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WHEN IMAGERY IS INDISPENSABLE: ILLUMINATED CHARTERS IN VIRTUAL SPACE

Abstract:

While the study of medieval charters has an ample tradition in the big field of auxiliary sciences of history, the illumination contained in some of these sources has often been neglected. Also art-historians normally didn't take notice of the often prestigious combination of legal sources and artistic decoration. The present paper offers an interdisciplinary view on this widely ignored field of research and tries to distinguish between three large groups of illuminated charters that differ in their functions. Firstly, decorated charters – which are usually quite impressive due to their colorfulness and size – may contribute to the shaping of identity of a group of persons. Secondly, they can also serve as show pieces with the foremost aim of attracting the attention of beholders. Finally, the decoration can also help to increase the appeal and the value of the charter. The interdisciplinary project Illuminated Charters as "Gesamtkunstwerk", funded by the Austrian Science Fund FWF (P26706-G21) and based in both Vienna and Graz, deals extensively with all three aforesaid types of illuminated charters and aims at providing an open access database within the framework of the virtual document archive monasterium.net, where several hundred charters should be introduced by way of a fully structured diplomatic and art historical description.

Keywords:

illuminated charters, art history, diplomatic, interdisciplinary studies, digital editing of charters

Non-textual features in charters – the diplomatic approach

The emergence of diplomatic as the leading and most progressive discipline of the auxiliary sciences of history on a European scale during the 18th

century,¹ turning at the time paleographic analysis into an essential tool of critical editing,² was very much dependent from the availability of illustrations of charters and acts: only a comparison of their extrinsic criteria on the basis of a reliable reproduction would allow for a sound judgement on the authenticity of the documents in question. The technique used for the reproduction from the originals was reliable and well approved for more than one and a half century: tracing paper (usually sheets of paper drenched in oil in order to make them transparent) was placed over the vellum in order to copy the writing as accurately as possible. These copies were then handed over to engravers who produced the corresponding copperplates for print³ – a manual copying and transfer procedure that was still in use in

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- ¹ For the impact of Jean Mabillon and his diplomatic system on the continental tradition of diplomatic, see (*pars pro toto* of an abundant bibliography) the contributions to *Dom Jean Mabillon, figure majeure de l'Europe des lettres, actes des deux colloques du tricentenaire de la mort de dom Mabillon*. Eds. J. Leclant – A. Vauchez – D. O. Hurel. Paris 2010; M e r s i o w s k y, Mark: “Ausweitung der Diskurszone” um 1700. Der Angriff des Barthélémy Germon auf die Diplomatie Jean Mabillons. In: Europäische Geschichtskulturen um 1700. Gelehrsamkeit, Politik und Konfession. Eds. T. Wallnig – T. Stockinger – I. Peper – P. Fiska. Berlin – Boston 2012, pp. 447–484, 648–661. For a re-assessment of diplomatic in recent archivist discussions on digital forensic, see e.g. D u r a n t i, Luciana: *Diplomatics: new uses for an old science*. Lanham 1998; E a d e m: *The return of diplomatics as a forensic discipline*. In: *Digital Diplomatics. The computer as a tool for the diplomatist*. Eds. A. Ambrosio – S. Barret – G. Vogeler. Archiv für Diplomatik. Schriftgeschichte. Siegel- und Wappenkunde. Beiheft 14. Weimar – Wien 2014, pp. 89–97; W i l l i a m s, Caroline: *Diplomatic attitudes: from Mabillon to metadata*. *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 26, 2005, pp. 1–24.
- ² Cf. B a r r e t, Sébastien: *Le diplomate et la paléographie*. *Gazette du livre médiéval* 54, 2009, pp. 1–9.
- ³ For the technique of reproduction by tracing in early modern diplomatic see L e c h n e r, Gregor Martin: *Zur Illustrationsgeschichte von Abt Gottfried Bessels “Chronicon Gotwicense”*. *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens und seiner Zweige* 91, 1980, pp. 115–138, on p. 116; W e i g l, Huberta: *Monastische Kunst und Geschichtsschreibung im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert. Zur Gegenwart der Vergangenheit*. In: *Mitteuropäische Klöster der Barockzeit. Vergegenwärtigung monastischer Vergangenheit in Wort und Bild*. Irseer Schriften. Studien zur Wirtschafts-, Kultur- und Mentalitätsgeschichte N. F. 15. Eds. M. Herzog – H. Weigl. Konstanz 2011, pp. 21–67, on p. 39 (note 59) and 60 (note 104); for the analogue medieval practice of tracing in goldsmithery, cf. F r i t z, Johann Michael: *Inschriften auf mittelalterlichen Goldschmiedearbeiten. Techniken und künstlerische Gestaltung*. In: *Inscript und Material. Inscript und Buchschrift. Fachtagung für mittelalterliche und neuzeitliche Epigraphik* Ingolstadt 1997. Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Kl., Abhandl. N. F. 17. Eds. W. Koch – Ch. Steininger. München 1999, pp. 85–93, on p. 88.

the late 19th and early 20th centuries for students' use,⁴ for private studies of individual scholars in the archives or even for printed publication as long as photo campaigns were impossible or not appropriate.⁵ The whole process was of course expensive and did – in principle – not surpass the standards of visual reproduction featured by 18th century manuscript transmission of diplomatic archival holdings: when Hartmann Dückelmann, archivist and member of the Benedictine convent of Göttweig in Lower Austria, copied some charters kept in the local archive into his *Synopsis confoederationum* of 1776,⁶ he did this by drawing a precise facsimile, obviously inspired by the engravings contained in the authoritative diplomatic study by the Göttweig abbot Gottfried Bessel, the tomus prodromus of the *Chronicon Gotwicense*, published in 1732 under the influence of Mabillon's *De re diplomatica libri VI*.⁷ The fact that Dückelmann intended to treat some of his

⁴ We refer here, as an example, to the pen-and-ink copies made by Hans Hirsch, later director of the Österreichisches Institut für Geschichtsforschung in Vienna, then (in the 1890s) student at the same institution, contained in his Nachlass preserved in the same place, Carton 21 (tracing paper copy of A r n d t , Wilhelm: *Schrifttafeln zum Gebrauch bei Vorlesungen und zum Selbstunterricht* Bd. 1. Berlin 1874, tab. IIIa); on Hirsch's tracing practice cf. S a x e r , Daniela: *Die Schärfung des Quellenblicks*. Forschungspraktiken in der Geschichtswissenschaft 1840–1914. München 2014, p. 299.

⁵ Cf. the work reports published in Deutsches Archiv or as an example T a n g l , Michael: *Forschungen zu Karolinger Diplomen*. AUF 2, 1909, pp. 167–186, on p. 167. For 19th century academic approaches towards medieval charters as historical sources and the techniques of reproduction cf. S a x e r , D.: *Schärfung*, pp. 271–322 (chapter 6: “Quellen im Bild: Fotografien für ein repräsentatives Tafelwerk”).

⁶ *Synopsis confoederationum monasteriorum variorum cum conventu Gottwicensi factarum [...] per P. Hartmannum Dückelmann asceterii huius professum et pro tempore cammerarium anno post Christum natum MDCCLXXVI*; Göttweig, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. rot 895.

⁷ On Bessel and his diplomatic attitudes, cf. (as a selection from a vast bibliography) R i t t e r , Emmeram: *Gottfried Bessel – der “deutsche Mabillon”*. In: Gottfried Bessel (1672–1749). Diplomat in Kurmainz – Abt von Göttweig – Wissenschaftler und Kunstmäzen. Ed. F. R. Reichert. Quellen und Abhandlungen zur mittelhessischen Kirchengeschichte 16. Mainz 1972, pp. 203–215; T r o p p e r , Peter G.: *Urkundenlehre in Österreich*. Vom frühen 18. Jahrhundert bis zur Errichtung der “Schule für österreichische Geschichtsforschung” 1854. Publikationen aus dem Archiv der Universität Graz 28. Graz 1994, pp. 26–44 and 189–196; L e c h n e r , Gregor M. – G r ü n w a l d , Michael: *Gottfried Bessel (1672–1749) und das barocke Göttweig*. Zum 250. Todesjahr des Abtes. Katalog zur Ausstellung des Archivs und der Sammlungen des Stiftes Göttweig. Bad Vöslau 1999; T r o p p e r , Peter G.: *Zur Arbeitstechnik historischer Forschung im frühen 18. Jahrhundert*. In: Die virtuelle Urkundenlandschaft der Diözese Passau. Vorträge der Tagung vom 16./17. September 2010 in Passau. Eds. A. Kraus – H. Wurster. Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Kulturraumforschung Ostbairerns und der Nachbarregionen der Universität Passau 62.

charters as illustrations like those printed in the *Chronicon Gotwicense*,⁸ is revealed most evidently by the striking stylistic similarities between the initial *S* drawn by Dückelmann on the frontispiece (p. 1) of his manuscript and the initials displayed in the older print as well as the matching choice of script and typefaces (see figs. 1 and 2).

Long before that, at least late medieval copy transmission of charters had sometimes been concerned with the materiality or more precisely, layout and make-up of the original documents.⁹ Even though this additional visual information did not add as corroboration to the legal validity of the copy, a number of scribes occupied with the conception of a cartulary tried to reproduce graphic elements of the outer appearance of charters in their copies. The greatest part of these text/image combinations were dedicated to signs of authentication such as imperial monograms or recognition lines, the rota and benevaleté of papal privileges etc. (see figs. 3 and 4). As cartularies serve as some sort of quick index to compendious stocks of original legal documents, it is not too surprising that they focus on features of legal relevance. Yet it seems that the mere fact that these acts displayed graphic elements other than ordinary text and display scripts attracted more attention from the copying scribe. The same holds true for the way notaries, clerks and scribes treated signs of validation when they copied regal and imperial charters as vidimus. It is rather the exception than the rule when, in 1345, a clerk of the chancery of Emperor Louis the Bavarian (scribe K 22) copied along with the text of the charter of Emperor Frederick II¹⁰ that he had to insert into the newly issued confirmation for the Augustine canons' house of Reichersberg in Upper Austria the very monogram he had found in the older privilege (see fig. 5).¹¹ By doing so, he – or was it Leonhard von München,

Passau 2011, pp. 193–200; esp. on the engravings in the *Chronicon Gotwicense*, see Lechner, G.: *Illustrationsgeschichte*.

⁸ For another example of Dückelmann's "photo-realistic" copies of medieval charters, see Roland, Martin: *Illuminierter Urkunden im digitalen Zeitalter: Maßregeln und Chancen*. In: *Digital Diplomacy*, pp. 245–269, on p. 264 with figs. IXa-e.

⁹ On this phenomenon cf. (with abundant bibliography in note 15) Zajic, Andreas: *Text und Schrift als "Realien": Intermedialität und Innovation in einem Göttinger Kopialbuch*. In: *Neue Alte Sachlichkeit*. Eds. J. Keupp – R. Schmitz-Esser. Ostfildern 2015, pp. 285–307.

¹⁰ 1230 April, Foggia (confirmation of a forgery under the name of Emperor Henry VI), Coburg, Staatsarchiv, Archiv der Grafen von Ortenburg; see in the future the forthcoming edition within the MGH DD series prepared by Walter Koch and Christian Friedl; for now see Hausmann, Friedrich: *Die Urkunden der Staufer für das Stift Reichersberg*. *MIÖG* 68, 1960, pp. 98–113, on pp. 102–113. I owe to the kind support of Mr. Friedl (Munich) a photograph of the charter.

¹¹ 1345 June 2, Burghausen; Stiftsarchiv Reichersberg; ed. in *Urkunden-Buch des Lan-*

another chancery scribe with outstanding artistic skills, who added the sophisticated pen and ink initial *L* to the charter? – placed the carefully drawn image of Frederick’s monogram in a blank space at the right margin of the text, thus opposing it to Louis’s own monogram in the left-hand margin. In vidimus copies, apart from the imperial chancery, scribes tended to pay attention to such signs of authentication quite regularly. Only a few years later, in 1351, the chapter of Győr cathedral copied the privilege of the monastery of Pannonhalma allegedly issued in 1001 by King Stephen.¹² Whether this charter can be considered an original or not, the late medieval scribe did not only copy the opening Chrismon and the regal monogram on a striking level of accuracy, but reproduced the elongata script displayed by the original not in an exact copy but gave the text in the corresponding late medieval display script, namely textualis formata (see figs. 6 and 7).¹³

In 1425, the notary Johannes Heidelberger of Cham in the diocese of Regensburg intended to make his apparently fraudulent copy of an alleged

des ob der Enns, Sechster Band. Wien 1872, p. 519s., nr. DXVI; cf. RI VII, H. 8 n. 536, in: Regesta Imperii Online, URI: http://www.regesta-imperii.de/id/1345-06-02_1_0_7_8_0_536_536 (accessed on 19.06.2015). See W r e d e , Christa: *Leonhard von München, der Meister der Prunkurkunden Kaiser Ludwigs des Bayern*. Münchener Historische Studien, Abt. Geschichtliche Hilfswissenschaften 17. Kallmünz 1980, pp. 48 and 103, appendix n. 33; M o s e r , Peter: *Das Kanzleipersonal Kaiser Ludwigs des Bayern in den Jahren 1330–1347*. Münchener Beiträge zur Mediävistik und Renaissance-Forschung 37. München 1985, p. 98.

12 1001; Pannonhalmi Bencés Főapátság Levéltára Pannonhalma, Bences – Capsarium, Capsa 13.A. An edition of the text is available online: <http://monasterium.net/mom/HU-PBFL/PannHOSB/1001/charter> (accessed on 30 June 2015); an image of the charter is available under <http://mek.oszk.hu/01900/01955/html/index1419.html> (accessed on 30 June 2015). Hungarian scholarship has since the 19th century reasonably contested the authenticity of the piece: the charter, engrossed only in mid-13th century, seems to build upon on a late 11th or early 12th century (or even later) compilation of a probably authentic text conceived by Heribert C, initially a scribe serving in the chancery of Emperor Otto III before turning to the chancery of King Stephen, with several additions to the text and layout (including the impression of a royal seal of King Coloman [1095–1116]) made at the turn of the 13th century; cf. É r s z e g i , Géza: *Szent István pannonhalmi oklevele (Oklevéltani-filológiai kommentár)*. In: Mons Sacer 996–1996. Pannonhalma 1000 éve. Pannonhalma 1996. Ed. I. Takács, vol. I, pp. 46–88. (German summary on p. 597) and I d e m, nr. I.1., *ibid.*, p. 117. The copy of 1351 is actually following a prior *copie figurée* of the alleged original from 1001, issued by King Andrew II in 1213.

