urban VIII

1626

Biblioteca Capitulare de Toledo, MS 38.11
Formerly "A.I.26 Bened. Basilic. S. Petri"

Vellum; 477 x 360 mm; fols. II + 31 + II. Old round script. Modern numbering in pencil. Written space in one column of eighteen lines (355 x 240 mm). Text framed in three lines of red, gold, and dark blue. Red rubrics in the margins.

BINDING: Seventeenth-century, red leather, with applications of black leather, gilt stamping, and the coat of arms of Pope Urban VIII (r. 1623-1644) (fig. 115). On a printed label stuck to the front cover, board, and binding, an old Vatican shelfmark: "A.I.26 Bened. Basilic. S. Petri".

CONDITION: The codex has suffered from dampness.

PROVENANCE: Sistine Sacristy, Vatican City, A.I.26. On the recto of the front end-paper folio II, a note with the signature of Cardinal Lorenzana: "Anno 1798 / Codex M. S. magna cura pretioque maxima in Urbis / direptione redemptus S. Ecclesie Toletane dono datus a suo Praesule Cardle. de Lorenzana." Below it, a shelfmark from the Biblioteca Capitulare de Toledo Inventory of 1808: "Cajón 38. Núm. 11."

TEXT

Fol. 1r *Dedicatio reaedificatae Basilicae S. Petri in Vaticano S.D.N. Urbano VIII ex Pontificali Romano dedicante die XVIII. Novembris Anno MDCXXVI.*

[Lacuna] [Some initial folios missing.]

Fol. 2r Begins with the words *aque, ut efficiaris sal exorcizatum...*

Fol. 31r Ends with the Formula of Papal Blessing. Afterward, the colophon of the copyist: "Regnante Urbano VIII / Sacrarum Apostolici Prefecto Rmo. D.F. Thadeo Camerte" and, on the bottom right, "F.M.C. Pinarolien. ord. Min. Con. f."

DECORATION

Fol. 1r (fig. 116) Frontispiece, with a frieze formed of laurel branches and bees in gold

leaf, and inset with three Barberini coats of arms. The upper margin bears the papal coat of arms; the inner margin bears the coat of arms of a Barberini cardinal, surmounted by the motto "ALIT;" and the outer margin bears the coat of arms of a titled member of the same family, surmounted by a coronet and the motto "ARTES." Beneath the date, there is an illumination of a strawberry. The folio is surrounded by a thin frame in gold leaf.

Fol. 5v (fig. 117) Initial *O* of *Omnipotens*, with a strawberry (52 x 52 mm).

Fol. 7r (fig. 118) Initial *O* of *Omnipotens*, with a flower (52 x 52 mm).

Fol. 12r (fig. 119) Initial *O* of *Omnipotens*, with a violet (52 x 52 mm).

Fol. 17r (fig. 120) Initial *D* of *Deum*, with a flower (52 x 50 mm).

Fol. 18r (fig. 121) Initial *D* of *Deus*, with a flower (52 x 50 mm).

Fol. 18v (fig. 122) Initial *D* of *Deus*, with a tulip (52 x 50 mm).

Fol. 27v (fig. 123) Initial *Q* of *Quanta*, with a rose (54 x 56 mm).

