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III. 1 Modena, Cathedral, façade

Michele Luigi Vescovi

Portals and Cities in Twelfth-Century Emilia Bologna, the Bishop, the *Studium*

„[The Lombards], having put aside crude, barbarous ferocity, perhaps from the fact that when united in marriage with the natives they begat sons who inherited something of the Roman gentleness and keenness from their mothers' blood, and from the very quality of the country and climate, retain the refinement of the Latin speech and their elegance of manners. In the governing of their cities, also, and in the conduct of public affairs, they still imitate the wisdom of the ancient Romans. Finally, they are so desirous of liberty that, avoiding the insolence of power, they are governed by the will of consuls rather than rulers. [...] The entire land is divided among the cities, each of them requires its bishop to live in the cities, and scarcely any noble or great man can be found in all the surrounding territory who does not acknowledge the authority of his city. [...] They may not lack the means of subduing their neighbours, they do not disdain to give the girdle of knighthood or the grades of distinction to young men of inferior station and even some workers of the vile mechanical arts, whom other peoples bar like the pest from the more respected and honourable pursuits. From this it has resulted that they far surpass all other states of the world in riches and in power. They are aided in this not only, as has been said, by their characteristic industry, but also by the absence of their princes [that is, the emperors], who are accustomed to remain on the far side of the Alps.“¹

In this passage from the second book of the *Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa*, written before 1158, Otto of Freising offers precious insight into the contemporary perception of the social and political geography of Northern Italy. Although Otto was concerned with the cities' hostility toward the Emperor, his surprised admiration for their uncommon political organisation is noteworthy. The political landscape described by Otto was the result of a long process. From the end of the eleventh century, citizens across different centres in Italy started to organise themselves in what was to be termed the Commune, a well-structured civic and political entity.² In the very same period in which these communes were being shaped, cities were embellished with new ecclesiastical buildings, in particular cathedrals.³ From this perspective, the area today known as Emilia-Romagna, with the inclusion of the city of Verona, is exemplar: in approximately thirty years – between c. 1120 and c. 1150, with few exceptions – the

majority of cities in this area witnessed the construction of a new cathedral, whose western front was conceived as a monumental display for sculpture. These sumptuously carved façades were part of the monumental landscape that Otto of Freising possibly observed during his trip in Italy with the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa. Even a brief overview of these cathedrals, from Piacenza to Modena, Ferrara and Verona, reveals the exceptional range of new buildings in the region. Their construction phases are unusually well documented, as well as the name of the sculptors (or rather, of the heads of the workshops) that frequently appears on the building itself. This essay will first present an overview of these cathedrals, discussing their potential civic and institutional relevance, to then focus on the exceptional case of Bologna.

The cathedral of Modena, reconstructed from 1099, was long deemed the forerunner of all these buildings (ill. 1).⁴ However, Elena Silvestri has recently demonstrated that the construction progressed slowly from East to West and, as a consequence, the carvings of the façade can no longer be linked to the first construction phases of the building, but date to one, or even two, decades later.⁵ Its façade contains a monumental frieze with a selection of episodes from the book of Genesis, from the Creation of the world to the aftermath of the Flood. The style of these carvings draws on ancient Roman sculpture, as suggested by the physicality of the figures and the floral decoration of jambs and lintels. The sculptor, Wiligelmus, is celebrated as „worthy of honour“ in a monumental inscription on the façade.⁶ On the southern side, the lintel of the so-called *Porta dei Principi* depicts the story of the fourth-century bishop of the city, and patron saint, Geminianus.⁷

Around 1122, the Cathedral of Piacenza presents an alternative solution in the arrangement of carvings (ill. 2). Instead of the monumental frieze of Modena, the narrative sculpture is concentrated on the lintels, which depict episodes of the life of Christ. Although the inscriptions do not mention the name of the sculptor, Saverio Lomartire and Bruno Klein have demonstrated that two different workshops, those of Wiligelmus and Nicholas, worked at this site, carving the left and right portals respectively.⁸ The sculptor Nicholas, described as „artificem gnarum“ in



Ill. 2 Piacenza, Cathedral, façade

inscriptions accompanying his carvings in Ferrara and Verona, is the protagonist of the fourth decade of the twelfth century, with the Cathedral of Ferrara, whose construction started in 1135, the abbey church of San Zeno in Verona (1138) and the Cathedral of the same city (1139).⁹

