

# Art & Nature

Studies in Medieval Art and Architecture

The Courtauld Institute of Art  
London

*Editors* Laura Cleaver, Kathryn Gerry,  
Jim Harris (*immediations* Editor-in-Chief)

*Publisher* The Courtauld Institute of Art  
Somerset House, Strand, London WC2R 0RN  
© 2009 The Courtauld Institute of Art  
Designed by Per Rumberg  
Printed by Piggott Black Bear, Cambridge

*Acknowledgements* Alixe Bovey, Glyn Davies, Eric Fernie, Sam Fogg, Alexandra Gajewski,  
Marie-Pierre Gelin, Jane Heinrichs, Melena Hope, Deirdre Jackson,  
Martin Kauffmann, Anne Lawrence-Mathers, Andreas Puth,  
Miri Rubin, Patricia Rubin, Rowan Watson and Catherine Yvard

The editors gratefully acknowledge the support of the Andrew  
W. Mellon Foundation, the Courtauld Institute of Art Research Forum,  
the Research Degrees Committee of the Courtauld Institute of Art,  
the Classical, Byzantine and Medieval Sections of the Courtauld  
Institute of Art and the Man and Eve Gallery

*Cover* FRONT: Henrietta Simson, *Where Jason Sowed the Dragon's Teeth*,  
oil on panel, 2009

BACK: Embriachi Workshop, *Jason Sowing the Dragon's Teeth*,  
bone, c. 1400 (Private Collection)

Henrietta Simson (b. 1971, London) trained at Bristol and the Slade  
School of Fine Art, and was an Erasmus Scholar at the Facultat  
des Belles Artes, University of Barcelona. She has shown in numerous  
group and solo exhibitions. Her practice employs the techniques  
and materials of late medieval and early Renaissance Italy,  
often recreating the landscape spaces of trecento and quattrocento  
painting and sculpture without the narrative elements which make  
them immediately recognisable. The cover of *Art & Nature*  
features a painting from a series made especially for *immediations*.  
We are most grateful to Henrietta Simson for her generosity  
in agreeing to collaborate with us on this volume.

Every effort has been made to contact the copyright holders  
of images reproduced in this volume.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be produced,  
stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any way or form  
or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording  
or otherwise without the prior permission in writing  
from the publisher.

CONTENTS

- 7 Introduction
- 9 Natura, God and Aristotle:  
Illustrating Concepts of Nature in Paris,  
Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 3469  
HANNA WIMMER
- 23 Unnatural Ornament:  
Beverley Minster, Historical Consciousness,  
and the Early English Style  
MATTHEW WOODWORTH
- 39 The Locked-Up Garden:  
The Nature of Medieval Castile  
TOM NICKSON
- 53 Foliate Encounters of the Jerusalem Kind:  
Form and Meaning  
in the Architecture of the North Chapel  
of Nicosia Cathedral  
MICHALIS OLYMPIOS
- 69 Nature in Architecture:  
The Vegetal World and Architectural Polychromy  
in Northern France  
from the Mid-Twelfth to Mid-Fourteenth Century  
GÉRALDINE VICTOIR

- 81 Transforming the Natural World:  
Hierarchies of Material in Theophilus' *On Diverse Arts*  
HEIDI GEARHART
- 95 Things That Are Not There:  
Crafting Nature, Making History  
FRANCESCO LUCCHINI
- 115 The Reappearance of the Disappearing Christ  
in an Early Thirteenth-Century Psalter  
from Oxford  
KATHRYN GERRY
- 131 Disorder in Nature:  
The Example of the Ass and Harp  
in Twelfth-Century Manuscripts  
LAURA CLEAVER
- 143 Heavenly Visions and Constructed Devotion  
in Fourteenth-Century Vernacular Apocalypses  
RENANA BARTAL
- 147 Notes

# Things That Are Not There: Crafting Nature, Making History

FRANCESCO LUCCHINI

## OBJECTS

According to the *Assidua*, the first hagiography of Saint Anthony of Padua, compiled around 1232, the saint spent the last period of his life in Camposampiero, a village located some twenty kilometres north of Padua.<sup>1</sup> At the end of a prolonged period of preaching, culminating in his Lenten sermons of 1231, he withdrew to a local hermitage owned by a nobleman named Tiso, to dedicate himself to prayer and contemplation and allow the local inhabitants, who had been listening to his word, to return to the fields, as the time of the harvest was approaching.<sup>2</sup> In the nearby forest, Tiso built a small cell made of straw mats on top of a walnut tree where Anthony spent his last days in isolation and meditation.<sup>3</sup> As his health deteriorated, Anthony was rushed back to the Paduan convent of Santa Maria Materdomini where he had wished to be buried amid his confreres. He died on the 13th of June 1231 on his way to Padua and was canonised nine months later. On the Octave of Easter 1263, thirty-two years after his death, his body was transferred from Santa Maria Materdomini to a new tomb raised on four columns placed on the lay side of the rood screen of the newly built Basilica del Santo in Padua, also known as the Santo.<sup>4</sup> The ceremony was attended by the Minister General of the Franciscan Order (and future saint) Bonaventure of Bagnoregio who presided over an official recognition of An-



FIG. 1 (above left) Padua, Basilica del Santo, former *Reliquary of the Tongue of St Anthony of Padua* (now *Reliquary of the Rock of the Gethsemane and other Seven Relics*), 1325– 50. (Photograph: Fototeca Centro Studi Antoniani)

FIG. 2 (above centre) Padua, Basilica del Santo, former *Reliquary of the Tongue of St Anthony of Padua* (now *Reliquary of the Scalp and Hair of St Anthony of Padua*), before 1396. (Photograph: Fototeca Centro Studi Antoniani).

FIG. 3 (above right) Padua, Basilica del Santo, *Reliquary of the Column of the Flagellation*, before 1396. (Photograph: Fototeca Centro Studi Antoniani)

FIG. 4 (below) Detail of FIG. 2. (Photograph: Francesco Lucchini)

thony's body.<sup>5</sup> Visual inspection of the saint's remains in 1981 revealed that the bones of Saint Anthony were separated from the '*massa corporis*' and arranged on a piece of red silk cut from a chasuble.<sup>6</sup> During the process, the tongue of the saint was found to be miraculously uncorrupted and was elevated by Saint Bonaventure.<sup>7</sup> Other body-part relics, including the saint's jawbone, radius, scalp, hand and fingers were removed from Anthony's remains. It is not clear where Anthony's relics were at first kept or how they were initially displayed.<sup>8</sup>

Between the mid-fourteenth century and the early fifteenth century, three different surviving reliquaries were commissioned and manufactured to house Anthony's incorrupt tongue. The earliest one can be dated on stylistic grounds to the second quarter of the fourteenth century (FIG. 1).<sup>9</sup> Its connection with Saint Anthony's tongue is based upon a now lost scroll held by the top double-sided bust of Christ, once bearing an inscription reading '*et lingua eius loquetor sapientiam*' ('and his tongue speaks wisdom').<sup>10</sup> Possibly adapted from an earlier pyx, the object was soon replaced by a new reliquary featuring a diminutive statuette of Anthony preaching from a small pulpit set among tree branches (FIG. 2). First recorded in the earliest inventory of the Basilica, compiled in 1396, this reliquary can be dated to the last decades of the fourteenth century.<sup>11</sup> Like many other reliquaries belonging to the treasury of the Basilica del Santo, the second fourteenth-century *Reliquary of the Tongue* is a 'composite' object, made up of historically and stylistically distinct elements. Typologically it can be associated with a group of narrative reliquaries which appear to have been fashionable in and around Padua during the last quarter of the century. These include the *Reliquary of the Flagellation's Column*, from the treasury of San Marco, dated by inscription to 1375, and an analogous reliquary from the Basilica del Santo, which has been dated to the last quarter of the Fourteenth Century (FIG. 3).<sup>12</sup>