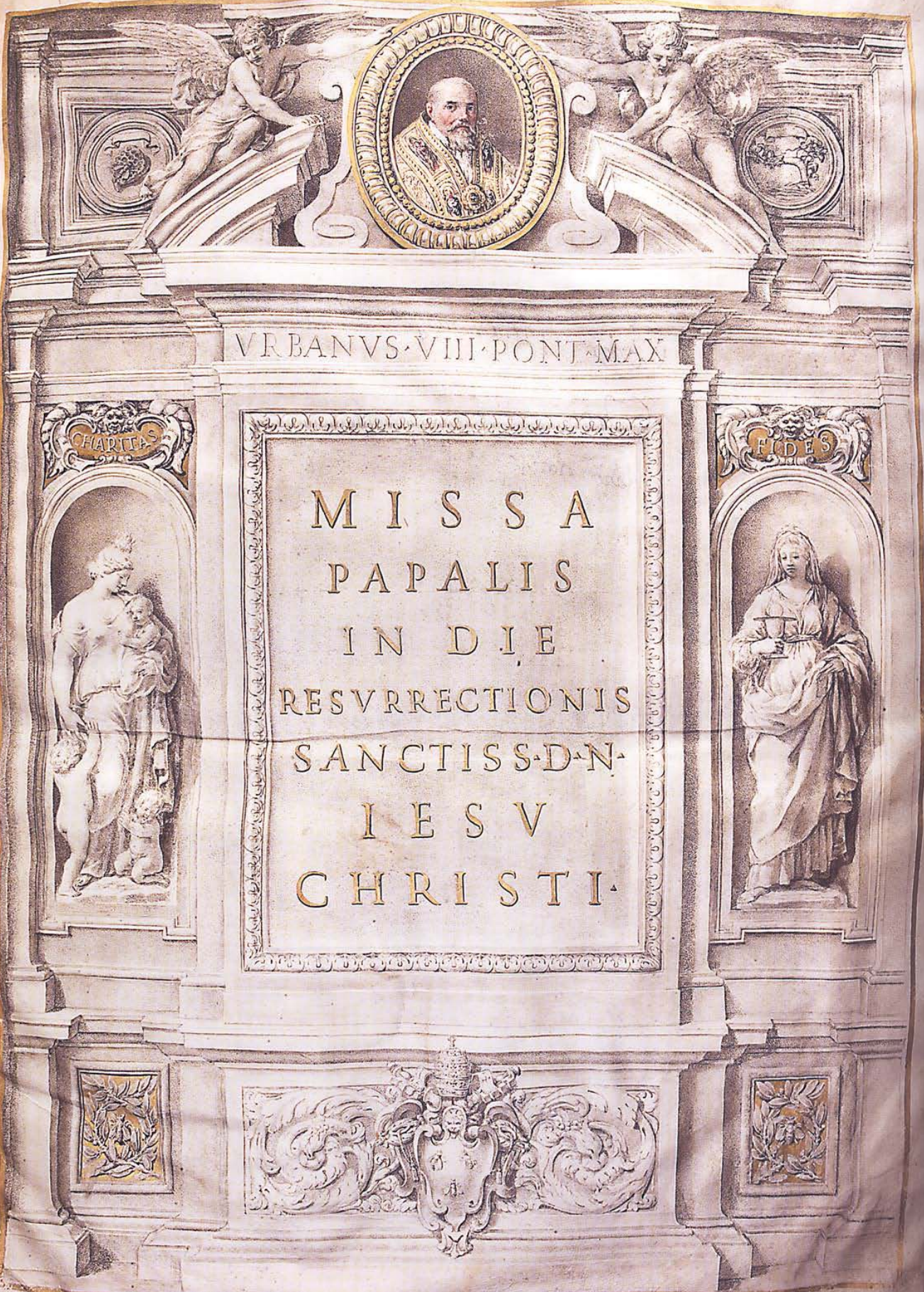
Fol. 29v (fig. 124) Initial *D* of *Domum*, with a flower (53 x 53 mm).

The *Blessing of Saint Peter's Basilica* by Pope Urban VIII contains the Mass of the Blessing of Saint Peter's Basilica, which was celebrated by Pope Urban VIII (r. 1623-1644) on November 18, 1626. The Consecration occurred at the rebuilt altar of Saint Peter's Basilica while the building of the baldacchino was being completed—though the event was preceded by a series of solemn preparations—and was held on the same day that Pope Silvester (r. 314-335) had consecrated the old Constantinian basilica 1,300 years before.¹ The manuscript was specially composed for the use of the pope on such an important occasion and was compiled with care under the supervision of Taddeo Altino di Camerino (?-1688), Apostolic Prefect. It is undoubtedly important from a liturgical point of view, for, while some of the initial folios are missing, it contains the full ritual followed by the pope during the ceremony, including extensive rubrics and diagrams as

figurative repertoires in the text. Prominent among these is a set that represents the cross with the letters of the Latin and Greek alphabets, taken from the pavement of the Vatican basilica, which were included after the rubric of the pope's receipt of the tiara (fol. 9v).

The decoration of this codex is significant. It is elegantly bound in red and black morocco leather, includes gilt stamping, and bears the coat of arms of Pope Urban VIII in the center of the front cover.² It contains a frieze on the frontispiece; eight initials, which are decorated with flowers; and various colored initials, which are inset in gold-leaf compartments. The frieze in the frontispiece is decorated with laurel branches and bees in gold leaf, and features three Barberini coats of arms. These heraldic elements belong, respectively, to three members of the same family: the papal coat of arms of Pope Urban VIII is in the upper margin; a cardinalitial coat of arms is in the inner margin, surmounted by a red cardinal's hat and the motto "ALIT;" and a final coat of arms, of a titled member of the family, surmounted by a coronet and the motto "ARTES," are in the outer margin.³ Underneath the title there is a little strawberry plant that has been rendered purely as a decorative element. The *bas-de-page* (gutter), while edged with gold like the rest of the page, has been left blank and perhaps was intended to contain an illustrated scene. The liturgical sections are highlighted by means of various gilded initials and by eight initials decorated with flowers, some of which rest on a background of characteristic simulated marble.

On folio 31r, the codex carries the colophon of the copyist with the initials "F.M.C.," which belongs to a Franciscan friar of Pinerolo (Turin), Italy, who is not well identified but was very likely responsible for the illuminated decoration. In fact, the careful and rich decorative scheme—with an ample use of gold leaf—exhibits characteristics that are fairly simplified, stylistic, and formal, thereby supporting the hypothesis that the copyist and illuminator were one and the same.



