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*as a manuscript*

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**The Visual Culture of the Visconti House at the Turn of 14th–15th Centuries**

Dissertation Summary

for the purpose of obtaining academic degree

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### **Relevance of the topic**

The relevance of the chosen topic is dictated, firstly, by the appeal to the “Milanese issue”, which has been actively discussed in recent years by specialists from various humanitarian fields. Secondly, the phenomenon of the formation of a dynastic identity through the construction of a myth about themselves is explored. Finally, the interdisciplinary nature of the study allows us to look at well-studied material from a new point of view and reach a new level of generalization, which is not available to traditional art criticism and historical research focused on more specific issues.

### **Degree of scientific development of the topic**

The historiography dedicated to Lombard art and court culture at the turn of the 14th-15th centuries is very extensive. However, usually these problems are studied by texts and images, strictly disciplinary speaking, separately. Historians and literary critics work separately with texts; art historians or art critics work separately with images. The iconotextual approach (Nerlich, 1990), which implies that it is necessary to read the text in order to understand what is happening in the "picture", is usually applied where the source is originally text-figurative (like an illuminated manuscript or comic book). Now the field of this approach is expanding: in particular, its use results to be very fruitful on medieval material (Stella, 2021), because we can learn the cultural background for the appearance of works of art almost exclusively through texts.

The historiography for the dissertation can be conditionally divided into three major blocks. I turned to studies devoted, firstly, to questions of methodology, secondly, to the history of culture and art of late medieval and Renaissance Italy, and, thirdly, to the problem of court culture and the court.

The first group includes not only studies on visual culture, but also the works of historians and art historians. The interdisciplinary nature of visual research is obvious, dictated by the creation of a new object that does not belong to the sphere of institutionalized (traditional) disciplines. Such, in my opinion, is the object of study that I construct, which cannot be defined as strictly cultural, anthropological, historical, or any other, if only because of its material (primarily source) heterogeneity. Hence the need to reflect on the methodological features of the analysis of visual and written sources from the point of view of visibility in historical research and the development of a specific classification of visual sources in relation to the history of the Middle Ages. The fruitfulness of the inclusion of visual sources for "total history" was also demonstrated by the historian of the Annales school G. Duby (Duby, 2002), who paid special attention to works of fine art. F. Haskell (Haskell, 1993) pointed to the increased interest of historians in images of the 16th-17th centuries and the key importance of visual sources for the cultural history emerging in the 18th century. A. Chastel, H. W. Janson, P. Francastel, E. Gombrich, K. Ginzburg, M. Baxandall actively worked with visual sources of the Italian Middle Ages and Renaissance (Chastel, 1964; Francastel, 1967; Janson, 1969; Gombrich, 1978; Ginzburg, 1981; Baxandall, 1988). Of particular importance for my research is the *Warburg*

*method*, which can be traced through his main works (Warburg, 2008) and also by reading G. Bing, E. Wind, J. Agamben (Bing, 1965; Wind, 1983; Agamben, 1999)

Studies on the visual culture of different times and geography, as well as theoretical understanding of the problems of visual culture, are published regularly, including in Russian, for example, an anthology of visual culture studies edited by N. Mazur (Mazur, 2018). As for the direction in the study and the very interpretation of the term “visual culture”, from the “classics”, as I said, the studies of A. Warburg, F. Saxl and H. W. Janson are closest to me, the approach of which, like the experience of the French “new historiography” was accepted and developed, including by Russian medievalists and renaissance (Gurevich, 1984; Darkevich, 1988; Batkin, 1995). Among modern researchers, I focus on D. Friedberg, S. Settis, G. L. Kessler, H. Belting, and, of course, my supervisor O. S. Voskoboynikov (Freedberg, 1989; Settis, 2005; Kessler, 2011; Belting, 2013; Voskoboynikov, 2017).

The second block of studies is represented mainly by works in Italian, French and English. Current research focuses on a (post) non-classical and key issue - the problem of relations between the customer, the artist, in a broad sense, and the recipient public. As an example of such studies on Italian material, it is worth mentioning, firstly, the monograph by D. V. Kent on Cosimo the Elder and Renaissance Florence (Kent, 2000). A thoughtful and detailed study of a rather narrowly formulated question led here to a harmonious synthesis of historical and art history research with a carefully documented biography of the central figure of the Florentine Renaissance.

The visual culture of the period of interest to me on the Italian material is considered by B. Cassidy (Cassidy, 2012). A comparative study of the mechanisms of autolegitimation and identity construction includes Milan and Visconti, but the material is limited to sculpture and the Azzone Visconti era. A monograph by the art historian P. Aleshin (Aleshin, 2020) has been published in Russian, which examines the cultural policy of the rulers of Ferrara, starting with the Marquis Leonello (1441–1450), a younger contemporary of Filippo Maria Visconti (1412–1447). A monograph by E. S. Welch (Welch, 1995) is devoted to questions of art and power in Milan under Visconti and Sforza, in which the problems of the original Duomo project are analyzed in detail. The study is “architecture-centric”, the chronological framework covers the entire 15th century, however, it outlines some important lines for further research.

Finally, the third block of studies, devoted to court culture, mainly includes works in English and Italian. The court culture of Visconti for a long time remained a peripheral subject, both in foreign and domestic historiography. The research situation changed in the early 2000s.

The most important role in the study of the court culture of Lombardy in general and Visconti in particular belongs to a group of researchers who came together to work on the project “Constructing Identity: Visual, Spatial and Book Culture in Lombardy in the 14th-16th centuries” (Dimensions, 2010). As the name implies, the project belongs to the regional direction of research and is designed to analyze a unique pattern of building cultural identity in the late Middle Ages and Renaissance. The research field of the project is formed by the problems of language, space, architecture and images. The focus is on new types of public buildings and their richly symbolic decorative programs, encomiast poetry, French chivalric romances with their exquisite illustrations, sumptuous court costumes and jewelry, natural sciences and book culture. All that constituted the complex world of the Lombard court in the XIV-XVI centuries. The project is characterized by an interdisciplinary approach and includes the history of the Italian language and literature, the history of art and the history of architecture.

