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WHEN A FRESCO SPEAKS: THE EPIGRAPHS IN SAN FIORENZO'S CHURCH (BASTIA DI MONDOVÌ – CN)

Abstract

The epigraphs in the fresco cycle of the church of San Fiorenzo in Bastia (1466) are edited for the first time in this article. And for the first time, a classification of epigraphs according to their function is proposed here. Epigraphs can be subdivided into three groups with regard to their role in the figurative pattern: they can in fact fulfill a documentary, explanatory or narrative role in relation to the images with which they are associated. The epigraphs that we define as documentary have the purpose of attesting and making known information about the work (pictorial, sculptural, architectural, mosaic...) in which they are inserted. The inscriptions that we could call explanatory identify the figures they are associated with. The epigraphs with a 'narrative' function are more interesting: we have defined them in this way because they give voice to the characters with whom they are associated, who in this way converse with other painted figures or address their message to the beholder.

Keywords: San Fiorenzo's church, medieval frescoes, epigraphs, painted dialogues, hagiography

The interior of the church of San Fiorenzo di Bastia¹, a few kilometres from Mondovì (Piedmont, Italy), preserves a magnificent cycle of late Gothic frescoes²: along the eastern wall of the nave the scenes from Jesus' life are located, while on the western wall of the Life of Saint Fiorenzo, the Life of Saint Anthony Abbot and the Last Judgment, where the Works of mercy show the way to the Heavenly Ierusalem and a Cavalcade of Vices³ leads into hell populated by horrible demons. On the counter façade, episodes from the Life of the Virgin and the childhood of Jesus are painted, while in the presbytery there is a lunette with a crucifixion under which the martyrdom of St Sebastian, a Madonna and Child between two holy knights (Fiorenzo and Martino) are represented, and the archangel Michael weighing souls. The wall to the right of the latter is occupied by a Saint George piercing the dragon's jaw with his lance.

The fresco was almost certainly painted by painters from the studio of Frater Henricus: the Master of San Po', the Master of San Quintino and Giovanni Mazzucco⁴, to whom the nave is attributed.

A patron⁵, Facius Turrinus, is portrayed kneeling in prayer before Saint Anthony lying on his deathbed. Beside him is a tower,

¹ Built in the 15th century on the site of a martyrium dedicated to S. Fiorenzo, the church incorporates two older buildings: the small chapel on the left, dating back before the 12th century, and the current apse, whose 13th—14th century frescoes are still partly visible beneath those painted later. GRISERI, RAINERI 1975:10.

 $^{^2}$ It is the largest pictorial cycle in Piedmont: 326 square metres. About this cycle cf. BARILLARI 2021.

³ BERTOLOTTO, GARAVELLI, ODERZO-GABRIELI 2011:7.

⁴ Cf. MANAVELLA 2017:62-65 and 82-83.

⁵ A further patron could perhaps be found in a member of The House of Savoy, perhaps Janus, who was feudal lord of Bastia in 1463: a banner of the House of Savoy flies over the Heavenly Jerusalem and its colours return in the robes of the crowned lady portrayed in a panel to the left of the portal. A lady who, however, cannot be identified with either Janus's mother, Anne of Lusignan, who died in 1662, or his wife Helena of Luxembourg, married in 1466.

a patently figurative transposition of his *cognomen*, also expressed in the inscription, in white on a dark background, which flanks it: "MCCCCLXVJ die XXIIIJ mensis junij | hoc opus fecit fieri facius turrinus" (on 24 June 1466 Facio Turrinus had this work done).

1. Painted words

This inscription is not the only one in the pictorial apparatus of San Fiorenzo: there are many others that we could classify following the graphic characteristics of the handwriting, the language, their function.

In terms of graphic features, there are three different handwriting modes. The monumental writing which presents a character of particular solemnity and functions that are primarily indicative and designative; it is posed, i.e. non-cursive, of a large form, executed with evident intentions of elegance and artificiality⁷. The posed writing, because of its regularity and clarity, is mainly used within phylacteries for discursive words or phrases. The almost cursive writing that is used exclusively for the names of the animals ridden by the allegories of Capital Vices, probably not foreseen in the design of the work and inserted extemporaneously by the frescoist, who uses the local dialect to designate them.