Notwithstanding some differences, these buildings present visual and structural similarities. In contrast with their interior, the façades are richly carved. Yet the frieze, adopted in Modena and spanning the length of the entire west front, is abandoned. Narrative sculpture is confined mainly to the areas around the portals, which are further embellished with mouldings and enveloped in the *protiro* or projecting porch. In addition, starting with the Cathedral of Ferrara, the tympanum, not adopted at Modena, became the focal point of the portal, with the titular saint appearing at the centre in a monumental scale.¹⁰

All of these buildings find a particular significance in the historical context evoked in the quotation by Otto of Freising at the beginning of this essay. As highlighted by Dorothy Glass and Andrea von Hülsen-Esch, amongst others, the visual programmes of these façades relate to the particular history of each city, acting as a display of „*civic pride and civic responsibility*.“¹¹ The sculpted portal of the abbey church of San Zeno in Verona provides a significant visual paradigm (ill. 3). At the centre of the tympanum, the titular saint and patron of the city, the fourth-century bishop Zeno, stands over a devil and blesses with his right hand. The saint is attended by foot soldiers at his right and knights at his left; scenes from his life are carved in the lower part of the tympanum. The inscription,

framing the scene, explains the significance of the depiction: „*Dat Presul signum populo munimine dignum / Vexillum Zeno largitur corde sereno*“ (The bishop gives to the people a sign, worthy of protection / Zeno offers the banner with serene heart). Most scholars have interpreted this scene to be a record of the *coniuratio*, the oath taken by the inhabitants in the founding of a commune.¹²

Andrea von Hülsen-Esch, on the contrary, has suggested that these carvings do not depict a precise historical event; instead, they present the saint's protection over the city. The cult of San Zeno expanded during the twelfth century, acquiring a prominent place within the liturgy and devotional practices of the city.¹³ More significantly, the abbey church became the focus of communal civic devotion: it was visited by every *podestà*, the elected city leader, as his first official duty upon taking the role, and it housed the *carroccio*, the standard that served as symbol of the city in military conflicts.¹⁴ Thus, the tympanum of San Zeno, through the juxtaposition of the banners held by the citizens and the blessing patron saint visually emphasizes the subtle interplay between civic identity, communal liturgies and saintly patronage. Furthermore, the image of the saint displayed on the tympanum identifies the building as the burial site of the city's celestial patron.¹⁵

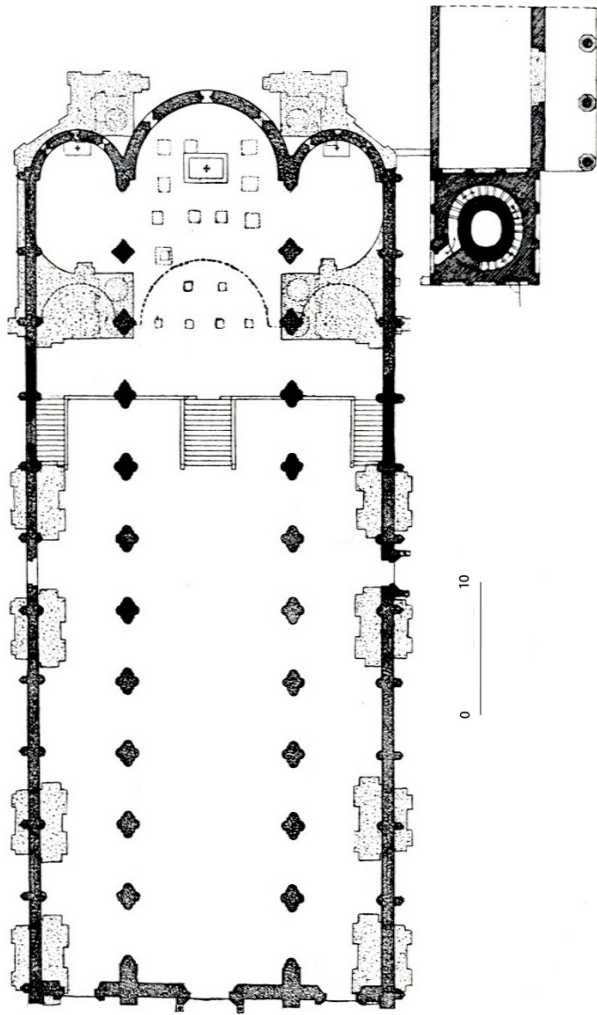
The strong emphasis on civic identity visualised in the tympanum of San Zeno is unique within the city. The Cathedral of Verona (ill. 4), whose portal was carved by the same Nicholas in the very same period, presents a very different subject. In its tympanum, at the centre of the composition, the Christ child, sitting



III. 3 Verona, San Zeno, tympanum



III. 4 Verona, Cathedral, tympanum



Ill. 5 Bologna, Romanesque Cathedral, plan

on the lap of the enthroned Virgin, blesses the three Magi approaching from the right. On the left, an angel appears to the shepherds to announce the birth of the Son of God, while the lintel displays the personifications of Faith, Charity and Hope.¹⁶ The rich imagery of this portal is not linked with the idea of civic identity, as presented in San Zeno.

The comparison between the portals of the Cathedral and San Zeno offers insights into civic identity in medieval Italian cities. While the Cathedral, as the seat of the bishop, was indeed the primary church of a diocese, it was not necessarily the centre of civic identity. Instead, civic identity could be manifested also in the dialogue, or even tension, between the ecclesiastical institutions of the city and the site containing the mortal remains of the patron saint. In other words, civic identity is tied to the body of the patron saint and, in turn, to the site and institution that possessed it. As in the case of Verona, not every Cathedral housed the body of the patron saint.



Ill. 6 Bologna, Cathedral, Crypt, fragment of a jamb, cm 41,5 x 94,5

From this perspective, the analysis of the Cathedral of Bologna, rebuilt in the second half of the twelfth century, reveals the tensions at play between different ecclesiastical institutions in relation to the possession of the remains of the most important saints of the city. In this instance, the investigation of the Cathedral portal might reveal, instead, the institutional aims of the episcopal seat, and the specific role of the bishop vis-à-vis the city and the Church.

The medieval Cathedral of Bologna, dedicated to St. Peter, occupied the same position since late antiquity, immediately north of the forum of the city and east of the *cardus*.¹⁷ The medieval building was obliterated more or less completely during the reconstruction that began in 1570. However, its architectural layout is known through drawings by Domenico Tibaldi and Pietro Fiorini, and it is attested to by archaeological findings.¹⁸ The plan presented a nave flanked by two aisles, separated by a continuous system of pillars (ill. 5). From the twelfth-century phase, only the bell tower survives, immediately south of the church, which incorporates an earlier circular bell tower dating from the tenth or early eleventh century. In addition, there are few elements from the thirteenth-century south portal, the so-called *Porta dei leoni*.¹⁹

In 1999, the stone slabs of the pavement of the bell tower were removed, revealing carvings on the sides of the slabs facing the ground.²⁰ The carvings were subsequently showcased at the Museo Civico Medievale in Bologna and are on display in the crypt of the Cathedral.²¹ Five of them are of particular relevance in relation to the church's medieval portals. It is most likely that these fragments belonged to one of the portals of the western façade of the church. However, this remains a hypothesis considering the tenuous evidence for the original layout of the façade. Two of the slabs discovered in 1999 show a similar frame and a rinceaux inhabited by hybrid creatures. The first fragment (ill. 6) presents, in its lower portion, a telamon, kneeling and holding a basket on his shoulders; above him is a monster, with the body of a feline and a human bearded head. The second (ill. 7), instead, shows a basilisk and two other monsters, with the tails of a fish and the heads of a dog and a cat, respectively.²² These fragments most likely belong to the jambs of a portal (the lower and upper portion, respectively). However, they would be from two different jambs, as each of them presents further carvings on another face, respectively on the right and on the left sides, without any correspondences between the two different pieces. The other two fragments present a similar frame and a rinceaux (ills. 8–9).²³ These two fragments were probably part of the same jamb, as they are both sculpted on the right side and they share the same decorative pattern.

A fifth fragment (ill. 10) presents three narrative scenes, framed by an inscription running on the frame „*Hic sedet in templo / doctos / fovet ore superno*“ (Here [Christ] sits in the Temple, nurturing the learned with celestial speech). The two scenes from the top present a similar structure: underneath an arcade, probably meant to suggest a city or a build-

ing, Christ is at the centre, either sitting or standing, flanked, in each scene, by two groups of people. In the central scene the pair on the right can be identified with Mary and Joseph. These two scenes, as clearly



Ill. 7 Bologna, Cathedral, Crypt, fragment of a jamb, cm 41,5 x 115



Ill. 8 Bologna, Cathedral, Crypt, fragment of a jamb, cm 53,5 x 100

stated in the inscription, relate to Christ's teaching in the Temple (Luke, 2: 42–51), while the third, surviving only in a fragmentary state, accompanied by an equally fragmentary inscription („nt/es gau/d “), which likely refers to the joy of the parents in finding the son.²⁴

A further carving, published in a 1954 auction catalogue, can be linked to the same ensemble (ill. 11). It presents an inscription in the border „Ducitur ad Templum Hi/esus sub lege / parentum“ [Christ is taken to the Temple according to the law of the ancestors]; and it depicts Christ, held by the Virgin, presented to the Temple, here schematically evoked by an arc surmounted by small towers. In the background, Joseph is shown offering two doves. Dimensions, style, epigraphy and narrativity connect this carving with the reliefs representing the infancy of Christ found in 1999.²⁵



Ill. 9 Bologna, Cathedral, Crypt, fragment of a jamb, cm 53,5 x 107

These carvings are the only known elements we have for the reconstruction of the original layout of the medieval façade of the Cathedral of Bologna.²⁶ While the precise number of sculpted portals is unknown, some hypotheses can be advanced in relation to the potential arrangement of the surviving fragments. Two fragments (ill. 8, ill. 9) were likely part of the same jamb. Another two (ill. 6, ill. 7), have similar decoration, but were part of two distinct jambs, as they have carvings on two different lateral sides, on the right and on the left, respectively. Thus, it is not possible to determine if the sculptures were part of one, two or even three different portals. Furthermore, the unusual thickness of these slabs (only 7/8 centimetres) complicates the potential reconstruction of their visual, material and technical arrangement. In fact, in twelfth-century Emilia the intrados and extrados of jambs are usually carved from a single cubic or cuboid block, while in Bologna rather than blocks (or ashlar), slabs are used. Thus, it is unlikely that these carvings would have been installed one next to the other as intrados and extrados of a single portal. More

probably, these slabs would have been inserted in the wall as jambs. A comparison is found in a sculpted relief that once decorated the twelfth-century portal of the abbey church of San Benedetto al Polirone, near Mantua; however, also in this case the original monumental context of the portal is lost.²⁷ In terms of visual composition, the vertical development of the narrative finds predecessors in the jambs of San Silvestro in



III. 10 Bologna, Cathedral, Crypt, fragment of a jamb, cm 42 x 104,5

Nonantola and, with some notable differences, in the reliefs at the sides of the portal of San Zeno, Verona.²⁸

While the original setting of the Bologna carvings is difficult to reconstruct, more might be argued in relation to their chronology. Massimo Medica has suggested that the Cathedral carvings show stylistic similarities with the Cross of the Porta Ravennana, a monumental marble cross erected near the city walls of Bologna and carved, as attested to by its inscription, by the sculptor Pietro di Alberico and his father in 1159.²⁹ Furthermore, the epigraphic characteristics of the portal are similar to Bolognese inscriptions of the second half of the twelfth century, such as the inscription in memory of Nonacrina, carved by the same Pietro di Alberico in 1164, and also with those for Guglielmo of Lucca (1178) and of the lawyer Bassiano (1197).³⁰ These comparisons suggest that the portal decoration of the Cathedral façade was carved in the last forty years of the twelfth century.

This chronology corresponds with the reconstruction of the Cathedral that, according to a late medieval chronicle, followed the fire that devastated the city on the first day of August 1141.³¹ Documentary evidence, such as a conspicuous donation to the Cathedral *laborerium* in 1146, might suggest that



III. 11 Private collection, the presentation of Christ, cm 41 x 57,5

the reconstruction of the building was underway. After this date the church is no longer mentioned,³² and documents are produced instead in the canonry and in the bishop's palace.³³ In 1182 the Cathedral suddenly reappeared in the documentation, when a sum of money was offered on the altar dedicated to Saint Peter; the following year another document was redacted in the crypt, in front of the same altar.³⁴ In 1184 the Cathedral was consecrated by pope Lucius III.³⁵

The reconstruction of the Cathedral corresponds to a particularly dramatic period in the political life of Bologna, marked by the conflict with the emperor Frederick Barbarossa and culminating with the murder of the imperial *podestà* of the city, Bezo (1164).³⁶ The complex political situation is mirrored in the shifting sacred topography of the city promoted by the abbey of Santo Stefano.³⁷ A manuscript completed in November 1180 in this abbey contains four hagiographical texts (the *Vita sancti Petronii episcopi et confessoris*, *Sermo de inventione sanctarum reliquiarum*, *De Translatione sanctorum martyrum Vitalis et Agricolae* and the *Miracula* of Vitalis and Agricola), probably written in the same period.³⁸ The manuscript offers an invaluable perspective on the transforming hagiographical landscape of the city, as it combines the miracles and the eleventh-century translation of the bodies of two of the most important saints in the city, the fourth-century martyrs Vitalis and Agricola, with the first *vita* of a fifth-century saint and bishop, Petronius, whose mortal remains had been allegedly rediscovered in the abbey of Santo Stefano on 7 October 1141.³⁹ It is probably not a matter of coincidence that the body of the 'new' saint (Petronius) appeared shortly after the fire of the city's Cathedral on 1 August 1141. The saint would gradually emerge as the main patron of the city.⁴⁰

The remains of Agricola and Vitalis were discovered in Bologna in 393 and subsequently unearthed in the presence of St. Ambrose of Milan.⁴¹ While coeval sources do not mention the location of the bodies of the two saints after their discovery, the 1180 manuscript from Santo Stefano explicitly identifies the abbey itself as their resting place and shrine, emphasising their continuous physical presence at that site, demonstrated by the miracles performed there.⁴² However, other sources suggest that, at around the time of the redaction of the 1180 manuscript or shortly beforehand, the cathedral emerges as a contender in this redefinition of the sacred topography of the city. When, in the sixteenth century, cardinal Gabriele Paleotti (r. 1567–1597) inspected the altar dedicated to Vitalis and Agricola in the Cathedral, he

unexpectedly discovered, among other relics „[...] the entire head of Vitalis, wrapped in a linen cloth, stained with the recent and vivid blood [of the saint]“.⁴³ Paleotti explained that according to an „old manuscript“ held by the Cathedral canons, the remains of the two saints were translated from Santo Stefano to the Cathedral by a bishop named Johannes in 1060. However, as already highlighted by the humanist Carlo Sigonio (ca. 1524–1584), this translation could not possibly have occurred in 1060 as bishop Johannes, to whom we will return later, was active only a century later. Sigonio thus claimed that the bodies of the two saints were translated from Santo Stefano to the crypt of the Cathedral, then under construction, in 1165.⁴⁴

Thus, according to these sources it would seem that the bishop and the Cathedral played an important role in the twelfth-century transformation of Bolognese sacred topography, claiming the physical possession of the two most important saints of the city at that time, Agricola and Vitalis. In the very same period, Santo Stefano consciously affirmed the possession of these two saints, but also presented the *inventio* of Petronius and his *vita*, promoting a 'new' saint within the hagiographical landscape of the city.⁴⁵ In this context the translation of the remains of Vitalis and Agricola to the Cathedral can be understood in relation to the tensions, if not open competition, between the two most important ecclesiastical institutions of the city, Santo Stefano and the Cathedral. However, it is possible that the efforts of bishop Johannes proved unsuccessful, perhaps on account of the city's long-standing ecclesiastical and institutional struggle with Ravenna, see of the archdiocese, which was strongly identified with the cult of St. Vitalis.⁴⁶

It is from this perspective that the imagery of the portal of the Cathedral of Bologna with the infancy of Christ might be better understood. On the one hand, the range of comparisons and the documentary evidence previously discussed suggest that the portal was carved ca. 1170–1180, that is, between the alleged translation of Vitalis and Agricola to the Cathedral and the 1184 consecration. The imagery of the portal was highly unusual in the amount of space dedicated to Christ teaching in the Temple, presented there in three different scenes. While the life of Christ is indeed displayed in other twelfth-century portals nearby, such as in Piacenza, Ferrara and Verona, this scene does not appear usually. The presence of Christ teaching in the Temple and its prominence in the imagery of the Cathedral of Bologna might be explained, it could be argued, by the relationship between the Cathedral and the city's *Studium*. This institution began to take shape at the end of the

eleventh century, in particular around the time of the jurist Irnerius (d. 1125). A few decades later, the *Decretum Gratianii*, a collection of canon law compiled and written in Bologna, made the city the most prominent centre of ecclesiastical law in Europe of its time.⁴⁷

At the beginning of its history the *Studium* was autonomous from the Church, the bishop, the commune, and the Empire. Yet, by 1155 its scholars had strong ties with the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa. Members of the *Studium* developed the concept of the Italian Kingdom promoted by the Emperor at the Diet of Roncaglia (1158).⁴⁸ This imperial connection, however, lasted for approximately only a decade, as in 1167 Bologna joined the Lombard League against the Emperor.⁴⁹ Contemporary events within the Church had a particular relevance in relation to the *Studium*. Rolando Bandinelli, a former Bolognese student and teacher, was elected Pope Alexander III in 1159. In turn, Johannes, a former canon of the Cathedral, was elected bishop of Bologna before the year 1169. Thus, bishop Johannes was not only the protagonist of the translation of Vitalis and Agricola to the Cathedral; he also played a prominent role within the Church and close ties with the pope, serving him as deputy judge. Furthermore, during the bishopric of Johannes the papacy showed a progressive and marked interest in the *Studium* of Bologna, substituting imperial rulership, *vacante imperio*.⁵⁰

The multifaceted connections between the papacy, the bishop of Bologna and the *Studium* occurred in a very intense political period of Bologna: the cathedral was under construction, and the hagiographical topography of the city was dramatically reshaped, through translations of old saints, such as Vitalis and Agricola to the Cathedral, and new *inventiones* in the abbey of Santo Stefano, in particular of St. Petronius. It is in this context that the presence of the multiple and unusual depictions of Christ teaching in the Temple on the Cathedral portal might be explained. The Church took on a new role in the control and direction of the *Studium*, not only in relation to the teaching of canon law, but also in promoting the potential role of Bologna as a hub of cultural and professional qualification in the service of the ecclesiastic hierarchy.⁵¹

Scholars have long discussed how medieval portals, and more generally façade carvings, engaged viewers from multiple perspectives, providing a background, or even mirroring, the performance of liturgy and processions, as well as presenting didactic or even political messages.⁵² In twelfth-century Emilia, façade imagery played an important, but not

exclusive, role in the definition of civic identity. Yet Bologna presents a more complex scenario: here the Cathedral, in its twelfth-century reconstruction, is not presented as the focus of civic identity, which will find its ultimate embodiment two centuries later with the construction of the civic temple of San Petronio.⁵³ Instead, the imagery of the Cathedral's portals shows a different concern, linked to the attempts of the Church and the bishop to take control of one, if not the, most important institutions of the city, the *Studium*. This effort was destined to be unsuccessful, but it was displayed, for centuries, on the Cathedral's west portal.

Notes

- 1 Otto of Freising: *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa*. Translated and annotated with an introduction by Charles Christopher Mierow (*Records of Western Civilization*), New York 2004, pp. 127–128.
- 2 On the formation and on the affirmation of the Italian commune see, among many others: Tabacco, Giovanni: *Vescovi e comuni in Italia*, in: Mor, Carlo Guido/Schmidinger, Heinrich (eds.): *I poteri temporali dei vescovi in Italia e Germania nel medioevo* (*Annali dell'Istituto storico italo Germanico, Quaderno 3*), Bologna 1979, pp. 253–282; Damiano Fonseca, Cosimo: "Ecclesia matrix" e "Conventus civium": l'ideologia della cattedrale nell'età comunale, in: Brezzi, Paolo (ed.): *La pace di Costanza. 1183. Un difficile equilibrio di poteri fra società italiana ed impero* (*Studi e testi di storia medievale*, 8), Bologna 1984, pp. 135–149; Bordone, Renato: *La società cittadina del regno d'Italia*. For-