13 1351, April 19, Győr; Pannonhalmi Bencés Főapátság Levéltára Pannonhalma, Bences – Capsarium, Capsa 29.K. An edition of the text is available online: http://monasterium.net/mom/HU-PBFL/PannHOSB/1351_IV_19/charter (accessed on 30 June 2015); an image of the charter is available under http://images.monasterium.net/pics/227/K.._MOM-Bild-dateien._~Pannonhalmajpgweb._~Capsarium._~Pann_1351_04_19_207210.jpg (accessed on 30 June 2015).

original charter from King Sigismund of 1417 more credible by prominently placing the regal monogram in large size in the centre of the parchment (see fig. 8).¹⁴ He obviously had the idea that a “proper” solemn royal charter had to comprise a monogram and, thus, unwillingly, made his forgery the more suspicious: Neither did Sigismund use the (imperial) monogram in royal charters nor was it – consequently – the monogram of Sigismund at all, but a somewhat sloppy or fantastic copy of the monogram used by Emperor Charles IV (see fig. 9).

Ever since Mabillon and Bessel’s times, the description of the external features of charters has remained a standard element of diplomatic studies and editions. By giving priority to the proof of authenticity, scholars used to focus on criteria typical for a respective chancery in order to identify the document as an original or a forgery. Non-textual elements of the layout besides graphic symbols and signs of authentication were usually neglected.¹⁵ Significantly, among the early 18th century illustrated diplomatic and palaeographic editions, graphic elements other than monograms, rotae, benevalete or chrismons, are shown almost exclusively by those following an antiquarian (and in some respect proto-scientific) tradition.

When Raimund Duellius, canon regular of the Augustinian monastery of St. Pölten, published his *Excerptorum genealogico-historicorum libri duo* in 1725, he included details from a remarkably decorated document of 1410 in his tables (see figs. 10 and 11):¹⁶ the foundation charter of the

¹⁴ Prague, Archiv národního muzea, fond A – Sbirka pergamenových listin, sign. A 34. An exhaustively commented edition of the charter (1425 April 9, Rome), the notarial copy of an alleged privilege creating the recipient, Johannes von Erkingen alias Seydenneyer, a count palatine (1417 February 6, Constance), see E l b e l , Petr: *Falzum palatinální listiny Zikmunda Lucemburského pro Jana Seydenneyera z Erkingen*. Příspěvek k diplomacie palatinálních listin římských králů a císařů z Lucemburské dynastie. In: Datum per manus. Přátelé, kolegové a žáci Zbyňku Svitákovi k 60. narozeninám. Eds. L. Führer – I. Musilová – J. Voborný – R. Červená. Brno 2015, pp. 209–288.

¹⁵ Only in more recent times have European scholars started to reflect on the various (semiotic or performative) functions of graphic symbols in charters, see e.g. R ü c k , Peter: *Beiträge zur diplomatischen Semiotik*. In: Graphische Symbole in mittelalterlichen Urkunden. Beiträge zur diplomatischen Semiotik. Ed. P. Rück. Historische Hilfswissenschaften 3. Sigmaringen 1996, pp. 13–47; C a s a d o d e O t a o l a , Luis: *Per visibilia ad invisibilia: representaciones figurativas en documentos altomedievales como símbolos de validación y autoría*. SIGNO. Revista de Historia de la Cultura Escrita 4, 1997, pp. 39–56, or E d e l i n e , Francis: *Le monogramme – un genre intersémiotique*. In: On Verbal/Visual Representation. Word & Image Interactions 4. Ed. M. Heusser et al. Studies in Comparative Literature 50. Amsterdam/New York 2005, pp. 163–178.

¹⁶ RAYMVNDI DVELLII VINDOBONENSIS; REGVL. S. AVGVSTIN. CANON.

Augustinian canons' house of Dürnstein in Lower Austria:¹⁷ by this huge piece of parchment Otto von Maissau accomplished the foundation of an Augustinian convent of 12 canons living together in the former chapel or secular canons' house of St Mary. The history of this ecclesiastical institution covers precursory attempts over almost four centuries, a complex narrative which is on the one hand set out in the text of the lengthy charter, on the other hand illustrated in the historiated initial *I* of the charter, featuring flamboyant artwork of highest artistic quality. The stem of this *I* is divided into four rectangular images representing important stages of the long history of the foundation, starting with the earliest on top (the foundation of a chapel dedicated to Saint Mary by the Austrian noblewoman Elisabeth von Kuenring-Wallsee in 1385) and ranging down to the concluding settlement of a convent of 12 canons obeying the strict reform statutes of Roudnice¹⁸ newly introduced by the charter itself.¹⁹ The illumination

ET BIBLIOTHEC. SAND-HIPPOLYTENSIS / EXCERPTORVM GENEALOGICO-/HISTORICORVM / LIBRI DVO [...] LIPSIAE, APVD PETRV M CONRADVM MONATH. ANNO MDCCXXV, p. 361, nrr. XXIV–XXVI.

- ¹⁷ 1410 February 7, Dürnstein; Herzogenburg, Stiftsarchiv, Dürnsteiner Archiv, D. n. 147.
- ¹⁸ For the impact and implementation of the so-called Reform of Roudnice in Austria see Z i b e r m a y r , Ignaz: *Zur Geschichte der Raudnitzer Reform*. In: Oswald Redlich zugeeignet anlässlich der Feier seines siebenzigsten Geburtstages. MIOG Ergänzungsband 11. Innsbruck 1929, pp. 323–353; for a recent account K a t z l e r , Günter: “*si regulares habent, consuetudines pariter et ceremonias bene degestas.*” Anmerkungen und Ergänzungen anlässlich einer Neuerscheinung zur Reform der Augustiner-Chorherren im Österreich des 15. Jahrhunderts. MIOG 118, 2010, pp. 186–200. While the label “Raudnitzer Reform” is widely accepted among German speaking scholars, Czech historians have been debating whether the Roudnice movement was not just a special phenomenon of “*devotio moderna*”, cf. for the opposing poles of the discussion S p ě v á č e k , Jiří: *Devotio moderna. Čechy a roudnická reforma (K úsilí změn mentalit v období rostoucí krize morálních hodnot)*. *Mediævalia Historica Bohemica* 4, 1995, pp. 171–194, and S p u n a r , Pavel: *Česká devotio moderna – fikce a skutečnost*. *Listy filologické* 127, 2004, pp. 356–370.
- ¹⁹ For the history of Dürnstein monastery and its illuminated charters, cf. the articles in *Stift Dürnstein. 600 Jahre Kloster und Kultur in der Wachau*. Eds. H. Penz – A. Zajic. Schriftenreihe des Waldviertler Heimatbundes 51. Horn – Waidhofen an der Thaya 2010; esp. Z a j i c , Andreas: *Von der Marienkapelle zum Chorherrenkloster*. Ein Umweg durch vier Jahrzehnte, pp. 12–23 (with the relevant older literature); R o l a n d , Martin: *Der Dürnsteiner Stiftbrief*. Multimedia im Mittelalter, pp. 24–31, both drawing on an older joint publication: Z a j i c , Andreas – R o l a n d , Martin: *Eine spätmittelalterliche Urkundenfälschung aus dem ehemaligen Augustiner-Chorherrenstift Dürnstein in Niederösterreich*. *Zugleich ein Beitrag zu illuminierten Urkunden des Mittelalters*. *Archiv für Diplomatik. Schriftgeschichte. Siegel- und Wappenkunde* 51, 2005, pp. 331–432; more recently, I d e m : *Illuminierte*

of this vellum, highly extraordinary to a late medieval foundation charter, turned the document into a veritable showpiece which drew the attention of the Baroque historian. The idea and intention to produce a document memorable even in terms of make-up and layout which exceeded the standard framework of medieval charters must be attributed not to the nominal issuer of the act, Otto von Maissau, but to the actual driving force behind the whole enterprise, the former “supreme” chaplain of the secular canons’ community, Stephan von Haslach. It was he who, relying on his affinity to the Austrian dukes in whose financial administration he had served as a “Kammerschreiber”, had long been pursuing plans to enlarge the secular chapter in Dürnstein presided by himself. Yet in 1410, he withdrew from his function as head of the collegiate chapter and persuaded the patron of the chapel, Otto von Maissau, to call formally a reform convent of Augustinian canons to Dürnstein, obviously as a result of a competition between him and his courtly rival Andreas Plank, chancellor to duke Albert V and (four years after Stephan von Haslach) founder of an Augustinian canons’ house in Vienna, St. Dorothy’s.²⁰

Stephan, depicted on the parchment as a single figure in the right bottom corner according to his central importance to the founding process, also had the confirmation charter issued by the diocesan bishop of Passau, Georg von Hohenlohe, illuminated by the same highly skilled Viennese painter who was responsible for the foundation document. Alas, the Passau chancery refused to accept the lengthy (and slightly suspicious) description of property transferred to the new monastery which Stephan had produced for the final engrossment of the charter. Some dubious legal titles to which Stephan had made claims in favour of “his” monastery were thus cancelled and omitted by the scribe, so that the text of this preciously illuminated charter turned out quite deficient from the viewpoint of the recipients. In order to “repair” this flaw, Stephan decided to have a “second” episcopal confirmation forged, now containing the entire list of goods and property as initially conceived. But this time he had to commission a different, less capable painter who finally arrived at a much less convincing artistic solution. Until today, both charters, original and false, are kept side by side in

Urkunden des Mittelalters in Mitteleuropa. Archiv für Diplomatik. Schriftgeschichte. Siegel- und Wappenkunde 59 (2013) pp. 241–432, on the Dürnstein charters see p. 407.

²⁰ The best succinct overview of the convent, dissolved under Emperor Joseph II in 1787, is R ö h r i g , Floridus: *Wien – St. Dorothea*. In: *Die ehemaligen Stifte der Augustiner-Chorherren in Österreich und Südtirol*. Ed. F. Röhrig. Klosterneuburg 2005, pp. 661–688.

the Dürnstein archive (see figs. 12 and 13). Obviously, the canons did not reach the point of disposing of the textually short but impressive original.

This example illustrates the impact of imagery in medieval charters on representation strategies and self-fashioning of individuals and groups or institutions as well as their significance for diplomatic studies.

Anyway, 19th century historians and archivists would regularly ignore illumination contained in charters, a fact that makes systematic queries for relevant pieces in archival repertories difficult. On the other hand, French illuminated royal charters were presented as a special collection of the Archives Nationales as early as in the first half of the 19th century, an exhibition strategy clearly opposed to the marginal interest contemporaneous diplomatic literature paid to the topic.²¹ However, exhibitions addressing a broader public still seem to require attractive objects and prefer the quantitative exception of illuminated charters to the masses of medieval acts drawn up in regular forms. In other words, illuminated charters are virtually ubiquitous in catalogues but almost invisible in diplomatic studies, editions and calendar publications. The few recent exemplary studies on individual charters are often situated at the intersection of auxiliary sciences of history and art history but lack solid ties to the methods and the central research topics of the two disciplines.²² A publication of material from archives and collections worldwide and a comprehensive state-of-the-art overview of the subject are still missing.²³

²¹ Notable examples of early awareness of the field are D o u ë t d ' A r c q , Louis: *Chartes à vignettes*. Représentation de Charles V. *Revue archéologique* 1847/48, pp. 749–756; G i r y , Arthur: *Manuel de Diplomatie*. Paris 1894, p. 504. Cf. the short notes on initials of papal charters from the 14th and 15th centuries or on charters from Emperor Louis the Bavarian in W a t t e n b a c h , Wilhelm: *Schriftwesen im Mittelalter* (3rd augm. ed. 1896; repr. as 4th ed. 1958), p. 383; whereas recent handbooks seem to ignore the phenomenon completely, see V o g t h e r r , Thomas: *Urkundenlehre. Basiswissen*. Hahnsche Historische Hilfswissenschaften 3. Hannover 2008. For the illuminated charters on permanent exhibition in Paris in the 19th century cf. R o l a n d , M.: *Illuminierte Urkunden*, p. 246.

²² Only recently, diplomatists recognize the importance and potential of the widely neglected field of research, cf. K ö l z e r , Theo: *Farbiges Mittelalter?* In: *Visualisierte Kommunikation im Mittelalter. Legitimation und Repräsentation*. Eds. S. Arndt – A. Hedwig. *Schriftenreihe des Hessischen Staatsarchivs Marburg* 23, Marburg 2010, pp. 13–29, on p. 22.

²³ For different approaches to national stocks of illuminated charters, see the recent volume, *Les chartes ornées dans l'Europe romane et gothique*, Eds. G. Brunel and M. Smith. *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 169. Paris 2013. For the time being, the most exhaustive overview of material from all over Europe seems to be R o l a n d , M. – Z a j i c , A.: *Les chartes enluminées*, and I d e m: *Illuminierte Urkunden*.

Why images in charters?

The answer to the crucial question why only a tiny amount of medieval charters²⁴ received artistic decoration seems to point at a general media-related function of images in legal texts. Basically, all images are – at least in principle – supposed to meet the eye of beholders and people to whom these acts are shown and presented. In other words, illuminated charters are intended to be looked at and address a more or less widely conceived public. Given this preliminary intention, there seem to be three major functions of illuminated charters.

Firstly, as we saw in the case of Dürnstein, images in charters added to the importance of the legal documents as pieces of identification, supporting a certain process of self-fashioning of groups by the creation of coherent collective imagery. Therefore, we find among illuminated private charters a considerable share of foundation charters or acts pertaining to the self-government or legal constitutions of corporations. Apart from the Dürnstein charter, a remarkable document from late 15th century Mantova²⁵ is suitable to illustrate this function (see fig. 14).

