

DOMINICAN PATRONAGE OF THE ARTS IN CENTRAL ITALY:

THE PROVINCIA ROMANA, c.1220 - c. 1320.

JOANNA LOUISE CANNON

Thesis submitted for the degree of Ph.D.,
Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London.

1980

ABSTRACT

This thesis studies the contribution of members of the Dominican Order to the development of the arts in central Italy in the 13th and early 14th centuries. The investigation concentrates on patronage in the Provincia Romana - roughly equivalent to present-day Toscana, Umbria and Lazio - in its first century: c.1220 - c.1320.

There are three sections. First comes an examination of the context of Dominican art patronage. This describes the original character of the Order, its establishment, growth and change within the Provincia Romana, the construction of its convents, its membership, its relationship with the towns of central Italy, and the development of official views on art and architecture, as expressed in the legislation. Part two is a consideration of the role of individuals and of convents as patrons. Part three contains a detailed discussion of selected works, to determine recurring characteristics in art produced for the Order. The Council of Lyons (1274) is seen as a turning point, after which the security of the Order was ensured, but something of its essential character lost. After Lyons, the Dominicans began to spend more on art, and to make a more distinctive contribution to its development, notably in the field of Sienese polyptych design. A catalogue of information concerning Provincia Romana convents forms appendix 1. Other appendices list known patrons, and metalwork, vestments, illuminated choir books and panel paintings connected with the Provincia Romana.

The conclusion notes that the general circumstances of the Order must guide our view of its art patronage. Dominican attitudes to art are traced from indifference, through tolerance, to the conscious, but selective, use of art as religious propaganda. Some explanation is offered for the differing roles of Dominicans and Franciscans as patrons. Finally, characteristics observed in works discussed in the thesis are traced in art made for some later Dominicans.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>PAGE</u>
<u>ABSTRACT</u>	2
<u>TABLE OF CONTENTS</u>	3
<u>MAP OF THE PROVINCIA ROMANA</u>	9
<u>ACKNOWLEDGMENTS</u>	10
<u>ABBREVIATIONS</u>	13
<u>INTRODUCTION</u>	15

PART 1

<u>CHAPTER 1:</u>	<u>THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ORDER IN THE PROVINCIA ROMANA</u>	18
(a)	<u>The Foundation of the Dominican Order, its Early Aims and Character.</u>	18
(b)	<u>The Establishment and Growth of the Provincia Romana, 1219-c.1320.</u>	24
	Early Foundations and Initial Relations with the Towns - Expansion under Jordan of Saxony - The Start of Financial Success - The 1240s and 1250s - Foundations up to c.1320 - The Council of Lyons: a Turning Point in Dominican History.	
(c)	<u>The Position of the Dominicans within the Towns of Central Italy.</u>	37
	Successes with the Laity - The Membership of the Order - The Sites chosen for Convents.	
(d)	<u>Church Architecture in the Provincia Romana.</u>	52
	<u>NOTES TO CHAPTER 1</u>	63

<u>CHAPTER 2:</u>	<u>DOMINICAN LEGISLATION ON ART AND ARCHITECTURE</u>	74
-------------------	--	----

The Structure of Dominican Legislation - Previous Legislation on Art - Early Dominican Legislation and the Attitudes of S. Dominic - Raymond of Peñafort's Additions to the Legislation - Humbert of Roman's Additions to the Legislation - Legislation after the Master Generalate of Humbert of Romans - The Provincial Chapter Acts - The Dominicans and the Art Legislation of Other Religious Orders in the 13th Century - The Franciscans - Other Mendicant Orders.

	<u>NOTES TO CHAPTER 2</u>	102
--	---------------------------	-----

PART 2

<u>CHAPTER 3: INDIVIDUAL AND CORPORATE PATRONAGE</u>	109
(a) <u>Individual Patrons.</u>	109
Prelates - Excursus: the Private Means of the Individual Friar - Friars.	
(b) <u>The Mechanism of Conventual Patronage.</u>	119
(c) <u>A Survey of Dominican Patronage.</u>	125
Excursus: the Contents of a Dominican Sacristy - Metalwork - Liturgical Vestments and Hangings - Building - Tombs - Illuminated Choir Books - Panel Painting - Wall-painting, Sculpture and Church Furniture.	
<u>NOTES TO CHAPTER 3</u>	154

PART 3

<u>INTRODUCTION</u>	168
<u>CHAPTER 4: THE DOMINICANS AND THE ARTS BEFORE THE COUNCIL OF LYONS</u>	169
The <u>Arca di S. Domenico</u> - The First Tomb - The Second Tomb - The Third Tomb - The Programme of the <u>Arca di S. Domenico</u> - Dominican Panel Paintings executed before the Council of Lyons.	
<u>NOTES TO CHAPTER 4</u>	177
<u>CHAPTER 5: THE REPRESENTATION OF DOMINICAN SAINTS</u>	183
The Fogg St. Dominic Panel - The dates of the Fogg St. Dominic Panel - The Original Shape of the Fogg St. Dominic - The Lost S. Maria Novella St. Dominic Panel - Two Neapolitan Panels of St. Dominic - Other Representations of St. Dominic - Representations of the Life and Miracles of St. Dominic - Non-narrative Representations of St. Dominic - Representations of St. Peter Martyr - Representations of the Character and Activities of the Dominican Order - St. Dominic and St. Francis Represented Together.	
<u>NOTES TO CHAPTER 5</u>	211

CHAPTER 6: DOMINICAN CRUCIFIXES AND CRUCIFIXIONS

219

Giunta Pisano's S. Domenico, Bologna, Crucifix -
Cimabue's S. Domenico, Arezzo, Crucifix - The
S. Maria Novella Crucifix - Other Dominican
Crucifixes and Crucifixion Scenes.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 6

229

CHAPTER 7: THE DOMINICANS, SIENESE PAINTERS AND THE
DEPICTION OF THE VIRGIN AND CHILD

233

(a) The 13th Century.

