

Johannes Tripps

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## *From Königsfelden to Mount Athos — The Árpád and Nemanjić dynasties as donors of Venetian art*

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Translated by Patricia Smith.

The center of cultural exchange between Byzantium, the Balkans, and the West since ancient times were the monasteries of Mount Athos, whose possession of Venetian art of the 13th century gives an invaluable insight into the foundation activity and political connections of the Nemanjids to this day. The gifts were a devotional panel (?), two diptychs, and a cross, which consist of wooden frame structures in which miniatures on parchment are inserted under fine rock crystal plates, giving the impression of enamels.<sup>1</sup> The wooden frame structures were clad in gilded silver leaf and overlaid

with filigree.<sup>2</sup> The outer or back sides are usually covered with gilded silver leaf, which bears a “waffled” decoration using a punch.

The most splendid example of this technique is the diptych of Königsfelden in the Historical Museum in Bern, which passed from the possession of the Árpáds to the House of Habsburg (ill. 1). In the course of the Reformation, it came into the possession of the Bernese, who in time, believed it to be the diptych of private devotion of Charles the Bold, whom they had triumphantly defeated at Grandson in 1477.<sup>3</sup> Thus, the St Paul Monastery had a devotional

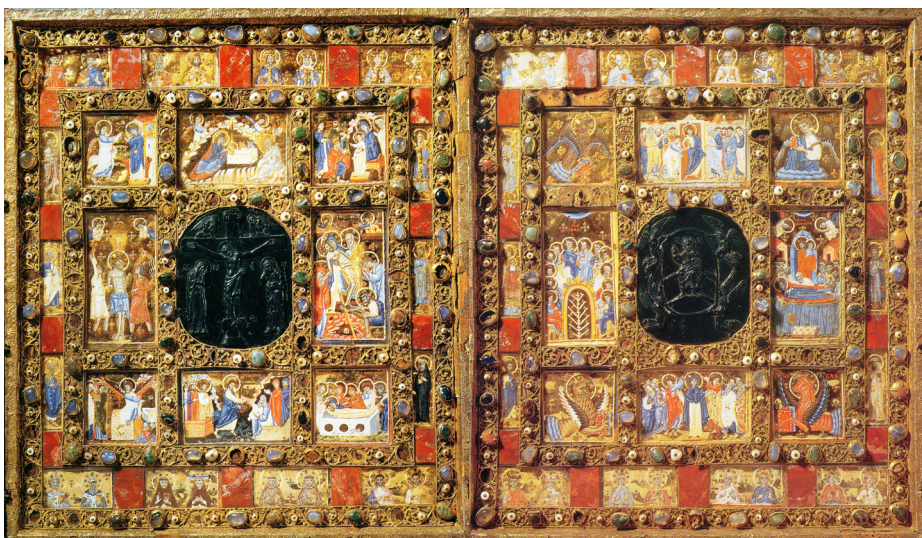


Fig. 1 Venetian illuminator, Diptych from Königsfelden. 1261. Reconstruction of the original condition. Bern, Historical Museum.

1 HUBER, PAUL, *Bild und Botschaft, Byzantinische und venezianische Miniaturen zum Alten und Neuen Testament*, 2nd, rev. and expanded ed., Zurich 1984 (first ed., Zurich 1974), p. 112.

2 GABORIT-CHOPIN, DANIELLE, “The Venetian filigree”, in: *Der Schatz von San Marco*, exh. cat. ed. by Hellenkemper, Hansgerd, Milan 1984, pp. 241–244.

3 Each panel 44 cm × 38 cm × 4.6 cm, Bern, Historisches Museum, inv. no. 301; according to HAHNLOSER, HANS R., BRUGGER-KOCH, SUSANNE, *Corpus der Hartsteinschliffe des 12.–15. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin 1985, pp. 85–86, no. 23, col. pls. 4–5. Furthermore, DEGEN, REGINA, *Venezianische Zimelien mit Miniaturen unter Bergkristall des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts. Studien zu einer homogenen Werkgruppe*, Vol. 2 (Unipress Hoch-

schulschriften, Vol. 143), Münster 2003, pp. 449–463. SPIANDORE, SILVIA, “Preziose trasparenze. La miniatura veneziana sotto cristallo di rocca (secoli XIII–XIV)”, Ph.D. thesis, University of Padua, Doctoral School in history and criticism of artistic, musical and performing arts, cycle XXVI, coordinator V. ROMANI, supervisors C. GUARNIERI, F. TONIOLO, a.a. 2013–2014, pp. 94–96, 381–386, cat. no. 8 with ill., ca. 1270.