¹⁰ Archivio di Stato di Roma, Rome, Camerale I, Registro de' mandati camerali, vols. 1007 and 1009. See Appendices, *Payments to Illuminators*.

¹¹ See Appendices, *Payments to Illuminators*. The *Sistine Sacristy Inventory of 1714* mentions two other Christmas missals [B.III.5 and B.III.6]—the locations of which are now unknown—that were intended for the use of the cardinals, patriarchs, archbishops, and bishops who celebrated mass in the Sistine Chapel in the presence of the pope.

¹² See Talamo 1998a, p. 222, no. 9. Talamo identifies the work with the illumination of the *Adoration of the Shepherds* (Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence, Inv. 1890, no. 9502), as indicated by Silvia Meloni Trkulja. However, there is a transcription of the signature and the date—written in pencil in nineteenth-century handwriting as “*Ant. Maria Antonotius Auximus F. / Anno Domini MDCL*” and appearing on the verso of the parchment—that would exclude that identification, as the *Nativity of the Missal of Pope Urban VIII with Mass of Christmas* [B.I.4] is datable, at the latest, to 1638.

¹³ Graf 1998, p. 206, fig. 15.

¹⁴ See the essay by Talamo in this volume.

¹⁵ Talamo in *DBMI* 2004, pp. 42–44.

¹⁶ Talamo 1998a, pp. 135–139.

¹⁷ Talamo 1989.

¹⁸ Talamo 1998a, pp. 135–139. See also the essay by Talamo in this volume; Appendices, *Location Celotti Sale*, lots 77–85.

¹⁹ See Talamo 1989, pp. 159–169, fig. 5; Talamo and Roth in Morello and Maddalo 1995, pp. 301–305, 309 no. 76, fig. 188.

²⁰ See Appendices, *Location Celotti Sale*, lots 79–80 (with bibliography).

²¹ See Baroffio, Curti, and Gozzi 2000, p. 43.

²² Parenti in *DBMI* 2004, pp. 500–501.

²³ Freuler in *De Benedictis* 2002, pp. 336–338.

²⁴ Labriola in *DBMI* 2004, pp. 940–942.

²⁵ Kanter 1994; Parenti in *DBMI* 2004, p. 577.

²⁶ Kanter in *DBMI* 2004, pp. 958–960.

LITERATURE: Parro 1978, I, p. 686; Domínguez Borda 1933, II, p. 200, no. 1834; Janini and González 1977, pp. 156–157, no. 143; De Laurentiis 2004a, pp. 272–282, figs. 1, 3, 7–9; De Laurentiis 2004b, pp. 80–85, fig. 3, pl.; De Laurentiis 2007; Carpallo Bautista 2010, pp. 76–77.

27. Missal of Pope Urban VIII with the Mass of the Feast of the Apostles Saints Peter and Paul

1634

Biblioteca Capitular de Toledo, MS 39.2
Formerly “B.I.3 Missa SS. Apost. Petri & Pauli”

Vellum; 512 x 357 mm; fols. II (paper) + I + 66 + I + I (paper). Old round script.

Unnumbered (modern numbering in pencil only on some folios). Written space in one column of thirteen lines (375 x 265 mm). Text framed by two gold lines. Rubrics in red. Scripted by Leopardo Antonozzi (Italian, 1589–1659).

BINDING: Seventeenth-century, red morocco leather, gilt stamping, with the coat of arms of Pope Urban VIII (r. 1623–1644) on the covers. Restored in 1974, with a label stuck on the outside back cover: “*Servicio Nacional de Restauración de Libros y Documentos. Restaurada su encuadernación. N° de registro 1064. Junio de 1974*” (fig. 135).¹ On a printed label stuck to the outside front cover, an old Vatican shelfmark: “*B.I.3 Missa SS. Apost. Petri & Pauli.*”

PROVENANCE: Sistine Sacristy, Vatican City, B.I.3. On the recto of the first end-paper folio II, a note with the signature of Cardinal Lorenzana: “*Anno 1798 / Codex M. S. magna cura pretioque maxima in Urbis / direptione redemptus S. Ecclesie Toletane dono datus a suo Praesule Cardle. de Lorenzana.*” Below it, a shelfmark from the *Biblioteca Capitular de Toledo Inventory of 1808*: “*Cajón 39. Núm. 2.*”

TEXT

Fol. 1r Rubric: *Cardinales et Praelati hora tertia conveniunt in Palatium Pontificis...*

Fol. 9r *Nunc scio vere quia misit Dominus Angelum suum et eripuit me de manu Herodis et de omni expectatione plebis iudeorum...*

Fol. 12r Mass of the Apostles Saints Peter and Paul.