On 24 May 1497 the margrave of Mantova, (Gian)Francesco II Gonzaga, relieved everybody who donated, testated or spent money otherwise to the monte di pietà (mount of piety) of Mantua or deposited mobile and immobile goods there or contracted money from it, of the solution of any taxes and fees (*a quibuscumque datiis et eorum solutionibus pro quibuscumque bonis immobilibus seu mobilibus aut se moventibus exemptum et exemptos*). In witness whereof, he had drawn a large sized piece of parchment up, the initial *F* being painted as a floral body with elements of cornucopiae encompassing two small circular scenes in the upper and lower ends of the letter: the upper one shows Christ emerging from his tomb as a man of sorrows, the bottom scene shows three angels elevating a mountain over their heads. Whereas the first iconographic motif is rather insignificant, though at least from the 16th century onwards frequently associated with Italian mounts of piety,²⁶ the latter scene is quite immediately linked to this institution.

²⁴ Estimations on the share of illuminated pieces among the entire production of acts and charters during the Middle Ages are lacking a solid quantitative basis, but a percentage drastically below 1% of the material seems a reasonable guess.

²⁵ Berlin, Staatliche Museen/Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett, Min. 6208, see <http://www.smb-digital.de/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&module=collection&objectId=935913>. According to the short text provided on the website, the decoration is thought to be executed by Domenico Morone, an assumption not without cause as my colleague Martin Roland assured me.

²⁶ The same holds true, probably, for the head of a bird of prey into which the upper arm

Mounts of piety, rooted in Franciscan ideas, were a mid-15th century Italian charity attempt to facilitate money-lending through other institutions than banks and at lower interest rates.²⁷ The term *monte* meant a collection of funds from voluntary donations by wealthy people (particularly Italian patricians) or institutions that had no intentions of regaining their money on ordinary banking terms, but to spend it in the form of alms. The system which was based in pawn broking spread distinctly during the second half of the century.

The mount of piety of Mantua was founded on 1 December 1484 on the basis of statutes compiled by a group of jurists and communal functionaries under the auspices of the Franciscan Bernardino da Feltre and approved by Francesco II Gonzaga. Pope Innocent VIII confirmed the foundation in 1486. The foundation of the mount, following a stimulating sermon held by Bernardino, was thus intended to fight usury, a fact the charter of 1497 explicitly reflects upon in the arenga (preamble): *ad reprimendam usurarum voraginem que in dies latius serpere videbatur*.

On the upper margin we find, placed in the middle of the line, the words *DE CONSENSU N(OST)RO*, the engrossing scribe's note *Diomedes Tridapalus secretarius visa supplicatione signata opportune sub die 17 Marcii 1497 scripsit* follows the text in the right bottom corner of the parchment. The text of the charter was – following the normal process of drawing up an act – conceived according to a supplication handed in by the beneficiaries and approved by the duke. Diomedes' note is accompanied by the subscriptions of other members of the Gonzaga court and chancery, namely *Ste(phanus) Archip(res)b(yte)r* (Stefano Guidotto, archpriest of the cathedral of Mantua), *Hermolaus* (Hermolaus Donatus), *Antonius* and *Antimachus* (Marcantonio Antimaco [c. 1473–1552], scholar and professor for Greek literature and translator, living in Mantua).

We have reason to believe that the decoration with its strong allusions to the content of the text added to the prestige of the mount of piety (or rather its executive board) and was commissioned not by the issuer but by the

of *F* is transformed. Maybe the raptor is not an eagle, but a griffin, during the 16th century repeatedly occurring as a symbol of the mounts of piety, considering – according to Herodot's witness and Greek mythology – the beast to be the guard of the gold hidden in Apollo's cave in the Rhipaeon Mountains.

²⁷ For an older standard account on the topic, see Holzapfel, Heribert: *Die Anfänge der Montes Pietatis* (1462–1515). Veröffentlichungen aus dem Kirchenhistorischen Seminar München 11. München 1903; esp. for Mantova see *ibidem*, pp. 7, 11, 68–71; Montanari, Daniele: *Il credito e la carità, vol. I: Monti di Pietà delle città lombarde in Età Moderna*. Milano 2001, pp. 39–88 (neither study refers to our illuminated charter).

officials of the mount of piety who kept the prestigious piece as an important “constitutional” document in their archive.

Another group of illuminated charters rather serves the “external” representation of their recipients; they were obviously intended to be presented as showpieces to others (usually not belonging to the same community, but often competing within the same social group). A distinctive genre of charters pursuing this purpose are illuminated grants of arms emanating from the imperial chanceries during the late Middle Ages, at the time the only type of deeds where the image is also juridically relevant. In this case, the image was indispensable in the literal sense of the word. The painted coat of arms normally repeated the verbal blazoning provided by the text; in some cases, the chancery omitted verbal blazoning completely and just referred to the heraldic artwork on the parchment. A multitude of slightly modified versions of standard formulas were used for the according reference during the 15th century like *sicut hec ipsa arma sive clenodia sensibilibus figuris oculis subiecta corporalibus per colores varios pictoris magisterio in presentibus sint depicta*²⁸ or *prout eadem arma sive clenodia in medio presentis littere figuris et coloribus congruis clarius sunt depicta*,²⁹ just to present two instances.

Two specimens from the 15th century cast light on specific strategies of heraldic representation and offer interesting evidence of how the recipients managed to exert influence on the clerks of the chancery during their creation of the acts.

The first of the two grants of arms we want to discuss, actually and more precisely an augmentation of arms, was issued by Emperor Frederick III during his journey from Rome way back north of the Alps in Pesaro on 22 January 1469 for the lord of the city, Alessandro Sforza (see fig. 15).³⁰

²⁸ From the grant of arms for the brothers Eberswein of 1420, see below.

²⁹ From the grant of arms for Český Brod, 13 March 1437, Prague; Státní oblastní archiv v Praze, Státní okresní archiv Kolín, fond Archiv města Český Brod, Sign. IA 2. Cf. in the future, the abstract prepared by Petr Elbel for the Regesta Imperii series volume dedicated to Central Bohemia. On the formular of the grant of arms issued by the chancery of the Holy Roman Empire see M a i e r , Daniel: *Die Wappenbriefe der Reichskanzlei zwischen Ludwig dem Bayern und dem frühen Maximilian I. (1338–1500). Eine Formularanalyse*. Unprinted master-thesis, Vienna 2016.

³⁰ 22 January 1469, Pesaro; Florence, Archivio di Stato, Fondo Diplomatico, Urbino, Spoglio n. 7, Cartapecore laiche, n. 215; cf. M u r a n o , Giovanni: *Colligite fragmenta*. Urbino 2003, p. 220; L u g e r , Daniel: *Der Romzug Kaiser Friedrichs III. zur Jahreswende 1468/69 im Spiegel der Urkunden*. Eine Begegnung mit Kultur und Gesellschaft der italienischen Frührenaissance. In: *Wappenbriefe und Standeserhöhungsurkunden als Ausdruck europäischen Kulturtransfers? Beiträge zur diplomatischen Norm und sozialen Praxis im späten Mittelalter/Grants of Arms and Patents*

When Frederick stayed with the latter in Pesaro – the Emperor had first arrived in Pesaro on 16 December 1468 at six o'clock in the afternoon when he was still on his way to Rome – his chancery drew up a supposedly large number of privileges in favour of Italian beneficiaries. The related fees and revenues meant on the one hand a welcome addition to the clerks' salaries, on the other hand they were used to cover the travel costs of the court society.³¹ On 17 December, Frederick made the brothers Raniero, Almerio and Francesco Almerici counts palatine.³² When the Emperor returned to Pesaro on 22 January 1469 – on which occasion he was said to have personally laid the cornerstone to the new building of the Villa imperiale in Pesaro, which until today retains its name due the reported presence of the Emperor³³ – he took up the issuing of charters he had started there one month before. From the same day as the Sforza augmentation of arms we know at least one palatine's privilege for Leonardo Botta, at that time serving as a secretary and diplomat to Alessandro Sforza,³⁴ and another analogue privilege for the brothers Antonio and Francesco Ricchieri from Pordenone.³⁵ Probably the same date bears a third palatine's privilege for Cristoforo Fabertino.³⁶

Frederick granted Alessandro Sforza, lord of Pesaro – surprisingly, the *inscriptio* calls him Alessandro Visconti (*Vicecomiti*), a family name that

of Nobility as Expressions of a European Cultural Transfer? Studies on Diplomatic Norms and Social Practice in the Late Middle Ages. Internationales Kolloquium/International Colloquium, Troppau/Opava, 13.–15. März 2013/13th to 15th March 2013, Troppau/Opava. Eds. P. Elbel – A. Zajic (forthcoming).

31 Financial motives, however, were not the only impetus for the chancery to draw up privileges for Italian recipients: on the various aspects of cultural and political interaction between the travelling court and Italian beneficiaries, cf. L u g e r , D.: *Romzug* (forthcoming).

32 Pesaro, Biblioteca Oliveriana, pergamena 763; cf. *Memorie di Alessandro Sforza Signore di Pesaro*. Pesaro 1785, p. CIII.; cf. L u g e r , D.: *Romzug* (forthcoming).

33 See *Memorie*, p. CIV; B i s t i c c i Vespasiano da: *Vite di uomini illustri*. Ed. A. Mai. Florenz 1859, p. 114; E i c h e , Sabine: *Architetture Sforzesche*. In: Pesaro tra medioevo e rinascimento. Ed. M. R. Valazzi. Venice 1989, pp. 269–303, on pp. 286–300.

34 Cf. Cremona, Archivio di Stato, Archivio della famiglia Botta nr. 6, see <http://www.icar.beniculturali.it/Inventari/ASCR/Archivio%20Botta.pdf>; cf. L u g e r , D.: *Romzug* (forthcoming).

35 See *Diplomatarium Portusnaonense. Series documentorum ad historiam Portusnaonis spectantium quo tempore (1276–1514) domus Austriae imperio paruit [...]*. Ed. G. Valentinelli. Fontes Rerum Austriacarum II/24. Wien 1865, p. 328. [Nr. 272], cf. <http://f3.regesta-imperii.de/show.php?urk=10326>; cf. L u g e r , D.: *Romzug* (forthcoming).

36 Rieti, Archivio di Stato, Pergamene provenienti dal restauro 3/17; cf. L u g e r , D.: *Romzug* (forthcoming).

his brother Francesco and his heirs took up as legal successors of the late dukes of Milan – the right to bear a coat of arms quarterly, adding to the inherited arms of his family a field or an eagle displayed sable. The blazon obviously meets the standard wish of Italian recipients of grants of arms issued by Roman kings and emperors, namely to incorporate the imperial coat of arms into their own, even if the text carefully avoids to make explicit reference to the imperial arms. Before analysing decoration and text more closely we have to underline that this charter was not the first heraldic grant issued by a Roman king to the Sforza family. Alessandro³⁷ was an illegitimate son of the famous condottiero and successful social climber Muzio (otherwise: Giacomuzio) Attendolo, called Sforza. On 8 February 1402, the latter had obtained from King Rupert in Padua an illuminated grant of arms that was copied into the royal register.³⁸ The coat of arms was azure a lion or armed gules, holding in his left forepaw a quince (*cidonium*) or on a branch with two leaves. The blazon was evidently canting or at least allusive and conceived relating to the person of the armiger: the lion illustrated Muzios self-conception as brave military leader in perfect accordance with his nickname “Sforza”, the quince (ital.: *mela cotogna*) apparently related to his home town Cotignola. The grant of 1402 stated only legitimate successors of the recipient as beneficiaries, but this obviously meant no prejudice against Alessandro’s later heraldic ambition. His grandson Giovanni attached – starting from 1472 – in subsequent stages several sculpted coats of arms of sandstone to the capitals of the arcades in the west and south wing of Villa Rocca Costanza in Pesaro. These blazons comprise the Sforza’s simple lion coat of arms as well as the quartered shield with eagle and lion based on the imperial augmentation from 1469.³⁹

The act for Alessandro Sforza of 1469 was engrossed on a sheet of parchment of huge format, displaying the escutcheon quarterly painted in the bottom centre of the text. It is curious enough that the blazoning of the Sforza coat of arms seems to be completely unaware of the originally allusive character of the arms granted to Muzio Attendolo in 1402. The augmentation describes the plant – evidently without any knowledge of the

³⁷ On him see S a n t o r o , Caterina: *Gli Sforza*. La casata nobile che resse il ducato di Milano dal 1450 al 1535. Milano 1992, pp. 405–409.

³⁸ Vienna, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Reichsregister A, fol. 57r; see von S i e - g e n f e l d , Alfred Anthony: *Die Wappenbriefe und Standeserhebungen des Römischen Königs Ruprecht von der Pfalz, mitgetheilt aus den Reichs-Registratursbüchern im k. u. k. Haus-, Hof- und Staats-Archive zu Wien*. Jahrbuch der k. k. heraldischen Gesellschaft Adler N. F. 5–6, 1895, pp. 395–430, on p. 401 [nr. IX].

³⁹ See <http://araldica.blogspot.co.at/2012/02/arme-e-impres-sforzesche-pesaro-in.html> [Antonio Conti, 3 February 2012; accessed on 2 June 2015].

former intention and deliberate selection of the charge – not specifically (and erroneously) as a golden flower or blossom on a green branch. It seems likely that the chancery clerk in charge of the deed was only provided by the recipient with a sketch of the arms for blazoning, but lacked a verbal version. Whereas this loss of information was apparently due to the incomplete transmission from the recipient to the chancery staff, a second flaw was the consequence of the illuminator not reading (or understanding) the engrossed text properly: the text describes the eagle crowned whereas the illumination shows the heads without any crown.

The artist who carried out the decoration of the charter of 1469 seems to be the same Florentine master who illuminated a manuscript written three years later in Pesaro by Domenico Adalperi for Alessandro Sforza, who was the owner of one of the most important Italian Renaissance libraries, almost entirely destroyed by fire in 1541. The manuscript (Pseudo-Albertus Magnus, *Compendium theologiae veritatis; De septem artibus liberalibus*)⁴⁰ shows on fol. 6r at the bottom margin within a floral bordure an escutcheon quarterly, perfectly matching the blazon of the charter, flanked by the initials. The frame surrounding the medallion is adorned with illusionistically painted pearls. Analogue tactile effects are created by the background of the initial *V* on the same page, reminiscent of goldsmith works using gems and pearls. A comparably prominent use of gems and pearls was made by the rectangular background to the shield on the charter, consisting of four blue, red and green squares. Even the artistic details of the heraldic animals from the charter of 1469 and the manuscript of 1472 appear so close to one other that one has to think of the work of one and the same painter. The underlying idea of creating three-dimensional effects in manuscript illumination in the middle and second half of the 15th century, often using framework with gems and pearls as featured by the charter of 1469, seems to be an innovation brought about in charter illumination by the so-called “Meister der Handregistratur”, a highly skilled Viennese painter working for Emperor Frederick III, at the time decorating a number of grants of arms for different recipients.⁴¹ However, the distinctive shape of the shield with the cuneiform upper margin points once again at the responsibility of an Italian artist for the Sforza charter.