235

Representations of the Virgin and Child - The
Yale Triptych and Guido da Siena's Palazzo
Pubblico Madonna - Duccio's Rucellai Madonna -
The Rucellai Madonna Angels - The Rucellai
Madonna and the Belle Verrière at Chartres -
The Rucellai Madonna and the Assumption -
the Programme of the Frame of the Rucellai
Madonna.

(b) The Dominicans and the Development of Polyptych
Design in Siena.

245

Duccio and Dominican Polyptych Design:
Siena Pinacoteca Polyptych no.28 -
Duccio's Perugia Polyptych.

245

Simone Martini and Dominican Polyptych
Design:

249

The Polyptych from S. Caterina, Pisa -
Design of the Pisa Polyptych - Arrangement
of the Pisa Polyptych - Programme of the
Pisa Polyptych - Character of the Pisa
Polyptych - The Polyptych from S. Domenico,
Orvieto - Design of the Orvieto Polyptych -
Attribution of the Orvieto Polyptych -
The Casciana Alta Pentaptych.

The S. Maria Novella Altarpiece and Ugolino
da Siena:

264

Later History of the S. Maria Novella
Altarpiece - Attribution of the S. Maria
Novella Altarpiece - Appearance of the S.
Maria Novella Altarpiece - Ugolino da Siena,
S. Croce and S. Maria Novella.

The Dominicans and the Development of the
Polyptych in Siena.

268

	6. <u>PAGE</u>
(c) <u>Small-scale Works: Devotional Panels, Diptychs and Triptychs.</u>	269
Excursus: Two Devotional Images: the Man of Sorrows and the Madonna of Humility.	275
(d) <u>The Dominicans and Sienese Painters</u>	279
Sienese Artists outside Siena - Sienese Artists and the Two Main Mendicant Orders - Excursus: Lippo Vanni and the Dominicans.	
<u>NOTES TO CHAPTER 7</u>	286
<u>CONCLUSION</u>	321
<u>NOTES TO CONCLUSION</u>	335

APPENDICES

<u>APPENDIX 1: CATALOGUE OF DOMINICAN CONVENTS OF THE PROVINCIA ROMANA TO C.1320</u>	336
Introduction	336
Anagni	338
Arezzo	341
Bevagna	345
Città di Castello	349
Cortona	353
Florence	355
Foligno	365
Gubbio	368
Lucca	371
Narni	377
Orvieto	380
Perugia	388
Pisa	396

	<u>PAGE</u>
Pistoia	403
Prato	408
Rieti	411
Rome, S. Sisto	415
Rome, S. Sabina	419
Rome, S. Maria Sopra Minerva	423
Sarzana	427
Siena	430
Spoletto	441
Terracina	445
Tivoli	448
Todi	452
Viterbo	456

APPENDIX 2: MEMBERSHIP AND ART PATRONAGE IN THREE
DOMINICAN CONVENTS: THE OBITUARY LISTS OF
FLORENCE, ORVIETO AND PISA.

	465
(a) Known Medieval Dominican Obituary Lists.	465
(b) Orvieto.	466
(c) Florence, S. Maria Novella.	469
(d) Pisa.	471
(e) Orvieto, Pisa and Florence.	473

APPENDIX 3: INDIVIDUAL DOMINICAN PATRONS CONNECTED
WITH THE PROVINCIA ROMANA BY THEIR DONATIONS
OR THEIR CAREERS.

	474
(a) Metalwork.	474
(b) Liturgical Vestments and Hangings.	475
(c) Building.	476
<u>NOTES TO APPENDIX 3</u>	477

PAGEAPPENDIX 4: ILLUMINATED CHOIR BOOKS

480

- (a) Illuminated Choir Books from Dominican Houses in the Provincia Romana. 480
- (b) Illuminated Choir Books, decorated by Italian artists, definitely or probably for houses outside the Provincia Romana. 483.
- (c) Leaves and Cuttings from illuminated Choir Books decorated by Italian artists, and probably intended for Dominican use. 487
- (d) Dominican supplicants represented in illuminated Choir Books decorated by Italian artists. 489
- (e) Known Dominican patrons of illuminated books probably decorated by Italian artists. 491

APPENDIX 5: PANEL PAINTINGS AND CRUCIFIXES

492

- (a) Panel Paintings from Dominican houses within the Provincia Romana up to c.1320. 492
- (b) Panel Paintings from Dominican houses in Italy outside the Provincia Romana, up to c.1320. 493
- (c) Panel Paintings apparently connected with the Dominican Order, but without a firm connection with a specific house, executed before c.1320, by artists whose artistic origins were within the area of the Provincia Romana. 494
- (d) Painted Crucifixes from Dominican houses, executed before c.1320, by artists whose artistic origins were within the area of the Provincia Romana. 495