In the early fifteenth century, Anthony's uncorrupted tongue was translated to a new reliquary, completed in 1436, and the old *Reliquary of the Tongue* was adapted as a container for fragments of St Anthony's

scalp.<sup>13</sup> In the process, the fourteenth-century object was subject to extensive restoration by the Paduan goldsmith Filippo Baldi, who replaced the reliquary's tabernacle, knop and foot.<sup>14</sup> The reliquary underwent further minor alterations in the nineteenth century.<sup>15</sup> Archival and stylistic evidence indicates that the stem and central section of the object (comprising a small statuette of Anthony preaching, a pulpit and three fictive oak branches) appear to be the work of a fourteenth-century goldsmith and form part of the original iconographical programme of the reliquary (FIG. 4).<sup>16</sup> By looking at the sequence of inventorial records, one receives the impression that the original design of the *Reliquary of the Tongue* was not substantially altered by the fifteenth-century restoration. The fact that the statuette of St Anthony is already described as being '*in medio*' prior to 1436 suggests that a tabernacle similar to the one assembled by Baldi was originally set above the representation of the saint and was probably buttressed by fictive tree branches sprouting from the calyx set below the central polylobed platform.<sup>17</sup>

#### TREES

The decision to associate a diminutive statuette of Anthony preaching with the saint's miraculously uncorrupted tongue had obvious symbolic implications, which appear to have been consonant with thirteenth- and fourteenth-century hagiographic texts.<sup>18</sup> Capitalising on the analogy between tongue and preaching, the encasement of the relic above a representation of the saint on a pulpit helped to reinforce the idea of the organ as the chief physical instrument of Anthony's eloquence, emphasising the identity of the saint as an unusually gifted preacher. Conversely, the idea of setting a representation of Anthony as a preacher amid tree branches seems to have been entirely novel and, more significantly, contrary to hagiographic tradition. At first glance, the reliquary's vegetal branches may be read as a reference to the aforementioned

*Assidua's* episode at Camposampiero. Indeed, as I will illustrate below, this is precisely the way in which the reliquary has been interpreted in the early sources and inventories, as well as in recent scholarship. However, a closer look at the narrative reveals that the episode of the walnut tree is construed in the hagiography as a transitional moment of *vita contemplativa* set between Anthony's prolonged period of preaching and his death and canonisation. These events sit awkwardly with the reliquary's representation of Anthony as a public preacher.<sup>19</sup> An analogous narrative structure permeates all the subsequent major hagiographical and biographical sources, from the *Vita Secunda*, the *Benignitas*, the *Raymundina* and the *Rigaldina*, to Ronaldino's *Cronica*, the *Legenda Florentina*, Bartolomeo da Trento's biographical profile of Saint Anthony and Sicco Polentone's *Sancti Antonii confessoris de Padua vita*.<sup>20</sup> Yet none of these sources either implicitly or explicitly refers to preaching in relation to the tree. Thus the *Reliquary of the Tongue's* vegetal branches may not, in fact, have originally been intended as a reference to the hagiographical story of Camposampiero.

By contrast, a survey of the local iconographical and textual evidence dating from the decades immediately following the manufacture of the reliquary presents a rather different scenario. From the early fifteenth century, an apocryphal image of Saint Anthony preaching from a walnut tree seems to have found its way into local texts and iconography. The earliest source known to me appears in the writing of the Paduan notary and poet Antonio Baratella, who described Anthony preaching from Camposampiero's walnut tree in a short hymn dedicated to Saint Anthony, *Ad Beatum Anthonium Patavum*, composed after 1436 ('*Hinc Campipetri ad lares / extra amenos predicat / super virenti ens nuce*').<sup>21</sup> In the decades following Baratella's compositions, the apocryphal image of Anthony preaching from a tree found its way into the iconography of the saint, forming the principal subject, for instance, of the altarpiece painted by Lazzaro Bastiani between 1475 and 1482 for the Franciscan Basilica dei Frari, in Venice (FIG. 5).<sup>22</sup> The theme reappeared in the fresco cycle

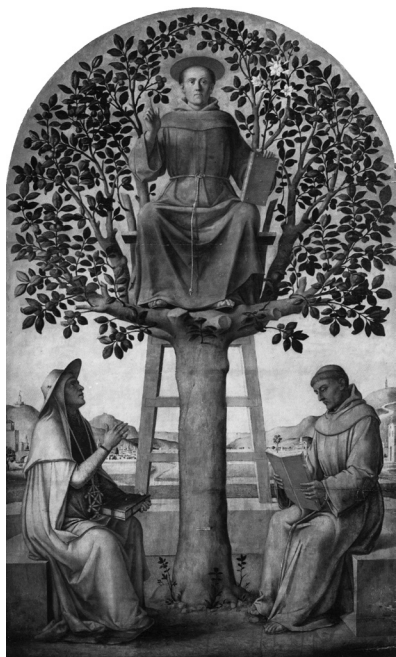


FIG. 5 Lazzaro Bastiani, *St Anthony Preaching from the Walnut Tree*, 1475–82, Venice, Gallerie dell'Accademia.

(Photograph: Courtesy of MIBAC/SSPSAE e il polo museale della città di Venezia e dei comuni della gronda lagunare)

attributed to Bartolomeo Montagna, painted in the first decades of the sixteenth century on the walls of the already mentioned *Oratory of the Nut Tree* in Camposampiero, and in a painting by Bonifacio Veronese also commissioned for the oratory.<sup>23</sup> By the sixteenth century the legend of Saint Anthony preaching from a tree was firmly established in local history and was explicitly recorded by local historians Bernardino Scardeone and Angelo Portenari.<sup>24</sup> Raised to canonical status by virtue

of its popularity and dissemination, the tale seems to have effectively concealed its apocryphal origin and misled scholars into believing that the legend and its iconographical representations originated from early hagiographical accounts.<sup>25</sup> This ill-founded interpretation has regrettably been extended to the explanation of the iconography of the *Reliquary of the Tongue* which has been read as a representation of the *Assidua's* episode of Camposampiero's walnut tree.<sup>26</sup>

However, as this brief survey suggests, rather than relying on earlier hagiographical sources, the fourteenth-century *Reliquary of the Tongue* appears to be the first object that can be interpreted in relation to the apocryphal legend. Indeed, the lack of relevant textual and iconographical evidence predating the manufacture of the object raises the possibility that the reliquary was in fact instrumental in both the creation and circulation of the apocryphal legend and the consequent dissemination of the new iconographical type. In order to pursue this hypothesis we must consider the conditions which might have encouraged the addition of tree-like elements to the reliquary's original association of tongue and preaching. In this respect, we might question whether the reliquary's original design was developed by bringing together separate iconographical traditions, merging the representation of Anthony as a preacher, prompted by the hagiographical and symbolic implications of the relic contained therein, with that of the saint retreating to a tree cell as portrayed in hagiographies. Significantly, despite its markedly Franciscan character, the image of the tree as a natural hermitage described in the early sources seems to have played a fairly marginal role in Anthony's early iconography, at least before its apocryphal correlation with preaching. The *Raymundina* explicitly establishes a parallel between Anthony's cell on the walnut tree and the mountain retreats where Christ used to teach, pray and spend his nights ('*Salvator in montibus docebat, orabat et pernoctabat*') and Saint Francis received his stigmata ('*Franciscus ... in monte recepit stigmata gloriosa*').<sup>27</sup> However, the only known example of Anthony sitting in a tree that predates the *Reliquary*

*of the Tongue* is found in an illuminated initial from an antiphonary in the Franciscan convent of San Francesco in Zadar in Dalmatia, which was probably produced between 1292 and 1317.<sup>28</sup> The isolated and somewhat exceptional iconography of the Zara antiphonary may be taken as evidence of a general indifference towards the hagiographical episode at Camposampiero, indicating that during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the incident of the walnut tree was probably considered a relatively minor, transitional moment in the context of the grand narrative of Anthony's death and canonisation. If the incorporation of vegetal elements was not meant to allude to a distinct iconographical tradition, how then can we explain the prominent presence of fictive tree branches in the reliquary's original design?