- mazione e sviluppo delle caratteristiche urbane nei secoli XI e XII (Deputazione subalpina di storia patria. Biblioteca storica subalpina, 202), Torino 1987.
- 3 Lomartire, Saverio: The renovation of northern Italian cathedrals during the eleventh and twelfth centuries: the state of current research and some unanswered questions, in: Boto Varela, Gerardo/Kroesen, Justin E. A. (eds.), *Romanesque cathedrals in Mediterranean Europe: architecture, ritual and urban context* (Architectura Medii Aevi, 7), Turnhout 2016, pp. 119–138.
 - 4 On the architecture of the Cathedral of Modena see: Peroni, Adriano: L'architetto Lanfranco e la struttura del Duomo, in: Armandi, Marina/Bussi, Rolando (eds.): *Lanfranco e Wiligelmo. Il Duomo di Modena*, Modena 1984, pp. 143–163; Peroni, Adriano: Il Duomo di Modena. L'architettura, in: Furgoni, Chiara (ed.), *Il Duomo di Modena. Testi* (Mirabilia Italiae, 9), Modena 1999, pp. 39–74; Peroni, Adriano: Per san Geminiano. Il sepolcro e la “domus”, l'altare portatile, la Porta dei Principi, in: *Tracce dei luoghi, tracce della storia. L'editore che inseguiva la bellezza. Scritti in onore di Franco Cosimo Panini*, Roma 2008, pp. 77–96; Peroni, Adriano: La cripta del Duomo di Modena e l'avvio della costruzione dell'architetto Lanfranco, in: *Westfalen*, 87 (2009), pp. 13–42; Peroni, Adriano: Colonne e struttura in Lanfranco: riletture dal brogliaccio del duomo di Modena, in: Angelelli, Walter/Pomarici, Francesca (eds.), *Forme e storia. Scritti di arte medievale e moderna per Francesco Gandolfo*, Roma 2011, pp. 169–180.
 - 5 Silvestri, Elena: L'architettura del Duomo di Modena tra forma e comportamento: nuove ipotesi sulle fasi costruttive, sull'aspetto originario e sulle cattedrali preesistenti, in: Di Francesco, Carla/Piccinini, Francesca/Silvestri, Elena (eds.), *Il Duomo di Modena. Studi e ricerche per un approccio interdisciplinare*, Torino 2021, pp. 52–132. A first reassessment of the construction phases was presented in Silvestri, Elena: Una rilettura delle fasi costruttive del Duomo di Modena, in: *Atti e memorie. Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Antiche Province Modenesi, Serie XI*, 35 (2013), pp. 117–149. See also Frankl, Paul. *Der Dom in Modena*, in: *Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, (1927), pp. 39–54.
 - 6 On the façade frieze see: Gandolfo, Francesco: Note per una interpretazione iconologica delle Storie del Genesi di Wiligelmo, in: Quintavalle, Arturo Carlo (ed.), *Romanico padano, romanico europeo*, Parma 1982, pp. 323–337; Glass, Dorothy: *The Sculpture of Reform in North Italy, ca. 1095–1130. History and Patronage of Romanesque Façades*, Farnham 2010, 109–198. The chronology of the cathedral façade, and – subsequently – that of the frieze has been further discussed by Peroni 1984 (see note 4), 155–156; Peroni 1999 (see note 4), 70; 72–83; Peroni 2008 (see note 4); Silvestri 2013 (see note 5), p. 143. For the inscriptions: Lomartire, Saverio: Wiligelmo/Nicolò: frammenti di biografie d'artista attraverso le iscrizioni, in: Donato, Maria Monica (ed.): *L'artista medievale* (Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, Classe di Lettere e Filosofia, serie IV, Quaderni, 16), Pisa 2003, pp. 269–282; Lomartire, Saverio: Cultura epigrafica intorno al Duomo di Modena, in: Peroni, Adriano/Piccinini, Francesca (eds.): *Romanica. Arte e liturgia nelle terre di san Geminiano e Matilde di Canossa*, Modena 2006, pp. 67–84.
 - 7 Dietl, Albert: *Defensor civitatis. Der Stadtpatron in romanischen Reliefzyklen Oberitaliens*, München 1998.
 - 8 Lomartire, Saverio: Appunti su alcune componenti nicoliane dell'apparato plastico del Duomo di Piacenza, in: *Bollettino Storico Piacentino*, 86 (1991), pp. 197–222; Klein, Bruno: *Die Kathedrale von Piacenza. Architektur und Skulptur der Romanik*, Worms 1995, pp. 140–165, 176–192. Calzona, Arturo: La Cattedrale di Piacenza tra mito e realtà, in: Fermi, Tiziano (ed.), *La trama nascosta della cattedrale di Piacenza* (Biblioteca storica piacentina, 32), Piacenza 2015, pp. 35–72.
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Credits

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