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

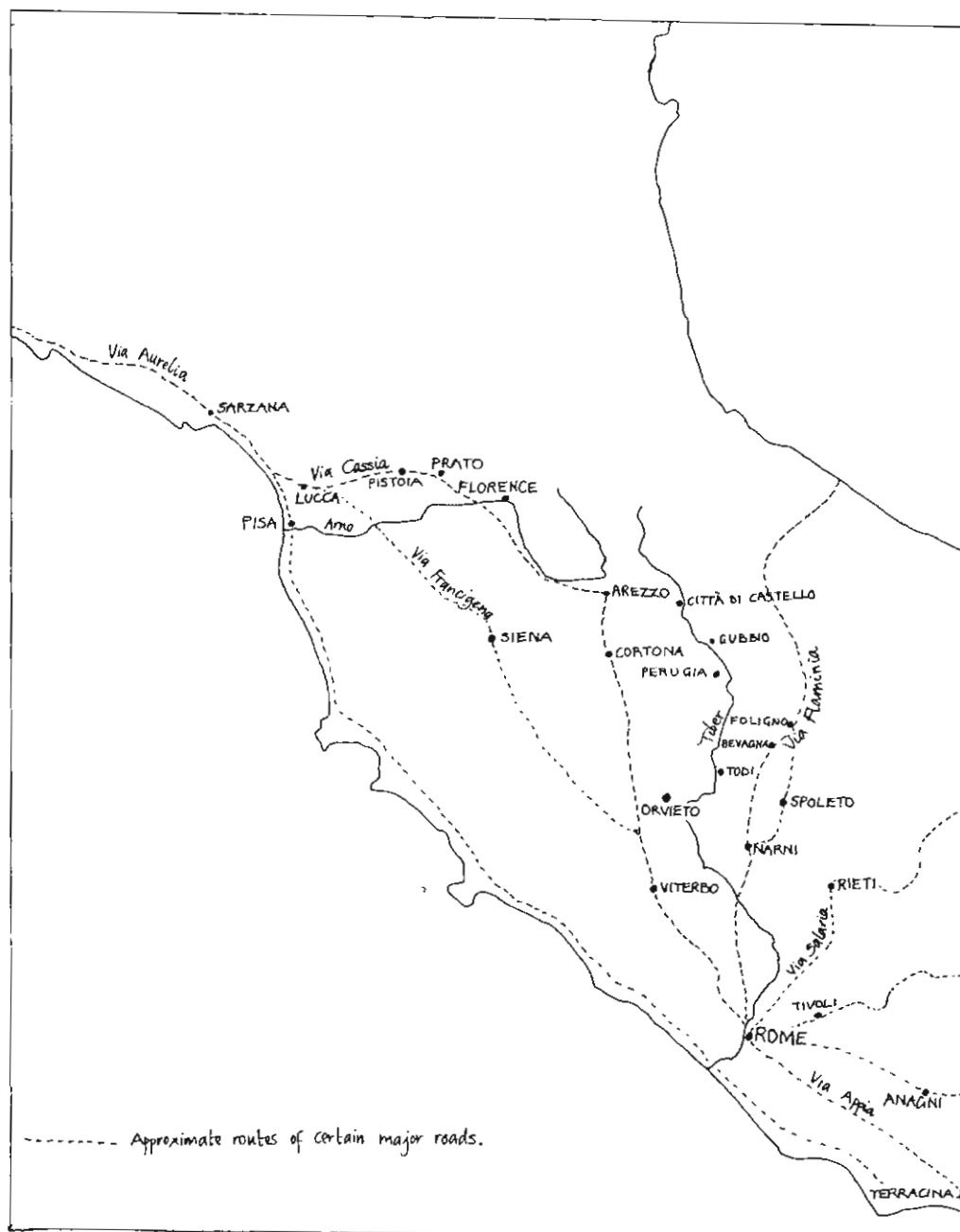
497

BIBLIOGRAPHY

510

MAP OF THE PROVINCIA ROMANA

Approximate sites of convents founded by 1320.



ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The research for this thesis would not have been possible without financial support from several sources. A three year Major State Studentship from the Department of Education and Science financed my basic research in both England and Italy. A grant from the British School at Rome gave extra funds for two months archival research in Italy. A European Studentship, provided with generosity and efficiency by the Leverhulme Trust Fund, enabled me to spend a year in Rome. The last six weeks of my stay there were made particularly pleasant by a bursary from the École Française de Rome, which not only ensured funds, but also provided the chance to live - briefly - in Piazza Navona and to possess a key to the library in Palazzo Farnese.

In the course of my research in Italy I visited many libraries, archives, galleries, museums and churches, often receiving kind and helpful attention. I am grateful to all those institutions mentioned in my thesis. I owe a particular debt to the rich resources of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana and Archivio Segreto Vaticano, whose staff were unfailingly attentive and efficient, and to the Bibliotheca Hertziana. The Hertziana topographical index guided me to much material which would otherwise have been untraceable or inaccessible, and the provision of a desk in the library gave me a base from which to pursue this information. I was fortunate in being able to consult several other specialist collections: the libraries of the École Française, the Deutsches Historisches Institut, the British School, and the Archivum Generale of the Dominican Order in Rome; the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florence; the Warburg Institute, Institute of Historical Research, Conway Library and Garrison Collection in London. When working in England, the British Library proved a convenient and comprehensive source of material on many topics.

I should like to thank the following for permission to photograph, visit or examine objects or buildings in their care: members of the Dominican Order and other clergy responsible for the Dominican churches of central Italy which are still in use; the library of S. Domenico and the Museo Civico, Bologna; the Pinacoteca, Città di Castello; the libraries of S. Maria Novella and S. Marco, Florence; the Comune, Foligno; the Archivio Comunale, Gubbio; the Biblioteca Statale, Lucca; the Museo Civico, Montalcino; the Museo dell'Opera

del Duomo, Orvieto; the Archivio di Stato, Biblioteca Augusta, Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria and Soprintendenza dell'Antichità, Perugia; the Museo Nazionale di S. Matteo, Pisa; the Italian Army barracks, Rieti; the organisers of the Mostra dell'Arte Sacra in Lazio, Rome, 1975; the Archivio di Stato and Pinacoteca, Siena.

The cost of acquiring photographs for research and illustration was diminished by the loan of a camera from the Central Research Fund of the University of London, and by the Conway Library, which printed a large number of negatives free of charge. Thanks are also due to the Nederlands Instituut te Rome, for the hospitality of their dark room, and to Henk van de Schoor, for the provision of various photographs.

I am grateful to several present-day Dominicans for assistance and advice: Leonard Boyle OP, of the Pontifical Institute, Toronto; Stephen Forte OP, of the Dominican Historical Institute, Rome; Isnardo Groesi OP, of S. Maria Novella, Florence. The friars of S. Domenico, Pistoia not only gave me the opportunity to consult the only complete set of the periodical Memorie Domenicane, but also invited me to stay in their convent as a guest and to eat with the friars in their refectory, in the presence of trecento Dominican frescoes.