⁴⁰ Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana 253; see Guernelli, Daniele: *Tracce della biblioteca Sforzesca di Pesaro*. Considerazioni su una grande raccolta libraria del rinascimento. *Rivista di storia della miniatura* 15, 2011, pp. 156–170, on pp. 159 (fig. 3) and 165.

⁴¹ See most recently, Roland, M. – Zajic, A.: *Illuminierte Urkunden*, pp. 380–384; Idem: *Les chartes enluminées*, pp. 204–207.

In contrast to presumptions set out in older literature, the images of the coats of arms were normally added by the painter after the engrossed and sealed charter was handed over to the recipient who then was responsible for the addition of decoration. It was not before the 18th century that the imperial chancery itself employed artists as members of its permanent staff and entrusted them with the execution of the miniatures.⁴² In the late Middle Ages, when the recipients were after the artistic completion of their grants, the quality of the artwork often depended more or less immediately from the financial capabilities of the beneficiary/commissioner and ranges, accordingly, from decidedly modest painting such as in the grant of arms for the Bohemian city of Český Brod (see fig. 16) to highest refinement in up-to-date book painting as in the double expedition of the grant of arms for the city of Bratislava issued one year earlier by the same ruler (see fig. 17).⁴³

In those cases, where grants of arms lacked verbal blazoning, the blank space left for the heraldic miniature was sometimes filled only a couple of years later – not always without fraudulent intention: in 1420, by his letters patent, King Sigismund entitled the brothers Peter and Paul of Eberswein to adopt and bear the coat of arms of the extinct noble family of Old Herstein⁴⁴ which had fallen to the king on the death of the last family member (*arma sive clenodia cuiusdam geneologie militaris de Antiquo Herstein in districtu Pilznensi regni nostri Boemie consistenti per obitum et mortem tocius geneologie de Antiquo Herstein ad nos tamquam Romanorum et Boemie regem iure sint legitimo devoluta*), considering that the beneficiaries were themselves originating from a knightly and good family (*similiter de militari et bona prosapia propagati*) (see fig. 18).⁴⁵ The arms granted were not blazoned in the text but the chancery left a rectangular space in the

⁴² Cf. G ö b l , Michael: *Die Wappenmaler an den Wiener Hofkanzleien von 1700 bis zum Ende der Monarchie*. Staatsprüfungsarbeit am Institut für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung. Wien 1989; rev. and abridged version in: *Herold-Jahrbuch N. F.* 9, 2004, pp. 9–69, and (summing up his own earlier contributions to the field) K r e j č í k , Tomáš: *Zur Typologie der Wappenminiaturen*. *Herold-Jahrbuch N. F.* 19, 2014, pp. 123–148.

⁴³ See R o l a n d , M. – Z a j i c , A.: *Illuminierte Urkunden*, p. 379; I d e m : *Les chartes enluminées*, p. 203.

⁴⁴ The castle of Starý Herštejn (Starý Herštejn) is situated on the border between Bohemia and the Upper Palatinate. For the history of the estate, cf. J a n s k ý , Jiří: *Dějiny hradu Nového Herštejna a jeho držitelů*. *Západočeský historický sborník* 7, 2001, pp. 42–44; D u r d í k , Tomáš – S u š i c k ý , Viktor: *Zříceniny hradů, tvrzí a zámků: Západočí Čechy*. Praha 2005, p. 202.

⁴⁵ 27 July 1420, Prague Castle; Prague, Národní archiv, fond Archiv české koruny, inv. nr. 1481.

centre of the sheet blank for the illuminator and just referred to the future image: *sicut hec ipsa arma sive clenodia sensibilibus figuris oculis subiecta corporalibus per colores varios pictoris magisterio in presentibus sint depicta*. The charter was entered into the royal register,⁴⁶ sealed with the great seal and handed in to the recipients. Apparently, the brothers Eberswein failed to have an illuminator add the miniature with the coat of arms, leaving the parchment unpainted. Sometime and somehow, the act fell into foreign hands and – not before the middle or second half of the 16th century – was manipulated by the new keepers: they had the original name *Eberswein* changed into *Eberstein* and the blank space filled with a painted heraldic achievement clearly revealing by means of style the Renaissance era of its origin. As a look on the reverse of the parchment shows, the new illumination did not replace an original decoration but was painted onto the hitherto blank parchment. It seems that the Eberstein family, then belonging to the Franconian lesser aristocracy, had reason to stress the ancient nature of their nobility or at least that of their bearing of arms, tracing it back to an older family of Bohemian origin.⁴⁷

A third group of charters uses the decoration as an attraction to catch the eye: the images are used in what may justly be called an advertisement context, such as by the huge collective indulgence charters drawn up in the milieu of the curia in Avignon which emerged during the early 1320s. At that time, this diplomatic genre was already well established since indulgences issued by a single bishop can be traced back to the 12th century. The goal of this practice was to encourage people to support churches and other ecclesiastical institutions financially, granting the donators an indulgence in

⁴⁶ Vienna, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Reichsregister G, fol. 89v. The text was not copied entirely but summed up by the short note: *Item data est littera armorum Petro et Paulo fratribus de Eberswein in castro Pragensi anno etc. xx^o, die xxvii Julii*. The reverse of the charter accordingly displays the *R(egistrata)* sign accompanied by the name of the responsible clerk, *Henricus Fye*.

⁴⁷ On the family, see the copious volume *E b e r s t e i n*, Louis Ferdinand, Freiherr von: *Geschichte der Freiherren von Eberstein und ihrer Besitzungen*. Nach Quellen bearbeitet. Sondershausen 1865, pp. 24–26 on the coat of arms, as yet unaware of the false grant of allegedly 1420. *Siebmacher's Wappenbuch of 1605*. Neu Wapenbuch: Darinnen deß H. Röm. Reichs Teutscher Nation hoher Potentaten, Fürsten, Herren, vnd Adelspersonen, auch anderer Ständt vnd Stätte Wapen, An der Zahl über 3320, beneben ihrer Schilt vnd Helmkleinoten, mit besonderm Fleiß erkundiget, vnd vff Kupfferstück zum Truck verfertigt, Durch Johann Sibmachern von Nürnberg [...] NORIMBERGAE, Sumptibus Auctoris M.D.CV.; repr. as: *Johann Siebmachers Wappenbuch von 1605*. Ed. H. Appuhn. 2 vols. Harenberg Edition. Die bibliophilen Taschenbücher 528. Dortmund 1989². vol. 1, tab. 104, shows the Eberstein arms with only a marginal difference to those featured by the charter (the trunk of the Moorish lady on the helmet appears not naked but clad in blue).

return.⁴⁸ In the 1280s, this tradition culminated in a new form of indulgence charters where two or more archbishops and/or bishops affiliated to the curia acted as issuers.⁴⁹ From 1281 onwards collective indulgences became veritable mass products issued in the curial chanceries of Rome and – in the 14th century – of Avignon; the production of this kind of charters broke off rather abruptly by the year 1364.⁵⁰ A kind of renaissance of the older episcopal charters meant the collective indulgences issued by groups of cardinals during the 15th century, which continued to flourish until the mid-16th century.⁵¹

With regards to the illumination, the development of episcopal collective indulgences can be grouped into three subsequent periods. The first known illuminated collective indulgence charter in the strict sense of the definition (see below), i.e., a grant featuring a historiated initial, dates from 11 May 1323 and was issued for the collegiate church of Saint-Martin de Picquigny in Picardy (see fig. 19).⁵² The centre of the initial displays the Head of

⁴⁸ For further information about the medieval system of indulgences, see as a general overview P a u l u s, Nikolaus: *Geschichte des Ablasses im Mittelalter*. Vom Ursprunge bis zur Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts. Darmstadt 1923¹, 2000²; P a u l u s, Nikolaus: *Geschichte des Ablasses am Ausgang des Mittelalters*. Darmstadt 1923¹, 2000².

⁴⁹ For this general definition of collective indulgences see S e i b o l d, Alexander: *Sammelindulgenzen. Ablaßurkunden des Spätmittelalters und der Frühneuzeit*. Archiv für Diplomatik. Beiheft 8. Cologne – Weimar – Vienna 2001, p. 1. This cited work of Seibold is also the most significant diplomatic study on collective indulgences to date. Another extensive study on this topic was published by D e l e h a y e, Hippolyte: *Les lettres d'indulgence collectives*. Analecta Bollandiana 44, 1926, pp. 342–379; 45, 1927, pp. 97–123 and pp. 323–344; 46, 1928, pp. 149–157 and pp. 297–343. For a more detailed view on the hitherto by the historical research mostly neglected connection between text and illumination in collective indulgences, see R o l a n d, M. – Z a j i c, A.: *Illuminierte Urkunden*, pp. 305–337; I d e m: *Les chartes enluminées*, pp. 161–182. For an exhaustive collection of illuminated collective indulgences see <http://monasterium.net/mom/IlluminierteUrkundenBischof-sammelablaesse/collection> (accessed on 18 october 2016).

⁵⁰ S e i b o l d, A.: *Sammelindulgenzen*, pp. 3 and 105, counts for the period between 1281 and 1364 about 4,000 episcopal collective indulgences. D e l e h a y e, H.: *Les lettres d'indulgence* [45, 1927] pp. 109s., declares a soaring increase in the production of collective indulgences for 1284 and states for the time afterwards a constant output of the curial chancery of around 100 charters per decade. For these figures, see also R o l a n d, M. – Z a j i c, A.: *Illuminierte Urkunden*, p. 306; I d e m: *Les chartes enluminées*, p. 162.

⁵¹ S e i b o l d, A.: *Sammelindulgenzen*, pp. 197–205. The illumination of collective indulgences granted by cardinals does not come up before the second half of the 15th century.

⁵² 1323 May 11; Avignon; Amiens, Archives départementales de la Somme, Chapitre collégiale de St.Martin à Picquigny, cote 18G 13, No. 1. For an image of the charter

Christ (Vera Icon) with a significant style of beard and hair ending in three pointed strands. This type of Vera Icon was adopted by many collective indulgences starting from mid-1320s.⁵³

From 1328 to 1342, there was a heyday of this type of charter decorated by the most prolific workshop in Avignon⁵⁴. The enhancement of decoration motifs reveals an increasing orientation towards the recipient around 1330. The charter issued for St Leonard's in Léau (in the diocese of Liège) is an early example for the depiction of the petitioner of the deed (see fig. 20).⁵⁵ The patron saint of the church – St Leonard – is portrayed above the petitioner. The leading workshop in Avignon positioned both the patron saint and the petitioner in the left margin of the charter beneath the initial which centres on a new type of Vera Icon widely used from 1328 to 1331. Instead of the mere face of Christ, the painters now prefer a bust including neck and shoulders. Moreover, Christ raises his hands with the palms showing and blesses the beholder with his right hand.⁵⁶ The way the initial and the other figures are arranged led the way to furnishing the collective indulgences with a frame, a basic layout that dominated the decoration of the charters from 1332 onwards.⁵⁷ In 1331 the decisive step

see <http://recherche.archives.somme.fr/ark:/58483/a011308867883TV4Log/1/1> (accessed 8 June 2015), http://monasterium.net/mom/IlluminierteUrkunden/1323-05-11_Amiens/charter (with an exhaustive abstract and art-historical description; accessed on 18 October 2016) and see also Estienne, J.: *Une affiche d'indulgence de 1323*. Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes 84, 1923, p. 428–430; Fournier, Pierre-François: *Affiches d'indulgence manuscrites et imprimées des XIVe, XVe et XVIe siècles*. Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes 84, 1923, pp. 116–160, esp. 107.

⁵³ Roland, M. – Zajic, A.: *Illuminierte Urkunden*, p. 321; Idem: *Les chartes enluminées*, p. 164; cf. the glossary of the Illuminierte Urkunden collection on <http://monasterium.net/mom/glossar?pm=Veralkon> (accessed on 18 October 2016).

⁵⁴ Roland, M. – Zajic, A.: *Illuminierte Urkunden*, p. 328.

⁵⁵ 1328 June 7; Bruxelles, Archives générales du Royaume (Algemeen Rijksarchief), Kerkelijke Archieven, Nr. 966/ 32bis. The petitioner is identified by an annotation above the figure as *magister Johannes de Sceverstene clericus*. See Homburger, Otto – Steiger, Christoph von: *Zwei illuminierte Ablassbriefe in Bern*. Zeitschrift für schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte 17, 1957, pp. 134–158, esp. 146; Roland, M. – Zajic, A.: *Illuminierte Urkunden*, p. 326; Idem: *Les chartes enluminées*, p. 173; http://monasterium.net/mom/IlluminierteUrkunden/1328-06-07_Bruessel/charter (accessed on 18 October 2016).

⁵⁶ Roland, M. – Zajic, A.: *Illuminierte Urkunden*, p. 323; Idem: *Les chartes enluminées*, p. 173.