Fig. 2 Master of the “Reid”-Missal, Diptych, ca. 1260. Mount Athos, Monastery of St Paul.

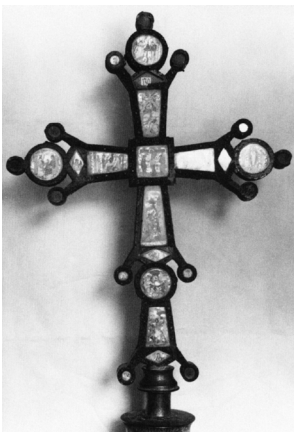


Fig. 3 Venetian illuminator, Cross, Venice ca. 1260. Mount Athos, Monastery of St Paul.

panel<sup>4</sup>, a further diptych (ill. 2)<sup>5</sup> and a cross (ill. 3)<sup>6</sup>, whose Venetian miniatures inserted under rock crystal are stylistically closely related to those of Maestro di Giovanni da Gaibana, as Paul Huber proved in 1973 and 1984 respectively.<sup>7</sup> For the diptych (ill. 2), Amy Neff was able to identify the master, namely the illuminator who created the full-page crucifixion scene of the “Reid”-Missal (London, Victoria and Albert Museum, Ms. 65, f. 27r.). The illuminator

4 Dimension 35 cm × 27.5 cm; Mount Athos, St Paul Monastery, library inv. no. 10; according to HAHNLOSER/BRUGGER-KOCH (see fn. 3), p. 84, no. 20, pl. 19, here dated ca. 1260/70. BALLIAN, ANNA, cat. entry “9.31 Icon with Christ Enthroned. 12th c., last quarter”, in: *Treasures of Mount Athos*, exh. cat. ed. by KARAKATSANĒS, ATHANASIOS A., Thessaloniki 1997, pp. 328–329. DEGEN, Vol. 2, 2003 (see fn. 3), pp. 419–427; Degen dates the verres églomisées plaques around 1230, the miniatures on parchment between 1260 and 1270. BERTELLI, CARLO, “Vetri italiani a fondo oro del secolo XIII”, *Journal of Glass Studies* 12 (1970), pp. 70–78. PILLINGER, RENATE, *Studien zu römischen Zwischengoldgläsern I, Geschichte der Technik und das Problem der Authentizität* (idem Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Denkschriften, Vol. 10), Wien 1984, p. 57

with ill. 135 on pl. 60. SPIANDORE 2013–2014 (see fn. 3), pp. 92, 333–337, cat. no. 1 with ill., ca. 1260/70.

5 Each panel 27.5 cm × 18.2 cm. Mount Athos, St Paul Monastery, library inv. no. 9; according to HAHNLOSER/BRUGGER-KOCH (see fn. 3), p. 85, no. 21, pls. 20–21, Cut and setting dated to the late 13th century. LOVERDOU-TSIGARIDA, KATIA, cat. entry “9.30 Diptych with icons late 13th-early 14th c., St Paul Monastery”, in: *Treasures of Mount Athos*, exh. cat., 1997 (see fn. 4), pp. 326–327. DEGEN, Vol. 2, 2003 (see fn. 4), pp. 440–448, ca. 1280. SPIANDORE 2013–2014 (see fn. 3), pp. 93, 94, 134, 339–345, cat. no. 2 with ill.

6 Dimension 70 cm × 55 cm; Mount Athos, St Paul Monastery library, inv. no. 7; according to HAHNLOSER/BRUGGER-KOCH (see fn. 4), pp. 113–114, no. 104, pl. 87, Cut and setting

dated to the 1st quarter of the 14th century. DEGEN, REGINA, *Venezianische Zimelien mit Miniaturen unter Bergkristall des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts. Studien zu einer homogenen Werkgruppe*, Vol. 1 (*Unipress Hochschulschriften*, Vol. 143), Münster 2003, pp. 355–366, ca. 1270–1280. SPIANDORE 2013–2014 (see fn. 3), pp. 79, 135, 347–350, cat. no. 3 with ill., ca. 1260/70.