While researching and writing, I have received help from a number of people. Chief among those offering advice, discussion, criticism and encouragement, or helping in the dull but vital business of checking references, were Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, André Vauchez, Giulia Barone and other members of the Circolo Medievistico Romano, Daniel Waley, Hans de Valk, Diederik Schönau, Valerie Wainright and John Lowden. My typist, Yvonne Carmichael, worked with unflagging speed and accuracy, making necessary corrections to my imperfect typescript.

My parents, whose love of travel first gave me a taste for the art of foreign countries, have been generous in their support - both moral and financial - throughout my school and university career.

I owe my greatest debt to teachers and colleagues at the Courtauld Institute. The staff of the Conway Library, in particular its librarian, Constance Hill, have treated an often preoccupied colleague with tolerance and patience. Peter Kidson and Robin Cormack have given advice and instruction, both during my time as an undergraduate at the Institute and in the writing of this thesis.

Dillian Gordon has given sympathetic advice throughout, and I have benefitted greatly from our many discussions. Finally, I want to express my thanks to my supervisor, Julian Gardner, who first persuaded me to try my hand as a medievalist, communicated to me his enthusiasm for duecento and trecento Italian art, and suggested the topic of my research. But for him, this thesis would not have been written.

ABBREVIATIONS

(Abbreviations used only in appendix 1 are listed in the introduction to that appendix.)

Works Cited in Abbreviated Form.

- AASS Acta Sanctorum, (Antwerp, 1643ff.)
- Bonaini 'Cronaca del Convento di Santa Caterina', ed. F. Bonaini, Archivio Storico Italiano, 6, ii (1848), pp.399-633.
- BOP Bullarium Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum, ed. T. Ripoll and A. Bremond, 8 vols (Rome, 1729-1740).
- Caccia Jean Maestei Caccia. Chronique du Couvent des Prêcheurs d'Orvieto, ed. A.M. Viel and P.M. Girardin, (Rome/Viterbo, 1907).
- DBI Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani, (Rome, 1960 ff.)
- Eubel, Hierarchia C. Eubel, Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi, Vol.I, (Regensburg, 1913).
- Garrison, Index E.B. Garrison, Italian Romanesque Panel Painting: an illustrated index, (Florence, 1949).
- Humbert, Opera Humbertus de Romanis, Opera de Vita Regulari, ed. J.J. Berthier OP, 2 vols. (Rome, 1888, 1889).
- LTK Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche, (Freiburg-i-Br., 1957 ff.).
- Masetti P.T. Masetti OP, Monumenta et Antiquitates Veteris Disciplinae Ordinis Praedicatorum ab anno 1216 ad anno 1348, praesertim in Romana provincia ..., 2 vols., (Rome, 1864).
- Meersseman, 'Études', I, II, III, IV
G.G. Meerseeman OP, 'Études sur les anciennes confréries dominicaines',
'I. Les confréries de Saint-Dominique', AFP, 20 (1950), pp.5-113.
'II. Les confréries de Saint-Pierre Martyr', AFP, 21 (1951), pp.51-196.
'III. Les Congrégations de la Vierge', AFP, 22 (1952), pp.5-176.
'IV. Les Milices de Jésus-Christ', AFP, 23 (1953), pp.275-308.
- Mostra Giottesca G. Sinibaldi and G. Brunetti, Catalogo della Mostra Giottesca, (Florence, 1943).
- Offner, Corpus R. Offner, A Critical and Historical Corpus of Florentine Painting, (New York, 1930 ff.).
- Paatz W. and E. Paatz, Die Kirchen von Florenz, 6 vols., (Frankfurt, 1940-1954).
- PL J.-P. Migne, Patriologiae Cursus Completus; Series Latina, 221 vols., (Paris, 1844-1864).
- QE J. Quétif and J. Échard, Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum, 2 vols., (Paris, 1719-1721).

Vasari, Barocchi Giorgio Vasari, Le Vite de' Più Eccellenti Pittori Scultori e Architettori, ed. P. Barocchi and R. Bettarini, 6 vols., (Florence, 1966).

Periodicals and Series Cited in Abbreviated Form.

AB	<u>The Art Bulletin.</u>
AFP	<u>Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum.</u>
AQ	<u>The Art Quarterly.</u>
ASOP	<u>Analecta Sacri Ordinis Praedicatorum.</u>
BA	<u>Bolletino d'Arte.</u>
BM	<u>The Burlington Magazine.</u>
BSSP	<u>Bulletino Senese di Storia Patria.</u>
DOP	<u>Dumbarton Oaks Papers.</u>
JWCI	<u>Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes.</u>
MD	<u>Memorie Domenicane.</u>
MKIF	<u>Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz.</u>
MOPH	<u>Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum Historica.</u>
ZKg	<u>Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte.</u>

INTRODUCTION

Major artistic developments took place in central Italy during the 13th and early 14th centuries. Much of the impetus for these changes has been attributed to the influence of the new religious Orders established in Italy at the start of the 13th century. The mendicant Orders offered a new spirituality which involved the individual more profoundly and directly in religious experience. Since Thode's work Franz von Assisi und die Anfänge der Kunst der Renaissance in Italien, first published in 1885, aspects of the Franciscan contribution to Italian art have been acknowledged and studied. However, appreciation of the role of the Dominican Order in this development has previously been limited, since no detailed consideration of the subject has been available. In fact there has been no systematic survey of the full range of artistic patronage pursued by any religious Order in 13th or early 14th century central Italy. This thesis sets out to fill a part of this lacuna by discussing as fully as possible the artistic patronage of the Dominicans within one administrative district of the Order.

The area chosen is the Provincia Romana which, after the 1294 division in which the kingdom of Naples and Sicily was made into a separate province, was roughly equal to the extent of present-day Toscana, Umbria and Lazio. The province is treated in its post-1294 form, even when considering the period before 1294, although individual examples from outside this area, especially from Bologna and the Neapolitan houses, will sometimes be included in the discussion.