Fol. 36r Canon, with the variant *...una cum me famulo tuo indigno, quem gregi tuo preesse voluisti...*

Fol. 66v Ends with the rubric *Deinde accepta mitra descendit ad faldistorium... et accepto regno reddit ad cameram paramentorum*. Followed by a colophon: “*Regnante Urbano Octavo / Sacrarum Apostolicarum Praefectura R. mo D. F. Thadeo Altino Camerte. / Leopardo Antonotius Auximus in Odeo Pontificio Gregorianae Musicae / Scriptor exarabat.*”

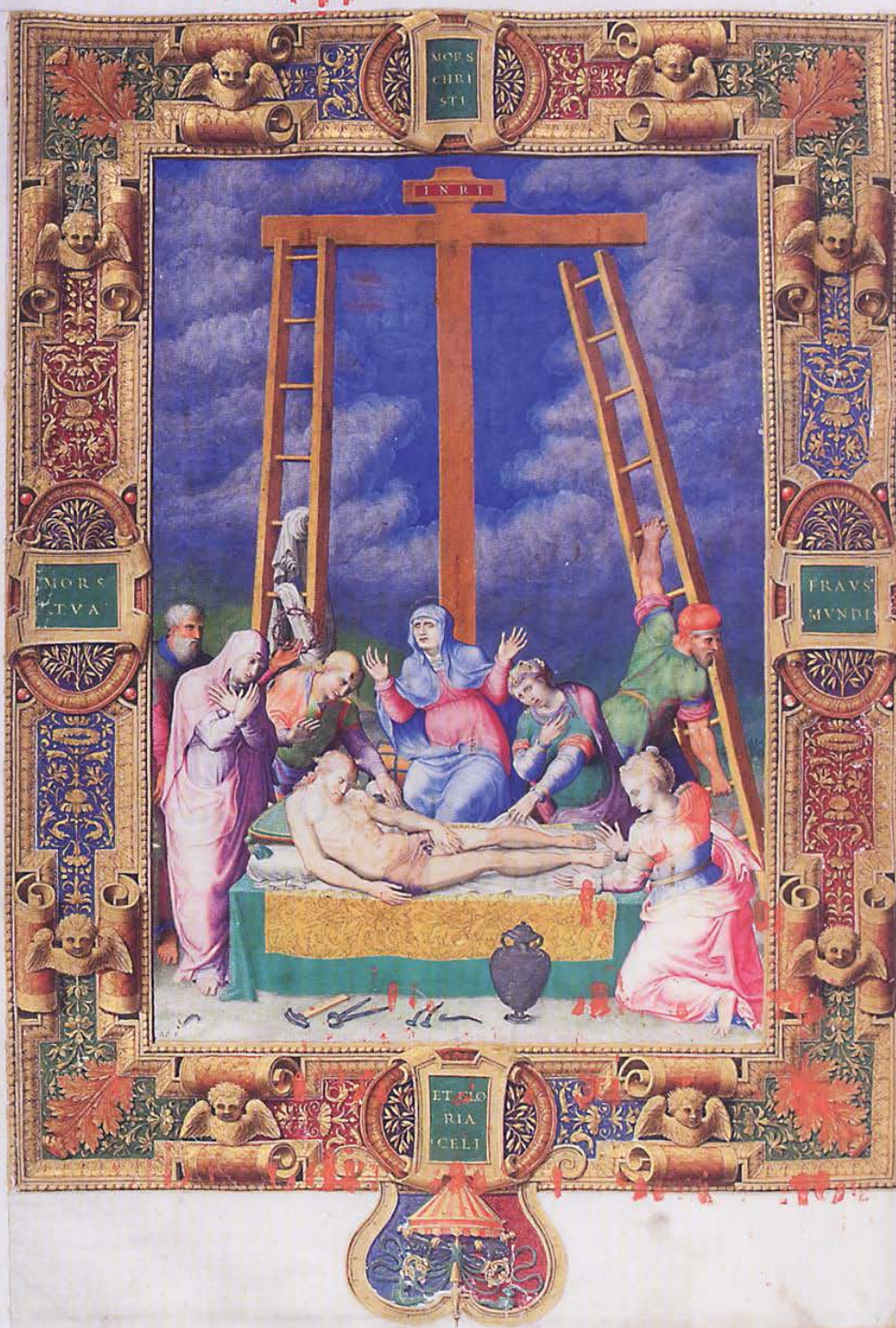
Square musical notation on red tetragram.

DECORATION

Fol. IIIv (fig. 136) Full-page illumination of the *Lamentation over Christ*, with a signature on the lower left: “*AP[OLLONIUS]. F[ECIT].*” The folio was taken from an older manuscript, cut out along the illuminated frame (320 x 242 mm), mounted using a *passe-partout* (mat), and its back covered with a folio of white paper, which is stuck onto it. A liturgical text is written on the verso of the parchment. The folio is surrounded by a gold frame decorated with cartouches, heads of cherubs, and four medallions bearing inscriptions: “*MORS CHRISTI*,” “*MORS TVA*,” “*FRANS MVNDI*,” and “*ET GLORIA CELI*.” The lower margin is inset with keys and an *ombrellino*, symbols which were used by the College of Cardinals and the Apostolic Chamber.