⁵⁷ The earliest known example of this type of illumination is an indulgence for three churches/chapels in Lahnstein/Lahneck (1332 October 15, Avignon; no archival information available), for an image, see <http://www.bildindex.de/#/home> (search by keywords Lahneck, Ablassbrief); on the charter and its decoration cf. Roland,

towards a new emphasis on the recipient of the indulgence was made by the main workshop in Avignon: In a charter for the Dominican convent of St Lawrence's in Vienna,⁵⁸ the patron saint of the monastery is depicted in the centre of the initial – a place that had hitherto been reserved for the Vera Icon and other portrayals of Christ and of the Holy Virgin (see fig. 21). In sum, the period between the late 1320s and early 1330s was a time when essential innovations in the decoration of collective indulgences emerged. However, most of the charters produced in cooperation of the main workshop and the curial chancery in the years after 1332 and in the early 1340s have to be judged as mass products without more than mediocre sense of quality; further ground-breaking developments in layout and illumination of the charters are not perceptible.⁵⁹

The third period from 1342 to 1363/64 is characterised by a temporary rise of quality in decoration which until c. 1350 amalgamated traditional elements rooting in the early 1330s with new forms.⁶⁰ At the same time the number of charters whose decoration was not completed in Avignon was growing. The curial chancery often restricted itself to fixing the outlines of the initial *U(niversis)* at the beginning of the text, while an illuminator commissioned by the recipient of the charter could accomplish the rest of the illumination back home.⁶¹

As set out above, the portrayal of the petitioner became a common element of decoration in collective indulgences. It is very likely that the recip-

M. – Z a j i c , A.: *Illuminierte Urkunden*, p. 327; I d e m : *Les chartes enluminées*, p. 175; http://monasterium.net/mom/IlluminierteUrkunden/1332-10-15_Lahnstein/charter (accessed on 18 october 2016).

58 1331 May 12, Avignon; Vienna, Haus-, Hof-, und Staatsarchiv, Allgemeine Urkundenreihe, sub dato. For further information about this charter cf. R a d o c s a y , Dénes: *Illuminierte Ablassbriefe aus Avignon in Wien*. Alte und moderne Kunst 15, 1970, Heft 112, pp. 8–12, esp. p. 9 and picture nr. 1; S c h e d l , Barbara: *Klosterleben und Stadtkultur im mittelalterlichen Wien*. Zur Architektur religiöser Frauenkommunitäten. Forschungen und Beiträge zur Wiener Stadtgeschichte 51. Vienna 2009, p. 220, nr. 13; R o l a n d , M. – Z a j i c , A.: *Illuminierte Urkunden*, p. 327; I d e m : *Les chartes enluminées*, p. 175; http://monasterium.net/mom/IlluminierteUrkunden/1331-05-12_Wien/charter. The initial was reworked in the middle of the 15th century. However, St. Lawrence may have been a part of the original illumination.

59 It has to be mentioned that there are a few single pieces, which differ from the standard decoration of that time. For examples, see R o l a n d , M. – Z a j i c , A.: *Illuminierte Urkunden*, pp. 329s.

60 R o l a n d , M. – Z a j i c , A.: *Illuminierte Urkunden*, p. 331; I d e m : *Les chartes enluminées*, p. 178.

61 R o l a n d , M. – Z a j i c , A.: *Illuminierte Urkunden*, p. 334; I d e m : *Les chartes enluminées*, p. 179.

ients themselves claimed this feature as a pictorial means of highlighting social status and personal devotion at the same time.

A very remarkable example for this type of decoration is the collective indulgence issued for St Paul's chapel in the Viennese Benedictine abbey of Schottenstift (*capella sancti Pauli in monasterio Scottorum in Vienna*) from 1337 (see fig. 22).⁶² 13 issuers (one archbishop and twelve bishops) grant an indulgence of 40 days to every penitent man who visits the chapel on specific holy feasts and who carries out pious works by contributing to structure, lighting and other appointments of the chapel, speaking three Hail-Marys while the evening bell is ringing and donating gold, silver or garments in favour of the chapel. Adding to the aforesaid, there is another opportunity for gaining remission, namely for everyone who prays for the soul of a certain Conrad, who is buried before the altar [of the chapel], and for the life of his widow Elizabeth, as long as she lives, and for her soul when she dies.⁶³ Accordingly, a couple is painted kneeling to the right of the apostle Paul, who is placed in the centre of the initial carrying a sword as his attribute. On the left-hand side of Paul, there is the figure of a martyr saint who cannot be surely identified. Undoubtedly, the couple represents both the late Conrad and his widow Elizabeth and one may assume with good reason that Elizabeth acted as the petitioner of the charter. It was presumably her wish that both she and her deceased husband were portrayed at the beginning of the indulgence letter.

⁶² 1337 May 15, Avignon; Vienna, Archiv des Schottenstifts, Urkunden, sub dato; cf. http://monasterium.net/mom/IlluminierteUrkunden/1337-05-15_Wien_2/charter (accessed on 18 October 2016). The charter is edited in *Urkunden der Benedictiner-Abtei unserer Lieben Frau zu den Schotten in Wien. Vom Jahre 1158 bis 1418*. Ed. E. Hauswirth. Fontes rerum Austriacarum (= FRA II/18). Vienna 1859, pp. 210–212, nr. 186. The location of the chapel remains uncertain, yet the text of the charter situates it within the monastery (*in monasterio Scottorum*). The suggestion that the chapel was in the cloister is appealing but not verifiable; see Hübl, Albert: *Baugeschichte des Stiftes Schotten in Wien*. Berichte und Mitteilungen des Altertums-Vereines zu Wien 46/47, 1914, pp. 35–88, esp. p. 47. Shortly after the issuance of the charter for St Paul's chapel, a second collective indulgence for St Andrew's chapel (1337 May 20, Avignon; Vienna, Archiv des Schottenstifts, sub dato) in the Viennese Schottenstift was issued. According to the text, this chapel lies in the monastery, too (*in monasterio Scottorum*). For an edition of the latter indulgence, see FRA II/ 18 pp. 212f., nr. 187. Hübl thought this chapel to be likewise in the cloister, cf. Hübl, A.: *Baugeschichte*, p. 47.

⁶³ 1337 Mai 15, Avignon; Vienna, Archiv des Schottenstifts, Urkunden, sub dato: [...] *et qui pro anima Conradi defuncti, cuius corpus ante altare in Christo requiescat, et pro vita Elizabeth, quondam eius uxoris, dum vixerit, et pro anima eius, cum ab hoc seculo migraverit, Deum exoraverint.*

Although the two kneeling figures are a prominent part of the decoration, neither annotations to the scene – often written as labels on accompanying scrolls – nor the text of the charter give the couple's family name. However, three years after the issuance of the collective indulgence for St Paul's chapel in the Schottenstift Elizabeth, the widow of the late Conrad Meter (*Elzbet, hern Chunrats wittibe des Meter, dem Got gnade*) drew up a will that sheds some light on the identity of the family.⁶⁴ Elizabeth favours St Paul's chapel with copious donations, including her house located in Vienna on the Rossmarkt, which she had acquired when she already was a widow. In return she expected the monks to celebrate both a daily Holy Mass in St Paul's chapel in the monastery and a solemn anniversary before or after St Andrew's feast day (30 November) for the sake of her deceased husband and her own soul and the souls of all her ancestors and descendants.⁶⁵ It seems obvious that Elizabeth Meter who made her will in 1340 is identical with the very Elizabeth mentioned in the collective indulgence letter of 1337. In both charters, St Paul's chapel benefits remarkably. Whether Conrad and Elizabeth were the founders of this chapel or not, they undoubtedly had close ties to it and used it as their burial site.

Another Viennese indulgence letter featuring a petitioning couple in the initial has survived. The charter, issued in 1343, was determined for a stone relief of Christ on the Mount of Olives located next to the new charnel house

⁶⁴ 1340 July 13, Vienna; Vienna, Archiv des Schottenstifts, Urkunden, sub dato. For an edition of the charter, see FRA II/18, pp. 221–223 nr. 195 (mistakenly dated to 1337 July 20). The will is also copied into the *Liber oblationum et anniversariorum* of the Viennese Schottenstift compiled in the years after 1442. On that codex and the will of Elizabeth cf. W a g n e r, Wolfgang Eric: *Von der Stiftungsurkunde zum Anniversarbucheintrag*. Beobachtungen zur Anlage des Liber oblationum et anniversariorum (1442–ca. 1480) im Wiener Schottenkloster. In: *Stiftungen und Stiftungswirklichkeiten. Vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart*. Ed. M. Borgolte. Stiftungsgeschichten 1. Berlin 2000, pp. 145–170, esp. p. 160; for an edition of the *Liber oblationum* cf. *Necrologia Germaniae 5. Dioecesis Pataviensis, pars altera: Austria Inferior*. Ed. A. Fuchs. Monumenta Germaniae Historica Necr. 5. Berlin 1913, pp. 303–318, esp. p. 310 (will of Elizabeth Meter).

⁶⁵ 1340 July 13, Vienna; Vienna, Archiv des Schottenstifts, Urkunden, sub dato: *Dez ersten so han ich geschafft lauterleich durch Got und durch aller meiner voderen und nachchomen selen willen und durch vorgeantens meins wirts sel willen Chunrats und durch meiner selber sel willen mein haus, daz da leit an dem Rosmarchte ze Wiene, daz ich wittibenweis umb mein aygenhafts varunt guet gechauft han [...] dem convent gemain den herren datz den Schotten ze Wiene, also daz si und ir nachchomen ewichleichen alle tage ein messe davon haben suln in irm chloster in sant Pauls chappellen [...] und suln auch mir und meinem wirt Chunraden ewichleichen alle iar ein iartage davon begen mit vigili, mit selmesse und mit anderm gepet, alz irs ordens gewonhait ist, des nachsten tages vor sant Andres tage oder darnach.*

– St Magdalene’s chapel – on the cemetery of St Stephen’s parish church (the later St Stephen’s cathedral) in Vienna (see fig. 23).⁶⁶ Undoubtedly, the two petitioners mentioned in the text of the charter, the goldsmith Frederick and his wife Agnes, had been the donators of the sculpture. The issuers of the charter grant an indulgence of 40 days to every penitent man speaking prayers in front of the sculpture, praying for the souls of the deceased who were buried in the cemetery and for the above-mentioned Frederick and Agnes who requested the issuance of the charter.⁶⁷ The goldsmith master Frederick seems to be identical with the Viennese burgher Frederick Straicher, a member of a wealthy and influential local family.⁶⁸ Frederick, apparently a skilled artisan, is known to have manufactured a golden cross on commission of the bishop of Freising.⁶⁹ He must have died before 1349.⁷⁰

⁶⁶ 1343 January 22, Avignon; Vienna, Erzbischöfliches Dom- und Diözesanarchiv (diocesan archive), Urkunden, sub dato: [...] *ymago sancti Salvatoris iuxta novum karnarium in cimiterio sancti Stephani in Vienna* [...]; cf. Z a j i c , Andreas: *Texts on Public Display*. Strategies of Visualising Epigraphic Writing in Late Medieval Austrian Towns. In: *Uses of the Written Word in Medieval Towns*. Medieval Urban Literacy 2. Eds. M. Mostert – A. Adamska. Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy 28. Turnhout 2014, pp. 389–426, on pp. 415–417. For an overview of the chapel’s history, cf. C a m e s i n a , Albert: *Die Maria-Magdalena-Capelle am Stephansfreithof zu Wien und dessen Umgebung*. Berichte und Mittheilungen des Alterthumsvereines zu Wien 11, 1870, pp. 216–294; P e r g e r , Richard: *Zur Geschichte des neuen Karners und der Kapellen St. Virgilius und St. Maria Magdalena. auf dem Wiener Stephansfriedhof*. Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege 27, 1973, pp. 153–160; P e r g e r , Richard – B r a u n e i s , Walther: *Die mittelalterlichen Kirchen und Klöster Wiens*. Wiener Geschichtsbücher 19/20. Vienna – Hamburg 1977, pp. 70–72.

⁶⁷ 1343 January 22, Avignon; Vienna, Erzbischöfliches Dom- und Diözesanarchiv (diocesan archive), Urkunden, sub dato: [...] *vel etiam qui pro magistro Friderico aurifabro et Agnete uxore sua, presentis indulgencie impetratoribus, pie Deum exoraverint*.

⁶⁸ On the family, cf. S a i l e r , Leopold: *Die Wiener Ratsbürger des 14. Jahrhunderts*. Studien aus dem Archiv der Stadt Wien 3/4. Wien 1931, pp. 412–414.

⁶⁹ In 1344, Frederick claimed that the canons of Freising still owed him money and that his bill remained unpaid in full. For an edition of this charter, see *Codex diplomaticus Austriaco-Frisingensis. Sammlung von Urkunden und Urbaren zur Geschichte der ehemals Freisingischen Besitzungen in Österreich* 2. Ed. J. Zahn. Fontes rerum austriacarum (= FRA II/35). Vienna 1871, p. 283, nr. 691. On this deal between Straicher and the bishop of Freising, cf. N e u m a n n , Wilhelm Anton: *Kleinkünste während des Mittelalters*. In: *Geschichte der Stadt Wien III/2*. Von der Zeit der Landesfürsten aus habsburgischem Hause bis zum Ausgange des Mittelalters. Wien 1907, pp. 557–609, esp. p. 563.

⁷⁰ In the same year, Jacob, the son of the late goldsmith master Frederick Straicher (*Jacob, maister Fridreichs sun, des goltsmide des Straicher, dem got gnade*) drew up an act specifying the dowry for his wife, cf. *Urkundenbuch des Chorherrenstiftes St. Pölten I*. Ed. J. Lampel. Wien 1891, p. 419.

The decoration of the charter is remarkable since it clearly respects – at least partially – the wishes of the petitioners concerning the illumination. The petitioning couple is kneeling in the right stem of the initial *U*, on the left side the twelve apostles are crowded together between the margin of the parchment and the left stem of the initial. The depiction of Christ in the centre of the initial is unspecific as such but the figure holds a banner in the left hand whose inscription cites the biblical scene of Christ on the Mount of Olives: *p(ate)r si fieri p(otes)t t(ra)nseat a me calix iste*.⁷¹ This seems to be a distinct reference to the according iconography of Christ displayed by the stone relief which has not survived to today. By no later than 1474 – maybe on the occasion of a new indulgence for St Magdalene’s chapel – the sculpture⁷² next to the charnel house was provided with a German inscription paraphrasing the original indulgence letter from 1343 extensively, especially in its final part:⁷³

*Wer hie vor diesem bild spricht drey Paternoster und drey Ave Maria veriehendt, der hat von 15 Bischofen, von jeglichen 40 Tag Ablaßes, und den Ablaß hat bestättigt der würdig Herr Bischof Gottfried von Passau. Die Summe des Ablaßes ist 600 Tag; wer auch für die Seel der Leichnam in diesem Freythof bestätt sind, und umb alle glaubige Seel, und umb die, die es gefrümbt habent Bitt, und Fürderung thuet zu dem Bildt mit Licht, oder mit Gezierde, der hat den ehenganndten Ablaß.*⁷⁴

⁷¹ On the illumination of the charter, see R a d o c s a y , D.: *Illuminierte Ablaßbriefe*, p. 12 (with an image of the initial on p. 11); R o l a n d , M. – Z a j i c , A.: *Illuminierte Urkunden*, p. 316, note 93; I d e m : *Les chartes enluminées*, p. 168, note 86.