The thesis examines the first hundred years of the province: 1219-1320. This period includes the foundation and rapid expansion of the Order in central Italy, its quarrels with the secular clergy, the firm establishment of the Order at the Council of Lyons in 1274, and the years of increasing prosperity and security during which two Dominicans became Pope and several became cardinals. By 1320 the Provincia Romana comprised twenty-six houses and stretched from Sarzana in the north west, to Foligno and Spoleto in the east, and Terracina in the south. (Eleven monasteries established for Dominican nuns within the province will not generally be mentioned in this thesis.)

As complete a collection as possible of surviving or recorded objects and buildings has been made; all items are referred to at least once, either in the text or plates, or in one of the five appendices.

The work is divided into three parts:

- (1) An examination of the context of Dominican art patronage. This describes the original character of the Order, its establishment, growth and change within the area of the Provincia Romana, the construction of its convents, its membership, its relationship with the towns of central Italy, and the development of official views on art and architecture, as expressed in the legislation.
- (2) A definition of Dominican patronage. A consideration of the role of individuals and of convents as patrons is followed by a survey of the patterns of patronage, based on all known objects from the Provincia Romana.
- (3) A more detailed discussion of selected works, to determine recurring characteristics of art produced for the Order. The Council of Lyons (1274) is seen as a turning point, after which the security of the Order was ensured, but something of its essential character - the emphasis on poverty and daily begging - was lost.

~~Then considering~~ the period before the Council of Lyons, during which the Dominicans and Franciscans experienced common difficulties and often found it prudent to present a common front, it is interesting to contrast the uses which the two Orders made of art.

In the period after Lyons, the Dominicans began to spend more money on art and to make a more individual contribution to its development. This can be seen most clearly in the field of Sienese polyptych design; several landmarks in this development are Dominican commissions, and contacts between convents may have helped spread new designs through central Italy.

The handful of previous studies of the Dominicans and the arts which touch on the central Italian area, have been both broader in scope and chronology and more selective in approach. Marchese's Memorie dei Più Insigni Pittori, Scultori e Architetti Domenicani, first published in 1845, is restricted to the question of Dominicans

as artists. Marchese was obliged, by his somewhat chauvinistic approach, to include in his study documented Dominicans whose actual artistic contributions may well have been small or non-existent. Gillet's pioneering enquiry of 1912, Histoire Artistique des Ordres Mendicants, was prompted by Thode's work concerning Franciscans alone. Gillet set out to examine the contribution of the two main mendicant Orders to the art of both Italy and northern Europe, from the 13th to the 17th century. A study of such broad scope must, of necessity, deal very selectively. Gillet's approach included some consideration of the general history of the two Orders and of the devotional literature produced by them, learning in these respects from Mâle's work, and pointing the way for later scholars. But by including only the highlights of art produced for the Dominican Order he presented too static and unvaried a picture. Meersseman's excellent study, 'L'Architecture dominicaine au XIIIe siècle, légis et pratique' of 1946, dealt with the whole of Europe and, as the title shows, concerned itself only with architecture. Kaftal's short work St. Dominic in early Tuscan painting, which appeared in 1948, included a brief treatment of one aspect of the art with which this thesis is concerned.

Studies of the general history of the Provincia Romana are also in short supply. The most comprehensive and detailed work is still Masetti's Monumenta et Antiquitates Veteris Disciplinae Ordinis Praedicatorum, published in 1864. It has therefore been necessary to present at some length, in the first part of the present thesis, and the catalogue which forms appendix 1, details of the historical context of the Provincia Romana not available in any 20th century works.

Unlike previous studies, this thesis is limited to a relatively small area and time-span. It seeks to study the art produced for a Dominican milieu, within that area and period, as thoroughly as possible, in the hope of gaining a fuller understanding of the changing role which members of the Order played in the development of the arts in 13th and early 14th century central Italy.

PART 1

CHAPTER 1:

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ORDER IN THE PROVINCIA ROMANA.

(a) The Foundation of the Dominican Order, its Early Aims and Character.

In 1215 Fulk, bishop of Toulouse, issued a letter approving the activities of Dominic and his companions within the diocese. The aims of the little group, as described in the letter, are those which the Dominican Order was to profess for many years to come,

' ... in order to root out the corruption of heresy, to drive out vice, to teach the rule of faith and to instil sound morals in men, we establish as preachers in our diocese brother Dominic and his companions, who have resolved to go on foot, in evangelical poverty, leading the religious life and preaching the word of the truth of the gospels.' (1)

Dominic had good reason to choose preaching and poverty as the main weapons with which his group was to fight against heresy and against the hostility, ignorance or indifference of the laity towards the Catholic Church. Using these methods he had enjoyed considerable success in his work in the south of France from 1207 onwards.⁽²⁾ It was Diego, bishop of Osma (in whose service Dominic had originally come to France), who had recognised the importance of the apostolic life as a means of combatting heresy. During an encounter with a group of twelve Cistercian abbots led by a papal legate, dispatched by Innocent III to preach against the Albigensians, the bishop realised that the lavishness and splendour in which they travelled would doom their mission to failure. The only way in which to win the laity back from heresy was to show that the Catholic Church too could offer them an example of poverty, austerity and religious fervour, ' ... only a true humility can defeat the presumption of these pseudo-apostles.'⁽³⁾ So saying, Diego took the decision to send his retinue back to Spain and to remain in France with his sub-prior Dominic, preaching in austerity. Thus poverty and the apostolic life were chosen specifically as instruments in the fight against

heresy, first by Diego and then by Dominic.