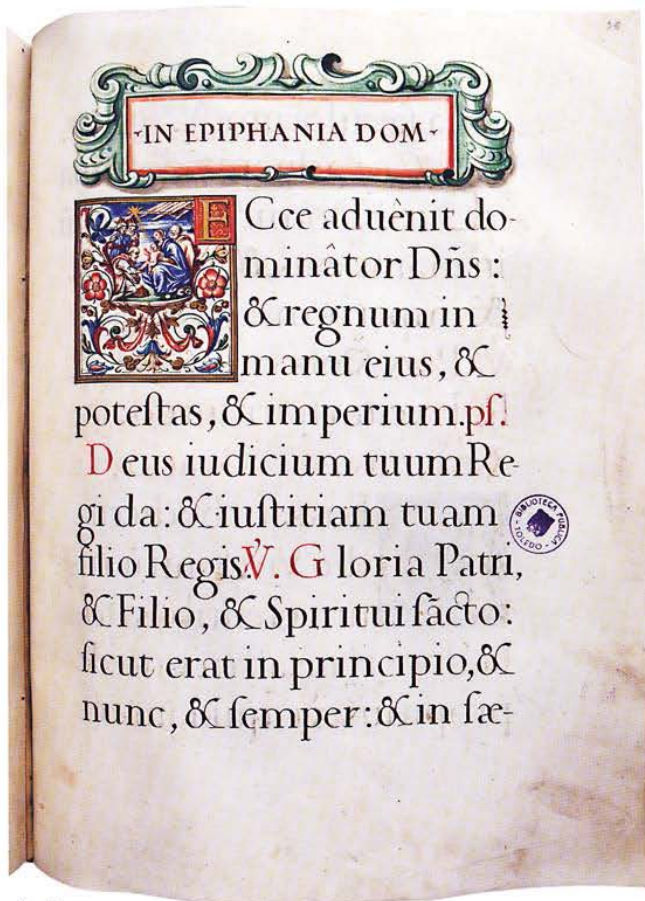
Fol. 9r (numbered 10 on upper right) (fig. 137)² The folio is surrounded by an architectural frame. The upper margin bears the coat of arms of Pope Urban VIII, flanked by two *putti* (cherubs) with garlands of leaves. The lower margin contains a medallion with bees, laurel branches, and the motto “*HIC DOMVS*,” flanked by two winged *putti* with little laurel branches in their hands. The work is dated on the lower right: “*A.D. 1634.*”

Fol. 17v (numbered 20 on recto, lower right) (fig. 138) The folio is surrounded by an architectural frame. The upper margin contains papal emblems supported by two *putti*. The center contains a laureled tondo bearing *Saint Matthew the Evangelist*, flanked by two nude youths draped in cloths. The base contains the *incipit* (opening) of the Gospel According to Saint Matthew, in gold. The work is signed “*Ant.*”



IN DIE PENTHECOSTES
INTROITVS





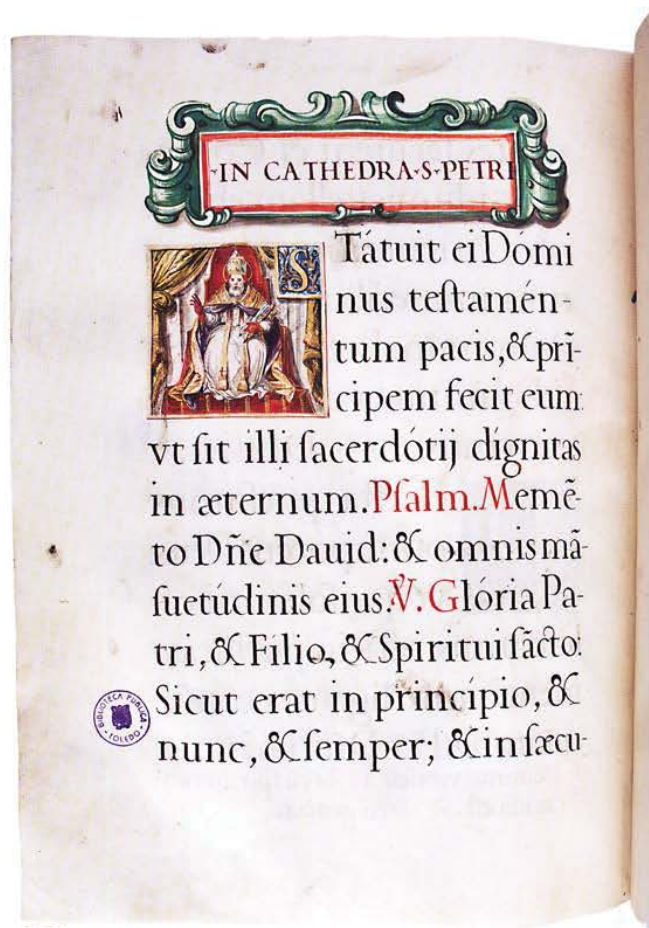
28.158.