The result of many years of research by this group of scientists was the appearance of the book series "Studi lombardi" (Lombard studies) in the Roman publishing house Viella. Since 2012, it has regularly published collections of articles and monographs on the problems of Lombard culture and art. This turn towards the study of the culture of northern Italy was called in Italian historiography the "Milan problem" or "Milan question", *questione milanese*. Focused for many years on central Italy, and Tuscany in particular, research is gradually giving way to numerous questions related to the culture and literature of the less explored Italian north. It is also important to note the approach characteristic of these studies. They actively develop ideas for the political use of images, study the relationship between images and text, as well as visual communication strategies, reflect the stylistic features of the northern Italian artistic language (Romano and Zaru, 2013; Albonico and Romano, 2016).

Today, a more complex problem is growing out of this multifaceted alloy. It no longer concerns just art, patronage, school, tradition, but the unified visual culture of the Visconti dynasty and requires a modern interdisciplinary approach that can preserve the holistic vision of the subject of study in its complexity and multidimensionality.

**Object of the research** are visual and written sources that give the most complete picture of the visual culture of the House of Visconti in 1386–1447.

**Subject of the research** is the visual culture of the House of Visconti at the turn of the 14th–15th centuries.

**Aim of the research** is the reconstruction of the visual culture that was formed with the direct participation of the Visconti dynasty in 1386–1447.

For this purpose, the following **objectives** were formulated:

– to trace the formation of the Visconti dynastic myth on the material of written and visual sources, to summarize the information about the meaning of the main heraldic symbol of Visconti, to identify the symbolic meaning of the dedication of the chapel in the Monza Cathedral to Queen Theodelinda, and also to consider the relationship between text and image in the artistic solutions of the fresco cycle of *The Legend of Theodelinda*.

– to clarify the circumstances of the participation of the House of Visconti in the construction of the Milan Cathedral, to analyze the role of Giangaleazzo Visconti as a customer and his relationship with the Collegium of the Fabbrica, to show the dialectic between individualism and catholicity of the project, to identify the functions of Gothic as an architectural style in the context of the Visconti cultural policy.

– to consider the composition and features of the Visconti library in Pavia, to identify the main genres of illuminated manuscripts, to compare the strategies for visualizing images in miniatures of manuscripts of different genres, to identify the main functions and characteristics of the images used.

## **Novelty of the study**

The attempt made in this paper to describe and reconstruct the visual culture of the Visconti house at the turn of the 14th–15th centuries. is new to historiography. The reconstruction does not claim to be complete, it was decided to refuse to include in the study some issues related to the Visconti residences. This indicates the prospects for further development of this topic, formulated for the first time in this way.

## **Theoretical and practical importance of findings and conclusions of the Dissertation**

Within the framework of this study, an attempt was made to reconstruct the visual culture of the Visconti house of this period, and its main characteristics are outlined. In addition, the visualization and self-representation strategies used by representatives of the ruling dynasty are studied and described, the texts are critically analyzed, along with images that participated in the process of legitimizing the power of the Visconti. Fragments of written sources involved in the study have been translated into Russian from Italian and Latin for the first time. It seems that the results obtained in the course of the dissertation research will enrich the ideas about the artistic patronage of the Visconti house and its significance for their self-identification and self-representation. The practical significance of research results is determined by its scientific novelty. The results of the study can be used in the preparation of educational and methodological manuals on the history of the late Middle Ages, the history of culture and art, visual culture, as well as for the design of courses, special courses and special seminars on the history of Italian culture.

## **Primary historical sources base**

The study of visual culture and issues related to its formation and development naturally leads to the need to work with visual sources as the main ones, but its reconstruction is possible only with a comprehensive analysis of visual and written sources in question.

In this study, the formal classification difference between sources is carried out according to the mechanism of coding and perception of the information contained in them, this is the only possible condition for a number of reasons. On the one hand, many written sources associated, for example, with the construction process, are semiotic extensions of the corresponding social practice, which, along with its material expression in visual sources, participates in a single process of production of meanings. On the other hand, when it comes to initially heterogeneous sources, such as, for example, illuminated manuscripts or inscriptions included in the space of a pictorial or architectural source, it becomes simply impossible to make any other distinction.

Both types of sources are considered equal and neither of them can be considered complementary or secondary to the other, despite the difference in their nature. I insist that, in a methodologically correct analysis, visual sources do not "illustrate" written ones, and written ones do not "explain" visual ones, the meaning produced can only be established in the order of their bidirectional and interpenetrating analysis.

The visual sources involved in the study are divided into eight types: architectural, sculptural, monumental pictorial sources, sources of book miniatures, graphics, ornamenta ecclesiae, sources from the field of arts and crafts, and coins. *Architectural sources* include, for example, the cathedrals of Monza and Milan, the Carthusian (now Cistercian) monastery in

Pavia (Pavia monastery or Certosa), *sculptural sources* – the cycle of the Giants of the Milan Duomo and tombstones of members of the Visconti family. *Monumental pictorial* sources are represented by a cycle of frescoes of the Theodelinda Chapel, an extensive group of sources of *book miniatures* includes illustrations of manuscripts, *graphics* include the "Album of Sketches" by Giovannino de Grassi. In a separate group, I took out works of art related to the liturgy and the temple space, *ornamenta ecclesiae*, for example, the cup of Giangaleazzo Visconti from the treasury of the cathedral in Monza and the altar image of the Pavia Certosa. Finally, sources from the field of *arts and crafts* include, for example, tarot cards from the Brera-Brambilla deck. *Coins* are represented by florins, which were minted under the Visconti, and medals with portraits of rulers.

Let us outline the boundaries of the base of written sources. In accordance with the three "poles" of my research, located on the axis of the largest centers of the cultural policy of the Visconti – Milan, Monza, Pavia - the geography of the texts under consideration is generally correlated with these places. Most of the analyzed sources are written in Latin, some of them have been translated into Italian. Non-Latin sources include a group of sources of fiction – poetry of the second half of the Trecento, written at the Visconti court in Volgar (Medin and Frati, 1887; Degli Uberti, 1952; Albonico, Limongelli and Pagliari, 2014).

To study the visual culture of the Visconti in Milan, the main city monument, the Duomo Cathedral, is of strategic interest. This dictates the need to refer to those written sources that accompanied its construction. The main source on the history of the cathedral is the "Annals of the Duomo Fabbrica" written in Latin, published by the administration of the Fabbrica and covering the period from 1387 to 1480. The nature of the documents included in these collections is very heterogeneous: county decrees, petitions of deputies of the Fabbrica, minutes of meetings of the Collegium, payment documents, letters, official appointments, statutes on the organization of the work of the Collegium, decrees on holding solemn services and ceremonies. The "Annals" represent a truly unique evidence not only of the history of the construction of the cathedral, but also of the organization of the administrative work of the Fabbrica itself, the practice of archiving documents, keeping records of incoming donations and donations, as well as various kinds of expenses. Based on these sources, it is possible to trace the formation and functioning of various social practices related to the relationship between the customer and the master, the master and the count, the count and the Collegium, as well as obtain information about unrealized plans and projects, which is important for understanding the selection and functioning of images, as well as the distribution of power between its various instances.

In accordance with the practice common in the Middle Ages, the Collegium of the Fabbrica sought advice on theological issues from the clergy, in particular from Archbishop Antonio da Saluzzo and the monks of the Dominican order. According to E. Cattaneo (Cattaneo, 1988), it was the Dominicans who inspired the church architecture of the Visconti before the arrival of the Sforza, who preferred the Franciscans. In 1403, two preacher brothers from the monastery at Sant'Eustorgio were members of the College of Deputies of the Fabbrica. Since 1392, the Fabbrica has repeatedly turned to Giovanni da Giussano, also from Sant'Eustorgio, for help. This convention served the Visconti for several centuries. Already at the end of the 13th century, Stefanardo da Vimercate sang in verse the victory of Ottone Visconti over the della Torre family, and Galvano Fiamma (1283-1344) wrote the history of Milan from the beginning to the Azzone Visconti.

It seems possible to consider the problem of perception and coexistence of images in verbal and non-verbal spaces based on the Great and Small Chronicles of the aforementioned

Dominican Galvano Fiamma, as well as on his other works: “The Bouquet, or the History of Milan” (1727) and especially “The Small Opus on the Acts of Azzone, Luchino and Giovanni Visconti from 1328 to 1342” (1938). It makes sense to compare these works with the panegyric of the humanist Benzo d'Alessandria (1250–1329) “On the flourishing city of Milan” (Petoletti, 2004) and the “Chronicle of the Events in Lombardy” (1320 – after 1366) by Pietro Azario (1925–1939). The authors describe their impressions of the contemporary city and its monuments. Eyewitness accounts of significant events are also important, for example, the Milanese Giorgio Azzanello in 1395 described his impressions of the ceremony of Giangaleazzo dukes investiture (*Annales Mediolanenses*, 1730, coll. 821-826).

Monza, the summer residence of the first Lombard kings, became another center of the Visconti cultural policy, which retained an important historical significance for the Visconti, who considered themselves their heirs. The most significant monument of Visconti culture here is the Theodelinda Chapel in the Cathedral, decorated with a monumental cycle of frescoes by artists from the Zavattari family in 1441–1446.

To identify strategies for visualization and selection of images in the implementation of murals, it is necessary to study the texts of the chronicles of Paul the Deacon (720 – c. 800) "The History of the Longobards" (787–796) and Bonincontro Morigia (c. 1295 – after 1357) "Chronicle of Monza" (c. 1350), since it was these versions of Theodelinda's story that formed the basis of the frescoes of the chapel (Bonincontro Morigia, 1728, coll.1053-1184; Pavel Diakon, 2008).

An important evidence of the inclusion of the Lombard heritage - and material heritage - in the constructed image of Visconti is the “Funeral Order of Giangaleazzo Visconti the Duke of Milan” (1402) composed by the Augustinian Pietro da Castelletto, theologian of the University of Pavia (1730. Coll. 1021–1054). His sermon on the death of Giangaleazzo is known from two manuscripts (Paris, National Library of France, Ms. lat. 5888; London, British Library, Ms. Add. 26814). These ornate manuscripts participate in the construction of the Lombard myth and its incorporation into the Visconti dynastic myth, continuing the tradition of the anonymous “Chronicle of Daniel” (1270–1290). This text requires separate consideration, in view of the complex nature and intricate circumstances of its origin – the chronicle combines two earlier compilations: the chronicle of Milan and the hagiographic work on the founding of the abbey of San Pietro al Monte di Civate (Cinquini, 1906).

The Lombard theme from the chronicles has also entered poetry: these are the poetic encomia of an unknown author dedicated to Giangaleazzo Visconti (*Rithmi de Liutprando Flavio rege longobardorum suprascripto Iohanne Galeazque duce Mediolani*) which are included in the so-called “Codice dal Verme” (1395–1402), compiled from short texts in circles close to the duke (Succurro, 2016). Points of contact with the work of Castelletto are found in the preface to the “Coronation Missal of Giangaleazzo” (1395–1400) from the Library of the Chapter of Sant'Ambrogio (Petoletti, 2009). It also provides a genealogy for the Visconti, which includes the Lombard kings. Based on these texts, I will trace the connection between the written tradition and verbal images that were translated into the visual culture of the Visconti.

In Pavia, the ancient capital of the northern Lombards, the Visconti probably feel the greatest freedom of action: the residence of the Visconti was also located here, the foundation is laid for the richest library and the future university (1361), in the vicinity of Pavia a family tomb is being built, perhaps the most “viscontian” architectural monument – the Carthusian monastery, Pavia Certosa.

Inventories are a valuable tool for identifying manuscripts and understanding the composition of the Visconti library. To date, five inventories are known, two of which are kept in Paris, one in Milan and one in Pavia: 1) «Consignatio», 1426 (Milan, Brera National Library, AD.XV.18.4) (D'Adda, 1879); 2) inventory of 1459 and 3) short list dated from 1469 (contained in the same manuscript from the National Library of Paris, lat. 11.400); 4) inventory of 1488 (State Archives of Pavia, Notary Found, notary Giovanni Paolo Landolfi, cart. 853, ff. 821–871); 5) inventory of 1490 (kept in the same notarial register as the inventory of 1488, ff. 873–891). The inventories were published and commented on by Pellegrin and Albertini Ottolenghi, for my work I turned mainly to the inventories of 1426 and 1459 (Pellegrin, 1955; Albertini Ottolenghi, 1991, 2013).

To study the main trends in the cultural policy of Visconti and the peculiarities of the relationship between the ruling dynasty and representatives of the emerging humanistic literary tradition, a group of sources of fiction in the vernacular is used. In the second half of the XIV century such poets as Braccio Bracci, Marchionne Arrighi, Giovanni da Modena, Francesco Vanozzo, Matteo da Milano, as well as a number of anonymous authors worked. The “Invective against the Florentines” written in prose by Chancellor Antonio Loschi (1397) is an example of local patriotism, in which the shortcomings, vices and sins of a political opponent become an occasion to glorify their city and its power.

It should be said about the possibilities of using the described sources in the proposed study, about their representativeness and heuristic possibilities. The written culture of Lombardy in the time of the Visconti is incredibly rich and boundless within the framework of a dissertation. The purpose of my research is to reconstruct the visual culture of the Visconti house, therefore, when forming the source base, I was guided by those texts that make sense to compare with images and architectural monuments. The selection of works of art, in turn, is connected with the need to consider the cultural world of the Visconti in line with the more general tendencies of Lombard culture. But even among them, I deliberately took only the key ones that are available for study today. For example, materials related to such Visconti residences as castles in Cassano d'Adda, Trezzo and others had to be abandoned: their study requires access to the latest, yet unpublished archaeological data.

Nevertheless, the database of written and visual sources presented here in general terms seems to be quite representative. It will allow us to clarify the features of the conditions of production and existence of the monuments in question, to establish what social practices were associated with them, to deepen our knowledge about the features of the reception of visual images by contemporaries of Visconti and the ruling dynasty itself.

### **The methodological basis**

The current state of the humanities is largely due to the effects of numerous paradigmatic and methodological “turns” that have taken place after the linguistic “mega” turn (Bakhtin-Medik, 2017, p.7) since the 1970s. For my research, the phenomenon of the visual turn is especially relevant, since I deal with the history of the late Middle Ages, an era whose excessively visual character was already noted by J. Huizinga. Despite his remark that in the 15th century people “think exclusively in visual representations” (Huizinga, 2020, p.497), traditionally medieval history was studied mainly on the material of written or ethnographic sources, and visual sources were used as additional ones. In my work, I will use visual sources as the main sources of research, starting from the hypothesis about the visibility of thinking of representatives of the period under consideration.



Turning to the material of my research, it is worth noting the need to largely independently think over and form the applied research method and engage in its explication. This is due, firstly, to the need to reflect the methodological features of the analysis of visual sources in historical and interdisciplinary research, and secondly, to the development of their specific classification in relation to the history of the Middle Ages. The closest direction for me is Mitchell's pictorial turn, in an expanded understanding, in terms of the remoteness of the material in time. Nevertheless, it seems to me possible to analyze the visualization strategies of the late Middle Ages, applying this concept, since the medieval visual culture in general, and the Visconti visual culture in particular, is both ideological and political, which does not contradict the ideas of Mitchell, who interprets the image as a tool of political representations.

Of particular importance for my research is Warburg's method, which he himself defines as a "culturological history of images" (Mazur, 2018, p.81), developed by his closest collaborators (G. Bing, F. Saxl). According to G. Bing, the main problems for Warburg were the "chasing" of images and the fluid relationship between images in art and language. Saxl (2018, p.85) argues that "if we study the history of images in connection with historical documents and accompanying texts, we will come to an understanding of facts and ideas that we could not come to otherwise". He insists that the study of the history of images is one of the problems facing all scholars in the humanities. The main idea of this method is the idea that images with a meaning characteristic of a certain time and place, after their birth, begin to attract other ideas; they can suddenly fall into oblivion and reappear in the memory of mankind after a few centuries. In the synchronous perspective, the images link all spheres of culture, and in the diachronic perspective they link the layers of social memory. By studying the history of an image, we can understand both the specifics of its functioning in a certain culture in a certain era, and the mechanism of the work of collective memory. The heuristic potential of visual images for the study of political history was demonstrated, for example, by E. Kantorovich in the article "Gods in Uniform" (2018), when analyzing the problems of representation of power.

Both Warburg and Panofsky continued the line first outlined by E. Male. His book "The Religious Art of the Thirteenth Century in France" (1899) was and remains one of the pillars of the methodology of art history. The iconographic method developed by Male became the foundation of iconological analysis, and also opened up completely new perspectives for the study of Gothic art. Despite the fact that Male's work is concentrated on French Gothic, its instrumentation, its research optics, have an enduring value that does not have geographical boundaries, and is quite applicable to northern Italian material.

Selected in accordance with the principles of necessity and sufficiency, the visual and written sources of my research are considered both from the standpoint of comparative historical and source analysis, and from the standpoint of the already mentioned iconographic method and Warburg's method. The study combines approaches and methods traditional for history (genetic, comparative) and visual research strategies (social-critical approach, pictorial approach, iconographic method, iconological analysis).

### **Theses, presented for the defense (discussion)**

1. Visual culture, formed by both texts and images, along with discursive thought, participated in the formation of ideas about the Visconti house in Italian and, more broadly, European society, and contributed to the construction of a dynastic myth aimed at legitimizing power.

2. The visual culture of Visconti is characterized by the use of dual images, the ambiguity of interpretation of which forms the basis of their aesthetic and ideological potential.

3. On the whole, the successful visual expansion of Visconti was also unsuccessful: this is evidenced by the refusal to make changes proposed by Giangaleazzo to the plan of the cathedral, and the insignificant concessions that the Fabbrica made on the scale of the work.

4. The Theodelinda Chapel is one of the key centers of representation of the power of the House of Visconti, which has become the most important monument of monumental painting in the International Gothic style in Northern Italy.

5. The visual culture of Visconti is characterized by the assimilation of already existing local traditions and symbols and their filling with new meanings associated with ideas about the house of Visconti.

### **Degree of reliability and evaluation of results**

The scientific provisions consistently stated in the text of the dissertation are detailed and logically argued and supported by research materials and scientific bibliographic apparatus. The study was carried out using methods and approaches recognized as valid in historical science, visual and art studies. The results of the work were presented and discussed at conferences, the intermediate results of the ongoing research are reflected in publications.

1) International conference "Ancient heritage in the manuscript book of Byzantium and Western Europe", September 28, 2018, Saint Tikhon's Orthodox University of Humanities, Moscow. Report: "Giants in the iconographic program of the Duomo in Milan".

2) IV Scientific Conference of Italianists "Alisovsky Readings", October 18, 2019, Moscow State University, Moscow. Report: "Visual culture of the Visconti at the turn of the 14th-15th centuries: the sculptural cycle of the giants of the Milan Duomo".

3) IX International Conference of Young Specialists "Actual Problems of Theory and History of Art", October 28, 2020, St. Petersburg State University, St. Petersburg. Report: "Visual culture of the House of Visconti at the turn of the XIVth-XVth centuries".

4) XXVII International Scientific Conference of Students, Postgraduates and Young Scientists "Lomonosov", November 19, 2020, Moscow State University, Moscow. Report: "Visual culture of the House of Visconti at the turn of the XIVth-XVth centuries: cycle of the Giants of the Milanese Duomo".

5) V International Scientific Conference of Italianists "Alisovsky Readings", February 26, 2021, Moscow State University, Moscow. Report: "Problematics of the project of the Milan Cathedral: to the historiography of the issue".

6) III All-Russian Scientific Conference of Young Antique and Medievalists "Scholia studiorum: the space of historical narrative", March 26-27, 2021, Ural Federal University, Yekaterinburg. Report: "Visual culture of the House of Visconti: Giangaleazzo Visconti as a patron".

7) International Conference "Images of Heaven and Hell in World Art", November 16, 2021, Saint Tikhon's Orthodox University of Humanities, Moscow. Report: "Features of the image of hell in the miniature of the manuscript It. 2017 from the National Library of France".

### **Structure and summary**

The study consists of an introduction, three chapters, a conclusion, a list of sources and references, applications (illustrations).

In the introduction, a scientific problem is formulated, its relevance is shown, ways and prospects of research are outlined.

The first chapter is entitled "Visconti and Lombardy: the formation of a dynastic myth". The starting point of my research was the hypothesis of dynastic continuity in the cultural policy of the Visconti, supported, to one degree or another, by many representatives of this family. In this introductory chapter on the formation of dynastic myth and the first visual sources associated with it, I have tried to show how the early Visconti imagined their own role in history for themselves and their subjects. First of all, I outlined the main milestones of the reign of the Visconti (I.1 The reign of the Visconti: from signoria to duchy).

Before proceeding to a direct analysis of the monuments, it was important for me to show the problems that the ruling dynasty faced, because they largely determined the visual and cultural strategies they subsequently chose. Like many other noble families in Italy, the Visconti faced the problem of the legitimacy of their power, actually acquired through the military victory of Archbishop Ottone (1277-1287). In addition, even within their family, this problem persisted until the beginning of the 15th century, since Giangaleazzo (1385-1402) seized power in Milan, overthrowing and capturing his own uncle. The need to strengthen personal and family authority fueled the desire to make one's family more ancient, to build ties with other rulers of Lombardy, whose legitimacy was not in doubt. This naturally leads to a conversation about the origin of the dynastic myth and the symbol of the House of Visconti (I.2 The Visconti dynastic myth and the origin of the *biscione*).

Strengthening the authority of the Visconti occurs on the basis of genealogical constructions linking the origin of the clan with pagan gods, emperors and early medieval kings. The goal of the aristocratization of one's own kind, quite noble, is the need to emphasize one's exclusivity, as well as the desire to consolidate one's right to the conquered territories, by "discovering" kinship with their original owners, albeit not always real ones. The result of these historiographical manipulations was the emergence of a complex and multi-component dynastic myth. It developed in the texts of the chronicles during the second half of the 14th century: starting with the *Chronicle of Daniel*, which formed the basis of four chronicles of Galvano

Fiamma, and ending with going beyond this genre and including the fictitious Visconti genealogy in the texts of sermons and official documents. In parallel with the development of the dynastic myth, the visual component of the new court culture also developed: in this regard, special attention is paid in this section to the history of interpretations of the main heraldic symbol of the House of Visconti, the *biscione* (the viper). It is noteworthy that there was no single interpretation of this symbol in Visconti's historiography. This universality, it seems to me, is connected with the tendency to multiply both the symbols themselves (later others appear) and their interpretations, which is characteristic of the visual culture of the House of Visconti.

If the *biscione* was designed to communicate with a wide audience, then the first significant monument of Visconti's visual culture is the cycle of murals of the Rocca d'Angera - a space "not for everyone" (I.3 Frescoes of the Rocca d'Angera). Like the heraldic sign marking what now belongs to the House of Visconti, the murals of the Rocca d'Angera are an example of the visual familiarization of a symbolically significant space, which, in connection with the genealogical claims of the Visconti, was of strategic importance. The artistic "development" of the castle was intended to symbolically consolidate its real capture, and the parallel genealogical myth is aimed at legitimizing what happened. The cycle of murals, which tells about the victory of Ottone Visconti over the della Torre family, is inspired by the poem by Stefanardo da Vimercate, who sang about these events in verse. In addition to battle scenes, the frescoes include a small astrological cycle, the connection of which with the events depicted remains not entirely clear. Considering that the space of the castle was not public, I assume that the frescoes of the Rocca d'Angera were intended to convince, first of all, the rulers themselves that the "stars formed" for them so successfully solely by divine will, and not due to the applied force.

Territorial expansion of the Visconti in the XIV-XV centuries was accompanied by a growing interest at home in the field of art. The Visconti laid the foundation for several large-scale projects affecting the most important aspects of the intellectual and cultural life of the signoria - the construction and rich decoration of palaces, cathedrals and monasteries, the foundation of a university and a library. These projects center around several strategically and ideologically important points: Angera, Milan, Pavia and Monza. Therefore, the next subject I turn to is the Visconti projects in Milan (I.4 Visconti projects in Milan). The symbolic appropriation of urban space, begun under Azzone Visconti (1329–1339), included a large-scale renovation of the Visconti Palace, the reconstruction of the Credenza tower in the Basilica of St. An attempt to create a theoretical justification for the cultural policy of Azzone Visconti, undertaken in the writings of G. Fiamma, is significantly ahead of the experience of other Italian court cultures of the mid-14th century. The line of cultural policy outlined by Azzone was continued by Giovanni Visconti, Signor (1339-1354) and Archbishop of Milan (1342-1354), who undertook a large-scale reconstruction of the archbishop's residence. The surviving fragments of the cycle in the Archbishop's Palace are analyzed in accordance with the latest historiography and inscribed in the context of the Visconti cultural policy.

This chapter also includes sections on the cycle of frescoes in the cathedral of Monza in the mid-15th century (I.5 Theodelinda Chapel. Monza as a place of memory. Historical, political and religious meanings of the dedication of the chapel to Queen Theodelinda, I.6 The problem of the relationship between text and image: the legend of Theodelinda and iconographic solutions of the cycle, I.7 Visconti manuscripts and monumental painting of the chapel). They analyze the relationship between the text of the "History of the Lombards" by Paul Deacon and the "History of Monza" by Bonincontro Morigia and the images of the cycle of frescoes of the legend of Theodelinda in the Cathedral of Monza, suggesting possible interpretations of the reference to this particular plot, which resumes the interrupted iconographic tradition. The significance of Monza as a place of memory and its incorporation into the symbolically marked geography of

Visconti power are considered. In addition, important parallels are outlined with the images of book miniatures, which I will refer to later.

Despite the large time distance, the analyzed art campaigns share a common approach, which is characterized by an appeal to the urban past to create new ideas about history and power. I sacrificed the chronological order of the story, because it seemed to me important to compare the examples related to the Rocca d'Angera, the Milanese palaces of the signor and the archbishop and the chapel in the Monza Cathedral within the framework of one chapter. In each of the cases considered, the Visconti refer to rooted local traditions, whether it be the legend of the founding of the city, the legend of significant events associated with it, or a locally revered image, emphasizing their connection with them. Also, in all cases, these traditions date back to the early medieval kings, which means they contribute to the establishment of an associative link between the ruling dynasty and royal status.

The second chapter examines the circumstances of the participation of the House of Visconti in the construction of the Duomo (II. Participation of the House of Visconti in the construction of the Duomo). The question of who initiated the renewal of the square and the construction of a new Duomo on the site of the old Cathedral of Santa Maria Maggiore (Winter Cathedral) and the Basilica of Santa Tecla (Summer Cathedral) remains a matter of debate (II.1 Statement of the problem). The main source for the study of this problem are the records of the so-called *Fabbrica del Duomo*, the institute responsible for the construction of the cathedral for decades. The nature of the documents included in the “Annals of the Fabbrica” (1387-1480) is very heterogeneous. The “Annals” represent a truly unique evidence not only of the history of the construction of the cathedral, but also of the organization of the administrative work of the Fabbrica itself, the practice of archiving documents, keeping records of incoming donations and donations, as well as various kinds of expenses. Analyzing the records of the Fabbrica, I came to the conclusion that the initiative to build a new cathedral came from the archbishop, and then was enthusiastically supported by the signor, who, of course, was not indifferent to the fate of a monument of such magnitude.

The following paragraph is devoted to Giangaleazzo's relations with the deputies of the Fabbrica (II.2 Giangaleazzo Visconti as customer: relations with the Collegium of the Fabbrica). The ruler made attempts to influence the architectural appearance of the cathedral, however, his ambitions were not fully satisfied. Behind this conflict are different ideas about whose and what ideas the main monument of the city should visually embody. Thus, Giangaleazzo insisted that the gravestone of his father, Galeazzo II, be placed inside the cathedral, in the middle of the cross. The desire to transfer the ashes of the father from the Pavia church to the main cathedral of Milan had a deep symbolic meaning, and also implied the gradual creation of the Visconti family tomb in the Duomo. This would significantly affect the architectural appearance of the cathedral as a whole, and the Fabbrica, as far as possible, delayed the implementation of this project. Giangaleazzo used not only his authority, but also more subtle tools: having the opportunity to hire architects, he sent biased specialists to Fabbrica meetings, so that they, insisting on the constructive need for decisions beneficial to the ruler, promoted them during discussions. Avoiding a direct refusal, the Fabbrica still managed to defend its ideas about the main city monument. After another conflict in January 1400, the duke no longer intervened in the course of construction, turning his attention to the Pavian Certosa, where he felt himself master of the situation. The founding of a family tomb in a Carthusian monastery near Pavia meant the abandonment of claims to impose this purely political function on the cathedral of the capital.

An important figure, who largely determined the artistic decisions of the Fabbrica, was undoubtedly the Archbishop of Milan. As part of the paragraph on the spiritual guidelines of the Fabbrica, I analyze those cases when the Collegium turned to the archbishop for help and what decisions were made as a result of his participation in the discussions (II.3 Spiritual guidelines of the Fabbrica: Archbishop Antonio da Saluzzo and the Dominican school under Monastery of Sant Eustorgio). But they turned not only to him: another landmark that could influence the structure of the cathedral is the first Dominican theological school in Milan at the monastery of Sant'Eustorgio. It was in this monastery that Stefanardo da Vimercate and Galvano Fiamma lived, whose contribution to the creation of the Visconti dynastic myth was briefly outlined above.

The cathedral can be viewed as a place of visualization of many symbols arranged in a certain order in an attempt to fix in memory the “scheme” of salvation, the path to it, and the path that the architecture allows to pass both visually and, partially, physically, using different types of memory. My hypothesis is that the Dominicans of Sant Eustorgio may have been involved in the development of the overall iconographic project, advising the Fabbrica on the order in which the episodes intended to tell the salvation story should be arranged. This assumption is based on the belief that the art of preaching, revived by the Dominicans, also revived interest in *ars memorativa*, and the new Duomo became a platform for the implementation of this experience. One way or another, the analysis of the records of the Annals does not allow us to agree with the opinion prevailing in historiography that everything related to the construction of the cathedral was lived in the monastery day by day. The monks of Sant'Eustorgio assisted the Fabbrica, advising it on some issues, in the minutes of the meetings you can find separate stories related to the iconology of architecture, but it is not possible at this stage to talk about a single project created with their participation.

Despite the general tendency to actually ignore the Duke's requests, the Fabbrica still made some concessions. In the paragraph dedicated to the images of the Duomo (II.4 Images of the Duomo: sculpture, miniature and *ars sacra*), the details of the artistic and liturgical decoration of the cathedral, significant for the visual culture of the Visconti house, are considered. Among them, the Visconti's heraldic sun inscribed in the central stained-glass window of the apse stands out. The ambiguity of the symbol, which simultaneously refers both to the house of Visconti and to the Sun of Truth, which is more appropriate in terms of iconography, made it possible to make it the visual dominant of the entire space beyond the altar. In addition to the sun of Visconti, within the framework of the paragraph, the image of the Mother of God above the portal of the southern sacristy, the miniatures of the Ambrosian breviary, the stained-glass window of St. Julitta, statue of St. George and the sculptural cycle of giants, the function and semantics of which is a serious problem.

In the final paragraph, the appeal to Gothic architecture, which is not characteristic of the Italian “soil” (II.5 The meaning and features of the Gothic style in the context of the construction of the Duomo), is problematized, the main architectural features of the cathedral, both Gothic and proper Lombard, are summarized, artistic and constructive solutions are commented.

My choice to analyze the Duomo rather than, say, the much more Viscontian Certosa may seem odd. But I wanted to show that the process of establishing the visual culture of the Visconti, the dissemination of their "statements", was not so unambiguous. The fact that the Visconti could not influence the appearance of the Duomo to the extent that they would like it is an indisputable fact, and it would be wrong to keep silent about it. Despite the fact that the Duomo really can hardly be called a Visconti monument, it is largely due to the visual culture of

the ruling house, and it is also impossible to completely deny its contribution to the construction of the cathedral. On the example of the Duomo in Milan, one can see that Visconti was not always able to fully realize his plans. But the resistance shown to their ambitions speaks in favor of the fact that contemporaries felt and realized the symbolic potential of Visconti's visual culture.

The final, third chapter is dedicated to a book miniature of manuscripts from the Visconti Library in Pavia (Chapter III. Illustrated Manuscripts from the Pavia Visconti Library). To cover the entire Visconti library and evaluate it, of course, would suggest a completely different genre of research, but I tried not to lose sight of the fact that the illustrated manuscripts, which, as they are part of the visual culture and politics of the House of Visconti, are part of a wider community, about which and is discussed in this chapter. Having minimally presented the historical context of the creation of the library (III.1 The history and composition of the Visconti-Sforza library), I problematized the concept of the "Lombard school" of miniatures (III.2 *Ouvraige de Lombardie*: miniature masters at the Visconti court), after which I listed the basic information about miniature masters who worked for the Visconti. This brief review allowed me not to dwell on the personalities of the miniaturists in the further analysis of the miniatures.

For work, I selected illuminated manuscripts from the Visconti Library, focusing on the content of the inventories and research literature on this issue. Having grouped the manuscripts by subject, I concentrated on three genres that were most often accompanied by miniatures and enjoyed the greatest popularity - prayer books (III.3 Miniature of manuscripts of religious subjects), chivalric romances (III.4 Miniature of a chivalric romance) and medical reference books (III.5 *Medicine and cura corporis*). In addition, the third chapter includes two paragraphs devoted to the manuscripts made for Filippo Maria Visconti (III.6 "The Demigod" by Cato Sacco, III.7 Dante in the House of Visconti), which are analyzed in more detail in view of their special significance for the visual culture of the House of Visconti.

Within the framework of this chapter, the focus is on manuscripts made directly to order or for representatives of the ruling house, an idea is formed of the Visconti visual vocabulary and its characteristics. A connection is established between similar images realized within the framework of different types of art. A number of observations I received on the basis of the analysis of a large array of illustrated manuscripts turned out to be relevant for other types of works of art, and were placed in positions for protection.

The first observation that I made on the basis of the analysis of the codes of religious subjects relates to the use of heraldic symbols. Beginning with the Book of Hours of Blanca of Savoy, which became a model for subsequent miniature codices of this genre, one can note the active use of heraldry in decorating initials and margins. Over time, heraldic symbols turn from monotonous "seals" into full-fledged participants in miniature scenes or are integrated into the narrative under other forms. Their repertoire is expanding, new images appear that are directly related to the personality of the customer. Such, for example, are the images of virtues for Giangaleazzo, which can be considered his personal emblem, which later passed into miniatures of other genres. The same is true for the image of the cheetah, which is not a proper heraldic symbol, but is found in almost all codices associated with the duke, and, in my opinion, is a rare case of using a naturalistic image as a repetitive and stable visual statement.

The second observation, obtained during the analysis of the images of the chivalric novel, but relevant not only for this genre, concerns the desire to idealize everyday life, the fusion of the

real and the ideal. This technique, in my opinion, is based on the experience of designing books of hours, where the characters of sacred history can be depicted in modern clothes and furnishings for the reader. Thus, it was possible to shorten the time distance between the praying and the gospel story. This operation becomes more complicated and unfolds not only in the miniature plane: genealogical reconstructions, in the texts of which ancient gods and heroes, Roman emperors and Lombard kings are intertwined, testify to the construction of a dynastic myth, which is then developed and strengthened through images. In addition to pseudo-historical idealization, the “modern” one also develops in parallel, both in the miniature of a chivalric novel and in the images of calendars. In the first case, the heroic world of the knights of the round table and the court universe of Visconti are symbolically united, which is achieved by moving the action of the novel to the reader's contemporaneity. In the second case, familiar objects and practices are placed in an idealized and prosperous world of calendars, which, on the one hand, gives a clear pattern of behavior, and on the other, it seems to me, blurs the line between reality and the standard, because, as in the case of chivalric novels, the reader can already feel like in this “artificial paradise”.

The conclusion summarizes the findings presented after each chapter, as well as general conclusions, which reveal the results of the study. The appendix contains illustrations for all chapters.

## **Conclusion**

So, having considered various examples of Visconti's artistic patronage, let us formulate the features of the visual culture of this ruling dynasty. Consistently solving the tasks set, I came to the conclusion that an integral part of the visual culture of Visconti, of course, is the dynastic myth, which was formed both in written and visual sources. Thus, the idea of the relationship of the Visconti with the counts of Angera, which arose on the basis of the Chronicle of Daniel, allowed further development of the idea of the connection of the Visconti clan with the Lombard kings. In the "Great Chronicle" of Fiamma, Angle, a descendant of Aeneas, was declared the founder of Angera, and the gallery of the valiant ancestors of Visconti was replenished with ancient heroes and gods. Subsequently, their portraits adorned the pages of the manuscripts illustrated for Visconti, for example, the Small Book of Hours, the Funeral Rite, and the Demigod.

Burials also play an important role in the process of autolegitimation of Visconti, namely their localization and design. Just as the Visconti appropriate other sites of memory, Angera and the Pavian basilica of San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro, there is also a symbolic appropriation of another "royal city", Monza, through a series of projects centered on the city's main shrine, culminating in painting of the Theodelinda Chapel.

Most of the Italian dynasties of the XV century. acted within the framework of the "common imperative", dictated by the need to visually, visibly and visually legitimize their power and demonstrate their authority (Cole, 2016, p.14). On the one hand, Visconti, like many other Italian rulers, associated their origin with the heroes of Greek and Roman antiquity. On the other hand, the Visconti drew attention to the early Lombard history, which was more original. For the first time, a continuous dynastic line leading from the Lombard king Desiderius was drawn precisely to Visconti, and it was she, as we could see, that eventually became the main and predominant one. This is evidenced both by the symbolic appropriation of the key Lombard centers, Pavia and Monza, and the creation of a large-scale fresco cycle dedicated to Queen Theodelinda.



The dedication of the chapel in the cathedral of Monza to Queen Theodelinda illustrates the strategy of appropriation of local tradition characteristic of the cultural policy of the Visconti. In this case, it is realized with the help of visual tools: the legend of the Lombard queen unfolds "in the scenery" at the turn of the 14th-15th centuries, bringing the royal court closer to the ducal one, just as it happens, for example, in the miniatures of chivalric novels. It is no coincidence that the analysis of the frescoes of the Teodelinda Chapel, the latest monument of the time studied, is placed in the first chapter, along with the frescoes of the Rocca d'Angera and the Milanese residences of the Visconti. The dedication of a large-scale cycle to the Lombard queen is a logical continuation of the cultural policy of the house, outlined by the predecessors of Filippo Maria. Since the appearance of the Chronicle of Daniel, created at the same time as the rise of the expansionist policies of the Visconti, their visual culture testifies to the intention to symbolically secure their right to power, conditional on its royal lineage.

The same line runs throughout the next century, both in texts and in works of art, distinguished by scale and richness. For the disclosure of this thesis, the material of a book miniature was used, represented by illustrations of the codices from the Pavia Library of the Visconti and others ordered by them.

The appearance of such a text as the "Chronicle of Daniel" and the attempt to create a theoretical justification for the cultural policy of Azzone Visconti, undertaken in the writings of G. Fiamma, are far ahead of the experience of other Italian court cultures of the mid-14th century (Giordano, 2011, pp.114-115). The achievements of the visual culture of the Visconti became, among other things, a solid foundation for a new period in the history of art and visual culture that followed the establishment of the power of Sforza (1450). Francesco Sforza, whose right to power rested on an even more shaky foundation than the power of the first Visconti, wisely used the experience of his predecessors. Giangaleazzo Visconti provided the rulers of Milan with an excellent example of artistic patronage, which will guide all representatives of the Sforza dynasty, even decades later.

Another key element of the Visconti visual culture is their heraldic symbols: firstly, the biston, the most frequently reproduced, and secondly, the sun (*raza* or *radia magna*) that adorned the apse of Milan's Duomo. Among other things, one can note a tendency towards the multiplication of heraldic symbols, as evidenced, for example, by the appearance of the emblem of a tree and a tied scarf during the reign of Giangaleazzo. In addition, Visconti heraldic symbols are characterized by ambiguity, a presumably deliberate refusal to accept a single generally accepted interpretation, which I have designated as a strategy of "duality". It is the dual nature of the heraldic sun of Visconti, in my opinion, that made it possible to achieve its placement in a strategically important position - the central window of the apse of the Duomo in Milan.

Finally, an active artistic and cultural exchange with the French courts, such as the Valois, also distinguishes the Visconti from their political competitors. The international character of the Visconti court culture was reflected both in fashion and in literature, miniature and architecture. For example, under Visconti, illuminated books of hours appear in Lombardy, which combine French and Lombard features.

We have seen from many specific examples that architecture, small and large plastic arts, book and monumental painting were under the auspices of Visconti in constant dialogue. There was a systematic exchange of models, a common search for forms and content. Behind these searches stand both specific artists and the will of the customer, who needed, as I tried to show, a

stylistically uniform, recognizable artistic language. Nevertheless, a single Visconti style did not arise in Lombardy, but there was movement towards its creation.

As we could see from the example of the Duomo in Milan, Visconti was not always able to fully realize his plans. But the resistance shown to their ambitions speaks in favor of the fact that contemporaries felt and realized the symbolic potential of Visconti's undertakings.

Our goal was to reconstruct the visual culture that was formed with the direct participation of the Visconti dynasty in 1386-1447. The result achieved is formulated in the provisions submitted for defense.

The connection with the kingdom of the Lombards served as the basis for further historiographical manipulations, relating both to the Sforza era and to the reign of Ludovico Moro (Ibsen, 2007, pp.279-280). Therefore, we can note the well-thought-out of this choice, which turned out to be in demand during the change of dynasties. It was the Lombard genealogy that made it possible to draw a parallel between Theodelinda and Bianca Maria, making Galeazzo Maria the "new Adolold".

Francesco Sforza borrowed the heraldic symbols and emblems of Visconti, turned to the same artists as Filippo Maria, continued the construction of Certosa, and he appointed Guiniforte Barzizza as a mentor for his heir, who commented for the last Visconti Dante's "Hell". In addition, the Sforza continued the cultural policy of the Visconti in matters of burial. This continuity, both visual and cultural, was the universal language inherited from the House of Visconti and in many ways provided the new rulers with unquestioned authority.

**List of author's main publications in the journals, included in the list of highlevel journals, recommended by NRU "Higher School of Economics", as well as indexed by Scopus and Web of Science:**

1. Mamlina, A. B. (2021). 'Poesie volgari del secondo Trecento attorno ai Visconti. Roma, 2019'. Review of *Poesie volgari del secondo Trecento attorno ai Visconti*, by Marco Limongelli (ed.). *Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie*, 5(171), pp.380-383.

2. Mamlina, A. B. (2021). 'Korolevstvo langobardov v visualnoi kulture doma Visconti', *Aktualnie problemi teorii i istorii iskusstva*, 11, pp.526-536.

3. Mamlina, A. B. (2022). 'Osobennosti izobrazheniya ada v miniature rukopisi It. 2017 iz Natsionalnoi biblioteki Frantsii', *Vestnik Pravoslavnogo Svyato-Tikhonovskogo Universiteta. Seria V: Voprosi istorii i teorii khristianskogo iskusstva*, 45, pp.9-27.

**Other publications:**

1. Mamlina, A. B. (2021). 'Problematika proekta Milanskogo kafedralnogo sobora: k istoriografii voprosa', *Stephanos*, 2 (46), pp.109-114.

2. Mamlina, A. B. (2023). 'Obrazi korolevskogo Dvora v visualnoi kulture doma Visconti'. To be published in Boytsov, M. A. and Vinogradov, A. J. (eds.) *Mitropoliti, mudretsi, perevodchiki v srednevekovoi Evrope* [Preprint]. M.: Izdatel'skii dom NIU VShE.

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