For Dominic there were other reasons for favouring this way of life. The administration of estates and other financial matters would have taken time and energy away from preaching - the raison d'être of the Order. Witness a passage in the Libellus of Jordan of Saxony, second master general of the Order,

'They (Dominic and the first friars) proposed and resolved not to have any landed property, so that the worries of temporal affairs did not hinder the ministry of preaching.' (4)

Indeed, administrative cares of all kinds were kept to a minimum, as this description from the Acta Canonizationis (the record of statements by witnesses who actually knew Dominic, made during the investigation prior to his canonisation) shows,

'He forbade the friars to involve themselves in temporal matters, in the affairs of the house or in decisions about worldly concerns, apart from those responsible for the upkeep of the house, and he wanted the rest of the friars to apply themselves constantly to study, to prayer or to preaching; and if it was known that a certain friar preached fruitfully, he was not to be given any other offices to carry out.' (5)

Dominic's decision to follow a life of evangelical poverty was not taken in a vacuum. The desire to return to the simplicity of early Christianity had been crucial to various religious movements of different kinds, both within and outside the Catholic Church, during the 12th century.⁽⁶⁾ The papacy, nervous about the surge of religious enthusiasm linked with these ideas, which could too easily spill over into heresy, took steps to control matters at the Lateran Council of 1215. No new rules were to be introduced when founding religious Orders.⁽⁷⁾ On the other hand the Council recognised that there was a pressing need for reform, if the abuses and inefficiencies visible within the structure of the Church were not to help in encouraging yet more of the faithful to be won over to the beliefs and practices of the heretics, whilst at the same time rendering the Church ineffective in its efforts to persuade the laity

to return to, or remain within, the Catholic Church. One result of this recognition was the instruction, in canon ten of the decreta, that bishops should provide themselves with extra preachers to help them carry out their traditional task (and the hearing of confessions and imposing of penances related to preaching) more effectively, so that the laity might be better informed on the orthodox views on religious matters, and experience more daily involvement with religious life.⁽⁸⁾

Given the current religious atmosphere, the experience of his work with bishop Diego and the requirements of official Church policy as laid down in the Council of 1215, it is not altogether surprising that Dominic chose to arrange around himself a group of mendicant preachers. What is more unusual is the form which he decided this group should take.

As the papal bull of confirmation of 1216 shows, Dominic chose to set up an Order of regular canons - in other words an Order composed entirely of priests, living a communal life in obedience to a specific rule - and since the Lateran Council had forbidden the writing of any new religious rule Dominic was obliged to adopt an existing one, that of St. Augustine, for his Order.⁽⁹⁾ Until then this type of religious community had been virtually indissolubly connected with the idea of landed property and fixed incomes.⁽¹⁰⁾ Dominic's Order was to become the first to live in full communal conventual poverty. It was one of Dominic's main achievements to succeed in blending the recent fervour to follow the life of apostolic poverty, experienced by individuals and small groups, with the fruits of the reforms which were taking place among orders of regular canons,⁽¹¹⁾ in order to create the basis of a new kind of Order; an Order which succeeded in preserving much of its original character long after other products of 12th century ideals concerning poverty, based on less firm foundations, had lost their original impetus, been split by dissent, or fallen into heresy.

The Order attained its unusual form in various stages, each carefully supervised by Dominic. At first the activities of his companions were restricted to the diocese of Toulouse, where their income derived from the produce and rents of properties they had received,⁽¹²⁾ from the sixth of the tithe provided by bishop Fulk in 1215 and from the donation of alms.⁽¹³⁾ In 1217 Dominic abruptly

took the bold decision to disperse the friars throughout Europe, sending them on preaching missions to major European towns in which they began to establish themselves more permanently.⁽¹⁴⁾ During the next two years the Order, supported by a succession of papal privileges obtained by Dominic, enjoyed a rapid success; six houses were established in France, Spain and Italy and more were planned.⁽¹⁵⁾ By 1220 Dominic was prepared to take another bold step. On the occasion of the Order's first general chapter meeting (part of the thorough and efficient legislative system which Dominic was devising to maintain his Order on the course he had chosen for it⁽¹⁶⁾) he announced the Order's rejection of all possessions and rents and the decision to live entirely from alms. Jordan of Saxony describes this in the Libellus, '... ordinatum est, ne possessiones vel redditus de cetero tenerent fratres nostri, sed et iis renuntiarent, quos habuerant in partibus Tholosanis.'⁽¹⁷⁾

What precisely did this renunciation entail? Dominicans still owned their church and convent, the instruments of the cult and other necessary objects contained within them, and the lands immediately surrounding them. For example, in 1221 the Siena friars assumed the ownership of 'ecclesiam Sancte Marie Madalene cum omnibus pertinentiis et adiacentiis et sanctificiis suis et terram et vineam ibidem positam, ...'.⁽¹⁸⁾ Thus there was no need for the Order to involve itself in the kind of legal fictions concerning the ownership of a convent which so entangled other Orders such as the Franciscans. However it was forbidden to own lands beyond the immediate vicinity of the convent, that is, estates which would have had to be managed, or houses or building land providing rents.⁽¹⁹⁾

It was still permitted to carry out financial transactions on behalf of the convent, including the handling of money, so there was no need to employ lay procurators (unless they had a specific skill or training to offer). On 11 July 1220 a house near S. Nicolò, Bologna was sold to Fra Radulfo, 'pro pretio decem et novem librarum Bonon., quos a vobis recepi ...'. The property was to be owned by Fra Radulfo, the friars and their successors, 'ad habendum, tenendum et possidendum.'⁽²⁰⁾ Dominic obviously approved of this arrangement. In the Acta Canonizationis he is reported as saying that only those charged with the care of temporal affairs should involve themselves in such matters⁽²¹⁾ - no mention of lay procurators is made. On 7 June 1221 a purchase of fields and buildings adjoining S. Nicolò,

Bologna, was handled by Dominic. The friars are described as having sold some vines in order to raise the cash for the transaction,⁽²²⁾ In other words Dominic was prepared to undertake personally all the operations of land purchase and sale.