The *Seasonal (Advent and Christmas) and Festal (All Saints to the Purification) Missal* of Pope Urban VIII was commissioned in 1634 by Fausto Poli (1581-1653), the majordomo and steward of the Barberini family, when he was Archbishop of Amasea in Turkey. He probably did so as a presentation to the pope, as indicated by the colophon of the copyist on folio 103v.

The decorative scheme of this codex consists of five full-page illuminations; a frame; various blue, red, pink, and green tablets containing the titles of the masses; and fifteen initials, set in historiated compartments, which indicate the various parts of the liturgy. For the most part, the latter employ a customary iconographical repertoire, albeit one with the frequent introduction of Barberini heraldic motifs. In some

cases, the motifs are replaced by the two personal mottoes of the pope: "*Hic Domus*" and "*Tria potiora*" (fols. 18r, 23r, and 28v). Completing the decoration of the manuscript are various gold initials of different sizes, which are set in compartments with delicate gold decorative motifs and Barberini heraldic emblems on dark-blue, red, and green backgrounds.

There are five full-page illuminations which illuminate the more important feasts of the liturgical calendar: *All the Saints* (fol. 14v), *The Annunciation to the Shepherds* (fol. 38v), *The Circumcision* (fol. 69v), *The Adoration of the Magi* (fol. 74v), and the *Presentation of Jesus in the Temple* (fol. 87v). They are set to face the *incipit* (opening) pages of the corresponding masses, which are introduced by molded tablets bearing



28.159.

the title above and by initials that are set in historiated compartments.

It is interesting to note that for Christmas, it was chosen to give emphasis—via a full-page illumination of the *Annunciation to the Shepherds* (fol. 38v) that faces the *incipit* (opening) of the Mass of Christmas Night, with its decorated initial *D* (*Dominus dixit*)—to the *Mass of Christmas Night* rather than to the following Mass of Christmas Day, which is simply marked with an initial *P* (*Puer natus*) that is set in a compartment with the *Nativity*. Similarly, the *incipit* page of the Mass of the First Sunday of Advent (fol. 18r) is not decorated with the traditional iconography that is thematically associated with the liturgical period of awaiting the Messiah—such as the Annunciation or the Universal Judgement—but instead with a

(fol. 43v) of Vicente Melgar de Vives (Spanish, active 17th century), a Dominican friar who scripted it at the Vatican in 1635.

Sistine Sacristy Inventory of 1714:

"B.II.6. Messa della prima Domenica di Quadragesima dello stesso Pontefice Urbano 8^o, contiene 42 carte, la prima solám.te è miniata coperta di corame rosso, Arme di Papa Alessandro Settimo."

Biblioteca Capitular de Toledo Inventory of 1808:

Fol. 178v: "Oficio que contiene la misa de la Dominica 1^a de Cuaresma: otro cuaderno grueso en fol. de vitela y escrito en Roma por Fr. Vicente Melgar y Vives natural de Valencia del Cid, año de 1635. L. fol. 38.6."

LITERATURE: Janini and Gonzálvez 1977, p. 140, no. 124; De Laurentiis 2004b, p. 85; De Laurentiis 2007.

31. Missal of Pope Urban VIII with the Masses of Easter Sunday and Its Octave and the Principal Feasts from the Annunciation to the Assumption

1635

Biblioteca Pública del Estado de Toledo / Biblioteca de Castilla-La Mancha, Toledo, MS 162
Formerly "B.I.8."

Vellum; 410 x 290 mm; fols. I + I + 104 + I.
Old round script. Modern numbering in pencil. Written space in one column of thirteen lines (270 x 183 mm). *Signa crucis*. Scripted by Leopardo Antonozzi (Italian, 1589-1659).

BINDING: Seventeenth-century, velvet on board. On a label stuck to the spine of the codex, in ink, a title: "Missale Resurrectio [...]". On the outside front cover, in ink, an old Vatican shelfmark: "B.I.8." Below it, in ink, a shelfmark: "5^a.3^a.El.16.C.1^o."

PROVENANCE: Sistine Sacristy, Vatican City, B.I.8.

TEXT

Fols. 1r-6r *Dominica Resurrectionis*. Inc.:

Resurrexi et ad huc tecum sum... Exp.: ...Deo gratias. Alleluia, alleluia.

Fols. 7r-16v *Feria secunda introitus*. Inc.: *Introduxit vos Dominus... Exp.: ...Deo gratias. Alleluia, alleluia.*

Fols. 17r-24v *Feria tertia Paschae introitus*. Inc.: *Aqua sapientiae potuit eos... Exp.: ...Deo gratias. Alleluia, alleluia.*

Fols. 25r-32v *Sabbato in Albis introitus*. Inc.: *Eduxit Dominus populum suum... Exp.: ...Deo gratias. Alleluia, alleluia.*

Fols. 33r-39r *In Annunciatione Beatae Mariae Virginis Introitus*. Inc.: *Vultum tuum deprecabunt... Exp.: Ite missa est. R. Deo gratias.*

Fol. 39v "Leopardus Antonotius Auximas in Odeo Pontificio Gregorianae musicae Scriptor exarabat. Anno D.ni MDCXXXV."