#### FABRICATING NATURE IN THE WORKSHOP

The study of the Basilica del Santo's treasures reveals that, whilst the image of the tree and its associated hagiographical narrative was still largely neglected in contemporary Franciscan iconography, fictive tree branches and vegetal ornament were commonly employed in contemporary metalwork design. A distinct interest in the use of vegetal elements is already discernible in the early fourteenth-century *Reliquary of the Tongue* where a double-sided bust of Christ is set on top of a tree-like pinnacle decorated with foliage and flowers, and two large metal leaves bearing traces of green enamel support the side tabernacles (FIGS. 1, 6). As this early example clearly indicates, these fictive vegetal elements did not merely function as decorative patterns but were integrated into the visual fabric of the object, effectively functioning as micro-architectural props. A similar concern seems to have characterised a relatively large number of the early fifteenth-century reliquaries belonging to the Basilica. One example is the *Reliquary of the Virgin's Robe and Other Relics* first registered in the post-1405 addition to the

1396 inventory (FIG. 7).<sup>29</sup> This object features sinuous fictive tree branches decorated with leaves and flowers that emerge from a central stem and support three crystal tabernacles. A similar employment of fictive vegetal branches is found in another reliquary containing various relics of saints, also first recorded after 1405, where side crystal tabernacles are entirely supported by symmetrical tree branches decorated with carefully crafted foliage and enamelled flowers (FIG. 8).<sup>30</sup>

Evidence of major employment of vegetal elements in reliquary design is also found outside Padua and the Basilica del Santo.<sup>31</sup> However, the relative quantity and geographical distribution of relevant surviving examples suggest that the goldsmith's use of vegetal elements as micro-architectural props was very much a typical feature of Paduan and, to a lesser extent, Venetian metalwork production. Around the 1450s this compositional strategy reached an unprecedented level of virtuosity and versatility, especially with the work of Bartolomeo da Bologna, Francesco di Comino and Antonio di Giovanni.<sup>32</sup> Consider, for instance, the *Reliquary of the Virgin's and Magdalene's Hair and Other Relics* (1447–49) and the *Reliquary of St Bernadine's Hood* (between 1450 and 1466) from the Basilica del Santo (FIGS. 9–11).<sup>33</sup> Here, again, intricate, finely-crafted foliage and enamelled flowers were systematically used as structural supporting elements for crystal tabernacles and sculptures.

The fact that the majority of surviving relevant examples date from after the beginning of the fifteenth century, should not mislead us into thinking that this distinctive employment of vegetal elements was an uncommon feature of fourteenth-century metalwork design. In 1405, during the last months of the war with Venice, Francesco Novello, lord of Padua, requisitioned a large number of chalices and reliquaries from the treasure of the Santo in order to obtain additional means to finance the city's resistance against the Serenissima. The friars were given an estate (the *Gastaldia di Anguillara*) in return.<sup>34</sup> The confiscated objects were progressively marked in the 1396 entries, whilst newly commissioned replacements were listed at the end of the inventory.<sup>35</sup> The requisition



FIG. 6 (left) Padua, Basilica del Santo, former *Reliquary of the Tongue of St Anthony of Padua* (now *Reliquary of the Rock of the Gethsemane and other Seven Relics*), 1325–50, detail. (Photograph: Francesco Lucchini)

FIG. 7 (centre) Padua, Basilica del Santo, *Reliquary of the Virgin's Robe and Other Relics*, 1405–1419. (Photograph: Fototeca Centro Studi Antoniani)

FIG. 8 (right) Padua, Basilica del Santo, *Reliquary of the Hair Shirt of St Andrew and other Fourteen Relics*, 1405–19. (Photograph: Fototeca Centro Studi Antoniani)

helps to explain the shortage of relevant specimens dating from before the fifteenth century and suggests that a number of the fifteenth-century reliquaries mentioned above may in fact have been commissioned as replacements for earlier comparable specimens. Indeed, the 1396 inventory lists, in addition to the two *Reliquaries of the Tongue*, one censer and at least two further reliquaries containing fragments of the Holy Cross and featuring vegetal elements (*'cum folijs'*).<sup>36</sup> The two reliquaries were confiscated and sent to the furnace and the respective inventorial references were identified by an annotation specifying the name of those

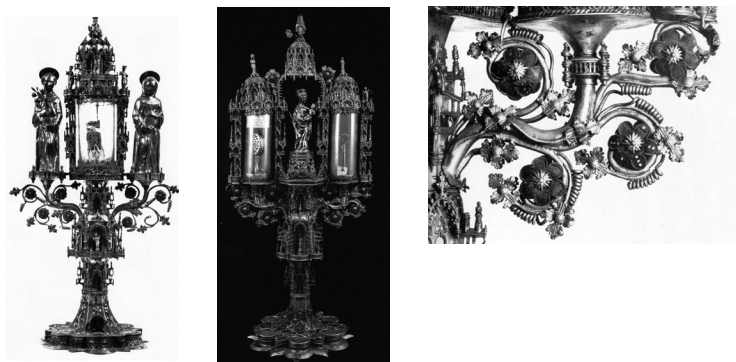


FIG. 9 (left) Padua, Basilica del Santo,  
*Reliquary of St Bernardino's Hood*, 1450–66.  
(Photograph: Fototeca Centro Studi Antoniani)

FIG. 10 (centre) Padua, Basilica del Santo,  
*Reliquary of the Virgin's and Magdalene's Hair and Other Relics*, 1447–49.  
(Photograph: Fototeca Centro Studi Antoniani)

FIG. 11 (right) Detail of FIG. 10.  
(Photograph: Fototeca Centro Studi Antoniani)

present at the requisition.<sup>37</sup> After the great requisition, the friars were left with a considerable number of relics without reliquaries. The relics were temporarily stored wrapped in linen.<sup>38</sup>

The need to re-accommodate as many relics as feasible may have been a contributing factor in the development of a new type of reliquary with three crystal tabernacles arranged in triangular configuration, a typical feature of the Santo's early fifteenth-century collection, epitomised by the aforementioned reliquaries containing multiple relics first recorded in the post-1405 addition to the 1396 inventory.<sup>39</sup> For instance, the

*Reliquary of the Virgin's robe and Other Relics*, discussed above, was first designed as a two-tabernacle reliquary. The third and top crystal tabernacle is a later replacement of an original statuette of St Peter.<sup>40</sup> It is thus possible that the desire to create reliquaries to hold multiple relics boosted the popularity of fictive vegetal structures, which could be easily adapted to this purpose. In this context, it is perhaps not incidental that a probable prototype for some of the Santo's multi-tabernacle reliquaries, the *Reliquary of St Giuliano and Floriano* manufactured before 1396, originally from the parish church of San Giuliano, Venice and now in the treasure of San Marco, appears to be one of the earliest surviving examples of a reliquary featuring prominent fictive tree branches.<sup>41</sup> The structural role played by these fictive vegetal elements set them apart from the peripheral decorative vegetal patterns customarily found in late medieval metalwork and rendered these fabricated vegetal elements crucial components of the goldsmith's craft practice. It could also be argued that the same structural role played by the fictive branches rendered them indirect precursors of the late fifteenth- and sixteenth-century German 'Natural Architecture' studied by Karl Oettinger, Paul Crossley and more recently Ethan Matt Kavalier.<sup>42</sup>