As for the lot of the individual friar, austerity of life within the convent probably existed from the inception of the Order in Toulouse.⁽²³⁾ This austerity was enforced by the early legislation, which set out clear regulations for the way of life to be followed. For example: no meat was to be eaten, no mattresses were to be used and clothing was to be of poor quality. Begging for alms from the convent was carefully regulated: begging and preaching were to be kept quite separate and mention was made of those generally exempt from communal begging.⁽²⁴⁾

When travelling as a mendicant preacher, a friar was to lead an austere life, as Dominic himself had done during his preaching journeys. At the dispersal of 1217 Dominic sent the friars off without any money.⁽²⁵⁾ The evidence of Jean of Navarre in the Acta Canonizationis shows both the simplicity of life at which Dominic aimed for his Order, towards the end of his life, and the difficulties in immediately imposing it,

'... cum ordo predicatorum haberet castra et possessiones multas in partibus supradictis (Toulouse and Albi), pecuniam portarent in via secum et equitarent et superpellicia deferrent, prefatus frater Dominicus laboravit et fecit quod fratres ipsius ordinis dimitterent et contemnerent omnia temporalia, et insisterent paupertati, et non equitarent, et viverent de elemosinis et nichil secum in via portarent.'⁽²⁶⁾

In fact the legislation suggests that they were allowed to take money out with them, to spend on necessities,

'Euntes vero ad iam dictum predicationis officium exercendum vel alias itinerantes, aurum, argentum, pecuniam et munera, excepto victu et vestitu et necessariis indumentis et libris, nec accipient nec portabunt.'⁽²⁷⁾

Within the convent some friars were evidently allowed to handle money. Those involved in land transactions on behalf of the convent

have already been mentioned and the earliest Constitutions also state that, although friars could not be stewards for the goods or money of the faithful, they could act as depositarii for money. (28)

The situation regarding the holding of private money or belongings and the treatment of private resources which a friar might bring with him at his entry into a convent, is less clear. Neither the sections in the earliest Constitutions, which deal with punishable sins of various degrees, nor the list of errors which the visitors were to correct, include any mention of individual ownership or of money belonging to those just making their profession. Dominio probably intended that on entering the Order a friar should relinquish all rights to individual belongings, since from then on he was to live in poverty and rely on money supplied by the Order. (29)

- (b) The Establishment and Growth of the Provincia Romana, 1219-c.1320. (30)

Early Foundations and Initial Relations with the Towns.

By the time of the founder's death in Bologna in 1221 there were about twenty-four Dominican houses in Europe, eight in Italy, ten in France, two in Spain, two in Germany, one in Hungary and one in Sweden. The Italian houses were mainly in the north: Bologna, Bergamo, Milan, Verona, Piacenza and Brescia, and also in the Roman Province: Rome, Florence and Siena. (31)

All the Italian towns which were chosen were large enough to support the mendicancy of the Dominicans. They were centres of ecclesiastical power (Rome), of learning (Bologna), of trade, commerce and industry (Pisa, Milan, Florence), of political power (Florence), of religious dissent and heresy (Milan, Florence), or important stops on major routes of communication (Siena on the Via Francigena; Bergamo, Brescia and Verona on the road to Venice).

The early convents looked both to the town and to the contado and roads surrounding it. They provided a base and a point of rest for friars visiting the towns, villages and castelli of the neighbouring contado, as well as more distant places. The friars travelled in order to preach, to beg (for kind in rural areas, as well as in the towns) and to find new recruits. The constant need to travel is attested to by the frequent choice of convent sites near roads and gates.

Dominican convents were not initially centres of worship for the population of the town. Early foundations did not necessarily possess an altar at all; a bull of 1221 permitting the use of portable altars, mentions that the early friars had to run (sic) to the town centre to hear mass. (32) The first convents generally consisted of an oratory or small church, taken over from other owners rather than newly built, principally providing for the needs of the friars rather than the laity, and accommodation for those who belonged to the house or were pausing there during a preaching journey. If the friars took over a church to which parish obligations attached, these were relinquished and handed to the care of members of the

secular clergy (e.g. S. Sabina, Siena, Pisa). The friars' contribution to the religious life of the town was to provide sermons. In 1221 they also gained the important right to hear confessions, in connection with preaching.⁽³³⁾

Convents also provided training for the friars. St. Dominic had stressed instruction and study, rather than manual labour, as the foundation of good orthodox preaching. He chose Paris and Bologna, university towns, as sites for two of the earliest foundations and his Constitutions ensured special treatment for students. Those with particular ability were to be excused from begging, all were to be treated favourably and the offices were to be said quickly so that the maximum time could be spent in study and preaching.⁽³⁴⁾ A lector (teacher) had to be included among the minimum of twelve friars required for the foundation of a house and arrangements were also made for the magister studencium and for the provision of books, in the earliest Constitutions.⁽³⁵⁾

The early Dominicans needed powerful patrons within the church who could control the granting of oratories, conventual buildings and plots of land, and smooth the path of the friars in the face of opposition. At this date there was no member of the Order within the church hierarchy, so help had to come from friends outside the Order, principally from popes and cardinals.

Papal help was the most important. Privileges were granted which helped the friars in their travels and in their dealings with a sometimes recalcitrant secular clergy. The most important of these were the early series of bulls obtained by Dominic from Honorius III.⁽³⁶⁾ The Dominicans were not always favourably received by the local bishop, in whose gift lay permission to preach in the diocese. The Order was directly responsible to the Pope, not to the local bishop, and the Constitutions are quite clear in their attitude to such authority: bishops are not to be obeyed if their ruling goes against that of the Order.⁽³⁷⁾ Nevertheless a papal privilege was a great asset on difficult occasions, for example consecrations and laying of foundation stones could be performed for the Dominicans by another bishop, if the diocesan proved awkward.⁽³⁸⁾

The first six houses in central Italy were founded within four years, 1219-1222. The two Roman houses were obtained by papal

transfer, Cardinal Ugolino (later Gregory IX) eventually succeeded in securing a permanent house for the Dominicans in Florence, Cardinal Raniero Capocci probably gave the land for the Viterbo convent and became its main patron. Lay donations appear to have secured the early foundations in Siena and Pisa.

Expansion under Jordan of Saxony.

In the introduction of his obituary list of the Orvieto house, the 14th century Dominican Matteo Caccia characterised Jordan of Saxony's master generalate, 1222-1237, as a time of rapid expansion.⁽³⁹⁾ This is certainly true of central Italy towards the end of his time of office. After a halt following the earliest foundations, six new houses were established between 1233 and 1236: Orvieto, Arezzo, Perugia, Todi, Lucca and Anagni (possibly a locus, rather than a full convent, at this date.)