Fols. 41r-48r *In Ascensione Domini*. Inc.: *Viri Galilaei quid admiramini aspicientes... Exp.: Ite missa est. R. Deo gratias.*

Fols. 51r-59r *In Dominica Pentecostes Introitus*. Inc.: *Spiritus Domini replevit orbem terrarum... Exp.: Ite missa est. R. Deo gratias.*

Fols. 61r-65r *In Festo Sanctissimae Trinitatis Introitus*. Inc.: *Benedicta sit Sancta Trinitas... Exp.: Ite missa est. R. Deo gratias.*

Fols. 67r-77v *In Festo Corporis Christi Introitus*. Inc.: *Cibavit eos ex adipe frumenti... Exp.: Ite missa est. R. Deo gratias.*

Fols. 77r-84v *In Nativitate S. Ioannis Baptistae Introitus*. Inc.: *De ventre matris meae vocavit me Dominus... Exp.: Ite missa est. R. Deo gratias.*

Fols. 86r-92v *In festo SS. Apostolorum Petri et Pauli Introitus*. Inc.: *Nunc scio vere... Exp.: Ite missa est. R. Deo gratias.*

Fols. 94r-100v *In Assumptione B. Mariae Virg. Introitus*. Inc.: *Gaudemus omnes in Domino... Exp.: Ite missa est. R. Deo gratias.*

Fols. 101r-104r Inc.: *Precibus et meritis beatae Mariae... (below the musical notation) Exp.: ...maneant semper. R. Amen.*

Fol. last end-paper *Sanctissimus in Christo Pater et D.N.D. Innocentius Divina Providentia P.P.X. Dat, et concedit omnibus hic praesentibus indulgentiam plaeenariam in forma ecclesiae consueta. Rogate igitur Deum pro faelici statu sanctitatis suae, et Sanctae Matris Ecclesiae.*

Black square musical notation on red tetragram.

DECORATION

Fol. 11v (fig. 167) Full-page illumination of the *Apparition of the Angel to the Three Maries*. The folio is surrounded by a frame of feigned stucco with gold touches, and bears a signature in the lower right: "Ant. Maria Antonotius."

Fol. 1r (fig. 168) The folio is surrounded by a frame of feigned stucco with gold touches. The upper margin contains a tablet bearing the title "DOMINICA RESURRECTIONIS," in gold letters, on a dark-blue ground. The corners contain four tondos with the emblems of Pope Urban VIII (r. 1623-1644): the upper left and upper right corners display, respectively, the rising and midday sun, and the motto "ALIVSQUE / ET IDEM;" the lower left corner displays laurel branches and a gold bee, and the motto "HIC DOMVS;" and the lower right corner displays a plow that is drawn by bees and the motto "TRIA POTIORA." The lower margin bears the coat of arms of Pope Urban VIII in the center.

Fol. 7r (fig. 169) Tablet bearing the title *Feria secunda introitus*, in gold, on a red ground, with phytomorphic (plant) motifs and the head of a cherub. Compartment with *Jesus and the Two Disciples on the Road to Emmaus* (66 x 71 mm).

Fol. 17r (fig. 170) Tablet bearing the title *Feria tertia Paschae introitus*, in gold, on a blue ground, with phytomorphic motifs and the head of a cherub. Compartment with the *Incredulity of Saint Thomas* (62 x 70 mm).

Fol. 25r (fig. 171) Tablet bearing the title *Sabbato in Albis introitus*, in gold, on a red ground, with phytomorphic motifs and the head of a cherub. Compartment with the *Apparition of the Angel to the Three Maries* (62 x 64 mm).

Fol. 33r (fig. 172) Tablet bearing the title *In Annunciatione Beatae Mariae Virginis Introitus*, in gold, on a red ground, with phytomorphic motifs and the head of a cherub. Compartment with the *Annunciation* (62 x 64 mm).

Fol. 41r (fig. 173) Tablet bearing the title *In*

DOMINICA
RESURRECTIONIS

Resurrexi et ad
huc tecum sum.
alleluia: posuisti
super me manū
tuam alleluia: mi-
rabilis facta est sci-
entia tua. alleluia.
alleluia. Ps. Domi-
ne probasti me &

31.168.

FERIA SECUNDA
INTROITVS

Introduxit
uos Dominus
in terram flue-
tem lac, & mel, alleluia,
et ut lex Domini sem-
per sit in ore uestro, alle-
luia, alleluia. Ps. Confi-
temini Domino, et in-
uocate nomen eius: an-
nunciate inter gentes

31.169.