#### THINGS THAT ARE NOT THERE

In the light of the evidence presented above, I would suggest that the prominent featuring of the fictive tree branches in the *Reliquary of the Tongue*, rather than being designed and intended as a specific iconographical attribute may have been, first and foremost, an expression of the goldsmith's visual culture and craft practice. The reliquary's vegetal elements may, in other words, have been originally employed to offer a naturalistic visual framework to the central representation of Anthony as a preacher that, at the same time, would function as a supporting element for the relic chamber set above the statuette. The compositional

framework allowed by the shape of the vegetal structures enabled the goldsmith to place the statuette of Saint Anthony directly beneath the relic chamber. As comparative evidence indicates, the choice of fictive tree branches for this purpose was, at the time of the reliquary's manufacture, in line with a major interest in the employment of vegetal elements in metalwork design. However, as previously discussed, the image of a tree, because of its connection with the episode of Camposampiero (the only moment of Anthony's life which features the image of the saint in a treetop) could also be read (albeit erroneously) as a specific reference to the *Assidua's* narrative. This is precisely the way in which the reliquary's vegetal branches have been interpreted in the early sources and in recent scholarship. Crucially, as I will demonstrate below, it was only long after the object was manufactured and circulated within the Santo, that the reliquary was explicitly interpreted as offering a visual representation of Anthony's preaching from a walnut tree. It is thus possible that, imbued with an iconographical significance which exceeded the intentions of its maker, the reliquary's foliage was misread as forming part of the narrative structure of the object and only subsequently interpreted as a reference to the (until then) much-neglected hagiographical story of Camposampiero.

Crucial evidence supporting this line of reasoning is provided by the fact that the reliquary's tree branches (FIG. 3) were not meant to represent the walnut tree ('*nux*' in Latin, '*noce*' in modern Italian and '*nogara*' in Paduan vernacular) recorded in the hagiographies, but rather a generic oak ('*robur*' in Latin, '*rovere*' in modern Italian and the Paduan vernacular) as demonstrated by a comparison with a botanical illustration of *Quercus Robur*, or Common European Oak.<sup>43</sup> In this respect, it is worth noting that oak leaves and acorns were commonly employed by late medieval artisans as decorative elements in secular and religious imagery. Interestingly, oak elements are more frequently found in transalpine art, for instance in the tree-like staff of the reliquary statuette of Saint Christopher (1425–50), originally from Basel Cathedral, or



FIG. 12 Toulouse, Musée des Augustins, keystone showing *St Francis with the Stigmata*, 1290–1310. (Photograph: John Lowden)

the decorative background of the fourteenth-century altar cloth from Altenberg.<sup>44</sup> This evidence may suggest that the maker of the *Reliquary of the Tongue* was either familiar with northern artistic traditions or was himself from beyond the Alps.<sup>45</sup>

Two further relevant northern examples can be found in the leaf pattern book (1435) of Hans Böblinger the Elder, master mason of Constance, and in a sculpted keystone showing Saint Francis with the stigmata from the now demolished Franciscan convent of Toulouse (1290–1310) (FIG. 12).<sup>46</sup> If Böblinger's leaves, which were designed as variations of late gothic leaf ornamentation for use by sculptors, woodcarvers and goldsmiths, provide further evidence of the use of vegetal elements in the service of craft practice, the Toulouse keystone can be seen as offering a low-relief analogue of the original design of the *Reliquary of the Tongue*.<sup>47</sup> The carefully modelled oak leaves and acorn framing the central representation of Saint Francis provides an unambiguous illustration of the way in which the same vegetal elements

may have been originally in-tended to be read by the creator of the *Reliquary of the Tongue*. Unlike the Toulouse keystone, however, the Santo's reliquary is designed as a narrative artefact centred on the representation of Saint Anthony preaching from a pulpit. It seems to me very likely that it was precisely the reliquary's typology which encouraged a reading of the fictive branches as narrative elements; a reading which eventually favoured a posthumous displacement of the image of the tree from the realm of the goldsmith's practice to that of Anthony's iconography. This displacement may have been instrumental in encouraging viewers to read into the object things that are not there; seeing a walnut tree where there is none and interpreting the object as a representation of Anthony preaching from the walnut tree when no such episode was ever recorded in the saint's hagiographies.

The progressive transposition of the reliquary's vegetal branches from oak to walnut, from compositional elements to iconographical attribute, leading to a new interpretation of the artefact is fascinatingly documented in the sequence of inventorial descriptions of the object. The reliquary's fictive vegetal branches are initially only generically recorded as leaves (*'cum multis ... foliis'*), a rather loose term which, as we have seen, was commonly employed for the description of reliquaries featuring conspicuous vegetal elements.<sup>48</sup> Only much later were the reliquary's oak branches described as being in the shape of a tree (*'in foza de arbore'*).<sup>49</sup> If the tree was, at least once, accurately identified as an oak with acorns (*'un s. Antonio sopra un rovere, con giande suso'*), in 1571 its species was blatantly misread and the whole reliquary interpreted as a representation of Saint Anthony preaching from the walnut tree (*'Antonio ... il qual predica sopra la nogara'*).<sup>50</sup> The transition from the masculine indefinite article used to describe the oak (*'un rovere'*) to the feminine definite article before the word 'walnut' (*'la nogara'*) signals that the misreading of the plant species was not an isolated and inadvertent inaccuracy, but rather the consequence of a radical reinterpretation of the object's iconography. This suggests that the origin of the long lasting

and influential apocryphal legend might have been directly grounded in what can be described as a progressive misinterpretation of the material features of the artefact. The modes and times of this apocryphal misreading have been addressed in detail elsewhere.<sup>51</sup> However, here I would like to further explore the meaning and function of the vegetal elements of the *Reliquary of the Tongue*, considering the critical relationship connecting the reliquary's representation of the natural world to the object's ability to make history.

#### CRAFTING NATURE, MAKING HISTORY

The lack of iconographical evidence relating to the episode of Campossampiero predating the *Reliquary of the Tongue* and the botanical disparity between the reliquary's vegetal elements and the walnut recorded in the hagiographies suggest that the reliquary's naturalistic tree branches were primarily intended as a decorative and structural feature, typical of the workshop where it was produced and demonstrating the skill of the artisans who produced it. The visual richness and botanical accuracy of the fictive vegetal specimens of the *Reliquary of the Tongue* and the Santo's reliquaries in general can be taken as early instances of a growing interest in the empirical observation and replication of the natural world. Scholars who have studied the genesis of late medieval and Renaissance artistic naturalism have traced the roots of this renewed interest in the imitation of the natural world directly to Padua and its proto-humanistic and university environment.<sup>52</sup> Since Otto Pächt's influential work in *Early Italian Nature Studies*, one particular work seems to have stood out as a milestone in the history of artistic naturalism: the so-called '*Carrara Herbal*'.<sup>53</sup> This manuscript (British Library, Egerton MS 2020) is a vernacular translation of the *Liber aggregatus in medicinis simplicibus*, a treatise on medical plants written by the ninth-century author Serapion the Younger (Ibn Sarabi). The text, which was trans-