⁷² Maybe a fragment of the sculpture is preserved in the Deutschordenshof (in Singerstraße) among other remains of St. Magdalene’s chapel, destroyed in 1781. We wish to thank Renate Kohn (Institute for Medieval Research, Austrian Academy of Sciences) for this information.

⁷³ Cf. R o l a n d , M. – Z a j i c , A.: *Illuminierte Urkunden*, p. 316, note 93; Z a j i c , A.: *Strategies*, pp. 415–417.

⁷⁴ For a copy of this text, see Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Ser. nov. 12.781 (*Epitaphia Viennensia. Ex autographo Trautsoniano, cum Supplemento. Prout communicavit Reverendissimus ac Perillustris Dom: Franciscus de Smitmer; Metropol: Ecclesiae ad S: Stephanum Canonicus Capitularis, et Comendator Or: Equitum S: Joannis Hierosol.: Anno 1785*), p. 107; on this inscription, see the forthcoming edition *Die Inschriften der Dom- und Metropolitankirche St. Stephan zu Wien I. Bis 1520*. Ed. by R. Kohn. Die Deutschen Inschriften. Wiener Reihe 9/1 (in preparation).

(Whoever speaks three *Paternoster* and three *Ave Maria* before this sculpture receives an indulgence from 15 bishops, 40 days from each of them, and the indulgence is confirmed by the venerable lord Bishop Gottfried of Passau. The sum of the indulgence is 600 days; he who prays for the souls of the corpses buried in this graveyard and for all faithful souls and for those who commissioned it [i.e. the relief], or augments the sculpture with light or ornaments is granted the aforesaid indulgence).⁷⁵

As we come to see, there still remained chances of individual artistic composition according to the ideas of the recipients, even though the charters were of course mass products subject to standardised patterns of layout and illumination. Pictorial features did not add to the validity of the content, yet around and after 1330 the beneficiaries became more and more interested in adorning the acts with illumination specifically relating to them. The two examples given above clearly incorporate individual elements into their decoration. The charter for St Paul's chapel of 1337 recalls the deceased Conrad Meter in its artwork, presumably due to an explicit wish of his widow Elizabeth who very likely was the petitioner of the charter and hence came to be depicted prominently alongside her husband. The charter of 1343 for the stone relief of Christ on the Mount of Olives next to the new charnel house on the cemetery of St Stephen's goes one step further: The illumination is not only introducing the petitioning couple – the goldsmith Frederick (Straicher) and his wife Agnes – it is also referencing the iconography of the stone relief by quoting the corresponding biblical scene. In both charters the decoration implicitly provides information about the content of the text. Furthermore, the petitioners are pictured as pious believers praying to a saint or to Christ. Considering that the indulgence letters were probably displayed in public, the impact of strategies of self-representation of the recipients on the decoration has to be taken into account. In this sense, illumination became indispensable: The petitioners would no longer go without it, because it was an ostentatious vehicle of presenting themselves as pious and devout people.

Illuminated Charters as “Gesamtkunstwerk” – a new interdisciplinary project in the Digital Humanities field

Despite the broad perspectives of historical and art historical research opened up by illuminated charters, these sources have been lacking major

⁷⁵ The English translation follows Z a j i c , A.: *Strategies*, p. 417.

scholarly attention until today even though they clearly have to be considered a European-wide phenomenon. Source material from the Middle Ages has survived from Byzantium in the South East, Italy in the South, the Iberian Peninsula in the South West, England in the North West, Scandinavia in the North and Russia in the North East of the continent. Whereas England, Central Europe and Italy seem to have been hotspots and centres of a specific tradition, supranational institutions such as the Holy Roman Empire and the Holy See were keys to the formal development of the whole diplomatic genre.

Illuminated charters are legal documents and works of art as well. The concrete circumstances of their production may be uncovered in most of the cases: the fact, that we know the parties involved in the legal acts and the date and place when and where the act was drawn up together with the observation that decoration was normally added immediately upon or short after the engrossment allow us to decipher the originally intended function of the documents and their artistic elements much better than it is the case with other pieces of art.

Accepting that research into illuminated charters depends – perhaps even more than diplomatic studies in general – on images of the objects, time has come to make use of the fact that the worldwide web is in a certain way mainly constituted as an “internet of images” rather than an internet of texts. In contrast to printed media with inevitably restricted space for illustrations, online databases offer quick research abilities and exhaustive storage devices for high resolution images. It seems logical, then, to gather relevant material via a collaborative virtual workplace and to publish the collection as an open access database.

Astonishingly enough, illuminated charters play no important role in current web portals since archive databases, online calendars and abstracts or digital editions focus on the diplomatic function of the documents (thus, once more, leaving aside the graphic elements among the external features) or isolate the external elements from the context of the respective documents.

In what follows, we try to point out what the research project “Illuminated Charters as Gesamtkunstwerk”, funded by the Austrian Science Fund FWF (P26706-G21) and running for three years from June 2014, is all about and how the presentation of outcomes in the WWW should add substantially to older scholarship on the topic.⁷⁶

⁷⁶ For a project report focusing especially on grants of arms see the article by Andreas Zajic in *The Coat of Arms* 3rd ser. 11 (2015), no. 229, pp. 55–62. The collection is already accessible via *Monasterium*: <http://monasterium.net/IlluminierteUrkunden/collection>. Zajic has also organised two sessions on illuminated charters at the IMC in Leeds in July 2015, the second of which comprised papers from the project staff.

Only recently, Martin Roland and Andreas Zajic have suggested definitions for the term “illuminated charter” in several studies.⁷⁷ For the purpose of the project, the term “charters” applies to legal documents in “original” transmission (usually engrossed on parchment), subject to certain internal and external criteria of (textual) composition and design. Illumination in cartularies and manuscript collections of copies are thus excluded from our studies.

The adjective “illuminated” is a technical term used in art history, more specifically in research into book illumination. It applies to manuscripts containing artistic decoration without any regards to the quality or quantity of these elements. Besides luxury manuscripts with various – albeit exclusively historiated (i.e., referring to the contents of the text) – decoration we also find merely graphic decoration without any association with the text. These elements may vary considerably in extent and quality and range from dilettantish daubing to most elaborate graphic refinement.

We therefore define illuminated charters in general as charters with graphic (drawn or painted) elements which exceed the usual standard of decoration (as e.g. simple pen and ink initials) or are significant of specific styles of chanceries. A special focus will be laid on charters displaying historiated figural (representational) decoration and on documents featuring elements in colour. Additionally, charters with graphically sophisticated signs of authentication are included. In order to determine the intensity of the investigation and to capture the totality of the corpus of documents the following differentiations are important:

Illuminated charters in a broader sense are charters containing graphic or painted elements apart from the text script. In this respect any form of decorative make-up featured in charters belongs to our field of research, such as display scripts, graphic symbols and special signs like chrismons, monograms, rotae, benevalete and notarial signs. In contrast, illuminated charters in a strict sense are those which contain historiated representational/figural elements, i.e., whose decoration relates to the content, issuer/s, recipient/s, beneficiary/ies and beholder/s, and those whose concept of decoration prominently makes use of colour/s.

Referring to these definitions the project shall design new structures for the presentation of the material gathered so far, add new (hitherto unknown) sources to the stock and make the entire source collection accessible on the web, backed with painstaking studies on the material. The interdisciplinary team, consisting of a specialised Digital Humanities working group (Georg

⁷⁷ Roland, M. – Zajic, A.: *Les chartes enluminées*, p. 153; Idem: *Illuminierte Urkunden*, p. 244; Roland, M.: *Illuminierte Urkunden*, p. 259.

Vogeler and Martina Bürgermeister, University of Graz, Zentrum für Informationsmodellierung in den Geisteswissenschaften/Austrian Centre for Digital Humanities) and two working groups of history/diplomatic (Andreas Zajic and Markus Gneiss) and art history (Martin Roland and Gabriele Bartz), both of them affiliated to the Institut für Mittelalterforschung/Institute for Medieval Research at the Austrian Academy of Sciences in Vienna, wish to demonstrate the exceptional role of illuminated charters within the mass of medieval records on the one hand and the works of manuscript illumination on the other hand and to highlight global and specific circumstances which lead to the production of individual illuminated documents as well as of larger groups of illuminated acts. Therefore, the project aims to:

- sustainably establish the research topic of illuminated charters on an interdisciplinary basis
- implement an international scholarly network for future cooperation on a European or global level
- launch an open access database of “Illuminated Charters” within the framework of the existing virtual document archive Monasterium.net and to possibly link the data to other related web portals
- develop online tools for a convenient search and concise description of graphic and diplomatic elements of the sources, using Semantic Web technologies
- present at least 1,000 illuminated charters in the strict sense of the definition (see above), 600 of them with a fully structured and annotated diplomatic and art historical description
- test automatic processes of image pattern recognition for graphic elements in digitised images of charters

The material retrieved within the project⁷⁸ is presented as a virtual collection through the world’s largest web portal of charters, Monasterium.net, accessible under <http://monasterium.net/mom/IlluminierteUrkunden/collection> (for the time being a work in progress). With regard to the topic of the Brno workshop in 2014, we wish to focus here on the diplomatic aspects of the project. For each illuminated charter in the strict sense the data set shall – by the end of the project running time in 2017 – provide an

⁷⁸ For the difficulties of a systematic search for illuminated charters through archival websites and charter webportals, cf. R o l a n d , M.: *Illuminierte Urkunden*, pp. 260–266; he emphasizes the fact that mere scanning of textual metadata leads to only a small number of hits and points at the necessity of taking into account all available images of charters in order to find illuminated pieces.

exhaustive scholarly abstract or calendars (by the German technical term: “ausführliches Regest”) summarizing the content of the deed and – depending from the given act – a more or less comprehensive comment. Whereas the lengthy calendars will be in German only, a succinct list of all documents will give the most important information (date, type of deed, name of issuer(s)/recipient(s), reference of archival holding/signature) in English.

The working group in Graz provided the Viennese teams of diplomatists and art historians with a revised version of the Monasterium (MoM) standard web editor. This so-called “IIIUrk-editor” represents a working tool that meets the specific demands of the project collaborators. As for the diplomatic part of cataloguing, the editor contains separate sections for an exhaustive abstract, date and place of issue, archival information (reference), a bibliography and the diplomatic commentary (see fig. 24). Whereas the regular MoM editor had offered all necessary functionalities for diplomatic analysis even before, Georg Vogeler and Martina Bürgermeister reworked the editor in order to support an additional extensive art-historical description.

The diplomatic functionalities of the editor may best be illustrated by the example of the grant of arms for the Viennese burgher and merchant Ulrich Pfnazagl who used to be a member of the Viennese city council in 1435 and from 1437 to 1444.⁷⁹ There had been no extensive description of this deed in the MoM database before; only a very short abstract – lacking even a full stop at the end of the sentence – gave a vague idea of the content. The abstract formerly provided by MoM⁸⁰ reads as follows:

25. Jänner 1435

Kaiser Sigismund verleiht dem Wiener Bürger Ulrich Pfnazagl ein Wappen

The new extensive abstract prepared for the Illuminated Charters project is decidedly more detailed:⁸¹

⁷⁹ P e r g e r , Richard: *Die Wiener Ratsbürger 1396–1526*. Ein Handbuch. Forschungen und Beiträge zur Wiener Stadtgeschichte 18. Vienna 1988, p. 169 nr. 38.

⁸⁰ Vienna, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, AUR sub dato; http://monasterium.net/mom/AT-HHStA/AUR/AUR_1435_I_25/charter.

⁸¹ See http://monasterium.net/mom/IlluminierteUrkunden/1435-01-25_Wien/charter

1435 Jänner 25, Wien

Kaiser Sigismund bestätigt und verleiht aufs Neue (*haben ... bestetiget, confirmiret und in die von newes gegeben und verlihen, bestetigen, confirmiren, geben und verlechen in die von newes*) Ulrich Pfanzagl (*Pfan- czagel*), Bürger von Wien, und dessen ehelichen Erben (*elichen leibserben*) aufgrund der treuen Dienste, die Ulrich ihm und dem Reich geleistet hat, ein im Kontext der Urkunde blasoniertes Vollwappen (*wapen und cleynat*): in Rot ein silberner Sparren über einem sechsstrahligen, silbernen Stern; darüber ein Stechhelm mit einer rot-silbernen Helmdecke, als Helmzier ein geschlossener Flug mit dem Bild des Schildes (*einen roten schild mit einer wiszen sparrn, geende durch die mitte desselben schildes, und in dem undern teil des schildes ein wisze stern mit sechs czynten* [!]) und uff dem schild ein helm, gecziret mit einer roten und weysen helmdecken, und uff dem helm czwen rot flug ouch mit den weysen sparrn und stern, gleich als in dem schild). Sigismund setzt fest (*seczen und wollen*), dass Ulrich und dessen eheliche Erben dieses Wappen künftig sowohl bei Turnieren als auch im Kampf (*in allen ritterlichen sachen und geschefften zu schimpff und zu ernste*) führen dürfen und befiehlt allen geistlichen und weltlichen Fürsten, Grafen, Freiherren, Rittern, Knechten, Amtleuten, Herolden, Unterherolden (*persevanten*), Vögten, Richtern, Schöffen, Bürgermeistern, Räten, Gemeinden, Städten, Märkten und Dörfern sowie allen seinen Untertanen, diese in keiner Weise an der Führung des Wappens zu hindern, jedoch ohne Beeinträchtigung derer, die ein gleiches Wappen führen.