From a linguistic point of view, three languages are used in the fresco epigraphs: Latin, always correct except in the case of the Gospel words written on the book in the hand of the blessing Christ (" $E[g]o \mid sum \mid lux mondi$ ", Jn. 8.12) where *mondi* instead of mundi reveals the pressure exerted by the language spoken by the painter; the Italian vernacular, only in two occurrences⁸, and the Piedmontese dialect, as has been

⁶ Here, as in subsequent transcriptions, I dissolve abbreviations in italics, additions in square brackets (in the presence of both material gaps and missing letters as unwritten). Capital letters reproduce capital letters in red.

⁷ PETRUCCI 1985:88.

⁸ They will be analyzed specifically below.

said for the names of animals, all but one preceded by the definite article, placed almost like captions under – or between – the legs of each beast: "lasin" (the donkey, sloth), "lo[r]s" (the bear, wrath), "o lov", (the wolf, gluttony), "la sumia" (the monkey, envy), "buc" (buck, lust), "el can" (the dog, greed), "o liu[n]" (the lion, pride).

Epigraphs can also be subdivided into three groups with regard to their function in the figurative pattern: they can in fact fulfill a documentary, explanatory or narrative role in relation to the images with which they are associated.

The epigraphs that we define as documentary have the purpose of attesting and making known information about the work (pictorial, sculptural, architectural, mosaic...) in which they are inserted, such as the date, author, patron, place, motivation or occasion for which they were made. Only one appears in San Fiorenzo, the one in the last panel of the Life of Saint Anthony Abbot transcribed above.

The inscriptions that we could call explanatory identify the figures they are associated with, such as the names of the vices that lead to eternal damnation: "Acidia" (sloth), "Ira" (wrath), "gula" (gluttony), "Avaricia" (greed), "[s]uper | b[ia]" (pride)⁹. Or the names of sins or sinners punished in hell, although not all of the damned, plunged into fiery pits and tightly coiled by long snakes, are identified by indicating in Latin the sin that is exemplarily punished in them: they are the glutton ("gula"), forcibly gorged with a large thigh, the miser ("[a]varicia"), violently beaten on the head with a lash, the usurer ("[u]surarius"), forced to swallow gold melted in a nearby pot, the harlot ("Pro[stituta]"), dripping with blood and ridden by a demon that grasps her blond hair, the one who has practised the magic

⁹ The word "Avaricia" has the initial in red and is inscribed – unlike the three previous ones, above the heads of the characters representing the allegory – on the chest of the macilent old woman in the worn robe by which she is embodied. Identically placed is the difficult-to-read word "[s]uper | b[ia]", written on the breastplate of the armed king with whom it is associated. The captions relating to envy and lust are absent.

arts, from whose mouth comes out the snake that has penetrated his ear ("Efa[scinator] | rer[rum]". The giant devil with chained paws who stands in the center of the scene, intent on devouring sinners whom he then expels from his lower abdomen, tramples a lawyer ("Avocator") lying in flames, while behind him, in a similar posture but with their heads resting on books to symbolize the law they have disregarded for their own or others' benefit, are two prosecutors ("Procuratores"), professional categories often related to the embezzlement perpetrated by the powerful against poor people.

In addition, the inscriptions on the scrolls being drafted by the evangelists portrayed on three sails of the presbytery vault fulfill the same identifying role. They are inverted with respect to the direction in which they should have been written by their author so that they could be easily read from below: "S. | luchas | euange | lista", "S. | mathe | us eua | ngelista", "S. marcus | euange | lista", "S. iohann | es euang | Elista"). As well as those inscribed in the scrolls held by the prophets¹¹ that look out from the roundels placed in the ribbon by which the two main walls of the nave are bounded upwards in correspondence with the Life of Jesus ("[baruc]h proph[etas]"¹², "helia prophetas"¹³,

¹⁰ In the Middle Ages, the lawyer, invested with greater prestige, was entrusted with the function of defence through the study of legal issues, while the prosecutor, who was not required to have a university education and was part of the College of Notaries and Causicians instead of the College of Judges and Lawyer, was responsible for representing the party in court and taking care of the investigation of the case.