lated by Jacopo Filippo and illuminated in Padua at the turn of the fourteenth century under the patronage of Francesco II of Carrara, contains numerous illustrations of plants which may have been drawn from pressed specimens.<sup>54</sup> The herbal's illuminations have been used as a test ground for the articulation of a hypothesis concerning the defining characteristics of late medieval naturalism. Pächt, who ignored the anonymous Paduan goldsmith's work and saw no Italian heirs to the visual culture of the *Carrara Herbal*, interpreted the illuminator's vivid interest in the appearances of the natural world as evidence of an empirically driven emancipation from the artisan's workshop-based identity. Arguing that the development of nature studies ran parallel to the growth of empirical sciences, Pächt declared that the author of the *Carrara Herbal*'s illuminations 'had the courage to *turn his back on all patternbooks* and to look nature straight in the face'.<sup>55</sup> Pächt's ideas have been recently revised by Pamela H. Smith. According to Smith, the *Carrara Herbal*'s naturalism should be seen as emerging out of a new self-consciousness on the part of the artisan who viewed the imitation of the natural world as a way to articulate his knowledge of that world, establishing his status as expert on the processes and transformations of nature.<sup>56</sup>

The geographical and chronological proximity of the Santo's metalwork production to the *Carrara Herbal* may encourage one to interpret the former as sharing with the latter the same topical interest in the individual appearance of the external world. However, neither Pächt's redemptive description of the artist's emancipation from the constraints of workshop practice nor Smith's account of the artisan as an epistemological empiricist seem to account for the visual complexity of the Santo's reliquaries, where the naturalism of the fictive vegetal elements is repeatedly negotiated and subordinated to the functional and compositional layout of the object they help to construct. The tension between naturalistic details and structural functionality seems to place these fictive vegetal elements right at the juncture between the optical and the embodied. I take this tension as making explicit an implicit and critical

aspect of artistic naturalism which a purely optical or gnoseological account is compelled to misrecognise; namely that the visibility of a naturalistic artefact can be deeply intertwined with self-reflective issues of origin, creation and making. Far from promoting emancipation from the workshop-based procedural knowledge which fashioned them, the reliquaries' naturalistic branches, flowers and foliage seem to point by virtue of the structures in which they are embodied directly to the craft logic and skilled artisanship of their makers, forming part of what can be termed the 'artisanal culture of making'. This strategic partnering of sensory appearance and structural physicality afforded the goldsmith the opportunity to force the optical experience of nature into close proximity with the 'madness' of the fabricated thing, rendering the artefact both a representation of the natural world and a subtle portrayal of its own making.<sup>57</sup> The reliquary's vegetal elements seem, in other words, to bring into sight a special 'register' or domain of visibility; one which by registering the appearances of the outer world promotes the articulation of the hypothesis concerning the origin of what is seen, serving both practical and rhetorical purposes.<sup>58</sup>

The fact that the theme of the tree was posthumously displaced from the sphere of the goldsmiths' craft to that of Anthony's hagiography suggests that the reliquary's influence on the creation of a new iconography lay not with the artist's intention and the object's material composition, but rather arose out of a collision between the latter and the beholder's interpretative strategies. In this respect, the potential for a misconstruction of the reliquary's vegetal branches was not contingent on some form of artisanal deficiency, but rather hinged upon the goldsmith's accomplished integration of natural elements into the structural layout of the object. The 'naturalness' by which the reliquary's vegetal elements are partnered with the representational elements of the reliquary must have been instrumental in favouring a shift of the oak branch-like structural elements from the realm of the goldsmith's practice to the object's narrative structure. Meaning and narrative arise out

of a conflict between two different cultural representations, that of the maker and that of the interpreter, which art historians too often tend to see as consonant, stressing coherence and consensus at the expenses of diversity and conflict. However, as cultural historian William H. Sewell Jr. recently wrote, 'once we admit social diversity, we can no longer see cultural systems as always self-reinforcing: instead, they must also be seen as sites of conflict, dialogue and change'.<sup>59</sup> The study of the *Reliquary of the Tongue* suggests that we take the disparity between intentions and reception as effectively influential in generating new layers of meaning which do not necessarily reflect available hagiographical and iconographical schemata. In particular, with the *Reliquary of the Tongue*, the persistent seeing of things that are not there ultimately served to transform the object into the portrait of an image (that of Anthony preaching from a walnut tree) with no past and no history. By functioning as a point of origin for a legend that has no factual beginning, the object established an asymmetrical relationship with local history. Rather than passively mirroring historical and textual sources, the *Reliquary of the Tongue* generated more texts and more history than the ones that motivated its making, establishing a captivating counter-narrative which sheds light on our understanding of the relationship between making and meaning.

- 60 *Ibid.*, Book III, ch. LXIII: ‘Copper’ (*de cupro*), pp. 120–121.
- 61 ‘Cuprum in terra nascitur; cuius vena cum invenitur, summo labore fodiendo et frangendo acquiritur. Est enim lapis colore viridis ac durissimus et plumbo naturaliter mixtus. Qui lapis abundanter effusus imponitur rogo et comburitur in modum calcis, nec tamen mutat colorem, sed duritiam amittit, ut confrangi possit. Deinde minutatim confractus imponitur fornaci, et follibus atque carbonibus adhibitis incessanter de ac nocte conflatur. Quod ipsum diligenter et caute fieri debet.’ *Ibid.*, Book III, ch. LXIII, ‘Copper’ (*de cupro*), pp. 120–121.
- 62 Hawthorne and Smith, at n. 1 above, p. 139, n. 1.
- 63 ‘Huic cupro taliter fuso admiscetur quinta pars stagni, et conficitur metallum, quo campanae funduntur.’ Theophilus at n. 1, Book III, ch. LXIII, ‘Copper’ (*de cupro*), pp. 120–121.

## FRANCESCO LUCCHINI

- 1 For an overview of Anthony’s hagiographies see Leonardi, C., ‘L’Antonio delle biografie’ in *Vite e Vita di Antonio di Padova*, L. Bertazzo (ed.), Padua, 1997, pp. 31–43. For a historical introduction to the *Assidua*, also known as *Vita Prima*, see Tilatti, A., ‘L’“Assidua”: Inspirazione francescana e funzionalità patavina’, in *Vite e Vita di Antonio di Padova*, pp. 45–69. The definitive critical edition of the text is given in Gamboso, V. (ed.), *Vita Prima di S. Antonio o “Assidua”*, Padua, 1981.
- 2 ‘Videns igitur fidelis ac prudens Dei servus necessariam populo colligendae messis occupationem usque ad tempus apti sermonis cessandum sibi a predicatione censebat.’ See Gamboso, 1981, at n. 1 above p. 351, ch. XV, par. 2.
- 3 ‘[Tiso] cellam de cistoriis propriis manibus aravit ... In hac nimirum cella celibem vitam ducens Dei servus Antonius, quasi apis argentosa, studiis sacre contemplationis insistebat.’ *Ibid.*, pp. 351–352, ch. XV, pars. 3–5.
- 4 The exact date of the translation can be deduced from eight different sources, including an inscription on a marble plaque found within Saint Anthony’s sepulchre in 1981, see Marangon, P., ‘Traslazioni e ricognizioni del corpo di S. Antonio nelle fonti storico-letterarie’, *Il Santo*, vol. 21, no. 2, 1981, p. 18, n. 36; Sartori, A., ‘Le traslazioni del Santo alla luce della storia’, *Il Santo*, vol. 2, no. 1, 1962. A transcription of the plaque’s inscription is given in Bellinati, C., ‘Due sigilli, tre iscrizioni su pergamena, una lapide marmorea documentano la prima e unica ricognizione di S. Antonio (1263)’, *Il Santo*, vol. 21, no. 2, 1981, p. 95. On St Anthony’s sepulchre Bresciani Alvarez, G., ‘L’arca e l’altare del Santo alla luce delle fonti storiche e della recente ricognizione’, in *L’Edificio del Santo di Padova*, G. Lorenzoni (ed.), Vicenza, 1981, pp. 257–261 and, more recently, Tomasi, M., *Chiese, città e popolo: Arche di santi e beati in Veneto e in Friuli nella prima metà del Trecento*, PhD thesis, Scuola Normale Superiore, Pisa, 2002, part I, ch. 3. A reconstruction of the Basilica’s thirteenth-century rood screen will be presented in an article currently under preparation on the ‘Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century Liturgical Layout of the Basilica del Santo’.
- 5 The events are first recorded in the *Benignitas*, a late thirteenth-century life of St Anthony possibly written by John of Peckham, c. 1280. See Gamboso, V. (ed.), *Vita del “Dialogus” e “Benignitas”*, Padua, 1987, pp. 564–569, ch. XXI, pars. 5–8.
- 6 Bellinati, at n. 4 above, pp. 85–91; Terribile Wiel Marin, V., ‘Nuove ipotesi sulle modalità di sepoltura di s. Antonio’, *Il Santo*, vol. 26, no. 2, 1986; Mariacher, G., ‘I tessuti antichi ritrovati

all'esterno e all'interno della cassa con il corpo di S. Antonio', *Il Santo*, vol. 21, no. 2, 1981, p. 104; Davanzo Poli, D., 'Schede sui tessuti della ricognizione di S. Antonio', *Il Santo*, vol. 21, no. 2, 1981, pp. 107–109.

7 The miraculous finding is recorded in no less than thirteen different sources, see Gamboso, V., 'Saggio di cronotassi antoniana', *Il Santo*, vol. 21, no. 1, 1981, pp. 592–595; see also Sartori, at n. 4 above.

8 See Mariani Canova, G., 'Il Trecento', in Collareta, M., G. Mariani Canova, and A. M. Spiazzi (eds.), *Basilica del Santo: Le oreficerie*, Padua, 1995, (hereafter *Le oreficerie*), pp. 36–39, 37; Bourdua, L., *The Franciscans and Art Patronage in Late Medieval Italy*, Cambridge, 2004, pp. 94–95 speculates that the fourteenth-century reliquaries of St Anthony's tongue, jawbone and finger were commissioned as replacements or modernizations of thirteenth-century containers. The hypothesis does not find support in the documents. The fourteenth-century reliquaries of St Anthony are examined in depth in Lucchini, F., *Objects at Work: A Material and Cultural History of the Reliquaries of St Anthony of Padua in the Basilica del Santo, c. 1231–1448*, PhD thesis, Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, 2009.

9 See Lucchini, at n. 8 above, ch. 2; Collareta, M., 'Reliquiario della pietra del Getsemani e di altre sette reliquie', in *Le oreficerie*, pp. 87–89, no. 5.

10 A transcription of the scroll's text is given in the earliest inventory of the Basilica dated 1396, see the relevant entry in Padua, Biblioteca Antoniana (hereafter BA), MS 572, fol. 25. The document is edited in Sartori, A., *Archivio Sartori: Documenti di storia e arte francescana*, G. Luisetto (ed.), 4 vols., Padua, 1983–89, vol. 1, *Basilica e convento del Santo* (hereafter *Archivio Sartori*, vol. I), p. 771.

11 1396 Inventory: 'Jtem unum Tabernaculum magnum et mirabiliter laboratum cum Figura argentea beati Anthonij et cum multis smaltis et folijs, in quo tabernaculo est deposita pretiosa lingua beati Anthonij predicti in Cuius sumitate est unum Coralum valde pulcrum.' Padua, BA, MS 572, fol. 25 (*Archivio Sartori*, vol. I, p. 771).

12 The inscription on the column from San Marco reads: 'MCCCLXXV QUES / TA PIER A E PROP / IA DELA CHOLONA / CHE XPO FO BATUD / O. MIS MICHIEL / MORESINI. MI. PI / ERO. CHORNER PR / OLATORI FE FAR'; see Hahnloser, H. R. (ed.), *Il tesoro di San Marco*, vol. 1, *La pala d'oro*, vol. 2, *Il tesoro e il museo*, Florence, 1965–71, vol. II, no. 164; Wixom, W. D. 'Reliquiario della colonna della flagellazione', in *Il tesoro di San Marco*, Milan, 1984, pp. 314–317, no. 46; Collareta, M., 'Reliquiario di un frammento della colonna della flagellazione', in *Le oreficerie*, pp. 94–95, no. 9.

13 On the fifteenth-century *Reliquary of the Tongue*, see Lucchini, at n. 8 above, ch. 6; Spiazzi, A. M. 'Reliquiario della lingua incorrotta di Sant'Antonio', in *Le oreficerie*, pp. 110–114, no. 25. The fourteenth-century reliquary is first recorded as a container of Anthony's scalp in the 1466 inventory, Padua, Archivio Antico della Veneranda Arca del Santo (hereafter AdA), MS 74, fol. 3 (*Archivio Sartori*, vol. I, p. 734, no. 60).

14 See *Archivio Sartori*, vol. I, p. 734, nos. 56–59. For documentary evidence concerning the activity of Filippo Baldi see Sartori, A., *Documenti per la storia dell'arte a Padova*, C. Fillarini (ed.), Vicenza, 1976, pp. 263–267.

15 These included the substitution of the knop's half-length saints and the diminutive putti set on the central polilobate platform and first recorded in 1548, ADA, MS 78, f. 33 (*Archivio Sartori*, vol. I, p. 801). A coral set atop the relic's tabernacle was replaced with a silver-gilt acorn. The

coral is still recorded by Gonzati but is not included in the engravings of the central niche of the *Cappella del Tesoro* made in 1851, see Gonzati, B., *Il santuario delle reliquie, ossia il tesoro, della basilica di S. Antonio di Padova*, Padua, 1851, no. 10, [pl. 1]; see also Lucchini, at n. 8 above, ch. 4, fig. 5.04.

16 Lucchini, at n. 8 above, ch. 4; a similar conclusion is reached by Spiazzi, A. M., 'Reliquiario dei capelli del Santo', in *Le oreficerie*, pp. 92–94, no. 8 who, however, erroneously associates the reliquary with the lost scroll bearing the inscription 'et lingua eius loquetor sapientiam'; see also Sartori, A., 'I reliquiari della Lingua di s. Antonio', *Il Santo*, vol. 3, no. 1, 1963, p. 35.

17 1420 Inventory: 'Unum tabernaculum magnum et mirabiliter laboratum, cum figura argentea beati Antonii in medio, et cum multis smaltis et foleis ...' Padua, Archivio di Stato (hereafter ASP), S. Antonio Confessore, MS 297, fol. 21 (*Archivio Sartori*, vol. I, p. 734, no. 55).

18 See Lucchini, F., 'Objects Making History: The Origin of the Legend of St Anthony Preaching from a Walnut Tree', in *Franciscan Preaching*, T.J. Johnson (ed.), Leiden, 2009 (forthcoming).