The added value of new extensive abstracts in the form outlined above is obvious: too short or defective abstracts appear very often throughout the MoM database. The abstract of the above-mentioned Eberswein grant of arms, e. g., which is currently provided by the archive via the MoM website is completely unaware of the fact that in its current state the act is the result of a 16th century manipulation.⁸² This flaw is now corrected by the new

⁸² See <http://monasterium.net/mom/CZ-NA/ACK/1481/charter>, where the erroneous text of the abstract (“Král Zikmund uděluje bratřím Petru a Pavlu z Ebersteinu znak” [King Sigismund grants the brothers Peter and Paul of Eberstein a coat of arms]) derives from H a a s , Antonín: *Archiv české koruny, Inventář 1158–1935*. Inventáře a katalogy fondů Státního ústředního archivu v Praze 14. Praha 1961. More exhaustive, if also unaware of the original text, is the abstract in H a a s , Antonín: *Archiv koruny české 5. Katalog listin z let 1378–1437*. Český zemský archiv. Katalogy, soupisy, registáře a rozborů 1. Praha 1947, p. 175s. (nr. 285). Equally insufficient is the abstract provided by Regesta Imperii Online (http://www.regesta-imperii.de/id/1420-07-27_1_0_11_1_0_4723_4189) based on the volume published by A l t m a n n ,

abstract from the project database and one may assume that the painstaking detailed abstracts prepared in the course of the Illuminated Charters project will contribute considerably to an improvement of content related metadata for all archival holdings presented via the MoM portal – not by replacing the original (mostly succinct) abstract, but by offering an enhanced alternative version from the Illuminated Charters collection immediately linked to the original data set in order to ensure consistency of the prior versions provided by the archives.

Besides the correction of factual errors contained in older abstracts, the new calendars paraphrase all relevant formulaic phrases occurring in the text, allowing for a sound comparative diplomatic analysis. As the project team aims at describing and commenting on a large number of charters in a consistent manner, using a standardised terminology, it will be possible to trace such formulas within greater stocks of texts. Moreover, each extensive abstract will contain the blazoning of the painted coat of arms in double form: as a modern heraldic description and according to the original wording from the charter. Likewise, every piece recorded in the database will be backed with an art-historical description, thus opening a new field of work for studies into illumination. The database should thus encourage both historians and art-historians to draw on this material for further investigation.

KDYŽ JE OBRAZNOST NEPOSTRADATELNÁ: ILUMINOVANÉ LISTINY VE VIRTUÁLNÍM PROSTORU

Již písaři středověkých kopiářů i notáři ověřující pravost písemností zachycovali materiální stránku předkládaných listin tím, že připojovali ověřovací znamení typu monogramu či bene valet. Zohledňování vnějších znaků jako grafických symbolů či obrazové výzdoby ve vyhotoveních listin konec konců představovalo od raného 18. století samozřejmý znak obrazových příloh spisů o diplomacie. Barokní diplomacie jako Raimund Duellius si mimoto záměrně pro účely zobrazení vybírali takové listiny, jež obsahovaly vizuálně atraktivní obrazovou výzdobu, jako např. bohatě iluminovanou zakládající listinu kláštera augustiniánů kanovníků v Dürnsteinu z roku 1410.

Studium iluminovaných listin, situované na průsečíku mezi diplomatikou a dějinami umění, stále ještě v obou disciplínách hraje roli nevlastního dítěte. Zásadní otázku, proč vůbec byly listiny jakožto právní texty opatřovány knižní výzdobou, je vždy potřeba zodpovědět s ohledem na daný případ, nicméně rozeznáváme tři větší skupiny listin. Tyto působivé listinné kusy často mají zásadní funkci při utváření identity skupin, jejich sebezpetí

Wilhelm: *Regesta Imperii XI. Die Urkunden Kaiser Sigmunds (1410–1437). Verzeichnet von Wilhelm Altmann. I. Band (1410–1424). Innsbruck 1896/97, nr. 4189 on p. 295 (misreading *de Antiquo Herstein* for “Alt-Kernstein”).*

i soudržnosti. Tak je tomu jak v případě Dürnsteinu, tak například v listině (Gian)Francesca Gonzagy z roku 1497 pro mantovskou Monte di pietà, jež byla určitou formou obecně prospěšné nadace.

Jiné listiny se naopak jako vyložené výstavní kusy snaží pouze vzbudit co nejlepší dojem. Zmínku si v tomto ohledu zaslouží erbovní listiny a polepšení erbu jako například to od Fridricha III. pro Alessandra Sforzu z roku 1469. Miniatury erbovních listin byly zpravidla vyhotoveny z iniciativy příjemce: v případě listiny, vystavené v roce 1420 císařem Zikmundem pro bratry Ebersweinovy, bylo prázdné pole v erbu vymalováno až v 16. století při zpředělání listiny ve prospěch rodiny Eberstein.

Třetí skupina listin využívala velkoformátového a pestrého dekoru ke zvýšení vlastní atraktivity a posílení propagační funkce příslušných kusů. To platí zejména pro iluminované odpustkové listiny vystavené v Avignonu nejspíše v letech 1320 a 1360. Celá řada těchto vyhotovení, jako například dva vídeňské kusy z let 1337 a 1343, zobrazují kromě postav světců také petenty.

Cílem interdisciplinárního projektu *Illuminierte Urkunden als „Gesamtkunstwerk“* (P26706-G21), podporovaného *Fonds zur Förderung der wissenschaftlichen Forschung* (FWF), je vytvořit open access databázi iluminovaných listin jako sbírku na portálu listin monasterium.net. Kromě pokud možno co nejkomplexnějšího digitálního zachycení několika stovek listinných kusů z archivů a knihoven celého světa by metadata měla zahrnovat také obšírné registry a umělecko-historické popisy.

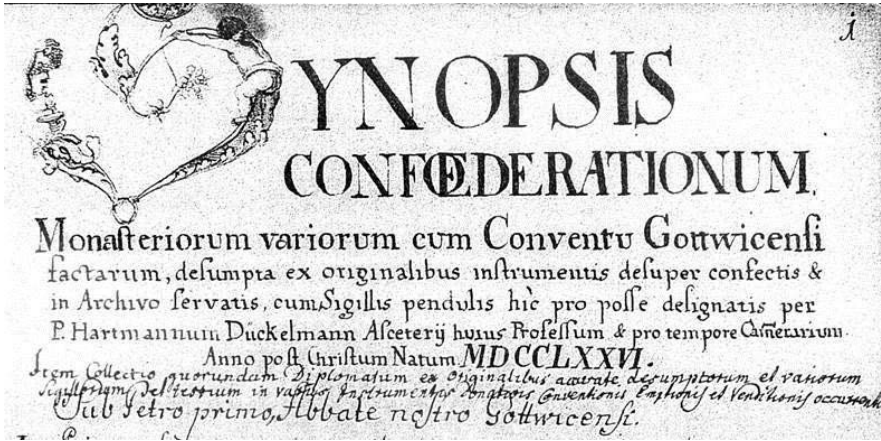


Fig. 1: Dückelmann, Hartmann: *Synopsis confederationum monasteriorum variorum cum conventu Gottwicensi factarum* [...]. Göttweig 1776; Göttweig, Stiftsbibliothek Cod. rot 895, p. 1 (Photo: Andreas Zajic).

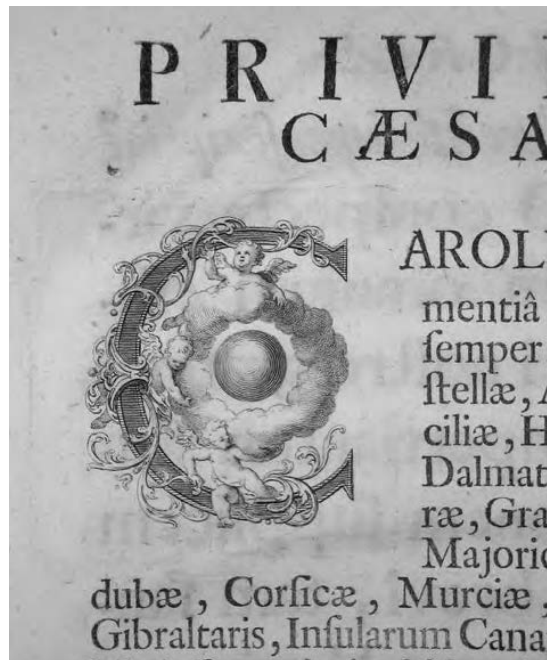


Fig. 2: [Gottfried Bessel]: *Chronicon Gotwicense seu Annales liberi et exempti monasterii Gotwicensis ordinis s. Benedicti inferioris Austriae* [...] *tomus prodromus* [...]. Tegernsee 1732, detail of the imperial printing privilege (Photo: Andreas Zajic).

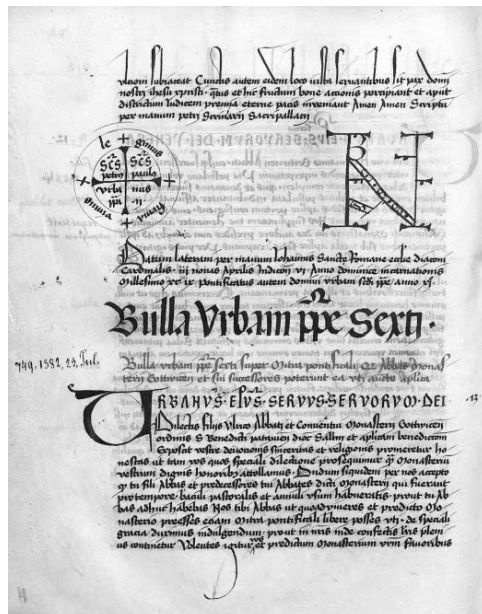
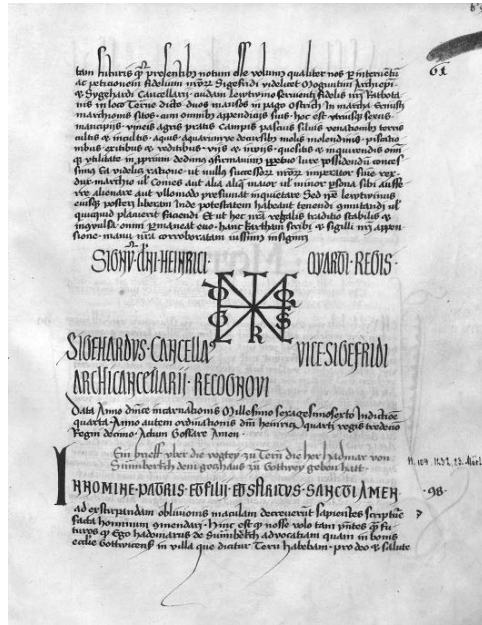


Fig. 3 and 4: Copies of imperial monogram of Henry IV and rota and benevalete of pope Urban II in the cartulary of Göttweig abbey from 1447, Göttweig, Stiftsarchiv A II 3, fol 61r and 316v (Photo: Monasterium.net).

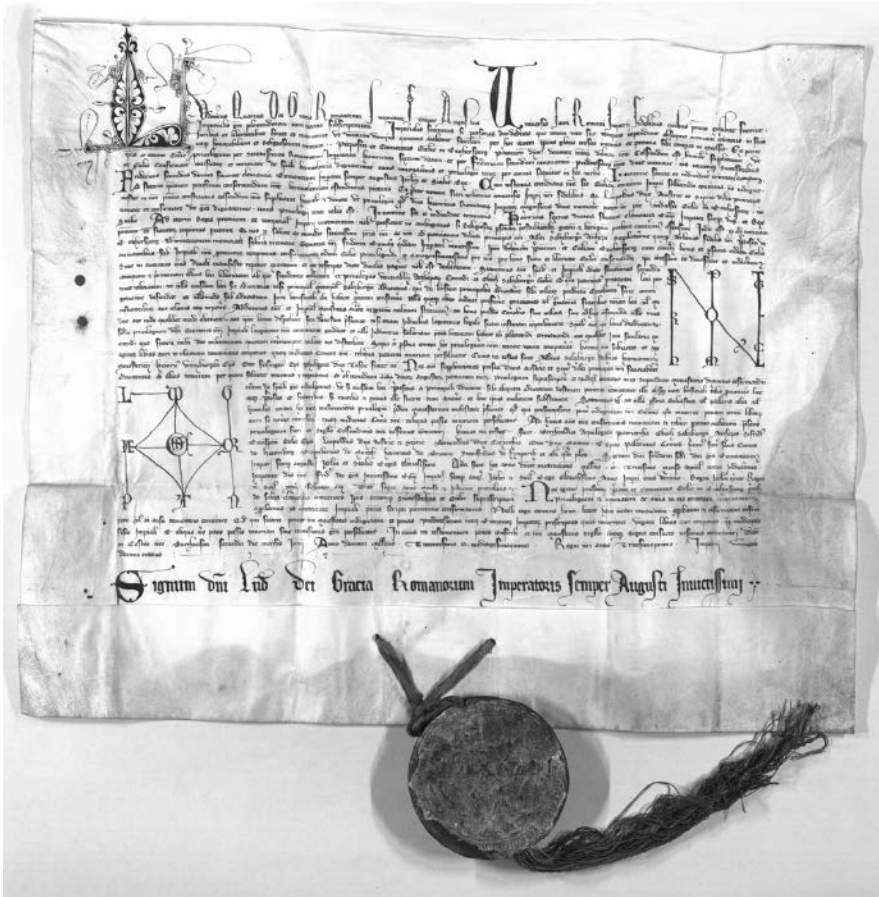


Fig. 5: Emperor Louis the Bavarian confirms the privileges granted by his predecessors to the monastery of Reichersberg; 1345 June 2, Burghausen; Reichersberg, Stiftsarchiv (Photo: Monasterium.net).