¹¹ It should be remembered that medieval theology – and consequently the art inspired by it – counted among the prophets numerous figures not contemplated among the proper prophets, namely the four defined as 'major' (Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel) and the twelve 'minor' (Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Naum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi).

¹² The proposed reconstruction of the faded traces of scripture is also supported by the fact that the prophet is placed above the entry of Jesus into Jerusalem foretold in *Bar* 5.6: "they went away from you on foot, pursued by enemies; now God brings them back to you in triumph as on a royal throne".

¹³ Elijah appears, together with Moses, in the episode of the transfiguration: Mar. 9.2–8; Mk. 17.1–8; Lk. 9.28–36.

"daniel prophetas"¹⁴, "moses prophetas"¹⁵, "isaac prophetas"¹⁶, "iona prophetas"¹⁷) and with the coronation of Mary in the heavenly Jerusalem ("abacuch propheta[s]"¹⁸).

Certainly, the epigraphs with a 'narrative' function are more interesting: we have defined them in this way because they give voice to the characters with whom they are associated, who in this way converse with other painted figures or address their message to the beholder. Some of them, mainly taken from the *Gospels*, are scarcely significant as they are the usual attribute of the iconography of the person portrayed: thus "Ecce agnus Dei" (Jn. 1.29) inscribed in a phylactery in the hands of the Baptist, "[gra]cia plena dominus" (Lk. 1.28) of the *visitatio angelica*, "E[g]o | sum | lux mondi" (Jn. 8.12) appearing on the book displayed open by the blessing Christ,

¹⁴ In Da. 7.13–14 the expression "son of man" recurs in the Gospels to designate Christ. In particular, it is employed in the same episode in which Elijah is mentioned (depicted in the previous roundel). See for example Ma. 16.13–14: "Jesus ... asked his disciples, «Who do people say that the son of man is? » They answered, «Some say John the Baptist, others Elijah, others Jeremiah or any of the prophets»".

¹⁵ Moses is interpreted as a Christ figure on the basis of Deu. 18.15–22.

¹⁶ In this case too, the choice of Isaac – who in truth is not even included in the medieval 'canon' of prophets – in correspondence with the underlying crucifixion undoubtedly supports a 'figural' interpretation of him: in fact, a prefiguration of Christ was seen in him insofar as he had carried the wood for the sacrifice for which he had been destined just as Jesus carried the cross so that his own might be consumed. The interpretation of Isaac as a figure of Christ is already in Origen, *Homiliae in Genesis* 8.6.

¹⁷ The placement of Jonah above the descent into hell and the resurrection of Christ (here chronologically inverted with respect to scriptural dictation) is motivated by Matthew's Christological reading of the episode in which he stays for three days in the belly of the big fish that had swallowed him: "for just as Jonah remained three days and three nights in the belly of the fish, so the Son of Man will remain three days and three nights in the heart of the earth" (Ma. 12.40).

¹⁸ Its presence in correlation with the scenes of the Last Judgement is explained by the apocalyptic tones that characterise the so-called Song of Habakkuk (Hab. 3). It is also worth emphasising how his effigy is placed opposite that of Daniel, perhaps in reference to the biblical episode in which an angel commands Habakkuk to go and feed him in the lions' den (Da. 14.33–39).

"Ecce annuncio vobis gaudium magnum quod" addressed by the angel to the shepherds before the Bethlehem hut.

Other epigraphs, as we will argue later, take on a more properly dialogic value, contributing to the unfolding and understanding of some of the stories illustrated in the fresco: the text of most of them is taken neither from the Bible nor from hagiographic works, but was composed *ex novo* according to the episode in which it is inserted, in other cases it refers to a written source that is however adapted to a different narrative context.

2. Painted dialogues

2.1. THE LIFE OF SAINT FIORENZO

The historical identity of Fiorenzo to whom the church is dedicated is at least evanescent, as are all the saints (except perhaps Maurice) who are said to have belonged to the legendary Theban legion: it is said to have consisted of six thousand six hundred and sixty-six men who converted en masse to Christianity and were all put to death at Agaunum in Valais in 286. If the account of the Theban legion, reported by Eucherius of Lyon (c. 443–450), is regarded as fictitious by many modern historians¹⁹, even more fictitious must be considered the proliferation of future saints who would have escaped that massacre to be martyred later in various locations in Piedmont, a region where the cult of the Theban legionaries was particularly fervent, encouraged by the House of Savoy.

There is no hagiographic text about Saint Fiorenzo venerated in Bastia of Mondovì and his story, at least the one attributed to him, can only be reconstructed through the portion of the fresco dedicated to him in the church. It consists of nine panels portraying: the Virgin flanked by Saint Martin and Saint Fiorenzo with the anonymous patron kneeling in prayer,

¹⁹ Cf. O' REILLY 1978.

Saint Fiorenzo renouncing military activity, Saint Fiorenzo healing the sick, the trial of the saint, the beatings inflicted on him, his beheading, the invocations addressed to him by the faithful, the countryside invaded by snakes that kill men and pigs, and the saving intervention of the Saint freeing the territory from their evil presence.

The first seven panels do not emerge for their particular originality: in fact, they portrayed recurring episodes from the earthly events of any martyr who lived during the period of Christian persecution in the Roman Empire: the refusal to abjure one's faith, in many cases (as in this one) preceded by the refusal to serve in the army, the work of evangelization, the tortures endured, the martyrdom (often by beheading), the miracles performed post mortem by his relics, here quite conventionally summarized in a generic thaumaturgic power. More interesting are the last two panels that show the saint performing a more specific miracle: the liberation of a place from horrible snakes. A miracle that unites him to two others of his namesakes: the first is guoted in an episode narrated by Gregory the Great in the Dialogi (3.15.11-12)²⁰ according to which, in the territory of Norcia, a hermit with this name had raised a prayer to God so that the site where his cell was located might be freed of the snakes that prevented one of his devotees from reaching him: a thunderclap killed them all, and a flock of birds descended from the sky to carry off their remains, as in the fresco do the short-toed eagles, birds of prev known to feed exclusively on snakes. The second is Saint Florent d'Anjou, who is said to have lived in the 4th century and to have chased the poisonous reptiles that infested the site on which the monastery of Mont-Glonne in Poitou was built²¹.

Discarding the possibility of a mere coincidence, it can be assumed that the prerogative of hunting snakes, hypostasis of

²⁰ GREGORIO MAGNO 2005:68.

²¹ HAMON 1971:219.

both demonic influences and unhealthy air, was attributed to another saint due to homonymy. The chronological priority, and especially the great fortune that befell the *Dialogi*, leads one to suppose that the 'model' is Fiorenzo of Norcia, whose story would have been used between the second half of the 10^{th} century and the first quarter of the following century by the monk Ingelbertus²², to whom we owe the only *Vita beati Florentii*, subsequently reworked, that has come down to us: he seeks in this way to give substance to the meagre biography of the saint whose relics were venerated from the 8^{th} century onwards²³ and who, no doubt due to a partial onomastic homology, was perhaps already said to be the brother of Florianus²⁴, a Roman soldier converted to Christianity who was martyred at Lauriacum, in Noricum, in the time of Diocletian.

It is more difficult to precisely identify sources of the Life of Saint Fiorenzo illustrated in the church of Bastia: certainly, the *Dialogi* for the miracle of the snakes including the descent of the short-toed eagles that is ignored by the *Life* of Florent d'Anjou, whose diffusion does not go beyond a very limited geographical area²⁵, so much so as to rule out a direct or indirect influence on the Piedmontese legend. On the other hand, as mentioned above, the episodes relating to the Saint's earthly existence, his martyrdom and the other miracles attributed to him are limited to following a stereotype, assembled on a very generic paradigm capable of activating in the faithful a memorial recovery of similar legends, whose fame and prestige testifies to their reliability.

In the portion of the fresco dedicated to the Life of Saint Fiorenzo, the epigraphs always fulfill a dialogical function. After renouncing military service in the Roman army, the

²² In the "Prologus" he expressly mentions Gregory the Great placing himself under his spiritual patronage: HAMON 1971:230.

²³ HAMON 1971:227.

²⁴ In truth, Vita sancti Floriani does not mention any brother. Cf. Vita Sancti Floriani 1721.

²⁵ HAMON 1971:224.