7 HUBER 1984 (see fn. 1), pp. 133–149. To locate Maestro di Giovanni da Gaibana and his miniature paintings in the European context, see, MARTIN, FRANK, *Die Apsisverglasung der Oberkirche von S. Francesco in Assisi. Ihre Entstehung innerhalb der Oberkirchenausstattung* (idem “Manuskripte zur Kunstwissenschaft in der Wernerschen Verlagsgesellschaft”, Vol. 37), Worms 1993, pp. 96–112. Furthermore, BOSSETTO, FABIO LUCA, *Il Maestro del Gaibana. Un miniatore del Duecento fra Padova, Venezia e l’Europa*, Milan 2015, pp. 103–135.

of the miniatures of the cross in St Paul Monastery belonged to the circle of Maestro di Giovanni da Gaibana which suggests that both pieces were created at the same time — in my opinion circa 1260/1270.<sup>8</sup> According to Silvia Spiandore, the illuminator of the cross of St Paul monastery also painted the miniatures of the rock crystal cross from Janache (Georgia).<sup>9</sup> St Paul Monastery on Mount Athos, once inhabited by Serbian monks, was under special protection of the Serbian Grand Župans and kings, who made rich endowments to the monastery.<sup>10</sup>

In the neighboring monastery of Hilandar there is another diptych (ill. 4), whose miniatures, by three different masters, also show clear parallels to the style of Maestro di Giovanni da Gaibana as well as to the master of the “Reid”-Missal; both diptychs were, in my opinion, created circa 1260/70.<sup>11</sup>

Silvia Spiandore sees a very close relationship with the triptych in Alba Fucense and believes the hand of one of the illuminators of the diptych of Hilandar to be recognizable in the triptych of Alba Fucense (now in Celano, Museo d’Arte Sacra della Marsica). She dates both pieces circa 1270.<sup>12</sup>

Hilandar Monastery was also under the protection of the Serbian Grand Župans and kings: Stephen Nemanja and his son Rastko



Fig. 4 Venetian illuminator, Diptych, Venice, ca. 1260. Mount Athos, Monastery of Hilandar.

had founded it in 1197/98, and Stephen eventually entered as a monk under the name Syméon. Rastko, on the other hand, chose the nearby monastery of Watopédi and received the monastic name Sáwa; he crowned his spiritual career by being elected Archbishop of Serbia (1219–1234).<sup>13</sup> The House of the Nemanjić richly endowed the Hilandar Monastery with estates in the areas of Prizren, Hvosno, Zéta, Plav, Pèc, and Moravica. The relationships of the Grand Župans as well as the Serbian kings to Venice were close: Stefan the First-Crowned of Serbia was married to Anna Dandolo in 1217; Anna brought Venetian artists in her entourage to the Serbian royal court and

8 AMY NEFF, “Miniatori e’ arte dei cristallari’ a Venezia nella seconda metà del Duecento”, in: *Arte Veneta* 45 (1993), pp. 7–19, esp. 8–10. Spiandore 2013–2014 (see fn. 3), pp. 132–133.

9 Now in Mestia, Svaneti Museum of History and Ethnography; see SPIANDORE 2013–2014 (see fn. 3), pp. 353–355, cat. no. 4.

10 HUBER 1984 (see fn. 1), p. 115.

11 Each panel 30 cm × 24 cm, Hilandar Monastery library; according to HAHN-LOSER/BRUGGER-KOCH (see fn. 3), p. 85, no. 22, pls. 22–24, Crystal cut and setting dated to the late 13th century. RADOJČIČ, SVETOZAR, *Miniature d’Origine Veneziana nel Monastero di Hilandar sul Monte Athos*, in: *Venezia e l’Europa*,

*Atti del XVIII Congresso Internazionale di Storia dell’Arte*, ed. by MARIACHER, GIOVANNI, Venice 1956, p. 166. RADOJČIČ, SVETOZAR, “Monuments Artistiques a Chilandári”, in: *Académie Serbe des Sciences, Recueil des Travaux*, tome XLIV, Institut d’Études Byzantines, no. 3 (1955), pp. 163–194. BETTINI, SERGIO, “Le miniature dell’epistolario di Giovanni da Gaibana nella storia della pittura Veneziana del Duecento”, in: BELLINATI, CLAUDIO, BETTINI, SERGIO, *L’Epistolario miniato di Giovanni da Gaibana* (idem *Saggi e studi di storia dell’arte*, 11) Vicenza 1968, pp. 116–118, ill. 22–23. PELEKANIDIS, STYLIANOS M., CHRISTOU, P.C., TSIUMIS, CH., KADAS, S.N., *The Treasures of Mount Athos, Illuminated Manuscripts*, Vol. 2. *The Monasteries of Iviron, St. Panteleimon*,

*Esphigmenou, and Chilandari*, Engl. ed. Athens 1975, pp. 393–394, ill. 432–443. LOVERDOU-TSIGARIDA, KATIA, cat. entry “9.29 Diptychlate, 13th-early 14th c., known as the ‘Milutin diptych’, Chelandari Monastery”, in: *Treasures of Mount Athos*, exh. cat. ed. by KARAKATSANÈS, ATHANASIOS A., Thessaloniki 1997, pp. 323–326. Degen, Vol. 2, 2003 (see fn. 3), pp. 428–439; DEGEN dates the diptych to the end of the 13th century.

12 SPIANDORE 2013–2014 (see fn. 3), pp. 94, 132–133, 135–140, 363–370, cat. no. 6 with ill. (Hilandar); pp. 141–142, 373–378, cat. no. 7 with ill. (Alba Fucense).

13 HUBER (see fn. 1), p. 115.

had her jewelry made according to Venetian taste.<sup>14</sup> Stephen Uroš I (1243–1276), who was married to Helen of Anjou, was born of this marriage.<sup>15</sup> Obviously, the precious items from Venice seem to have come to Mount Athos via Serbia,<sup>16</sup> as none of the other Athos monasteries possess such Venetian works of art as the St Paul and Hilandar Monasteries.

Instead of following the usual dating of the Hilandar diptych (ill. 4) to the end of the 13th century,<sup>17</sup> I propose a dating around 1260 for stylistic reasons. Stephen Uroš I, king from 1243–1276, could be the donor not only of this treasure, but also of the diptych (ill. 2) and the cross (ill. 3) of the St Paul Monastery.

In 1985, Hans R. Hahnloser placed all the Athos pieces in his groundbreaking *Corpus der Hartsteinschliffe des Mittelalters*, which he wrote together with Susanne Brugger-Koch, in the second half of the 13th century, and in some cases even at the beginning of the 14th century. Hahnloser arrived at these difficult-to-trace datings in a 1955 contribution because he trusted Emil Maurer's research on the Königsfelden diptych already mentioned (ill. 1).<sup>18</sup> This diptych was brought to the Königsfelden Monastery by Agnes of Habsburg. Agnes had married King Andrew III of Hungary in 1296. After his death in 1301, she could no longer retain her political position in Hungary, went back to her brother's court in Vienna, and finally retired to the Königsfelden Monastery founded by her mother, Elisabeth, in 1310/11.<sup>19</sup>

Emil Maurer studied the iconography of the diptych intensively and discovered numerous family saints from the Arpadian dynasty therein: Prince Emmerich (d. 1031), Kings Stephen (d. 1038) and Ladislaus I (d. 1095), and St Elizabeth of Thuringia or Hungary (d. 1231). Furthermore, the diocesan saints of Venice, Marina, and Euphemia are depicted, as well as St Theodore, once the main patron of Venice.

From this, Maurer reconstructed the genesis of the diptych as follows: The future King Andrew III of Hungary, from the House of the Arpadians, was born in Venice in 1265/70 as the son of the Hungarian Prince Stephen Posthumus, who lived there in exile, and Tomasina Morosini, whom he had married in Venice in 1261.

In 1290 Andreas was crowned in Stuhlweißenburg, and in 1296 he married Agnes of Habsburg, but St. Agnes is missing among the depicted, so Maurer limited the origin of the diptych to the years 1290–1296, and in this Hahnloser and Bettini concurred with him.<sup>20</sup>

This is all the more incomprehensible since Emil Maurer associated the miniatures of the Königsfelden diptych with those of Maestro di Giovanni da Gaibana in Padua and Admont, clearly describing the similarities and correlations, which precludes such a late dating.<sup>21</sup>

Trusting Emil Maurer's historical-iconographical explanations, Hahnloser placed the entire group of Venetian miniatures under rock crystal plates found at Mount Athos in the range

14 HUBER 1984 (see fn. 1), p. 115. ŽIVOJINOVIC, MIRJANA, GIROS, CHRISTOPHE, KRAVARI, VASSILIKI, *Actes de Chilandar. I: Des Origines a 1319, Texte* (Archives de l' Athos/founded by Gabriel Millet published by Paul Lemerle; 20), Paris 1998, pp. 34–38. SPIANDORE 2013–2014 (see fn. 3), pp.137–138.

15 BROCKHAUS, HEINRICH, *Die Kunst in den Athos-Klöstern*, 2nd ed., Leipzig 1924, p. 8. CÂNDEA, VIRGIL, SIMIONESCU, CONSTANTIN, *Witnesses to the Romanian presence in Mount Athos*, Bucharest 1979 (*Die Beziehung der Rumänen zum Berge Athos*, German ed.

Bukarest 1979), HUBER 1984 (see fn. 1), pp. 115–117. ŽIVOJINOVIC/KRAVARI/GIROS 1998 (see fn. 14), pp. 3, 6–7, 73.

16 HUBER 1984 (see fn. 1), p. 115.

17 Each panel 30 cm × 24 cm × 4.6 cm; according to HAHNLOSER/BRUGGER-KOCH (see fn. 3), p. 85, no. 22, pls. 22–23, p. 96. BOGDANOVIĆ, DIMITRIJE, DURIC, VOJISLAV J., MEDAK-OVIĆ, DEJAN, *Auf dem Heiligen Berg Hilandar*, German ed., Königstein im Taunus-Belgrad 1978, p. 96, date the diptych to ca. 1300 and consider it to be a gift from King Milutin.

18 HAHNLOSER, HANS R., "Scola et artes cristellariorum de veneciis 1248–1319 opus venetum ad filum", in: *Venezia e l' Europa*, 1956 (see fn. 11), p. 157.

19 MAURER, EMIL, *Die Kunstdenkmäler der Schweiz, Die Kunstdenkmäler des Kantons Aargau, Vol. III, Das Kloster Königsfelden*, Basel 1954, pp. 3–8, 255–256.

20 HAHNLOSER/BRUGGER-KOCH (see fn. 3), pp. 85–86, no. 23, col. pls. 4–5. BETTINI 1968 (see fn. 11), pp. 85, 95, 109, 113, 115, 117, 118, ill. 17.

21 MAURER 1954 (see fn. 19), pp.275–277.

of the years 1290/1296, the professed period of origin of the Königsfelden diptych. Hahnloser also recognized that the miniatures are too close in time and style to be separated by a time gap of more than sixty years. In this, a large number of researchers still follow him today.<sup>22</sup>

Let us first consider the earliest work from Mount Athos, which is close to the style of Maestro di Giovanni Gaibana, but precedes him in terms of development: The devotional panel of the St Paul Monastery was dated by Hahnloser around 1260/70 (ill. 5).<sup>23</sup> A Pantocrator in *verre églomisé* is enthroned in the center, flanked by Mary and John, above them is a cherub and a seraph. Paul Huber had already recognized, in 1974 and 1983 respectively, that the enthroned Pantocrator is similar to northern French-Belgian models of the first third of the 13th century, while the figures of Mary and John as well as the two angels are, according to Huber, of Veneto-Byzantine origin and fit into the first quarter of the 13th century.<sup>24</sup> Hans Belting also spoke out against Hahnloser's late dating:

*Viele Werke der kombinierten Kristall- und Goldschmiedekunst Venedigs, die serienmäßig als Ware produziert wurden, sind Imitationen und Substitute byzantinischer Prototypen.* H. R.

*Hahnloser hat sie zu sehr an die Datierung des Berner "Hausaltars" (ca. 1290) gebunden und also zu spät angesetzt. Eine Tafel in H. Paulu, Athos, die zwei verschiedene Techniken (Miniatur unter Glas und verre églomisé) kombiniert, muss wesentlich früher datiert werden. Der thronende Christus im Zentrum erinnert in Typus und Stil (Muldenfalten) an eine analoge Figur auf dem Reliquiar in Mettlach (c. 1228).*<sup>25</sup>

[Many works of the combined crystal and goldsmith art of Venice, which were mass produced as goods, are imitations and substitutes of Byzantine prototypes. H. R. Hahnloser has tied them too closely to the dating of the Bernese "house altar" (ca. 1290) and thus set them too late. A panel in H. Paulu, Mount Athos, which combines two different techniques (miniature under glass and *verre églomisé*), must be dated much earlier. The enthroned Christ in the center recalls in type and style (*Muldenfaltenstil*) an analogous figure on the reliquary at Mettlach (circa 1228).]

I concur with Belting's dating, because if one holds the enthroned Pantocrator from the Carnet of Villard d'Honnecourt (fol. 16v.; ill. 6) next to it, the temporal proximity becomes obvious, namely the years around 1235.<sup>26</sup> Thus, in

22 BLUME, DIETER, cat. entry "205. Hausaltar des Königs Andreas III. von Ungarn", in: *Elisabeth von Thüringen, Eine europäische Heilige*, exh. cat. Vol. 1, ed. by BLUME, DIETER, WERNER, MATTHIAS, in collaboration with Uwe John and Helge Wittmann, Petersberg 2007, pp. 308–312. SIOMKOS, NIKOLAOS, cat. entry "75. Deisis", in: *Le Mont Athos et l'Empire byzantin, Trésors de la Sainte Montagne*, exh. cat. Petit Palais – Musée des Beaux-Arts de la Ville de Paris, 10 April–5 July 2009, ed. by BONOVAS, NIKOLAOS, Paris 2009, p. 174. BACCI, MICHELE, "Icons of Narratives: Greek-Venetian Artistic Interchange, Thirteenth – Fifteenth Centuries", in: CONSTANTINIDOU, NATASHA, LAMPERS, HAN, *Receptions of Hellenism in Early Modern Europe 15th–17th Centuries*, Brill's Studies in Intellectual History 303, ed. by VAN RULER, HAN, Leiden/Boston 2020, pp. 173–188.

23 Dimension 35 cm × 27.5 cm; Mount Athos, St Paul Monastery library, inv. no. 10; according to HAHNLOSER/BRUGGER-KOCH (see fn. 3), p. 84, no. 20, pl. 19, dated here ca. 1260/70.

24 HUBER 1984 (see fn. 1), p. 134.

25 BELTING, HANS, "Die Reaktion der Kunst des 13. Jahrhunderts auf den Import von Reliquien und Ikonen", in: *Il medio oriente e l'occidente nell'arte del XIII secolo, Atti del XXIV Congresso Internazionale di Storia dell'Arte*, Bologna, 10–18 September 1979, ed. by BELTING, HANS, Bologna 1982, pp. 38–39. HAHNLOSER, HANS R., "Das Venezianer Kristallkreuz im Bernischen Historischen Museum", in: *Jahrbuch des Bernischen Historischen Museums* 34 (1954), pp. 35–47. HAHNLOSER, in: *Venezia e l'Europa*, 1956 (see fn. 11), p. 159. Sergio Bettini follows Hahnloser's late dating

and believes that the Pantocrator is older than the miniatures flanking it; the Venetians would have added Mary and John in the second half of the 13th century, expanding it into the Deësis group; see BETTINI 1996 (see fn. 11), p. 109.

26 HAHNLOSER, HANS R., VILLARD DE HONNECOURT, *Kritische Gesamtausgabe des Bauhüttenbuches ms. fr. 19093 der Pariser Nationalbibliothek*, 2nd rev. and expanded edition, Graz 1972, pp. 77–78, pl. 32, with references to parallel examples and Byzantine sources. BARNES, CARL F. JR., *The Portfolio of Villard de Honnecourt* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Fr 19093): a New Critical Edition and Color Facsimile, Farnham, 2009, pp. 104–105.



Fig. 5 DEËSIS, *Devotion Panel*, Venice, ca. 1235. Mount Athos, Monastery of St Paul.



Fig. 6 VILLARD DE HONNECOURT, *Carnet*, ca. 1235. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. Fr. 19093, fol. 16 v., Pantocrator.



Fig. 7 MAESTRO DI GIOVANNI DA GAIBANA, *Diptych*, ca. 1260, Detail: Flagellation of Christ, formerly Basel, collection Robert von Hirsch.

the miniatures of the devotional panel we have in our hands figures of that period in which the style of Maestro di Giovanni da Gaibana was developed.

The extent to which the whole group of these Venetian miniatures under rock crystal plates are interrelated and how closely they are linked to the style of Maestro di Giovanni da Gaibana is shown by the series of depictions of the flagellation of Christ compiled below: on the diptych of the former Hirsch collection (ill. 7)<sup>27</sup>, on the Cross of the St Paul Monastery (ill. 8)<sup>28</sup>, on the Königsfelden diptych (ill. 9)<sup>29</sup>, and on the Hilandar Monastery diptych (ill. 10)<sup>30</sup>.

The development of the pictorial space, the modeling of the flesh tones of the figures, such as the highlighting and elevation of the folds of the robe, up to the brutal drama with which

27 BETTINI 1986 (see fn. 11), p. 118, ill. 14.

28 Dimension 70 cm × 55 cm, Mount Athos, St Paul Monastery library,

inv. no. 7; according to HAHNLOSER/BRUGGER-KOCH (see fn. 3), pp. 113–114, no. 104, pl. 87; here dated to the 1st quarter of the 14th century. Huber 1984 (see fn. 1), ill. 14b and ill. 14d.

29 HUBER 1984 (see fn. 1), ill. 14c and 14d.

30 HUBER 1984 (see fn. 1), p. 3 with ill. 14c.



Fig. 8 Venetian illuminator, Cross, Detail: Flagellation of Christ, Venice, ca 1260/70. Mount Athos, Monastery of St Paul.



Fig. 10 Venetian illuminator, Diptych, 1260/70. Detail: Flagellation of Christ. Mount Athos, Monastery of Hilandar.



Fig. 11 Venetian goldsmith, Diptych of Königsfelden, 1261. Detail of the filigree. Bern, Historical Museum.



Fig. 9 Venetian illuminator, Diptych of Königsfelden, 1261. Detail: Flagellation of Christ. Bern, Historical Museum.

the torturers beat Christ, are so similar that they must all have been created in the same period, namely circa 1260/1270.

If we move on from the book illumination and compare the filigree, the ends of which curl into acanthus leaf spirals, these forms also do not point to the end of the 13th century, but to the middle of that century. Let us hold three more comparative examples next to the pieces from Bern and Hilandar (ills. 10 and 11): first the cross from Chiaravalle Milanese (Milan, cathedral treasury; ill. 12)<sup>31</sup>, second the panel reliquary (ill. 13), and third the arm reliquary of St. Stephen, both in the cathedral treasury at Halberstadt (ill. 14). All three are by no means from the end but from the second quarter of the 13th century.<sup>32</sup> Thus, I can only concur with

31 HAHNLOSER/BRUGGER-KOCH (see fn.3), p. 114, no. 106, pls. 90, 91, col. pl. 106. CASELLI, LETIZIA, *La croce di Chiaravalle Milanese e le croci veneziane in cristallo di rocca*, Padova 2002, pp. 85–90.

CASELLI, LETIZIA, *Le ragioni dello stile: note sparse*, in: *La Croce di Chiaravalle. Approfondimenti storico-scientifici in occasione del restauro*. Atti del Convegno 16 maggio 2016 – Sala delle Colonne,

Milano, published by GIULIA BENATI and DANIELE DI MARTINO, Milan 2017, pp. 51–73, with the improbable dating of the cross to the end of the 13th century.





Fig. 12 Venetian goldsmith, Cross of Chiaravalle, 2nd. Quarter 13th century. Detail of the filigree. Milan, Cathedral Treasury.



Fig. 13 German goldsmith, Panel Reliquary, 1225–1250. Detail of the filigree. Halberstadt, Cathedral Treasury.



Fig. 14 German Goldsmith, Arm Reliquary of St Stephen, 1225–1250. Detail of the filigree. Halberstadt, Cathedral Treasury.

the reservations against Hahnloser's dating, which Edward B. Garrison as well as Giovanni Valagussa<sup>33</sup> after him had, and which are shared by Maria Luigia Fobelli, Fabio Luca Bossetto, and Silvia Spiandore.<sup>34</sup>

Today the Königsfelden diptych appears with the sides reversed: The panel now on the right was originally the one on the left; the holes where the original grommets were located are clearly visible on the right edge of the wood, where the silver leaf of the cladding is missing (ill. 1). Moreover, the present cladding of the rims as well as the decoration on the outer sides of lozenges, quatrefoils, and stylized lilies — dates from the first third of the 14th century. The ancient covering was silver leaf decorated with the “waffled” ornamentation, as found on the devotional panel (circa 1235) of St Paul Monastery on Mount Athos (ill. 15). Remnants of this covering are clearly visible on the inside of the Königsfelden diptych on the rim moldings under the edges of the 14th century silver

32 TOUSSIAN, GIA, cat. entry “Tafelreliquiar”, in: *Der heilige Schatz im Dom zu Halberstadt*, published by HARALD MELLER, INGO MUNDT, BOJE E. HANS SCHMUHL, Regensburg 2008, p. 96, cat. no. 22. JUNGHANS, MARTINA, cat. entry “Armreliquiar des hl. Stephanus”, in *ibid.*, p. 102, cat. no. 23; here, however, the reliquary is dated too early to the beginning of the century.

33 For Garrison's unpublished manuscript (1950/60), which is in the Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art-

University of London, see VALAGUSSA, GIOVANNI, “Alcune novità per il miniatore di Giovanni da Gaibana”, in: *Paragone* 1991, pp. 9, 19–20, no. 30; Garrison dated the diptych “ca. 1255”.

34 FOBELLI, MARIA LUIGIA, “Circolazione artistica nel ‘golfo di Venezia’: la croce in cristallo di rocca del Museo Capitolare di Atri”, in: *L' Abruzzo in età angioina, Arte di frontiera tra Medioevo e Rinascimento, Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi*, Chieti, Campus Universitario, 1–2 April 2004, ed. by DANIELE BENATI

and ALESSANDRO TOMEI, Cinisello Balsamo (Mi) 2005, p. 171. My thanks to Valentino Pace, Rome, for the reference to this article. BOSSETTO, FABIO LUCA, “Per il maestro del Gaibana e il suo atelier: un gruppo di Bibbie”, in: *Rivista della Storia della Miniatura* 13 (2009), p. 55 with no. 15 on p. 60. BOSSETTO 2015 (see fn. 7), pp. 57–62. SPIANDORE 2013–2014 (see fn. 3), pp. 94, 135–140, 363–370, cat. no. 6 (Hilandar); pp. 94–96, 144–147, 381–386, cat. no. 8 (Bern).



Fig. 15 DEËSIS, *Panel of Devotion* (?). Venice, ca. 1235. Mount Athos, Monastery of St Paul. Detail of the covering with punched decoration.



Fig. 16 Diptych of Königsfelden, 1261. Bern, Historisches Museum. Detail: fragment of the original covering with punched decoration.

leaf (ill. 16). From all these facts, two questions now arise: Who was the donor and for what occasion was the Königsfelden diptych created?

The solution to the riddle lies in Emil Maurer's discovery that numerous family saints from the Arpadian dynasty are depicted on the diptych: Prince Emmerich (d. 1031), Kings Stephen (d. 1038) and Ladislaus I (d. 1095), and St Elizabeth of Thuringia or Hungary (d. 1231). The diocesan saints of Venice, Marina and Euphemia, are also depicted, along with St Theodore, who was once the main patron of Venice. Since Peter Martyr, canonized in 1252, is also depicted among the saints, we would

have in this date a *terminus post quem* for the origin of the diptych.<sup>35</sup> If we add to these facts the stylistic properties, that is, the parallels with the style of Maestro di Giovanni da Gaibana as well as the type of filigree, we arrive at the period of circa 1260.

An event that falls precisely in this period is the marriage in 1261 between the Hungarian prince Stephen Posthumus and Tommasina Morosini in Venice.<sup>36</sup> In my opinion, the diptych was not created for King Andrew III, but for Tommasina on the occasion of her marriage to the Arpadian Stephen. In 1293, Andrew III had brought his mother to Hungary and appointed her co-regent; Tommasina ruled over the territory between the Danube and the Adriatic in opposition to the pretenders to the throne of the House of Anjou.<sup>37</sup> Thus, the diptych probably reached Hungary via Tommasina, where it remained after her death and finally passed into the possession of her daughter-in-law Agnes, who took it with her to Königsfelden.

As for the pieces on Mount Athos, the cross and the diptych in St Paul Monastery as well as the diptych in Hilandar are possibly donations by Stephen Uroš I and Helen of Anjou from circa 1260, which is supported not only by the style of the miniatures but also by the filigree.

35 The identification of the saint according to MAURER 1954 (see fn. 19), pp. 257, 268.

36 HÓMAN, BÁLINT, *Geschichte des ungarischen Mittelalters vom Ende des XII. Jahrhunderts bis zu den Anfängen des Hauses Anjou*, Berlin 1943, p. 227. This date was also known to Emil Maurer; however, he opted for the date 1290/1296; see MAURER (see fn. 19), p. 256.

37 BOGDAY, THEODOR von, s. v. "Andreas III., König von Ungarn 1290–1301", in: *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, Vol. I, Aachen bis Bettelordenskirchen, ed. by

BAUTIER, ROBERT HENRI, Munich and Zurich 1977–1980, col. 603.

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