FERIA TERTIA
PASCUA
INTROITVS

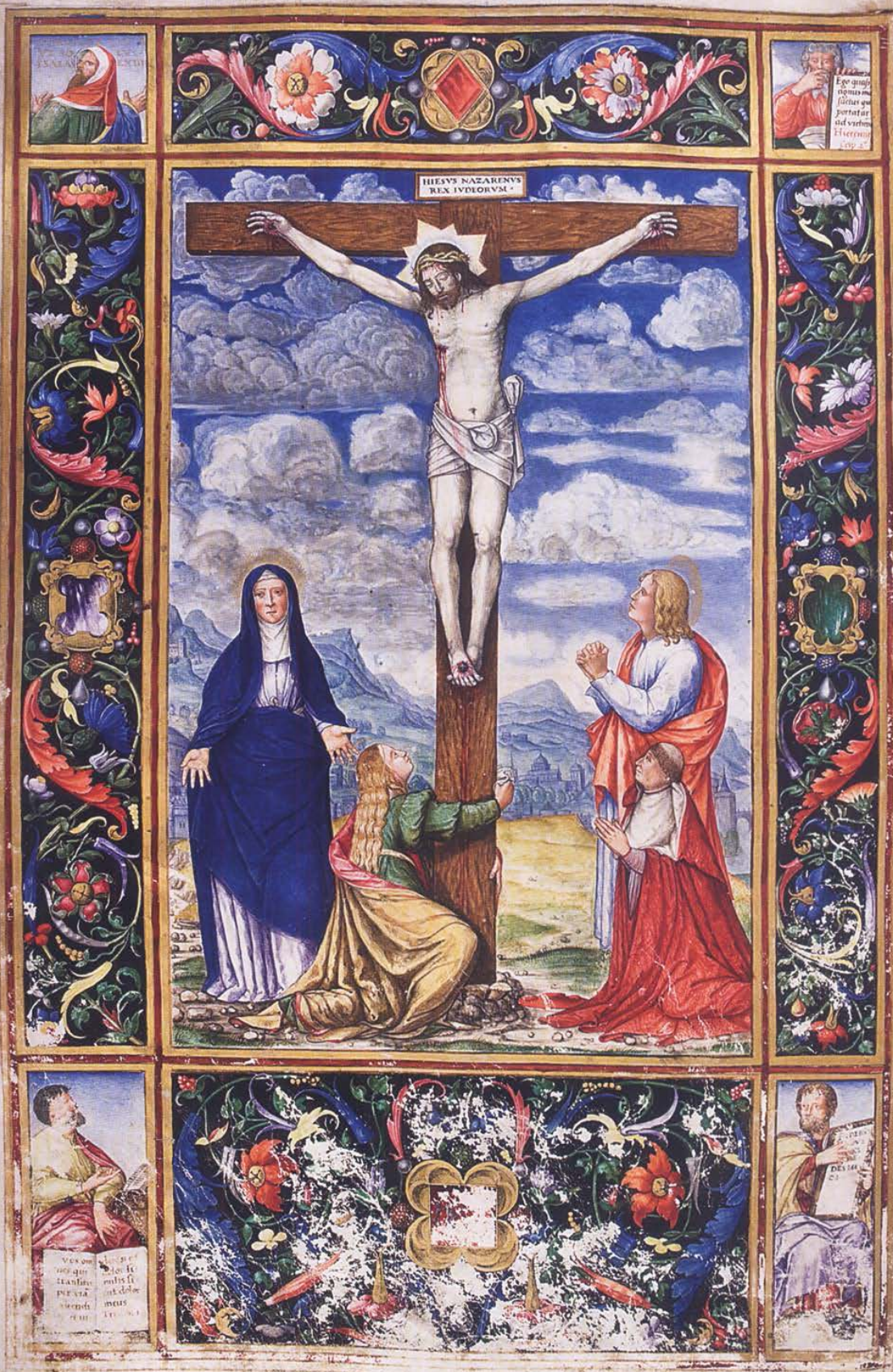
Aqua sapien-
tia potauiteos.
alleluia. firma-
bitur in illis et non fle-
ctetur. alleluia, et exalta-
bit eos in æternum. alle-
luia, alleluia. Psal. Confi-
temini Domino, et in-
uocate nomen eius: an-
nunciate inter gentes;

31.170.

SABBATO IN ALBIS
INTROITVS

Eduxit Do-
minus popu-
lum suum in
exultatione, alleluia, &
electos suos in lætitia,
alleluia, alleluia. Psalm.
Confitemini Domi-
no, et inuocate nomē
eius: annunciate inter
gentes opera eius. V.

31.171.



Era q̄rta
cinerū ante
q̄ nō adit sumus pontifex
missam benedicū
per cele. bratem
tur cineres facti
olivar
de ramis benedi
ctis preteriti ani
hic celebrans sōn h̄pe m̄ra
si habetur in cor
et gl̄iali d̄ra
nu epl̄e altaris. x.

Exaudi nos dñe
qm̄ benigna ē:

