

DE CIVITATE DEI IZ BISTRE

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Ko je France Stelè popisal iluminacijo v kodeksu z besedilom Avrelija Avgušтина *De civitate Dei*,¹ ki ga od razpustitve kartuzijanskega samostana v Bistri 29. januarja 1782 hranijo kot ms 2 v zbirki sedanje Narodne in univerzitetne knjižnice, je poudaril, da ima kodeks "sočasne monumentalne usnjene platnice," da ga je "spisal in okrasil ... l. 1347. po nalogu priorja Hermana neki Nikolaj," (sl. 12) da je v iluminaciji "dvoličnost", ker gre za elemente, ki so popolnoma romanski oziroma tradicionalni, da je najti prvine, ki so tipično zgornjeitalijanske, pri čemer je omenil preplet trakov v iniciali P na fol. 108r, ter da je "pisarska ornamentika naravnost značilna za takratno avstrijsko in češko knjižno opremo", omenil pa je tudi prisotnost sodobnih francoskih motivov in predlog.²

V dobršni meri vse Steletove ugotovitve držijo in "stilistična dvoličnost" je - kakor je mogoče razbrati iz tehnologije iluminiranja - posledica dveh delovnih faz: natančen pregled kodeksa nam pove, da gre za delo dveh iluminatorjev, da se je delo časovno sicer prekrivalo in da je drugi mojster posegel, ko prvi svojega dela (pri nekaterih inicialah) še ni dokončal. O tem sem že pisala in opozorila, da ne gre le za enega iluminatorja z imenom Nikolaj, pač pa za dve različno šolani osebnosti;³ v tem tiči razlog za estetsko in slogovno neskladnost kodeksa iz Bistre in v pričujočem članku želim podrobneje osvetliti njuna prispevka in pokazati na okolje, iz katerega sta črpala svoje ustvarjalne nazore. Če gledamo na kodeks kot pisarsko-slikarsko celoto, ga namreč določa nekaj prvin, ki opozarjajo tako na pripadnost času, pri čemer gre za odzivanje tako na srednjeevropske horizonte kot na ožje pokrajinske posebnosti. S tem mislim na nitaste, fleuronirane iniciiale, na motive fantastičnih bitij v telesih inicial in grotesk na margini, šopkov listja in rož na naslovnica. Opraviti imamo še z barvnimi značilnostmi: pred seboj imamo dvoje zaokroženih, a med seboj neskladnih barvnih enot in tudi kolorit razmejuje posege dveh mojstrov.

¹ Kodikološki opis je objavljen na koncu članka.

² F. Stelè, *Iluminatorni okras bistrskih rokopisov, Srednjeveški rokopisi v Sloveniji* (M. Kos - F. Stele, ed.), Ljubljana 1931 (od tod citirano Stelè: *Srednjeveški rokopisi*), pp. 58-61.

³ N. Golob, *Folknandova podoba: zgledi in posnetki, ZUZ, n.v. XXVI, 1990* (od tod citirano Golob, *Folknandova podoba*), pp. 48-49.

Ko je bil leta 1347 po volji Hermana, priorja v Bistri - Vallis Jocosa⁴ - dokončan ta kodeks, je bila v knjižni produkciji razmejitev med dvema tipoma okrasnih inicial že jasna. Izoblikovan je bil tip fleuronirane, nitaste iniciala na eni strani in slikarske iniciala na drugi, uveljavljeno je bilo načelo, ki je ločevalo dva različna slikarsko-pisarska posega. V romaniki ne poznamo prehodnega tipa med kaligrafskimi in vitičnimi inicialami, in tudi v gotiki sta ta dva principa praviloma nastopala vsak zase, sicer v enem in istem kodeksu, vendar ponavadi ne hkrati v eni iniciali.⁵ Tudi zato je v nekaterih bistrskih inicialah jasno razvidno, katero potezo je potegnil en ali drug slikar. - Fleuronirane, nitaste iniciala so se razvile iz poznoromanskih kaligrafskih inicial, ki jih kot resno napoved gotskega nitastega okrasja najdemo okrog leta 1140 v Parizu,⁶ in potem so se prek mozanskih krajev in vplivnih skriptorijev zelo naglo širile po francoskih in nemških deželah. K razmahu nitastih inicial je pripomogla tudi enovitost cistercijske knjižne opreme, ki je bila naklonjena monokromnemu, risarskemu principu, prav cistercijski skriptoriji pa so v 12. stoletju nastajali v naglem zaporedju; tako je okrog leta 1200 vsaj zgodnja oblika fleuronirane znan likovni element predvsem severno od Alp. Delovni postopek je skrajno preprost - že ob koncu romanike so se ornamentalno razcepila telesa inicial in v njih so dobile prostor preproste valovnice, zobci, vitični prevoji in tudi meandri. Gotika je proporce inicial spremenila, poudarila je širino pred višino in tako osenčene dele hipertrofirala: v njih so dekorativni razcepi imeli dosti več možnosti za fantazijske novotarije. Bistvena prvina fleuroniranih inicial je nitasta obroba, ki je v romaniki obrisno linijo črke pospremila v lahni kaskadah, sedaj je povsem osvojila notranje črkovno polje in ga razdelila na več segmentov, na zunanem polju pa se je nit spremenila v vejate izrastke paralelnih in pod pravim kotom odstopajočih sesvedranih, nagrebenjenih črt. Nitasta iniciala je praviloma izpisana v dveh barvah; v kodeksih iz Slovenije in sosednjih dežel prevladuje kombinacija rdeče in modre barve. V bistrskem kodeksu niso vselej uporabili tinte: risba z gostimi, reliefno nanesenimi temperami je prispevala zares zlahten vtis in to je vedel tudi Bistrski pisar. - Fleuronirane se je spreminjal, razvil v modne duhovitosti in regionalne posebnosti, že ob koncu 13. stoletja pa je dosegel tisto formalno zrelost, ko je z jasno in vselej enakomerno ornamentirano površino postal pretanjena dvobarvna igra, ki je - kot bi šlo za trilčke - variirala eno in isto drobceno temo v vedno novih načinih.

⁴ J. Mlinarič, Kartuzija Bistra od 1255 do 1782, *Redovništvo na Slovenskem* (F. M. Dolinar, ed.), Ljubljana 1984 (od tod citirano Mlinarič, Kartuzija Bistra), pp. 163.

⁵ Iz doslej objavljenega gradiva je videti, da se v rokopisih, ki so nastali v provincialnem okolju, pojavi vsiljevanje slikarskih elementov v nitaste iniciala, pa še takrat gre npr. za bršljanove liste, ki se razpletejo na dnu fleuroniranega repa ali v telesu črke, vendar pri tem ne rušijo predvsem dvobarvne ureditve nitastih inicial. Cf. A. Güntherová & J. Mišianik: *Stredoveká knižná malba na Slovensku*, Bratislava 1961 (od tod citirano Güntherová - Mišianik: *Stredoveká knižná malba*), pp. 35-37, t.i. Missale Possoniense "C" iz 1330-1340, Budimpešta, Državna in univerzitetna knjižnica, Cod. lat. 220 in sorodna rokopisa Cod. Lat. 94 in 92 iz iste zbirke.

⁶ P. Stiernemann, Fils de la vierge. L'initiale à filigranes parisienne: 1140-1314, *Revue de l'art*, 90, 1990, pp. 58-74.

Mojster, ki je risal nitasto okrasje v bistrskem *De civitate Dei*, svojega imena ni zapisal in zaradi poenostavitve ga zaznamujem z zasilnim imenom Bistrski pisar: zaradi kompozicijskih pretanjenosti, ko se besedilo in iniciala do popolnosti prilagajata prostoru, ki je bil na voljo, smemo domnevati, da je prepisoval besedilo in sproti vključeval nitaste inicialne.⁷ Bistrski pisar se vsaj v tem kodeksu ni izkazal kot iluminator – nastopil je le kot kaligraf, ki pa je z zanesljivo roko prekrival črkovno polje in pripadajoči marginalni prostor s pajčevinastim ornamentom. Notranje črkovno polje je razdelil z navpičnicami (npr. fol. 28v, 65v, sl. 4) ali z romбом (fol. 146v) ali z ovalno-krožnimi linijami (fol. 36r, 98v) v več manjših segmentov (sl. 3), ki jih je dvobarvno variiral, inicialo G na fol. 3r (in še več drugih) pa je spremenil v enakomerno se prelivajoč ornament krogov le v zlati barvi. Osnovna dekorativna prvina v njegovem fleuronéeju je krog z dvojnimi obodom, tretja linija pa že povezuje en krog z drugim. V krogu se ob sredinski veji ali ob viličasto razcepljeni veji nizajo brsti, poudarjeni z drugobarvno piko. Tak vzorec spominja na cvetove šmarnice, zato ga nemška literatura imenuje "Maiglöckchen-Fleuronné". Izjemoma, scelega le v iniciali E na fol. 77v, je namesto nitastega polnila iz krožcev izrisal polžasto zviti vzorec vitice s srčastimi listi, ki spominjajo na bršljanove. Bršljan je bil od poznega 13. stoletja dalje priljubljen dekorativni element, saj je skorajda ni obrobne letve, iz katere ne bi rasle drobne bršljanove veje.

Bistrski pisar je imel na voljo dosti zlate barve, ki jo je uporabljal za nitaste vzorce v črkovnih poljih, medtem ko je repe le izjemoma izpisal z zlato. Posebno rad je zlato kombiniral s sinje modro, pa tudi v povezavi s temnomodro, bledezeleno in okrom jo najdemo, pike v krožcih pa so povečini rdeče. Svetilnost zlate barve povzroča vtis dematerializiranosti, ne le formalne plemenitosti in (materialne) dragocenosti. Vendar je pretanjenost in lahkotnost svojih inicial znal doseči tudi takrat, ko jih je izpisal v "navadnih" barvah; prav odlično delo je iniciala D (fol. 90v), čeprav je risana le v ubiti modri in rdeči barvi. Mislim, da srebrne barve ni uporabljal, zato pa jo je čislal Nikolaj. Enako je videti, da je Nikolaj vpeljal lila-rožnato tempero in je z njo prevlekel tudi že dokončane oblike inicial: D na fol. 40r jasno kaže, da je prvotni cinober v zunanjem delu iniciala izginil pod površnimi nanosi lila barve, enako velja za E na fol. 52v (sl. 5), D na fol. 22v itd. Nastali so novi, debelejši barvni nanosi, ki jih je bilo treba popraviti, obrobili so jih s kontrastno tinto, a videti je, da je pero pri debelih barvnih nanosih spodrsavalo in se zatikalo. V inicialah, za katere lahko rečemo, da so scelega delo Bistrskega mojstra, teče pero v gladki, nerazcepljeni liniji, predvsem pa njegova poteza ni nezanesljiva. Bistrskega pisarja odlikuje popolnost, odličnost poteze, ki ni nikoli

⁷ Pisava mestoma niha, vendar se duktus črk spreminja tekoče, postopoma, in nikoli tako zelo, da bi dvomili, da je kodeks prepisal en sam pisar. Za definicijo osebnih pisarskih variacij cf. K. Kl. Jazdzewski, Identifizierungsprobleme bei Schreiberhänden, *Wolfenbütteler Forschungen (Probleme der Bearbeitung mittelalterlichen Handschriften)*, 30, 1986, pp. 325-326. Za podrobnejšo paleografsko opredelitev in utemeljitev te faze v razvoju tekstone cf. O. Mazal, Beobachtungen zu österreichischen Buchschriften des 14. Jahrhunderts, *Codices manuscripti*, 16, 1992, zlasti pp. 1-6 in sl. 1-4.

zdrknila prek dovoljenega oboda, nič ne kaže na površnost, nobena kompozicija ni pomanjkljivo ali slabo pretehtana.⁸

Bistrski pisar se je nedvomno že spočetka naslanjal na kodeks z besedilom Avguštinove Božje države, ki so si ga sposodili v Stični (sedaj je kot Cod. 650 hranjen na Dunaju, v Zbirki rokopisov in inkunabul Avstrijske nacionalne biblioteke).⁹ Prav kmalu je - najbrž na izrecno naročilo - narisal kopijo iniciala S na fol. 9v, ki je v stiško-dunajskem kodeksu na fol. 4r in pri tem zvesto sledil črtkanju na notranji strani listov, krogcem na zaviih, razdeljenemu telesu, celo barvam in preprostem okviru. Ker je ta iniciala ostala kot osamljen dokaz kopiranja Bistrskega pisarja po stiški predlogi, se poraja vtis, da je pri kopijah dveh uncijalnih D (fol. 136r, sl. 6, in 115r) sodeloval le z narisom zapletenega vitičja, medtem ko slutimo, da je kompaktne in ne prav natančne barvne nanose prispeval Nikolaj.

Vsekakor je nekaj fleuronnirano-slikarskih inicial, pri katerih ne moremo z gotovostjo razmejiti prispevka prvega in drugega. To sta denimo iniciali Q na začetku 5. in 11. knjige (fol. 28v, sl. 4, in 128r). Obkrat je kauda antropomorfna ptica slokega telesa in prvokrat je Bistrski pisar očitno sodeloval, ker je ob usločnem trupu razsul nitaste zanke; obris glave je risan v enaki modri barvi kot preostalo okrasje. Drugokrat se togo ptičje telo ulega prek pisarskega opozorila (Nota) in ga v dobršni meri prekriva. Čeprav je risba ptice enako kvalitetna kot prvič, je nitasti zaključek okoli glave videti na pol dokončan.

Marsikaj iz razmerja med Nikolajem in Bistrskim pisarjem pojasnjujeta tudi dve iniciali P: prva (fol. 98v) je podoba skrajno konfliktnega razmerja. Lep modro-zlat nitast vrtinec v trebuhu črke obdaja lila telo, v katerem so obaltne povezave krogov in rombov: to je zelo svojevrsten odmev romanske predloge, ko se je vitica pretikala skozi telo črke. Nikolaj je na temenu odpraskal nitaste obrobe, ki se očitno niso ujemale z njegovim videnjem celote. Ker je hkrati odpraskal tudi del rubriciranega incipita, je drugod s tem opravičil odjenjal. Torej je okrog iniciala nanesel lepilo za srebrno bunkasto obrobo in pri tem naredil tehnološko napako - pergament se je zgrbančil in dobil temen soj. Na teme in nogo stebila je nataknil perjanico iz lila in zlatih listov (prav taki so na obeh naslovnih straneh). Nikolaj je na obarvane dele črke rad nanašal geometrizirana filigranska polnila - bela risba, sestavljena iz krogov, rombov in črtic je skorajda njegov podpis, Bistrski pisar pa je sledil organskim motivom: risal je preslice, rože, vitice, grozde.

Tej iniciali je sledila "spravna" iniciala P (fol. 108r, sl. 8), ki stoji na začetku obetavnega incipita *Promissiones Dei*: okoli črke je spet bunkasta obroba, vendar je zlata, posuta s cvetličnim filigranom in pergament ni poškodovan. Cve-

⁸ Tehnološko zanimiva sta dva detajla: v iniciali D na fol. 83r je nitasti okras na zunanem polju črke ostal nedokončan. Ostala je torej perorisba - predrisba - v svetlem, laviranem tušu, ki razkriva do popolnosti izrisano nitasto okrasje, ki bi ga bilo treba prevleči bodisi z zlato ali sinjo potezo čopiča - kot preostali del iniciala - pa se to ni zgodilo. V uncijalni D na fol. 40r pa so med zlate niti okrasja v črki hoteli nanesti polnilo s srebrno barvo: prav kmalu so odjenjali (menda so sprevideli, da bi bilo vsega dobrega preveč) in sedaj se v črno oksidirano srebrna barva kaže kot težak, neprijeten dodatek.

⁹ N. Golob, Slikarski okras romanskih rokopisov iz Stične: dunajska skupina, ZUZ, n.v. XXV, 1989, pp. 37-55, zlasti 44-48.

tlice so tudi v ornamentiranem, lila (!) stebłu črke. Pod trupom se vzpenja pes s srčastim repom - tako kot v stiškem kodeksu 650 na fol. 126r (sl. 9). Medtem ko je pes sloka, elegantna žival (kot obe prej navedeni antropomorfni ptici), se serif črke spusti v listno gugalnico, kjer sedi čokat, v kratke hlače oblečen možic. Vse telo, s hlačami vred, je podloga za geometrični ornament, ki s segmenti lokov, črticami in križci spreminja figuro v bizarno prikazen. Pa vendar je Nikolaj isti motiv narisal štirikrat - dvakrat ob medaljonski podobi sv. Avgušтина in klečečega Hermana (fol. 3r, sl. 2), na dnu iniciale I (fol. 16r) in tu, na fol. 108r.

Povedati je treba, da je Nikolaj želel s tako čokato in geometrizirano zasičeno risbo prepričati še večkrat, na primer v kopiji opata v iniciali O (fol. 56v) in zoomorfnega S (fol. 155r, sl. 10). Težke barve in napolnjenost teh inicial je nedvomno delovalo vizualno učinkovito. Če je kaj resnice v Radicsevi trditvi, da je bil Nikolaj poznejši bistrski prior,¹⁰ potem njegovi posegi pač niso bili izpostavljeni kritiki napredno mislečega iluminatorskega duha. Morebiti si je tudi zato lahko dovolil, da je svoje ime napisal z zlatimi in srebrnimi črkami v lunetah arkad na naslovnici (sl. 1), medtem ko je njegov prednik na priorskem mestu, Herman, ponižno pokleknil pred sv. Avgušтина in na odprti knjigi pokazal na napis "*Obsecro te...*" Rotim te, usmili se me v svojih molitvah (sl. 2).

Nikolaj se je sicer trdno oprijel stiške predloge pri nekaj inicialah in o vplivu stiške figuralike na Nikolajevo delo sem pisala pred nekaj leti (sl. 10, 11).¹¹ Čeprav tako številne romanske prvine v sredini 14. stoletja delujejo arhaično, neskladno z veljavnimi tokovi, čeprav je Nikolaj pri "svojih" inicialah (O z opatom¹² in zoomorfni S) brez razloga segal čez linijo vertikalnega naslonila v stolpcu in mu sicer lahko očitamo težko in manj gibčno roko, poudarjeno rabo lila in srebrne barve, nasičeni kromoksid in svojevrstno, kričečo lisičje rdečo barvo, pa ne moremo trditi, da vsemu navzlic ni poznal tudi sodobnih tokov v iluminaciji. Tako kot Bistrski mojster je tudi on uporabil v večbarvne segmente razdeljene okrasne letve, motiv drolerij - lova na lisice in zajce, moža na gugalnici - motive fantastičnih bitij, ki so antropomorfni baziliski, ptice in triglava ptica s kačjim repom.

Že motiv antropomorfnih ali psoglavih zmajčkov v telesih črk (sl. 5) je dovolj zgodnji primer na tem delu Evrope, v Sloveniji pa starejšega rokopisa iz naših samostanov s takim elementom ni. Gerhard Schmidt je v analizi Konvoluta iz Melka opozoril, da se v avstrijskih rokopisih pojavijo take groteskne živali v

¹⁰ P. pl. Radics, Iz nekdanjih samostanskih knjižnic v Stični, Kostanjevici, Bistri in Pletrjah, *Izvestja Muzejskega društva za Kranjsko*, XIII, 1903, pp. 53-54; Mlinarič, Kartuzija Bistra, p. 172.

¹¹ Cf. op. 3.

¹² Ne znam si razložiti, zakaj je ta (bistrski) opat dobil ikonografsko oznako, da gre za upodobitev kralja Davida, a tako je razumeti iz opisa B. Berčiča, str. 14; isto ponavlja besedilo v katalogu *Tesori della Biblioteca Nazionale e universitaria di Lubiana*, p. 46. B. Berčič et al.: Zakladi Narodne in univerzitetne knjižnice, Cankarjev dom, Ljubljana 1982, pp. 12 in 14; M. Glavan et al.: *Tesori della Biblioteca Nazionale e universitaria NUK di Lubiana*, Biblioteca Trivulziana, Milano 1989, p. 46.

odebeljenih delih črke šele v dvajsetih letih 14. stoletja,¹³ v Melku pač pod vplivom skriptorija iz švicarskega samostana Katharinenthal. Če bi skušali najti še primere, ki bi bili slikarsko sorodno zasnovani, bi bil rokopis Nikolaja iz Lire, hranjen v samostanu Vorau na avstrijskem Štajerskem, kar pravšnji,¹⁴ pa tudi bratislavski misal "A" iz leta 1341, kjer imajo zmajčki podobno poudarjeno hrbtnico in jim iz ust rastejo listi.¹⁵ V vorauskem rokopisu je še nekaj drugih sorodnih potez z bistrskim kodeksom, v bratislavskem misalu pa ne. V isto vrsto figuralnih vzorcev spada tudi antropomorfna ptica, medtem ko motiv moža na gugalnici sodi med značilne marginalne domislice iz 13. in 14. stoletja. To je le odvod iz tistih burkaških predrznosti in opičarij, ki so celo ob najsvetejših besedilih zganjali neslanosti in bolj kot katerikoli severnoitalijanski oziroma furlanski vzor,¹⁶ so pravi izvir teh možicев podobe opic pri zabavi, pri guganju v košarah, ki jih je po tedanjih rokopisih mrgolelo.¹⁷

Arkadno naslovnico na fol. 2v in začetek besedila na 3r (sl. 1, 2) pa moramo obravnavati kot enoten slogovni in ikonografski sklop. Ne moremo dvomiti, da je inicialo in prve tri besede *Gloriosissimi civitate Dei* izpisal Bistrski pisar. Zaradi velikosti iniciále se bolj kot kdajkoli poprej izriše pisarska posebnost in dvojnost v učinku, ko je fleuronée pisan z zlatim prahom in je njegova barvita svetilnost mila, migotava, zunanja polovica črke z zlato folijo na osnovi iz armenske gline, ki se plastično boči, pa je polno svetlobno polje brez sence.¹⁸ Vizualni učinek ima

¹³ G. Schmidt, Das "Melker Konvolut" der Public Library, New York, v: "Nobile claret opus". Festgabe für Ellen Judith Beer zum 60. Geburtstag, ZAK, 43/1, 1986, pp. 67-75; zlasti p. 71. - Taki zmajčki in nakaze s škratovskimi čepicami so bili kot dekorativni motiv na obrovnih letvah naslikani že celo stoletje poprej v angleških in francoskih rokopisih. Cf. R. Eisler: *Die illuminierten Handschriften in Kärnten*, Leipzig 1907 (od tod citirano Eisler: *Kärnten*), sl. 31 - francoski diurnale iz (verjetno druge tretjine) 13. stoletja, ki je v Admontu; H. Tietze: *Die illuminierten Handschriften der Rossiana in Wien-Lainz*, Leipzig 1911, sl. 183 - "zmajevska" bordura okoli besedila na naslovni strani nižjereške ali belgijske Biblije iz druge polovice 13. stoletja itd. Gerhard Stamm pa ob miniaturi iz gornjerenskega (švicarskega) samostana Wonnenthal z začetka 14. stoletja pravi, da so v skladu z "lepim mehkim slogom" miniaturo tudi zmajčki postali ljubki. G. Stamm: *Drachen in alten Handschriften: Drachen zum Weinen und Lachen*, Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek 1980, p. 130, sl. 93. [r.k.].

¹⁴ P. Buberl: *Die illuminierten Handschriften in Steiermark. Die Stiftsbibliotheken zu Admont und Vorau*, Leipzig 1911, Vorau Hs. 274 (103-IV), sl. 215.

¹⁵ Günterová - Mišanik: *Stredoveká knižná malba*, cf. sl. 28: Budimpešta, Državna in univerzitetna knjižnica, Cod. lat. 214, fol. 130r.

¹⁶ Stelè: *Srednjeveški rokopisi*, p. 60, citira rokopis, ki ga Eisler uvršča med furlanske (oz. širše gornjeitalijanske). Stilna oznaka rokopisa je najbrž točna (! ni namreč razjasnjeno razmerje s sposojenim kodeksom iz Krke na Koroškem, po katerem so "furlanski" kodeks kopirali), nikakor pa se ne strinjam z nakazano povezavo: skrat, ki bruha vitice in ga vidimo na spodnjem serifu črke P, je odvod iz romanskih maskeronov, ki jim iz ust rasto vitice: bistrski možici na listnih gugalnicah so iz drugačnega vsebinskega in formalnega sveta. Cf. Eisler: *Kärnten*, sl. 25.

¹⁷ L. Randall: *Images in the Margins of Gothic Manuscripts*, Berkeley & Los Angeles 1966, sl. 53, npr. *Psalter Riharda Canterburyjskega*, pisan po avguštinskem redu; začasno New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Glazier 53.

¹⁸ E. J. Beer, Marginalien zum Thema Goldgrund, *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 3, 1983 (od tod citirano Beer, Goldgrund), pp. 271-286, zlasti 283.

nedvomno svojo materialno vrednost, vprašanje pa je, ali ima zlato tudi ikonografski sopomen. Domnevati smemo, da ima zlato ozadje za upodobitvijo sv. Avgušтина in priorja Hermana v medaljonu vrednost "idealnega prostorskega okolja, v katerem se... resnični predmeti lahko gibljejo v brezmejni globini;"¹⁹ domnevati tudi smemo, da so stebriči na arkadah s premislekom dobili zlato in srebrno prevleko, da bi "z idealno realnostjo - ki pomeni duhovno vsebino - pridobili poudarjeno objektivno realnost materiala."²⁰ Prav gotovo je bila s premislekom izbrana (in z enakim pomenom odtehtana) tudi zlata in srebrna folija za bršljanove vejice in Nikolajevo ime v lunetah ter za napis naslova knjige pod tremi arkadami. Od tod dalje pa uporaba zlate na naslovnih straneh bistrskega kodeksa ni več vsebinsko razvidna. Zlata in srebrna so tako telesca psov kot tudi zajcev, listi in šopki na bordurah, kratke hlače gugajočih se možicev, zlati in srebrni so tudi deli teles bitij pod arkadnimi stebriči. Pravega pojasnila za to ne vem. Logike v uporabi zlate in srebrne ni več, zdi se, da ostane le še provincialna bahatost z dragocenim materialom.

In če pogledamo na ti dve strani kot na slikarsko in ikonografsko stvaritev, se vnovič razkrije neuravnovešenost. Delež slikarskega znanja je skromen; vseskozi naivna risba rastlinja, živali, fantazijskih stvorov in (še celo!) oseb je zrcalo možnega, pri čemer je z dekorativno preobloženostjo pomen, vsebovan v figuraliki na margini, večkrat ponovljen. Manjka tudi ljubezniva skladnost barv; kričeče so, kromatsko vsaksebi - na teh dveh straneh bolj kot kjerkoli v kodeksu.

Ikonografsko branje moramo pričeti pri arkadah, ki so bile kot arhitekturni element prenesene iz sakralne arhitekture. Seveda je arhitektura cerkve bila delček Cerkve, ki je na oltar (resnično in simbolično) postavila knjigo. Ves pomen tega dejanja je vsebovan v stavku iz Svetega pisma "In principio erat verbum." Beseda je sveta, beseda je pri Bogu, Bog je Cerkev. Zveza je nesporna; arkadne naslovnice so zrcalo sakralne arhitekture,²¹ in tisto, kar vzamejo v svoj objem, ima pomen svetega, božjega. A če prenesemo to prispodobo v območje realnega sveta, v svet srednjeveških cerkva, potem se izriše na eni strani podoba cerkvene biblioteke, zakladnice, poduhovljenega življenja, ki se je odvijalo v cerkvenem poslopju, na drugi pa podoba profanega, žanrskega, banalnega dogajanja, ki se je - v obliki krošnjarskih pultov in obrtniških kolib naslanjalo na stene cerkve ter na petek in svetek spremljalo pretok ljudi in njihovih misli iz območja sakralnega v profano in obratno in opravljalo, pretilo, škodovalo. "Da obstaja idejna povezava zunanjih zidov cerkve z grehom, nam potrjuje tudi sočasna literatura, denimo *Roman de la Rose* in *Roman de Fauvel*, kjer so simboli grehote orisani, kot da so naslikani ali izklesani na zunanjih zidovih obzidanega vrta in palače."²² Za to gre v bistrskem kodeksu: beseda cerkvenega očeta Avgušтина je sveta in zato obdana z arkadnimi loki in okrasnimi letvami. Njegove misli se nizajo v območju sakralnega, onkraj pa je hrup boja in pasjega laježa v pogonu na lisice in zajce.

¹⁹ A. Riegl: *Die spätromische Kunstindustrie*, Wien 1927², p. 14.

²⁰ Beer, Goldgrund, p. 272 in op. 3.

²¹ N. Golob: *Arhitekturni elementi na naslovnicaх srednjeveških rokopisov*, Ljubljana 1990.

²² M. Camille: *Image on the Edge. The Margins of Medieval Art*, London 1992, p. 91.

Psi gonjači se podijo in grizejo zajce, ki so že v Stari zavezi (Leviticus 11,6 in Deuteronomium 14,7) zaradi plodnosti sodili med simbole nezmernosti, nečistosti, v srednjem veku pa spolnega poželenja, Laksurije.²³ Lisicam je srednji vek očital vsakovrstne pregrehe, postale so simboli heretikov, samega satana, zvižčnosti, prevare, skoposti. Pes, zvesta žival svojega gospoda, pregrehe podi in mori. Simbolika tega plesa na življenje in smrt med Pregrehami in Krepostmi ni zapletena. - Vsaj na prvi pogled pa je manj jase pomen štirih figur (sl. 1), ki so dobile prostor na dnu, že na margini strani; videti so, kot da bi bile baze štirih stebričev. Stelè pravi, da je "motiv stanja na živalskih in človeških figurah tipičen za romansko arhitekturo v Italiji in se najde pogosto tudi v alpskih deželah."²⁴ Seveda najdemo ta motiv tudi v iluminiranih rokopisih in ne samo v Italiji, pač pa po vsem zahodnem krščanskem svetu. Vendar tukaj ne gre za motiv stanja. Gre za dinamično situacijo, kjer imamo dva para, vsak se bojuje ločeno od drugega. Prva dvojica je zlat lev, ki stoji pod zunanjim stebričem in se je prek hrbta obrnil proti nakazi, ki ga je hotela prevarati s svojim na videz spodobnim oblačilom in s svojim sprva mirnim mimohodom - potem pa se je obrnila, da bi s hrbta napadla leva in mu z mečem zadala rane. Lev rjove: v človeška oblačila preoblečena zverina se pred njim brani s ščitom. Desni par pa ne prikriva svoje prave narave: srebrn enorožec s svojim zlatim rogom napada režečega se rdečega zmaja z zelenim repom in zelenimi nogami, ki so prave satanske barve. Spet je enorožec na zunanji strani in enako kot lev brani mejnike sakralne arhitekture. - Stara zaveza je slavila moč in silovitost enorožca (Numeri 23, 22; 24, 8; Psalmi 21, 22; 28, 6; 91, 11 itd.) in verjetno ga moramo v pomenu pozornega čuvaja čistosti, neomadeževanosti krščanske duše jemati tudi v tem primeru; tako postane pravi soborec levu, ki je simbol kreposti, in hkrati zastopnik levov, ki varujejo pot do Prestola modrosti.

Ne gre za romanski motiv podstavljanja vsakovrstnih figur pod stebre, da nosijo cerkveno stavbo, gre torej za gotski motiv izganjanja pregreh iz območja sakralnega, za konfliktno razmerje med vsebinskim centrom in banalnim obrobjem, za razmerje med jasno kaligrafijo in urejenostjo zapisa na eni strani ter nemirnim, barvno kričočim marginalnim svetom na drugi. Kljub robotosti poteze nas ne sme zapeljati misel, da gre na tej naslovnici iz Bistre za preprosto nadaljevanje visokosrednjeveške Psihomahije: vizija boja med dobrim in zlim se je razplastila. Marsikatero podobo pa je v centrih umetniškega dogajanja laže pojasniti kot skrivence podobne z obrobja, kjer miselnost province hkrati ovira obči ikonografski razvoj, a v istem hipu ustvarja "kontaminirane" tipe iz dveh disparatnih, slogovno in sociološko navzkrižnih svetov.

Iz tehnologije dela pa je razviden še en zanimiv detajl. Arkadna naslovnica se torej naslanja na stiško-dunajski Cod. 650, vendar je na bistrskem foliju 2v več besedila kot na stiškem. Poleg tega, da so v sicer identičnem naslovu nekatere besede izpisane brez abreviatur, je razlika predvsem v tem, da je na koncu naslova dodano: *Incipit liber prim(us) S(an)c(t)i Epi(scopi)*. V stiškem kodeksu je to najbrž pisalo na sedaj manjkajočem foliju, verjetno pod eno od vseskozi bolj ali manj

²³ E. Panofsky: *Albrecht Dürer*, Princeton 1958, I., p. 84 ss., II., sl. 21.

²⁴ Stelè: *Srednjeveški rokopisi*, pp. 58 in 60.

enakih incipitnih arkad in glede na večkrat potrjeno zvestobo bistrskega kodeksa proti stiški predlogi, bi rekla, da incipit ni mogel biti dosti drugačen od tistega, ki se zaradi pomanjkljive 1. lege v stiškem kodeksu ni ohranil. Dodani incipit iz bistrskega kodeksa nas opozarja, da je bil začetek knjige z *Gloriossissimam civitatem Dei* najverjetneje že napisan, ko je bilo šele odločeno, da bo bistrski kodeks moral (!) okrasje povzeti po stiškem. Torej so dodali nekaj folijev, ki so sedaj 1. lega: izsiljena je bila zasilna rešitev, zaradi česar naletimo na nekaj neestetskih elementov, a so kodikološko zelo zanimivi. Sprva so najbrž hoteli dodati trinij, a ker so uvideli, da tolikega števila folijev ne morejo uporabiti, so prva dva folija odrezali (a1, b1) in naslednji folij (c1) prilepili na notranjo stran platnic. Fol. 1 je prost in je zlepljen iz dveh pergamentnih kosov (c2, b2), na foliju, ki bi ga označili kot a2 v tem triniju, je že naslikana arkadna naslovnica. - Lega oziroma "lega" je zasilno napolnjena z monumentalnim kolofonom (sl. 12) in z obširnimi oznakami posameznih knjig, veliko je praznega prostora.

Precejšnji del kodeksa je bil prepisan tako rekoč "v korak" s stiškim vzorcem; s tem ne mislim le na korektorne znake, ki so ponovili celo enake grafizme, kot jih je okoli leta 1180 pisal Bernard,²⁵ pač pa predvsem na prizadevanje Bistrskega pisarja, da bi lovil korak s "prelomom" strani oziroma s količino prepisanega besedila na stran. Stiški pisar Engilbert je v Cod. 650 na stran napisal približno 4500 znakov, incipite in eksplicite knjig pa je umeščal v arkade, medtem ko je Bistrski pisar napisal približno 4650 znakov na stran, obsegu porabljenega prostora v stiškem kodeksu pa se je približal tako, da zaključkov in napovedi knjig ni umeščal pod arkade (to bi bilo v gotiki seveda anahronistično), pač pa jih je zaznamoval le s poudarjenimi črkami v cinobru. Sprva so bile celo iniciale na enako numeriranih folijih - v stiško-dunajskem *De civitate Dei* je bila iniciala S sprva na fol. 9v (sedaj je na 4v, ker manjka del 1. lege), enako kot je v bistrskem kodeksu itd.

Še eno pojasnilo k citiranim Steletovim besedam o "sočasnih monumentalnih platnicah" tega kodeksa. Vemo le, da je velikost komaj kaj spremenjena, a kodeks je bil prvič restavriran že ob koncu 15. stoletja. Sredi 14. stoletja takih kovinskih vogalnikov, kot so se ohranili, niso delali (podobne pa imata oba zvezka *Antifonarja iz Kranja* iz leta 1491). Ob tem restavriranju so čez poškodovani leseni platnici nalepili na sredinski del prednje in zadnje platnice dva kosa usnja, ki pa sta črne barve in sta prekrila prvotno purpurno usnje. Ali so takrat nalepili na notranjo stran lesenih platnic (čez mesta, kjer so usnjene vezice sidrane v les, da so tako pridobili površinsko izravnavo) tri kose papirjev in pergamentov, čez pa nalepili pergamentni folij, ki je del prve in zadnje lege, ne vem. Mislim, da bistve-

²⁵ Razprava "Romanesque correction marks: the case of Sitticum", ki sem jo predstavila na mednarodnem kongresu "Making the Medieval Book up to 1500", Oxford, Trinity College, 7-10 julij 1992, je v tem trenutku še v tisku, vendar naj navedem, da sem z raziskavo, v kateri sem sistematično zajela več kot sto kodeksov iz druge polovice 12. stoletja, dokazala, da je imel vsak skriptorij svoj sistem korekturnih znakov, ki so v bistvu abstraktni grafizmi in zato nevezani na pisarsko tradicijo. Bistrski pisar se je torej zavestno oprl na grafično podobo poldrugo stoletje starejših (in zato zastarelih) korekturnih znakov.

ne sledove zabrišejo poznejše restavracije. Vsekakor so kodeks ponovno restavrirali, najbrž v 18. stoletju, takrat so na novo opletli kapital, na hrbtu so odrezali jezike in poševno obsekali lege - to je razvidno iz neenakomernih razmikov med šivi na hrbtu.

Trije listi, ki so bili vlepljeni med leseno osnovo platnic in nalepljen folij, so zanimivi in čakajo na paleografsko raziskavo: A je bifolij iz papirja, popisan v bastardi; B je papirni bifolij ozkega pokončnega formata, popisan v dveh pisavah, kjer na vrhu beremo *MCCCCXII in vigili* in je torej letnica 1412 *ante quem non* za datacijo; C pa je pergamentni bifolij, ki je očitno osebni popis zanimivosti mesta Jeruzalema. Srečne oči, ki so to videle.

D o d a t e k

NUK 2: Aurelius Augustinus: *De civitate Dei*

Ljubljana, Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica: ms 2. Signirano (Nicolaus) in datirano 1347. Pergament, 172 fol. Kodeks je nepopoln.

SIGNATURA: Predfolij, prilepljen na prednjo platnico: *Anno domini m^o ccc^o xl^o vi^o completus est hoc opus et iussit fieri dominus hermanus prior vallis iocose una cum ceteris tempore prioratus sui*. Na spodnji strani fol. 1r je okrogel pečat z napisom *K & K Lyzealbibliothek zu Laibach*, enak je tudi na 172v. Fol. 160v: *Iste liber est Carthusiensium in Frenicz prope Laybacum*. Na notranji strani platnic je na levem gornjem vogalu s tinto napisana številka 2, ki je signatura kodeksa v zbirki NUK. Na zunanji strani platnic oz. hrbita ni nobene signaturne oznake.

VEZAVA: 538 x 356/366 mm; rjavo-črno usnje v dveh neenakih slojih prek lesenih platnic, tako da je spodnji sloj, ki je svetlejšje (sedaj vijolično-rjave, prej verjetno purpurne) barve, scelega viden le na hrbtu, sicer pa na posameznih mestih, ki so na obrobju platnic. Hrbet je nekoliko usločen, ima sedem dvojnih vezic (šivano na točkah: 8 - 32 - 62 - 123 - 190 - 260 - 323 - 390 - 453 - 490 - 530, merjeno na 1. legi). Na mestih, kjer so vezice segale v platnice, so podložili odrezke treh pergamentnih in papirnih folijev, popisanih v bastardi 14. in 15. stoletja.

Platnici sta ornamentalno okrašeni. V vogalih so kovinski ščitniki, ki so izrezani iz kovinske plošče: gre za kombinacijo trlistnih lilij in deteljc. Na sredini je stilno skladna rozeta, kjer v štiri smeri rastoče trlistne lilije obdaja prstan, na obodu pa so vnovič lilije. Kodeks se zapenja z dvema pasovoma, ki se na sprednji strani natakmeta na kovinski zatič, ki ima osnovo v obliki rozete z izvihnjenimi listi.

Na notranji strani sprednje in zadnje platnice je nalepljen pergamentni folij. Na sredini sprednje platnice prodira stržen kovinskih zatičev v knjižni blok.

PERGAMENT: 531 x 361 mm. Z izjemo 1. lege je skozi ves kodeks bel, svetel in sorazmerno kvaliteten pergament, najbrž telečji. Poškodbe niso pretirane; gre za vbode, raztrganine in zgrbančene dele, nekateri foliji so za spoznanje manjši

kot foliji, ki so bili obrezani po meri. Spodnji del folija 166 je v višini 185 mm odrezan, besedilo *De civitate Dei* ni poškodovano. Odrezane so tudi spodnje margine fol. 170, 171 in 172 v višini 72 mm; manjkata folija 173 in 174 in s tem besedilo.

Povsem drugačen je pergament 1. lege, kjer so foliji sestavljeni iz več manjših kosov različne debeline, otipa in tonalitete. Folij, ki je nalepljen na zadnjo platnico, je podobne kakovosti kot pergament 1. lege; je debel in roževinastega otipa.

LEGE: 19 leg (1³⁻², 2-16⁵, 17-18⁴, 19³⁻²). 1.lega je dodana pozneje, vendar še v času pred dokončanjem kodeksa: prvotnemu trinitu (?) so odrezali prva dva folija (a1, b1), naslednji folij (c1) so prilepili na notranjo stran platnic, fol.1 je dvoslojen - zlepljen iz dveh pergamentnih kosov (c2, b2), fol. 2 je prost in na 2v je arkadna naslovnica. Preostale lege so pravilni kviniji z izjemo 17. in 18. lege, ki sta kvaternija, in zadnje, 19. lege: to je bil ternij, najbrž dodan še v času pisarskega dela. Folij, prilepljen na hrbtno platnico, ne sodi k legi.

Lege zaznamujejo reklamanti (ki manjkajo na fol. 22v, 82v in na zadnjih dveh legah), kustos ni. Foliacija je novejša, s svinčnikom. Foliji so šteti dvakrat, ker je prvi bibliotekar naredil med 8. in 10. folijem napako, drugi bibliotekar pa jo je popravil.

ZRCALO: Dvostolpno zrcalo, 54 vrst v stolpcu. Dimenzije po širini: 0 - 41 - 153 - 177 - 286 - 361, po višini: 0 - 44 - 440 - 531. Za besedilo je zrcalo risano s tinto. Ohranjeno je pikiranje, iz katerega je razvidno, da so folije pikirali po legah.

VSEBINA: (predfolij) kolofon

(1r) prazno

(1v) vsebinsko kazalo

(2r) prazno

(2v) arkadna naslovnica

(3r - 166r) besedilo *De civitate Dei* Avrelija Avguščina: *Gloriosissima civitate dei...gratias gratulantes ADAM. In deo gratias aut domine miserere nobis.*

(166v) prazno

(167r - 172v) slovarski del: *Abacuc prophetam...Scientia non facit bonum hominem*

PISAVA: Glavno besedilo je pisano v *gothica textualis formata*, enako slovarski del in sočasne korekture, najbrž ena roka. Številni korekturni znaki se po obliki grafizma naslanjajo na stiško predlogo, po njej tudi povzemajo dekorativne kartuše; isto velja za obliko *nota* znakov, *diple* pravzaprav niso uporabljene.

OKRAS: Incipiti in eksplaciti so pisani z rdečo tinto. V kodeksu je dosti kartuš okoli imen citiranih avtorjev in naslovov njihovih del ter vstavljenih manjkajočih tekstov, ki so - tako kot v stiškem kodeksu - zapisane v cinobru. V zadnjem delu knjige (zlasti od fol. 120 dalje), dosledno pa v slovarskem delu, so začetnice, pisane v prvi zgornji vrsti, dopolnjene z zankami, repi, lističi, grebeni, zobci, obrazki in kadelami. Med besedilom so številne enovrstične začetnice, ki so pra-

viloma pisane v menjavi rdeče in modre tinte, posebno pogoste so v naslovih poglavij, zapisanih pred pričetkom Avguštinovega besedila. Kaligrafske iniciale med besedilom so pisane kot lombarde, velike povečini 2 do 6 vrst, izjemoma do 16 vrst. Vseh je menda 174; prišteti je treba še štiri lombarde s fleuronéejem v kontrastni barvi. V slovarskem delu je cinobrastih lombard 16, od tega imajo iniciale A, C, E, G, O in S dekorativno razcepljeno telo.

Slikarske iniciale so bodisi scelega narisane kot fleuronirane iniciale ali so povezane s slikarskimi prvinami, ki sodijo v sodobno ornamentiko (baziliski, amfisebene) oziroma ponavljajo formalne prvine, povzete po stiški *De civitate Dei* ali drugih starejših predlogah.

Iniciale, risane izključno v fleuronéeju: 3r, 22v, 36r, 71v, 77v, 83r, 90r, 146v; s sodobnimi slikarskimi prvinami (zmajčki v telesu črke, kaude v obliki antropomorfih ptic): 28v, 52v, 128r, 136r; v celoti po stiškem vzoru: 9v, 56v, 65r, 115r, 155r; zaznamovane z romanskimi prvinami: 16r, 40r, 46r, 98v, 108r. Vseh slikarskih inicial je 21.

Po stiški predlogi je povzeta tudi arkadna naslovnica.

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DE CIVITATE DEI FROM BISTRA

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In describing the illumination of the manuscript containing the text by Aurelius Augustinus *De Civitate Dei*,¹ preserved since the secularisation of the Carthusian monastery in Bistra on 29 January 1782 as MS No.2 in the collection of the present National and University Library, France Stelè emphasized that the manuscript had "contemporary monumental leather covers", that it was "written and decorated..... in 1347 by a certain Nicolaus, who was commissioned by Prior Herman" (pl. 12), that some "ambiguity" existed in the illumination because there were elements which were utterly Romanesque, or traditional, that there were older, typically Italian elements, in connection with which he mentioned the interesting strips in the P initial on fol. 108r, and added that the "scribes' ornamentation was very characteristic of Austrian and Czech book decoration of that time". F. Stelè also mentioned the presence of contemporary French motifs and models.²

To a great extent all that F. Stelè has established is true and the "stylistic ambiguity" is the result of two working sequences (which is evident from the technology of the illumination): careful scrutiny reveals that we are dealing with the work of two illuminators who worked at the same time, and that the second one started when the first one had not yet finished his work (on some initials). I have already written on this issue, showing that there was not only the illuminator called Nicolaus but that there were two persons of different education at work;³ herein lies the reason behind the aesthetic and stylistic discrepancies of the Bistra manuscript. In this article I would like to give a detailed account of their creative views. If the manuscript is considered as a unit, executed by a scribe and an illuminator, it is defined by some elements that are time-bound. This can be considered as an orientation towards both Central European and regional characteristics. I am referring to flourish (fleuronnée) initials, to elements with fantastic creatures in the bodies of initials and grotesques in the margin, and bunches of leaves and flowers on the title page. The colours should not be forgotten either:

¹ For the codicological description cf. the appendix.

² F. Stelè, *Illuminatorni okras bistrskih rokopisov*, pp. 58-61, in: M. Kos - F. Stele, *Srednjeveški rokopisi v Sloveniji*, Ljubljana 1931 (Stele, *Srednjeveški rokopisi*).

³ N. Golob, *Folknandova podoba: zgledi in posnetki*, ZUZ, n.v. XXVI, 1990, pp. 48-49 (Golob, *Folknandova podoba*).

we are faced with two well-rounded but mutually non-compatible colour units where the choice of the colour harmony marks the boundary between two different illuminators.

When this manuscript was completed in 1347 by the will of Herman, prior of Bistra - Vallis Jocosa,⁴ the boundary between the two types of decorated initials in book production was clear. The respective types of the flourish initial on one hand and the painted initial on the other had been formed. The principle dividing two different painting and scribal modes was established. In the Romanesque period no transitional type between the calligraphic and flourish initials seems to have existed and even in the Gothic period these two principles used to appear separately in the same manuscript, but usually not in the same initial.⁵ This is another reason why it is clear from some of the Bistra initials which stroke was executed by this or that illuminator. - Flourish initials developed from late Romanesque calligraphic initials that can be found as an announcement in earnest of Gothic decoration around 1140 in Paris.⁶ Soon afterward they spread rapidly via the Mosan region and important scriptoria over France and Germany. The uniformity of Cistercian book decoration due to the monochrome drawing principle, also contributed to the rise of fleuronée initials. In the 12th century, Cistercian scriptoria were born in quick succession. Thus, at least the early form of fleuronée was a well-known decorative element around 1200 in scriptoria and workshops to the north of the Alps. The technique of the procedure is very simple - as early as towards the end of the Romanesque period the bodies of initials became divided into two halves with decorative split-line in the middle, since then initials were filled inside and outside with simple wavy lines, dents, spiral forms and meanders in penwork. In the Gothic period the proportions of initials were changed, the width became more important than the height and thus the shaded parts were exuberantly emphasized: it was in these that the decorative splits provided better scope for fanciful innovations. The basic element in the fleuronée initials is the hairline decoration, which in the Romanesque period followed the marginal line of the initial in light cascades; now the penwork decoration succeeded in capturing the inner field of the initial and divided it into several segments, while in the outer field the penwork decoration changed into branchlike sprouts of curves and crests in parallel and branching off at right angles. The flourish initial is penned in two colours; in the manuscripts from Slovenia and the neighbouring countries the

⁴ J. Mlinarič, Kartuzija Bistra od 1255 do 1782, in: F. M. Dolinar (ed.), *Redovništvo na Slovenskem*, Ljubljana 1984 (Mlinarič, Kartuzija Bistra), p. 163.

⁵ It is evident from the material published to date that the manuscripts created in a provincial environment show a penetration of painting elements into the flourish initials, as in the case of the ivy leaves unfolding at the bottom of the penwork extensions or in a letter body, without destroying the mainly two-coloured arrangement of flourish initials. Cf. A. Güntherová & J. Mišianik: *Stredoveká knižná malba na Slovensku*, Bratislava 1961 (Güntherová & Mišianik: *Stredoveká knižná malba*), pp. 35-37, the so-called *Missale Possoniense* "C" from 1330-1340, Budapest, State and University Library, Cod. Lat. 220 and related manuscripts Cod. Lat. 94 and 92 from the same collection.

⁶ P. Stiernemann, Fils de la vierge. L'initiale à filigranes parisienne: 1140-1314, *Revue de l'art*, 90, 1990, pp. 58-74.

combination of red and blue prevails. In the Bistra manuscript, the red respectively blue ink was not always applied: the thick temperas applied in the relief technique made a noble impression, as the Bistra scribe knew very well, too. - During the Gothic, penwork initials gradually changed, developing faddish witticisms and regional peculiarities. By the end of the 13th century it had achieved a kind of formal maturity which became a refined two-colour game on the clear, always evenly ornamented surface. As with thrills, it was an endless variation on one and the same little theme in ever-changing ways.

The master who drew the penwork in the Bistra manuscript did not sign his name and for the sake of simplicity I will provisionally call him the Bistra scribe: it can be assumed on account of the refined compositions, when the text and the initial were perfectly adapted to the space available, that in copying the text he also simultaneously included flourish initials.⁷ In this manuscript the Bistra scribe did not act as an illuminator but merely as a calligrapher who, with a reliable hand, covered the field of the initial and the corresponding marginal space with a spidery ornament. He divided up the inner field of the initial by means of verticals (e.g. fol. 28v, 65v, pl. 4), or a rhomb (fol. 145v), or oval/circular lines (fol. 36r, 98v) into several smaller segments (pl. 3), varying the two colours. He changed the initial G on fol. 3r (and several others) into an evenly spread ornament of circles painted in gold only. The basic decorative element in his *fleuronnée* is a circle with a double border-line while the third line connects one circle with the next. Buds, emphasized by a dot in a contrasting colour, are strung in a circle along the central branch or on the forked spot. This pattern is reminiscent of a lily-of-the valley, hence "*Maiglöckchen-Fleuronnée*" in German literature. Exceptionally, only in the initial E on fol. 77v, the Bistra scribe drew, instead of the circle *fleuronnée*, the spiral snail shell pattern of the sprouts with heart-shaped leaves resembling ivy. After the late 13th century, ivy was a popular decorative element, as there is hardly a marginal branch without small ivy offshoots.

The Bistra scribe had a great deal of gold colour at his disposal. He used it for penwork filling in initials whereas he rarely inscribed the extensions in gold. He particularly liked to combine the gold with sky blue, as well as with dark blue, light green and ochre. The dots in the circles are mainly in red. The light intensity of the gold colour gives an impression of immateriality, besides the nobility of form and the preciousness of the material. Moreover, he was able to achieve the effects of refinement and lightness of his initials even when he painted them in "ordinary" colours. The initial D (fol. 90v) is an excellent achievement, even though it is painted in blurred blue and red. I think he never used the silver colour,

⁷ The script is uneven in places, but the ductus of the letters changes fluently and gradually so that it cannot be doubted that the manuscript was copied by one scribe only. On determining personal variations among scribes cf. K. Kl. Jadzewski, *Identifizierungsprobleme bei Schreibhänden, Wolfenbütteler Forschungen (Probleme der Bearbeitung mittelalterlicher Handschriften)*, 30, 1986, pp. 325-326. For minute paleographic analysis and for definition of this phase in the development of *textura* cf. O. Mazal, *Beobachtungen zu österreichischen Buchschriften des 14. Jahrhunderts, Codices manuscripti*, 16, 1992, esp. pp. 1-6 and pl. 1-4.

which was appreciated by Nicolaus. It is also obvious that Nicolaus introduced the lilac/rose tempera and used it even for covering the finished forms of the initials: the letter D on fol. 40r clearly shows that the primary cinnabar in the outer part of the initial vanished under the careless coat of lilac; the same is true of E on fol. 52v (pl. 5), D on fol. 22v etc. There appeared new, thicker colour layers which needed to be corrected; thus they were outlined in a contrasting ink, but it seems that the pen slipped and stuck at the edges of thick layers of colours. In the initials which are evidently the work of the Bistra scribe, the pen flows in a smooth, uninterrupted line and his stroke is always sure. The Bistra scribe excels at drawing perfect, noble lines which never slide beyond the permitted boundary. Nothing is superficial, no composition deficient or insufficiently considered.⁸ From the very beginning, the Bistra scribe was undoubtedly attached to the manuscript containing the text of St Augustine's *De civitate Dei*, which was borrowed by the Stična (Sitticum) Monastery (now preserved in Vienna as Cod. 650 in the Manuscript and Incunabula Collection at the Austrian National Library).⁹ He had probably been ordered to draw the copy of the initial S on fol. 9v, which can be found in the Stična-Vienna manuscript on fol. 4r, where he faithfully followed even the hatching on the inner side of the leaves, as well as the little circles in the folded parts, the divided body and even the colours and the simple frame. As this initial remains an isolated evidence of copying by the Bistra scribe after the Stična manuscript, one gets the impression that to the copies of the two uncial Ds (fols. 136r, pl. 6 and 115r) he contributed only the drawing of the complicated scroll-leaves, while the compact and rather careless colour coating was executed by Nicolaus.

At any rate, there are a few combined (penwork and painted) initials where the contributions of each cannot be differentiated with certainty. These include the initials Q at the beginning of the 5th and 11th books (fols. 28v, pl. 4, and 128v). In both cases the cauda is an anthropomorphic bird with a lean body and the Bistra scribe obviously co-operated in the initial D on 28v, because the flourish loops are scattered along the curved creature; the outline of the head is drawn in the same blue colour as the remaining decoration. On fol. 128v the rigid body of the bird is leaning across the scribe's note, covering it to a considerable extent. Although the drawing of the bird is of equally high quality, the penwork ending around the head appears half-done.

Much may be inferred concerning the relationship between Nicolaus and the Bistra scribe from two P initials: the first (fol. 98v) is the image of a thoroughly controversial relationship. A beautiful blue-golden flourish swirl in the bowl of

⁸ Two details are technologically interesting: In the initial D on fol. 83r the flourish in the outer field of the letter has remained unfinished. We can see the drawing - a sketch - of perfect flourish in light washed India ink; it should have been coated either with gold or blue - like the remaining part of the initial. Another example is the uncial D on fol. 40r; the intention was to cover the fields between the net of gold flourish with silver additions, but was soon abandoned (it was presumably realized that too much good was unnecessary), and the silver coating in its black oxidation now appears heavy and unpleasant.

⁹ N. Golob, Slikarski okras romanskih rokopisov iz Stične: dunajska skupina, ZUZ, 1989, pp. 37-55, particularly 44-48.

the letter is surrounded by a lilac body in which the circles and rhombs are grossly connected: this is an isolated echo of the Romanesque model where the vine-scrolls filled and penetrated the body of the letter. At the top of the arch Nicolaus scratched off the penwork extensions, which apparently did not accord with his view of the whole. As he had simultaneously scratched off the rubricated incipit, he gave it up elsewhere. He therefore applied some glue around the initial for the silver bump-border, thus committing a technological error: the parchment wrinkled and acquired a dark gloss. On the arch and on the stem of the letter he adjusted a plume of lilac and gold leaves (exactly the same can be seen on both title pages). Nicolaus habitually applied geometrical filigree fillings - a white drawing composed of circles, rhombs and little lines is virtually his signature, whereas the Bistra scribe gave priority to organic motifs: he drew horse-tails, flowers, scrolls, grapes.

This initial was succeeded by the "conciliatory" initial P (fol. 108r, pl. 8) standing at the beginning of a promising incipit *Promissiones Dei*: around the letter there is again the bump-border, this time in gold, and sprinkled with a filigree of flowers; the parchment remained undamaged. The flowers fill the ornamented lilac (!) stalk of the letter as well. Below the stem, a dog with a heart-shaped tail is springing forward as in the Stična manuscript 650 on fol. 126r (pl. 9). While the dog is a slender, elegant animal (like the two anthropomorphic birds mentioned earlier), the serif of the letter transforms itself at the bottom into a leaf swing where a stocky little man dressed in short trousers is sitting. His whole body including the trousers is a surface free to accept a geometric ornament which changes the figure - by means of arcaded segments, little lines and crosses - into a bizarre apparition. Nicolaus actually drew the same motif four times - twice on either side of the medallion image of St Augustine and the kneeling Herman (fol. 3r, pl. 2), then below the initial I (fol. 16r), and here, on fol. 108r.

It should be said that by means of this thickset, geometrical, richly decorated drawing, Nicolaus wanted to be convincing on several occasions, for example when copying the image of the prior in the initial O (fol. 56v) and the zoomorphic S (fol. 155r, pl. 10). The heavy colours and the richly decorated initials undoubtedly made an effective visual impression. If there is any truth in Radics's claim that Nicolaus later became the prior of the Carthusian monastery of Bistra,¹⁰ then his work was not exposed to the criticism of the progressively oriented illuminator's spirit. It may have been for this reason that he permitted himself to inscribe his name in gold and silver letters in the lunettes of the arcades on the title page (pl. 1), while his predecessor in the office of prior, Herman, humbly kneeled down in front of St Augustine, pointing at the inscription in the open book *Obsecro te...*: "I beseech thee to be gracious unto me in your prayers" (pl. 2).

Nicolaus faithfully followed the model of the Stična manuscript, ÖNB 650, in some initials. I wrote about the influences of the Stična decoration in Nicolaus' work some years ago (pls. 10, 11).¹¹ Despite the facts that numerous Romanesque

¹⁰ P. Radics, *Iz nekdanjih samostanskih knjižnic v Stični, Kostanjevici, Bistri in Pleterjah, Izvestja Muzejskega društva za Kranjsko*, XIII (1903), pp. 53-54; Mlinarič, Kartuzija Bistra, p. 172.

¹¹ Cf. note 3.

elements in the mid 14th century give an archaic impression which is at odds with the prevailing aesthetic and artistic trends, that Nicolaus in "his" initials (O with the prior¹² and the zoomorphic S) was breaking through the vertical column line without good cause, that we can reproach him for his heavy and none too dexterous hand, his overemphatic use of lilac and silver colours, the saturated chromoxide and the singular, bright ginger colour, it cannot be claimed that despite all this he was not acquainted with the contemporary trends in illumination. Like the Bistra scribe, he also used decorative bands divided into many-coloured segments, the principle of drolleries (the fox and rabbit hunt, the man on the swing), the fantastic creatures which are anthropomorphic basilisks, birds and a three-headed bird with a serpentine tail.

The motif of small anthropomorphic or dog-headed dragons in the bodies of the letters (pl. 5) is an early enough example from this part of Europe, while there is no older manuscript from Slovenian monasteries that would contain such elements. By analyzing the *Convolute* from Melk, Gerhard Schmidt pointed out that in Austrian manuscripts grotesque animals of this kind can be found in the shaded parts of letters only in the second quarter of the 14th century,¹³ in Melk of course under the influence of the Swiss monastery of Katharinenthal. If we were to look for still further examples related to them by their pictorial presentation, the manuscript of Nicholas from Lyra, preserved in the Vorau monastery in Austrian Styria, would fit in perfectly,¹⁴ as would the Bratislava missal "A" of 1341, where the dragons have a similarly emphasized spine and leaves growing from their mouths.¹⁵ In the Vorau manuscript one finds certain other features related to the

¹² It is hard to understand why the image of the Bistra prior has iconographically been interpreted as King David, as it is to be understood from the description by B. Berčič, p. 14; the same definition reappears in the text of the catalogue *Tesori della Biblioteca Nazionale e universitaria di Lubiana*, p. 46. Cf. B. Berčič et al.: *Zakladi Narodne in univerzitetne knjižnice*, Cankarjev dom, Ljubljana 1982, pp. 12 and 14; M. Glavan et al.: *Tesori della Biblioteca Nazionale e universitaria NUK di Lubiana*, Biblioteca Trivulziana, Milano, 1989, p. 146.

¹³ G. Schmidt, Das "Melker Konvolut" der Public Library, New York, in: "Nobile claret opus". Festgabe für Ellen Judith Beer zum 60. Geburtstag, ZAK, 43/1, 1986, pp. 76-75, particularly p. 71. - Such diminutive dragons and monsters with dwarfs' caps were decorative motifs on marginal strips painted in English and French manuscripts a whole century earlier. Cf. R. Eisler: *Die illuminierten Handschriften in Kärnten*, Leipzig 1907 (Eisler: Kärnten), fig. 31 - French *Diurnale* from (probably the second third of) the 13th century, now in Admont; H. Tietze: *Die illuminierten Handschriften der Rossiana in Wien-Lainz*, Leipzig 1911, fig. 183 - the "dragon border" around the text on the title page of the Lower Rhine or Belgian Bible from the second half of the 13th century etc. Gerhard Stamm says of the miniature from the Upper Rhine (Swiss) monastery Wonnenthal dating, from the beginning of the 14th century, that in accordance with the "lovely soft style" of illumination the little dragons also became pretty. G. Stamm: *Drachen in alten Handschriften: Drachen zum Weinen und Lachen* (exhibition catalogue), Badische Landesbibliothek, Karlsruhe, 1980, p. 130, fig. 93.

¹⁴ P. Buberl: *Die illuminierten Handschriften in der Steiermark. Die Stiftsbibliotheken zu Admont und Vorau*, Leipzig 1911, Vorau Hs. 274 (103-IV), fig. 215.

¹⁵ Güntherová - Mišianik: *Stredoveká knižná malba*, cf. fig. 28, Budapest, State and University Library, Cod. Lat. 214, fol. 130r.

Bistra manuscript, whereas in the Bratislava missal these are totally lacking. The anthropomorphic bird from the Bistra manuscript belongs to the same family of figural models, while the image of the man on the swing represents one of the characteristic marginal witticisms dating back to the 13th and 14th centuries. This is but an echo of the follies and antics indulged in by jesters who did not flinch before even the holiest of texts, but persisted with their tricks. More than any North Italian or Friulian model,¹⁶ the real origin of the little men can be found in the images of apes performing their antics, swinging in baskets, all of which the manuscripts of the time were teeming with.¹⁷

The arcaded title page on fol. 2v and the beginning of the text on 3r should be dealt with as a stylistic and iconographical unit (pls. 1, 2). It cannot be doubted that the penwork initial in gold as well as the first three words of the *Gloriosissimi civitate Dei* were written by the Bistra scribe. Because of the size of the initial G, the scribe's speciality and the twofold effect of gold is at its best, since the gold dust is applied in the infilling penwork and its colour light is soft and flickering; next to this, the outer half of the letter with the gold leaf on a gesso - which is of convex form - is a full light field without any shading.¹⁸

Undoubtedly, the visual effect had its material value, but the question is whether the gold has its own iconographical meaning besides. It can be assumed that the gold ground behind the St Augustine and prior Herman medallion images possesses the value of an "ideal spatial environment in which real objects can move in unlimited depth";¹⁹ it can also be assumed that the little columns of the arcades were deliberately coated in gold and silver in order to "achieve, by means of ideal reality, which denotes spiritual meaning, the emphasized objective reality of the material".²⁰ Equally deliberate was the selection of gold and silver foils for the ivy leaves as well as for Nicolaus's name in the lunettes and the book title under the three arcades. From here on, the use of gold colour on the title pages of the Bistra manuscript bears no special meaning. Gold and silver were applied to the bodies of dogs and rabbits, leaves and bunches of flowers in the margins, the short trousers of the swinging little men, as well as to the body parts of the creatures

¹⁶ Stelè: *Srednjeveški rokopisi*, p. 60, cites the manuscript that Eisler places among those from Friuli (or North Italy). The stylistic definition of the manuscript is probably accurate (!, namely, the relation to the manuscript borrowed from Krka/Gurk in Carinthia according to which the "Friulian" manuscript was copied, has not been clarified). But I cannot agree with the suggested connection: namely, that the goblin sprite in the lower serif of the letter P spewing foliated scrolls, has been in Stelè's words related to the Romanesque maskarons with sprouts growing from their mouths. I am convinced that the little men from Bistra on leaf swings are from a world different in meaning and form. Cf. Eisler: *Kärnten*, fig. 25.

¹⁷ L. Randall: *Images in the Margins of Gothic Manuscripts*, Berkley and Los Angeles 1966, fig. 53, e.g. the Psalter of Richard of Canterbury, written by the Augustine rule; temporarily New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Glazier 53.

¹⁸ E. J. Beer, *Marginalien zum Thema Goldgrund*, *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 1983/3 (Beer, Goldgrund), pp. 271-286, particularly 283.

¹⁹ A. Riegl: *Die Spätromische Kunstindustrie*, Wien 1927, p. 14.

²⁰ Beer, Goldgrund, p. 272 and note 3.

under the arcades. I cannot find an adequate explanation for this. There is no longer any logic in the use of gold and silver, but apparently just provincial ostentation in the precious material.

If these two sides are looked upon as a painted and iconographical unit, the unbalanced effect is visible again. The proficiency of Nicolaus' painting is poor, the thoroughly naive drawing of plants, animals, fancy creatures and especially humans represents a reflection of the possible, whereby the meaning, decorated to excess and contained in the images on the margin, is repeated several times. The pleasant harmony of colours is also missing: they are gaudy and chromatically discordant, even more so on these two pages than anywhere else in the manuscript.

Iconographical reading should begin with the arcades, which were architectural elements transferred from ecclesiastical architecture. The architecture of a church was of course only a small part of the Church that placed the book on the altar (actually and symbolically). The entire meaning of this act is contained in the opening sentence of the Bible: "*In principio erat verbum.*" The word is sacred, the word is with God and God is the Church. The connection is incontestable, the arcaded title page represents the reflection of ecclesiastical architecture,²¹ and what they enclose is sacred and God-like in meaning. If we transfer this image into the real world, into the world of medieval churches, we get, on one hand, the image of the church library, the treasury, the spiritual life taking place in the church building, and on the other hand, the image of the vernacular, genre-like and banal succession of events consisting of petty tradesmen and haberdashers' stalls and craftsmen's booths leaning against the church walls. Every day there was a steady flow of people whose thoughts were directed from the sacred to the profane and vice versa. They were engaged in slander, exaggeration and mischief. "The idea of the external walls of an edifice being associated with sin can be found in contemporary writings, such as the *Roman de la Rose* and *Roman de Fauvel*, in which emblems of Evil are described as carved or painted on the outside walls of a garden or palace."²² This is the topic of the Bistra manuscript: the word of the church father Augustine is sacred and accordingly surrounded by arcades and decorative bands. His thoughts are expressed inside the sacred area beyond which there is the din of struggle and the baying of hounds in fox and rabbit hunts.

Hounds hunt and bite rabbits, having been symbols of Vices since as far back as the Old Testament (Leviticus 11,6 and Deuteronomium 14,7) because of their fertility, which belonged to the symbols of Immoderation, Unchastity and, in the Middle Ages, also sexual desire - *Luxuria*.²³ In medieval era foxes were considered to be sinful and became symbols for Heretics, Satan himself, Slyness, Deceit, Avarice. The dog, the most faithful animal of his master, is a persuer and killer of Sin. The symbolism of this life-and-death struggle between Vices and Virtues is

²¹ N. Golob: *Arhitekturni elementi na naslovnica srednjeveških rokopisov*, Ljubljana 1990.

²² N. Camille: *Image on the Edge. The Margins of Medieval Art*, London 1992, p. 91.

²³ E. Panofsky: *Albrecht Dürer*, Princeton 1958, I., p. 84 ss., II., fig. 21.

not difficult to grasp. - However, the meaning of the four figures at the bottom, on the lower margin, is not so clear at first sight (pl. 1). They seem to be the bases for the four tiny columns. According to Stelè the "motif of statant animal and human figures is typical of Romanesque architecture in Italy and is also frequent in Alpine countries".²⁴ Yet such compositions of leaning upon are easily found in illuminated manuscripts as well and not exclusively in Italy, but all over the Christian world. It is, however, not a motif of static immobility but a dynamic situation involving two pairs, each of them fighting independently of the other. The first pair consists of a golden lion and a monster. The lion is standing below the outer column and looking round at the monster that wants to deceive the lion with its garment and stealthy approach. Then it turns to attack the lion from behind and wound it with a sword. The lion roars, the monster in human disguise defends itself with a shield. The pair on the right does not hide its genuine nature; the silver unicorn with its golden horn is attacking the grinning red dragon with green tail and green legs; it has a satanic look. The unicorn is again on the outer side and, like the lion, defends the ecclesiastical architecture. - The power and violence of the unicorn are praised in the Old Testament (Numbers 23, 22; 24, 8; Psalms 21, 22; 28, 6; 91, 11 etc.) and we should probably take the unicorn for what it is - the watchful guard of Chastity and the Purity of the Christian soul. Thus it becomes the counterpart of the lion, which is a symbol of Chastity and a representative of the lions guarding the way leading to the Throne of Wisdom.

Here we are dealing not with the representation of all kinds of figures placed below the columns to support the church building, but with the Gothic motif of banishing sin from the ecclesiastical sphere. We are dealing with the conflicting relationship between the meaningful centre and the banal border areas, the relationship between clear calligraphy and the neat arrangement of written words on one hand and the agitated, gaudily coloured marginal world on the other. In spite of the coarse stroke we should not be distracted by the notion that this title page from Bistra is merely a continuation of high medieval Psychomachia: the vision of the struggle between Good and Evil had been stratified. Namely, several images can be explained more satisfactorily in the centres of artistic development, than those executed in remote regions where provincial mentality impedes iconographical development, but at the same time creates "contaminated" types emerging from two disparate, stylistically and sociologically opposed worlds.

Another interesting detail is to be read from the technology of the work. The arcaded title page is related to the Stična-Vienna Cod. 650; there is, however, a longer title-text on the opening folio (2v) of the Bistra manuscript than is that of Stična (Cod. 650, fol. 1v). Apart from the fact that the identical title contains some words written out without abbreviations, the difference is primarily in the addition below the title: *Incipit liber prim(u)s S(an)c(t)i Epi(scopi)*. In the Stična manuscript this was probably written on the now missing folio, obviously below one of the more or less equal incipit arcades. According to the repeatedly confirmed

²⁴ Stelè: *Srednjeveški rokopisi*, pp. 58 and 60.

faithfulness of the Bistra manuscript to the Stična model I should say that the incipit could not have been much different from the one not preserved on account of the deficient first quire in the Stična manuscript. The added incipit in the Bistra manuscript suggests that the beginning of the book with *Gloriossissimam civitatem Dei* in flourished initial had most probably been written before it was decided that the Bistra manuscript would have to (!) follow the decoration of the Stična model as well. Thus a few folios before the three-arcaded incipit were added, forming now the first quire. This was a forced provisional solution the result of which were some unaesthetic elements, that are, however, very interesting from the codicological point of view. Initially, a trinium was to have been added, but when it became clear that such a number of folios could not be used, the first two folios were cut off (a1, b1) and the next folio (c1) was stuck on the inner side of the wooden cover plate. Fol. 1 is loose, yet made of two parchment pieces (c2, b2) stuck together. The arcaded title is painted on this folio, which could be numbered as a2 in this trinium. The quire, or "quire", is provisionally filled by a monumental colophon (pl. 12) and extensive citations of titles of each book in the *De civitate Dei*, with a great deal of blank space still remaining.

A considerable part of the manuscript was copied "step by step", as it were, after the Stična model. Here, I am thinking not only of the correction marks, where even the symbols are reproduced as written by Bernard²⁵ around 1180, but rather of the Bistra scribe's efforts to keep pace with the arrangement of the pages, i.e. with the quantity of the text copied per page. The Stična scribe Engilbert wrote about 4500 characters per page in Codex 650 and arranged the book incipits and explicits below arcades, whereas the Bistra scribe wrote about 4650 characters per page and tried to follow the quantity of used space in the Stična manuscript by not writing the conclusions and announcements of books below the arcades (which would have been anachronistic in the Gothic period), but marking them in bold cinnabar letters. Even the initials were at first on equally numbered folios - in the Stična-Vienna manuscript *De civitate Dei* the initial S was at first on fol. 9v (now on 4v, since a part of the first quire is missing), as in the Bistra manuscript, and so on.

It is worth mentioning an additional explanation of Stelè's words on the "contemporary monumental covers" of this manuscript. We only know that the size has hardly changed and that the manuscript was first restored as early as the 15th century. In the mid 14th century such metal bosses as they have been preserved were not produced. (Similar ones can be found on the covers of two volumes of the *Antiphoner* from Kranj dating back to 1491.) At the time of this first restauration

²⁵ The study entitled "Romanesque Correction Marks: The Case of Sitticum", which I presented at the international congress "Making the Medieval Book up to 1500", Trinity College, Oxford, 7-10 July 1992 is currently still being printed. However, I should state that in this study, which systematically comprises over 100 codices from the second half of the 12th century, I have proved that each scriptorium had its own system of correction marks, i. e. symbols that were basically abstract and therefore not tied down to the scribes' tradition. Thus, the Bistra scribe conscientiously reproduced the graphic images of correction marks one and a half centuries older (and therefore out of date).

they repaired the damaged wooden covers by sticking two pieces of leather in the middle part of the front and back covers. They used black leather over initially purple leather. I cannot judge, if it was on this occasion when the three pieces of paper and parchment were stuck inside the wooden covers (over the places where the leather horizontal thongs were threaded into tunnel grooves in wooden boards so that the surface became smooth). I think the basic traces have been obliterated by later restoration work. In any case, the manuscript was restored again, probably in the 18th century. The capital was made anew, and half-moon tabs at the head and foot of the spines were cut off and the quires were trimmed obliquely, as is evident from the irregular intervals between the stiches on the spine.

The three folios that were stuck between the wooden board of the covers, and the stuck-on folio, are interesting and deserve paleographic examination: A is a paper bifolio covered in batarde script. B is a paper bifolio of narrow upright format and two hand wrote the text; on top one can read *MCCCXII in vigili* and the year 1412 is to be regarded as the *ante quem non* for datation. C is a parchment bifolio, evidently a personal register note on the marvels of Jerusalem. Happy the eyes that saw it.

APPENDIX

NUK 2: Aurelius Augustinus, *De civitate Dei*

Ljubljana, Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica ms 2. Signed (by Nicolaus) and dated 1347. Parchment, 172 fol. Codex mancum.

SIGNATURES: Antefolio, stuck onto the front cover: *Anno Domini m ccc xi vii completus est hoc opus et issuit fieri dominus hermanus prior vallis iocose una cum ceteris tempore prioratus sui*. At the bottom of fol. 1r there is a round seal with the inscription *K & K Lyzealbibliothek zu Laibach*, the same on 127v. Fol. 160v: *Iste liber est Carthusiensium in Frenicz prope Laybacum*. Inside the covers, in the upper lefthand corner, the figure 2 is written in ink, the half-mark of the manuscript in the collection of the National and University Library in Ljubljana. On the outside of the covers or spine there is no shelf-mark.

BINDING: 538 x 356/366 mm; brown-black leather in two uneven layers over the wooden boards so that the original layer, which is of lighter colour (now lilac-brown, probably purple originally), can be seen entirely only on the spine of the book, and elsewhere only on some spots on the edge of the covers. The spine is half-bent, it has seven double thongs (sewn at the points 8 - 32 - 62 - 123 - 190 - 260 - 323 - 390 - 453 - 490 - 530, measured on the first quire). Parts of boards, where thongs are bevelled, were covered with three cut-offs of parchment and paper, written in the batarde script of the 14th and 15th centuries.

The covers are decorated; in the corners there are metal bosses in the form of three-leaved lilies and clovers. The centre boss is stylistically fitting form of rosette with three-leaved lilies growing in four directions and encircled by a ring, outside which there are more lilies. The manuscript has two clasps and metal rosette-shaped catches.

On the inner side of both covers a parchment folio is stuck on. In the middle of the front cover the trunk of the metal boss has damaged the folios.

PARCHMENT: 531 x 361 mm. Apart from the 1st quire the parchment of the whole manuscript is white and of relatively good quality, probably made of calfskin. Damages are moderate, although there are some perforations, tears and wrinkles. Some folios are somewhat smaller than the folios which had their edges trimmed to measure. The lower part of fol. 166 is cut off to a height of 185 mm. None of the text of *De civitate Dei* is missing. The lower margins of folios 170, 171 and 172 are cut off at the height of 72 mm; folios 173, 174 and the corresponding text are missing. The parchment of the first quire is of different quality: the folios are composed of several rather small pieces of different width, they differ in texture and tonality. The folio that is stuck to the back cover is of similar quality to the parchment of the last quire; it is thick and has a callous texture.

QUIRES: 19 quires (1²⁻³, 2-16⁵, 17-18⁴, 19³⁻²). The first quire was added later, but still before the manuscript was finished: The original trinion was deprived of the first two folios (a1, b1); the next (c1) was stuck inside the covers; fol. 1 is composed of two layers i.e. two parchments stuck together (c2, b2), fol. 2 is free (i.e. a2) and on 2v there is the arcaded title page. The remaining quires are regular quinions, except the 17th and 18th quires, which are quaternions, and the last, the 19th quire, was a trinion, probably added by the scribe. The folio stuck inside the back cover is not part of the quire.

The quires are marked by horizontal catchwords (missing on fols. 22v, 82v and on the last two quires); there are no quiresignatures. Foliation is of later date, made in pencil. The folios bear two sequences of numbers because the first librarian made a mistake between the 8th and 10th folios and the second one corrected it.

LAY-OUT: Double column, 54 lines each. Dimensions: (width): 0 - 42 - 153 - 177 - 286 - 361; resp. (height): 0 - 44 - 440 - 531. Ruled in ink. The pricking is preserved and shows that it was made quire by quire.

CONTENTS: (antefolio) colophon

(1r) blank

(1v) table of contents

(2r) blank

(2v) arcaded title page

(3r - 166r) the text of *De civitate Dei* by Aurelius Augustinus: *Gloriosissima civitat dei ... gratias gratulantes ADAM. In deo gratias aut domine miserere nobis.*

(166v) blank

(167r - 172v) dictionary part: *Abacuc prophetam ... Scientia non facit bonum hominem.*

SCRIPT: The main text is written out in gothica textualis formata, the dictionary part and the simultaneous corrections as well; all probably by the same hand. The

numerous correction marks follow the Stična model both in the form of graphs as in the form of decorative cartouches; the same is true of the nota marks whereas actually no diples were used.

DECORATION: The incipits and explicits are in red ink. There are many penwork cartouches around the names of cited authors and the titles of their works, as well as around the inserted words that were omitted, all written in red, following the example of the Stična ÖNB Cod. 650. In the last part of the book (particularly from fol. 120 onwards), and constantly in the dictionary section, the initials, written above the top line are decorated with loops, tails, leaves, ridges, dents, little faces and cadels. The text contains numerous one-line initials in red and blue ink alternately. They are especially frequent in chapter titles that were put down before the beginning of Augustine's text. The calligraphic initials in the text are written in Lombardic capitals, 2 to 6 lines large, but exceptionally as large as 16 lines. There seem to be 174 in all; four Lombardic capitals with the flourish in contrasted colours should also be mentioned. Dictionary section contains 16 Lombardic initials in cinnabar, of which the initials A, C, E, G, O and S have decoratively split bodies.

The illuminated initials are either drawn as flourish initials on the whole or have additional elements, which make part of contemporary ornamentation (basilisk, amphisbene), or else they contain formal elements copied after the Stična *De civitate Dei* or other older models.

Initials drawn exclusively in flourish: 3r, 22v, 36r, 71v, 77v, 83r, 90r, 146v; the same, including contemporary painting elements (little dragons in the body of a letter, caudas in the form of anthropomorphic birds): 28v, 52v, 128r, 136r; entirely following the Stična model: 9v, 56v, 65r, 115r, 155r; marked by Romanesque elements: 16r, 40r, 46r, 98v, 108r. There are 21 illuminated initials. The arcaded title page also follows the Stična model.

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