19 See also Gamboso, at n. 7 above, pp. 572–587.

20 For the *Vita Secunda* see Gamboso V., (ed.), *Giuliano da Spira: Officio ritmico e 'Vita Secunda'*, *Fonti agiografiche antoniane*, vol. 2, Padua, 1985, pp. 436–439, chap IX, par. 1–5; for the *Benignitas* see Gamboso at n. 5 above, pp. 548–551, chap XVIII, pars. 1–3; for the *Raymundina* and the *Rigaldina* see Gamboso, V., (ed.), *Vite 'Raymundina' e 'Rigaldina'*, Padua, 1992, pp. 262–267, ch. XII, pars. 1–8 and 612–615, ch. X, pars. 1–8; for Ronaldino's *Cronica* and Bartolomeo da Trento's biographical profile of St Anthony see Gamboso, V., (ed.), *Testimonianze minori su S. Antonio*, Padua, 2001, p. 360, par. 15–17 and p. 298, par. 7; for the *Legenda Florentina* and Polentone's *Sancti Antonii confessoris de Padua vita* see Gamboso, V., (ed.), *'Liber miraculorum' e altri testi medievali*, Padua, 1997, p. 38, ch. I, par. 15 and p. 664, part 1, ch. VII, par. 46.

21 Antonio Baratella, *Ad Beatum Anthonium Patavum*, Padua, Biblioteca del Museo Civico, MS BP 881, fols. 31r–v; Gallo, D., 'S. Antonio sul noce nei versi di Antonio Baratella (c. 1385–1448)', *Il Santo*, vol. 19, no. 1, 1979.

22 Nepi Scire, G., *Le Gallerie dell'Accademia: I teleri della Sala dell'Albergo nella Scuola di San Marco*, Milan, 1994, vol. 18, no. 3; Humfrey, P., 'Competitive Devotions: The Venetian *Scuole Piccole* as Donors of Altarpieces in the Years around 1500', *The Art Bulletin*, vol. 70, no. 3, 1988, p. 408, App. no. 13 and more recently P. Humfrey, *The Altarpiece in Renaissance Venice*, London, 1993, 95–96, App. no. 32.

23 Cionini Visani, M., 'Gli affreschi al Santuario del Noce di Camposampiero', *Arte Veneta* vol. 18, 1964; Gasparini, M., *Il Santuario del Noce in Camposampiero*, Padua, 1991, pp. 28–30; *Dopo Mantegna: Arte a Padova e nel territorio nei secoli XV e XVI*, Milan, 1976, pp. 77–78, no. 46 with further bibliography. For a general yet incomplete iconographical survey see Mandach, C., *Saint Antoine de Padoue et l'art italien*, Paris, 1899, pp. 207–210, 222–223, 284–285; De Sandre Gasparini, G., 'La devozione antoniana nella Scuola del Santo di Padova nel sec. XV. Da un'indagine su testamenti di soci e simpatizzanti', *Il Santo*, vol. 16, no. 2–3, 1976, pp. 194–196; Mariani Canova, G., 'Contributo all'iconografia antoniana: Antiche immagini miniate di s. Antonio', *Il Santo*, vol. 19, no. 2–3, 1979; Lucchini, at n. 18 above.

24 '... cubiculum super nucem patulam oppido propinquam ... et inde populis undique confluentibus tanquam e suggestu verbum Dei annunciabat.' Bernardino Scardeone, *De antiqutate Urbis Patavii, et claris civibus Patavinis, libri tres ...*, Basileæ, 1560, p. 290; 'Andò il Santo [In

Composampiero], ma non volendo abitare in case di secolari si fece fare un tugurio sopra un gran noce di grossi e densi rami... sopra la quale faceva le sue predicazioni.' Angelo Portenari, *Della felicità di Padova, libri nove negli quali ... si raccontano gli antichi e moderni suoi pregi ed honori, etc.*, Padua, 1623, p. 407.

25 For instance, Humfrey at n. 22 above, p. 67; Rigon, A., *Dal libro alla folla: Antonio di Padova e il francescanesimo medievale*, Rome, 2002, p. 115; Guerrini, P., *Propaganda politica e profezie figurate nel tardo Medioevo*, Naples, 1997, p. 32.

26 See Bourdua, L., 'Displaying the Bodily Remains of Saint Anthony of Padua', in *Bild und Körper im Mittelalter*, K. Marek (ed.), Karlsruhe, 2006, p. 248; see also Baldissin Molli, G., (ed.), *Botteghe artigiane dal Medioevo all'Età moderna: Arti applicate e mestieri a Padova*, Padua, 2000, p. 130; and Mariani Canova at n. 8 above, p. 37.

27 Gamboso, 1992, at n. 20 above, p. 264, ch. XII, par. 5–6; see also De Sandre Gasparini, at n. 23 above, p. 195.

28 Mariani Canova, at n. 23 above, pp. 474–75, 477–479.

29 Collareta, M., 'Reliquiario della pietra su cui digiunò il Salvatore, della veste della Vergine e del velo di Santa Chiara', in *Leoreficerie*, p. 100, no. 15.

30 Spiazzi, A. M., 'Reliquiario del cilicio di Sant'Andrea apostolo con altre quattordici reliquie', in *Leoreficerie*, pp. 101–102, n. 16; A further relevant example is offered by another reliquary containing relics of forty-nine saints, martyrs and apostles and also first recorded after 1405, see Spiazzi, A. M., 'Reliquiario di reliquie quarantanove di apostoli, martiri, dottori', in *Leoreficerie*, pp. 102–104, no. 17.

31 For instance, the so-called *Albero di Lucignano* (1350–1471) originally from the Church of San Francesco and now in the Museo Comunale, Lucignano near Arezzo, for which see Bellosi, L., G. Cantelli, and M. Lenzini Moriondo, *Arte in Valdichiana dal XIII al XVIII secolo*, Cortona, 1970, pp. 97–100; the so-called *Croce dei Pisani* (1411) from the cathedral of Lucca, for which see Baracchini, C., *Oreficeria sacra a Lucca dal XIII al XV secolo*, 2 vols., Florence, 1993, vol. I, p. 454, no. 94; and the *Reliquary of the Holy Thorn*, in the church of Santa Corona in Vicenza, datable to the first decades of the fifteenth century, for which see Ciseri, I., 'Reliquiario della Santa Spina', in *Oreficeria sacra in Veneto: Volume primo, Secoli XI–XV*, A. M. Spiazzi (ed.), Padua, 2004, pp. 106–107, no. 23. It is worth noting, however, that unlike the aforementioned Paduan examples, the presence of tree-like elements in the specimens from Lucignano and Lucca was prompted by iconographical reasons connected with the representation of the *Lignum Vitae*.

32 See Sartori, at n. 4 above, pp. 275–277, 320–323, 258.

33 Spiazzi, A. M., 'Reliquiario dei capelli di Maria Vergine, di Santa Maria Maddalena e altre reliquie', in *Leoreficerie*, pp. 129–131, no. 38; Spiazzi, A. M., 'Reliquiario del cappuccio di San Bernardino', in *Leoreficerie*, pp. 133–135, no. 40.

34 Gonzati, B., *La Basilica di S. Antonio di Padova, descritta ed illustrata*, 2 vols., Padua, 1852–53, vol. I, pp. 28–38, docs. 28, 29, 30.

35 See Baldissin Molli, G., *La sacrestia del Santo e il suo tesoro nell'inventario del 1396: Artigianati d'arte al tempo dei Carraresi*, Padua, 2002, pp. 50–51.

36 For the respective inventorial entries see Padua, BA, MS 572, fol. 26v (*Archivio Sartori*, vol. I, p. 771).

37 The annotation reads 'Dns Habuit presentibus presbitero Petro Ecclesie maioris Neri Aurifice et Franceschino de Lendenaria' Padua, BA, MS 572, fol. 26v (*Archivio Sartori*, vol. I, p. 771).

- 38 The 1405 addition to the 1396 Inventory mentions ‘*III pecie de Lino jn quibus sunt multe pecie reliquiarum que remansit [remanserunt] de illis quas habuit Dns*’ Padua, BA, MS 572, fol. 28r (*Archivio Sartori*, vol. I, p. 772).
- 39 On the multi-tabernacle typology see Mariani Canova at n. 8 above, p. 39.
- 40 1396 Inventory: ‘*Jtem unum Tabernaculum magnum Cum uno Arbore in medio et sancto petro in sumitate Cum duobus tabernaculis a lateribus cum cruce pro quoque.*’ Padua, BA, MS 572, fol. 48r (*Archivio Sartori*, vol. I, p. 773).
- 41 Hahnloser, at n. 12 above, vol. II, pp. 169–170, no. 166, pl. CLXI.
- 42 See Oettinger, K., ‘Laube, Garten und Wald: Zu einer Theorie der süddeutschen Sakral-kunst 1470–1520’, in *Festschrift für Hans Sedlmayr*, Munich, 1962 pp. 201–228, 201–228; Crossley, P., ‘The Return to the Forest: Natural Architecture and the German Past in the Age of Dürer’, in *Künstlerischer Austausch: Artistic Exchange*, Berlin, 1993, vol. 2, pp. 71–80; Kavalier, E. M., ‘Nature and the Chapel Vaults at Ingolstadt: Structuralist and Other Perspectives’, *The Art Bulletin*, vol. 87, no. 2, 2005. The possible influence of metalwork design on the development of northern ‘Natural Architecture’ has not yet received sufficient scholarly attention and warrants a thorough separate investigation.
- 43 See, for instance, ‘Fagaceae – Quercus Robur’ in Berg, O. C., and C. F. Schmidt, *Darstellung und Beschreibung sämtlicher in der Pharmacopoea Borusica aufgeführten officinellen Gewächse*, 4 vols., Leipzig, 1858–63, vol. I, pl. 8a.
- 44 On the reliquary statuette of Saint Christopher see Husband, T., *The Treasury of Basel Cathedral*, New York, 2001, vol. 104, no. 37, with bibliography; for the Altenberg altar cloth see Rorimer, J. J., ‘Fourteenth-Century German Altar Cloth’, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, vol. 25, no. 1, 1930, fig. 3. One notable exception is offered by the fifteenth-century textiles donated by Pope Sixtus IV to the Basilica del Santo. Here, the presence of oak leaves and acorns patterns is justified by heraldic reasons. For a discussion of these textiles in relation to the design of the *Reliquary of the Tongue* see Lucchini, at n. 18 above.
- 45 Northern goldsmiths are documented in Padua from the late fourteenth century. The documents published by Antonio Sartori record, for instance, a certain Iohannes q. Lampret de Terneleciis de Alemania aurifex (1399) and a certain mag. Stefanus aurifices de Alemania (1446). See Sartori, 1976, at n. 14 above, pp. 355, 373.
- 46 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, CLM 3604, fol. 1 reproduced in Bucher, F., *Architector: The Lodge Books and Sketchbooks of Medieval Architects*, New York, 1979, p. 383, HB1; the keystone is now preserved in Toulouse, Musée des Augustins, see *L’art au temps des rois maudits: Philippe le Bel et ses fils, 1285–1328*, Paris, 1998, no. 11.
- 47 On the legacy and function of Böblinger’s leaf pattern book see Bucher, at n. 48 above, pp. 380–381.
- 48 See the entries for the 1396 and 1420 inventories, at notes 11 and 17 above.
- 49 1542 Inventory: ‘*Uno tabernaculo grando dorado, in foza de arbore, cum sancto Antonio in pergolo, cum suo vedro cum la chierega de sancto Antonio.*’ ADA, MS 80, fol. 3v (*Archivio Sartori*, vol. I, p. 797).
- 50 1548 Inventory: ‘*Un tabernaculo longo da cinque quarte, con un s. Antonio sopra un rovere, con giande suso, con una cuba col el suo cimiero pontino smaltà, con el vedro con la chierega de s. Antonio, con il suo pedone, con tri capiteli, con anzoleti drento, pesa marche quatordeese.*’ ADA, MS 78, fol. 33r (*Archivio Sartori*, vol. I, p. 801); 1571 Inventory: ‘*Un tabernaculo longo*

- mezo braccio, d'argento, con il suo vedro de christalo con una reliquia della codega de s. Antonio, con corali a ramo aggiunti, et di piú un s. Antonio sotto il detto tabernaculo il qual predica sopra la nogara con molte figure quale parino che l'ascolino, co 'i so pie lavorado, signado n. 25, con cinque angeletti, pesa marche 14 oncie 4.' ADA, MS 79, fol. 11r (*Archivio Sartori*, vol. I, p. 806).
- 51 See Lucchini, at n. 18 above.
- 52 See Bolland, A., 'Art and Humanism in Early Renaissance Padua: Cennini, Vergerio and Petrarch on Imitation', *Renaissance Quarterly*, vol. 49, no. 3, 1996; see also Smith, P., 'Artisanal Knowledge and the Representation of Nature in Sixteenth-Century Germany', in *The Art of Natural History: Illustrated Treatises and Botanical Paintings 1400–1850*, T. O'Malley and A. Meyers (eds.), Washington D. C., 2008, pp. 15–30, esp. 17–19.
- 53 Pächt, O., 'Early Italian Nature Studies and the Early Calendar Landscape', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. 13, no. 1–2, 1950; see also Baumann F. A., *Das Erbario Carrarese und die Bildtradition des Tractatus de Herbis*, Bern, 1974.
- 54 Pächt, at n. 53 above, pp. 30–32.
- 55 Pächt, at n. 53 above, p. 31.
- 56 Smith at n. 52 above, esp. pp. 16–19, 26–28; Smith, P., *The Body of the Artisan: Art and Experience in the Scientific Revolution*, Chicago, 2004, esp. pp. 32–37, 60–93.
- 57 Koerner, J. L. 'Factura', *Res: Aesthetics and Anthropology*, vol. 36, 1999; For an attempt to 'write about the process of making in a way that is not simply descriptive but interpretative', see Baker, M., 'Some Object Histories and the Materiality of the Sculptural Object', in *The Lure of the Object*, S. W. Melville (ed.), London, 2006; see also Cutler, A., 'The Right Hand's Cunning: Craftsmanship and the Demand for Art in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages', *Speculum*, vol. 72, no. 4, 1997; Holman, B. L., 'A 'Subtle Artifice': Giulio Romano's Salt Cellar with Satyrs for Federico II Gonzaga', *Quaderni di Palazzo Te*, vol. 8, 2000.
- 58 That a self-reflective image of making can be disclosed through a representation of the natural world seems consonant with a medieval vision of Nature as both sensory product and intelligible manifestation of God's creation. For an introduction to the medieval theory of creation, with particular emphasis on the School of Chartres see Parent, J. M., *La doctrine de la création dans l'école de Chartres: Études et textes*, Paris, 1938; Gilson, E. H., *The Spirit of Medieval Philosophy*, London, 1950, esp. ch. 4 and 5; see also Mazzeo, J. A., 'The Analogy of Creation in Dante', *Speculum*, vol. 32, 1957, esp. pp. 706–709; a different perspective is offered by Jauss, H. R., 'Poiesis', *Critical Inquiry*, vol. 3, 1982.
- 59 Sewell Jr., W. H., 'Geertz, Cultural Systems, and History: From Synchrony to Transformation', *Representations*, no. 59, 2006, p. 51.