Saint exhorts the bystanders to faith by telling them "qui timet deum faciet bona» (he who fears God will do good); brought to trial, he expounds the principles of his faith to the sovereign: «om[n]es dii demonia | dominus autem celos fecit"²⁶ (all gods are demons instead God created the heavens); to the faithful who implore his intercession with the words "Sancte florenci intercedere digneris ad | dominum pro peccatoribus in male morientibus" (Saint Fiorenzo deign to intercede with God in favour of sinners who die in sin) he responds by comforting them "Liberat deus sperantes in eum"²⁷ (God saves who hopes in him); finally, after having freed the country from monstrous snakes, he reminds them from heaven of the efficacy of divine intervention: "deus vult vos salvos fueris"²⁸ (God wants you to be saved).

2.2. The Life of Saint Anthony Abbot

Twelve panels are dedicated to the Life of Saint Antony Abbot, the first eight of which are inspired by the *Legend of Patras* (or *Legenda breviarii*)²⁹, a curious Life of Antony widespread above all in France and Italy, the oldest witnesses of which date back to 10th–11th centuries³⁰. With the exception of the last panel mentioned above, only the second has an epigraph, contained in a parchment in the hands of an angel on which are written the words that God addresses to the Saint as he contemplates, with his hands raised in surprise, or scare,

²⁶ In this case, the words spoken by the saint are not contained in a scroll but written along the upper edge of the back wall.

²⁷ The phrase could be an echo of *Sal* 33.23 in the version of *Liber Psalmorum iuxta antiquissimam latinam versionem*: "liberat dominus animas seruorum suorum et non falluntur superantur omnes sperantes in eum": AMELLI 1912:25.

²⁸ Cf. 1 Ti. 2.4: "[Deus] qui omnes homines vult salvos fieri".

²⁹ The next three panels depict the temptations of Anthony, absent from the *Legenda of Patras*, the last the Saint on his deathbed.

³⁰ Handed down from 17 witnesses (of which eight are incomplete with the final part), the text seems to have enjoyed a certain amount of success until the end of the 15th century, the period to which the majority of surviving manuscripts date. NOORDELOOS, HALKIN 1943:217–218.

the statue of a naked man: "Noli timere nam ego | [se]mper tecum sum"³¹ (do not fear because I am always with you). This representation is a synthesis of the episode in which Anthony, in search with his companions of a place to retire to a hermit's life, arrives at a wooded valley where a "lapis in similitudinem hominis aspectus" (stone reproducing the appearance of a man) indicated the place where Joseph was stripped of his robe by his brothers (Ge. 37.23)³².

The epigraph clearly reveals that those who planned the realization of the fresco had misunderstood the meaning of the episode narrated in the *Legend of Patras*, where finding two places full of biblical memories along the road taken – first the spoliation of Joseph (§ 4) and then the spring that Moses brought forth to quench the thirst of his people (§ 5) – is a sign of the goodness of the choice made by the Saint. In the fresco, on the other hand, the naked statue is interpreted as an idol, a legacy of a pagan world, therefore demonic, on which the echo of St. Fiorenzo's above-mentioned utterance reproduced on the same wall, "omnes dii demonia"³³, reverberates, and which solicits divine comfort.

2.3. The Hell

It has been said that the hell depicted in San Fiorenzo's church is particularly rich in epigraphs, only two of which, however, have a dialogic and narrative role. The first of them relates the words that an angel addresses to the damned as he leans out of a tower in the heavenly Jerusalem: "[disced] dite maledicti in ignem eternu[m]" (descend into eternal fire,

³¹ Cf. Ge. 26.24: "ego sum Deus Abraham patris tui. / Noli timere, quia tecum sum". And Ac. 18.9–10: "dixit autem Dominus nocte per visionem Paulo: «Noli timere, sed loquere et ne taceas, / quia ego sum tecum»".

³² NOORDELOOS, HALKIN 1943:228 § 4.

³³ This is an almost literal quotation of Ps. 95.5 according to the *Vulgate's* text: "quoniam omnes dii gentium daemonia / at vero Dominus caelos fecit". In the Nova Vulgata, the text is subject to some variations: "quoniam omnes dii gentium inania, / Dominus autem caelos fecit": Ps. 96 (95).5.

O cursed ones!: Ma. 25.41). These words find a mocking counterpart in the phrase uttered by a black, hairy devil playing a flute and holding a drum under his arm to sinners about to enter the gaping jaw of the infernal monster: "O infelices peccatores venite ad | choreas Tarararara" (unhappy sinners come and dance!). The onomatopoeia of the word "tarararara" is intended to reproduce the rhythm of the music, increasing the realistic effect of the represented scene, which in this way acquires the sonority of orality³⁵.

2.4. THE PASSION OF CHRIST

The scenes of the Passion give voice to their protagonists through various phylacteries. Pilate shows the crowd the scourged Christ saying "ecce homo" (behold the man: Jn. 19:5) and from the crowd a man replies "[cruci]fige" (crucify him: In 19.5). On the hilt of the sword that pierces Mary's chest after she learns of her son's condemnation is a parchment where, albeit barely, we can read "[...] fodit ense dolor" (pain pierces with the sword), words taken from the final hemistich of an elegiac couplet of a fable in the Romulus Neveleti, "cor fodit ense dolor", referring to a mother nightingale to whom a hawk, deaf to her every prayer, tears apart her baby under her helpless gaze³⁶. Finally, at the foot of the cross above the head of a soldier on horseback with his hand raised to indicate Christ, it is written "[quid enim mal]i fecit iste" (what did he do wrong?), words in truth attributed by Luke to Pilate (Lk. 23.22) who would have addressed the people in turmoil in these terms, when Jesus was brought before him - for the second time - to be judged and condemned.

³⁴ The phrase is probably a reference to "semper tuba illa terribilis vestris perstrepat auribus: surgite, mortui, venite ad iudicium" (HIERONYMUS 430). This phrase was very popular and appeared in all kinds of sermons.

³⁵ On the refrain that imitates the sound of a musical wind instrument to induce dance *cf.* AVALLE 1989:22 and 36.

³⁶ Romulus Neveleti XLV "De filomena et accipitre", v. 14. Cf. BUSDRA-GHI 2005.

But the inscriptions in the Bastia cycle are not limited to the use of Latin, as they also include previously undetected and uncensored vernacular words and phrases that constitute one of the rare attestations of 15th-century vernacular Italian epigraphs in the Piedmont area. In fact, in the same panel in which the parchment strip explicates the metaphor of the sword, indirectly giving voice to the Virgin's grief, another strip close to the lips of a man wearing a conventionally Jewish-style headdress, we read "[Se] vegna halo monte de calvaria" (come to mount Calvary). Not far from it, an auctioneer has hung from the trumpet he is playing a banner on which it is written "[l]a vait morir³⁷ | yesu [...]³⁸ persona | chi³⁹ v[...]⁴⁰ la | morte de". The two phrases – one on the phylactery, the other on the banner - would, assuming the reconstruction proposed here is correct, flaunt a barker's tone entirely appropriate to the use of the vernacular in the context in which they are inserted: "Se vegna halo monte calvaria: la vait morir Yesu. Se vegna persona chi vuol vedere la morte de [Cristo]" (come to Mount Calvary: Jesus is going to die! Come those who want to see the death of Christ!). And in this case, the painted characters seem to really speak, with the same words that the people watching them in the nave of the church would have spoken.

In the course of this examination, we have been able to grasp the dynamics through which a selection was made within a vast array of textual patterns. Starting from this selection, a shrewd combinatory activity is carried out in order to give life to new diegetic scores in which the norms of a sort

 $^{^{37}}$ The French periphrastic form aller + infinitive would be used here (vait in langue d'oil and again in moyen français is the 3rd person singular of aler, equivalent to fr. mod. va) to express the immediate future.

³⁸ Hypothetically, the gap could be supplemented with "se vegan".

³⁹ Consider how anciently the northern dialects contemplated for the relative pronoun derived from Latin QUI a nominative form chi (referring to antecedent) next to the accusative che, exactly as is still the case in modern French. *Cf.* G. Rohlfs Torino 1968 II:§ 486.

 $^{^{\}rm 40}$ Hypothetically, the gap could be supplemented with "uol vedere" (wants to see).

of prior 'grammar' dictated by tradition intervene to limit and guide the paths of invention.

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