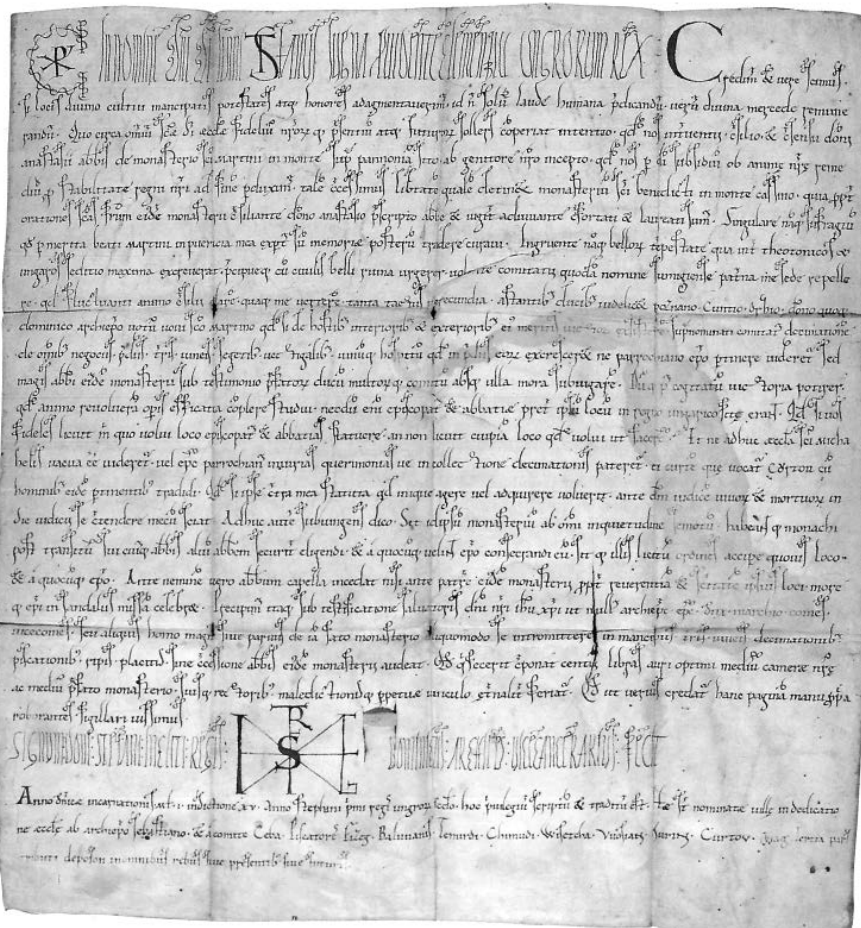


Fig. 6: King Stephen of Hungary implements the foundation of Pannonhalma abbey; allegedly 1001; Pannonhalmi Bencés Főapátság Levéltára Pannonhalma, Bences – Capsarium, Capsa 13.A. (from Érszegi, Géza: *Szent István pannonhalmi oklevele (Oklevéltani-filológiai kommentár)*. In: *Mons Sacer 996–1996. Pannonhalma 1000 éve. Pannonhalma 1996*. Ed. by Imre Takács, vol. I, pp. 46–88, on p. 46).



Fig. 7: The chapter of Győr cathedral issues a vidimus copy of the Pannonhalma foundation charter of 1001; 1351 April 19, Győr; Pannonhalmi Bencés Főapátság Levéltára Pannonhalma, Bences – Capsarium, Capsa 29.K. (Photo: Monasterium.net).

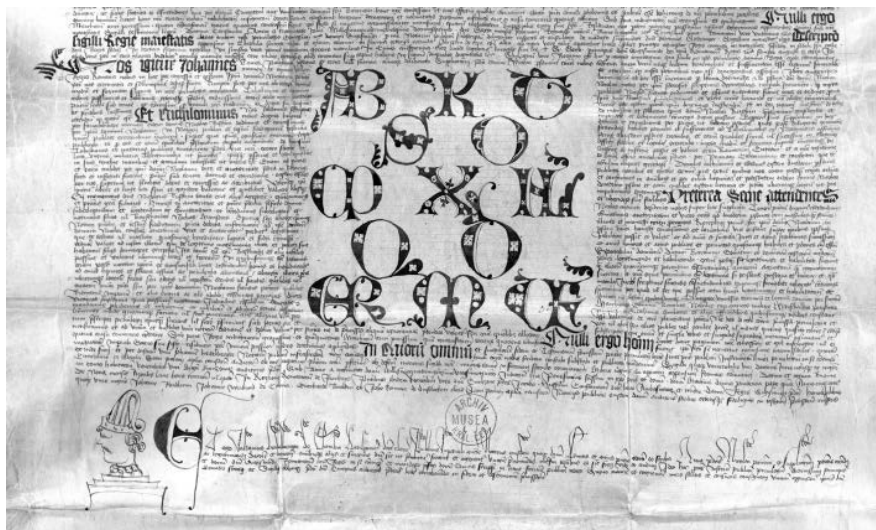


Fig. 8: Notarial copy of a charter, allegedly issued by King Sigismund in 1417; 1425 April 9, Rome; Prague, Archiv národního muzea, fond A – Sběrka pergamenových listin, sign. A 34.

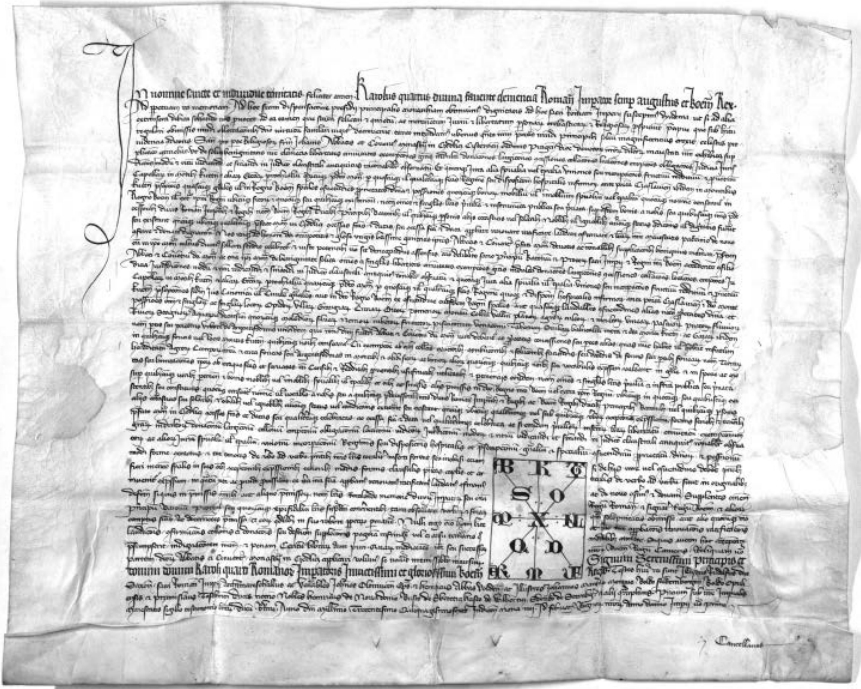


Fig. 9: Emperor Charles IV confirms the privileges of the Cistercian abbey of Sedlec; 1356 February 10; Státní oblastní archiv Třeboň, Velkostatek Sedlec u Kutné Hory, inv. nr. 55 (Photo: Monasterium.net).



Fig. 10: Duellius, Raymund: *Excerptorum genealogico-historicorum libri duo*. Leipzig 1725, p. 361: details from the foundation charter of Dürnstein of 1410.

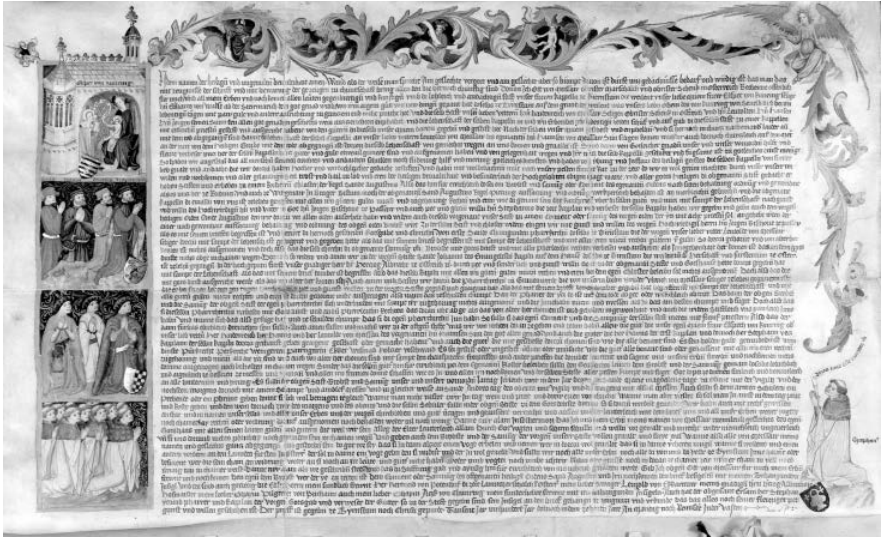


Fig. 11: Otto von Maissau founds a convent of twelve Augustinian canons in Dürnstein, 1410 February 7, Dürnstein; Herzogenburg, Stiftsarchiv, D. n. 147 (Photo: Monasterium.net).



Fig. 12: Bishop George of Passau gives his consent to the foundation of a monastery in Dürnstein, 1410 June 10, Vienna; Herzogenburg, Stiftsarchiv, D. n. 149 (Photo: Monasterium.net).



Fig. 13: Bishop George of Passau gives his consent to the foundation of a monastery in Dürnstein, 1410 June 10, Vienna (forgery); Herzogenburg, Stiftsarchiv, D. n. 150 (Photo: Monasterium.net).



Fig. 14: Francesco II Gonzaga, margrave of Mantua, relieves everybody donating to or contracting from the mount of piety of Mantua of all taxes and fees; 1497 May 24, Mantua; Berlin, Staatliche Museen/Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett, Min. 6208 (Photo: Kupferstichkabinett. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin).

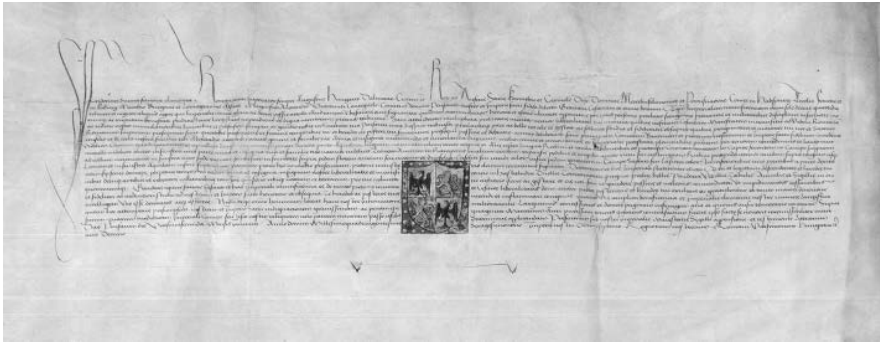


Fig. 15: Emperor Frederick III grants Alessandro Sforza, lord of Pesaro, an augmentation of arms, 1469 January 22, Pesaro; Florence, Archivio di Stato, Fondo Diplomatico, Urbino, Spoglio n. 7, Cartapecore laiche, n. 215 (Photo: Archivio di stato di Firenze).

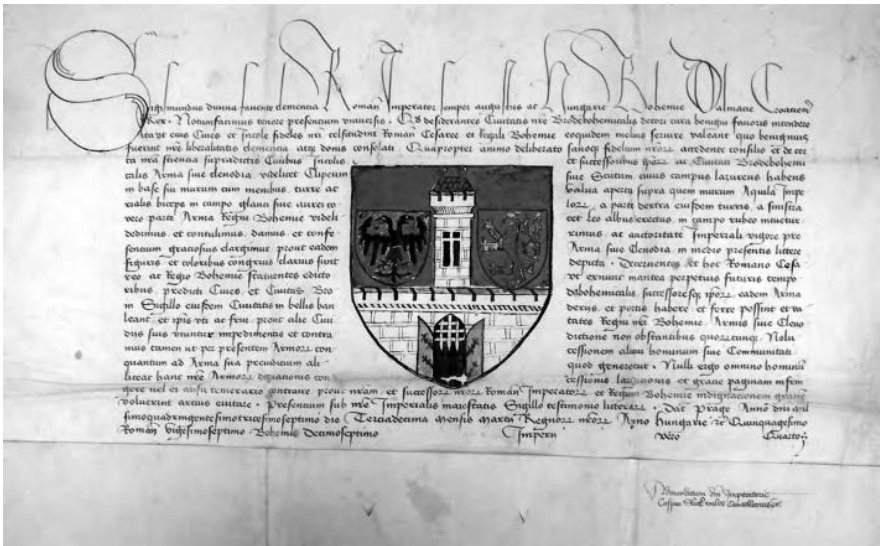


Fig. 16: Emperor Sigismund grants the town of Český Brod a coat of arms, 1437 March 13, Prague; Státní oblastní archiv v Praze, Státní okresní archiv Kolín, fond Archiv města Český Brod, sign. I A 2 (Photo: Petr Elbel).



Fig. 17: Emperor Sigismund grants the city of Bratislava a coat of arms, 1436 July 8; Bratislava, Archív hlavného mesta SR Bratislavy, Sign. 1436.



Fig. 18: King Sigismund grants the brothers Peter and Paul of Eberswein a coat of arms, 1420 July 27, Prague castle; Prague, Národní archiv, Archiv české koruny, inv. nr. 1481 (Photo: Monasterium.net).



Fig. 19: Collective indulgence for the collegiate church of Saint Martin de Picquigny, 1323 May 11, Avignon; Amiens, Archives départementales de la Somme, Chapitre collégiale de St-Martin à Picquigny, cote 18G 13, No. 1.



Fig. 20: Collective indulgence for St Leonard's in Léau, 1328 June 7, Avignon; Brussels, Archives générales du Royaume/Algemeen Rijksarchief, Kerkelijke Archieven, Nr. 966/32bis.



Fig. 21: Collective indulgence for the Dominican nuns of St Lawrence's in Vienna, 1331 May 12, Avignon; Vienna, Haus-, Hof-, und Staatsarchiv, Allgemeine Urkundenreihe, sub dato.



Fig. 22: Collective indulgence for St Paul's chapel in the Benedictine abbey of the Schottenstift in Vienna, 1337 Mai 15, Avignon; Vienna, Archiv des Schottenstifts, 01.Urk 1337_05_15 (alt Scr. 66 Nr. 13) (Photo: Monasterium.net).



Fig. 23: Collective indulgence for the relief of Christ on the Mount of Olives in the cemetery of St Stephen's in Vienna, 1343 January 22, Avignon; Vienna, Erzbischöfliches Dom- und Diözesanarchiv, sub dato (Photo: Monasterium.net).



Fig. 24: Different sections of the “IllUrK-editor” as used by the project team of “Illuminierte Urkunden als Gesamtkunstwerk” (Photo: Monasterium.net).