The towns chosen were again centres of trade and communication and included towns visited by the curia - Viterbo, Orvieto and Anagni. At least two appear to have been founded by earlier houses which had concentrated preaching activities in that particular centre - Todi founded from Orvieto and Lucca founded from Pisa - and the others probably also represent the consolidation of contacts already made with the towns in question by itinerant friars.

The Dominicans may actually have been invited to establish convents by the towns themselves, and were in any case actively encouraged by the communes. Sites were donated to the Order by the local commune in Perugia, probably in Orvieto and possibly in Arezzo, and a former monastery was probably transferred to the Dominicans by the commune in Todi. This involvement is well illustrated in the case of Perugia, where land purchased by the Podestà from two private owners was handed to the Dominicans in the presence of the bishop, archpriest, judges and many other clerics and laymen of Perugia; the ius patronatus of the church which was to be built was retained by the commune.

The Dominicans continued to inherit buildings, for example at Lucca, but in this period they also began to build their own oratories - presumably modest structures since they were soon replaced.⁽⁴⁰⁾

The earliest piece of church building in the Provincia Romana was probably at Siena in 1226 or 27, by 1231 Viterbo had apparently built a small church and two of the new foundations, Perugia and Orvieto, were working on buildings in 1234 and 1235 respectively. Gregory IX, who as Cardinal Ugolino had already been of great help in establishing the Provincia Romana by securing a convent in Florence, issued bulls in favour of these two houses which specifically mention that both conventual buildings and churches (Aedes sacrae; Ecclesia) were under construction.

By the 1230s convents were already increasing their land holdings (partly to accommodate new buildings). Property of various types was acquired in several ways, establishing a pattern of piecemeal development maintained for the rest of the period. For example: a vineyard outside the town walls was rented from laymen (Siena, 1226); an orchard within the walls was donated by a layman (Lucca, 1237); three plots containing orchards and vineyards, adjoining the convent site outside the walls, were purchased by a non-Dominican prelate (who had probably already donated some family land) and given to the Order (Cardinal Raniero Capocci, Viterbo, 1227); the commune purchased land, vineyards, four houses and other buildings from two owners in a subborgo and handed them over to the Dominicans (Perugia, 1234); a Dominican prior, acting on behalf of his convent, bought houses and orchards to add to the existing site (Pisa, 1230, 1231).

The Start of Financial Success.

During this period the self-confidence of the Order increased. Dominic was canonised in 1234⁽⁴¹⁾ and the newly-built church in Orvieto was reputedly the first dedicated to him. This mood of self-confidence, establishment and expansion inevitably led to the gradual but inexorable turn away from the original spirit of the Order. By 1233 Gregory IX already felt it necessary to issue a bull exhorting the general chapter to maintain voluntary poverty, the guardian of humility,

⁴¹Quapropter devotionem vestram rogamus monemus
et obsecramus in Domino, quatenus ad propositum

vestre vocationis agonem prudentius intendentes, humiliati, que virtutum omnium est fundamentum altissimum, et durabile firmamentum, et non ficta, sed voluntarie paupertati, que precedentis est custos, inhereatis ex animo, non habentes aliquod commune cum mundo; perseveret in vobis disciplina Ordinis ...' (42)

But by granting and reaffirming the Order's privileges⁽⁴³⁾, securing the founder's canonisation and seeking to promote his cult, Gregory was already setting the Order on the path of success which was to preclude the whole-hearted pursuit of poverty.

The Order was committed to living from alms, but it seems that these mendicants met with such success that this activity was soon hardly necessary as a daily means of support. By 1239-40 the general chapter found it necessary to rule that friars should not beg for more than one year's advance supply of wine and grain; in 1245 the chapter directed the friars '... in locis ubi habitant panem petant in signum paupertatis' (my italics).⁽⁴⁴⁾ Apparently the magnitude of some gifts - and income from other sources - meant that daily quests were not strictly necessary and were maintained partly as a show. Begging became increasingly formalised. In the 1270s the general chapter decreed that conversi (lay brothers) must beg for bread, students or full friars for corn or wine, while lectores could be excused from begging entirely.⁽⁴⁵⁾ Hugbert of Romans, fifth master general of the Order, saw the Order as a benefactor of the poor, as much as a recipient of alms. In his De Officiis Ordinis he described how the porter of a convent should give to the poor and needy, and his definition of an eleemosynarius (almoner), 'Eleemosynarius dicitur qui vel habet petere eleemosynam, vel dare', reveals the janus-like position which the Order occupied.⁽⁴⁶⁾

In 1244 the Order was granted exemption from tithes. In other words, by this date it had sufficient means to require protection from the decimo.⁽⁴⁷⁾ This is a considerable change from 1215, when bishop Fulk assigned a sixth of the proceeds of the tithe to Dominic and his followers in order to support them. The means which the Order had accumulated since then were not all the fruits of begging. The laity remembered the friars in their wills - the earliest surviving Provincia Romana will (in which all the lay testator's goods are left to S. Maria Novella) is of 1242⁽⁴⁸⁾ - and the friars

themselves brought money into the Order (as discussed below). Moreover, although expressly forbidden in the Constitutions,⁽⁴⁹⁾ the convents had begun to possess holdings beyond the confines of the convent, some of which produced incomes. The 1249 general chapter acts stipulate, in a spirit of compromise, that such land is only to be obtained if soon given away again, and that no income from it is to be enjoyed.⁽⁵⁰⁾ The 1254 Roman province chapter acts noted that possessions and houses were still being held outside convents, in defiance of the regulations,⁽⁵¹⁾ but the holding of land and reception of rents increased, soon becoming one of the Order's main financial supports.

The 1240s and 1250s.

Caccia's chronicle characterises John the Teuton's master generalate, 1241-52, as a time of privilege during which members of the Order became bishops and, in one case, cardinal.⁽⁵²⁾ Papal privileges were certainly abundant at this period, helping consolidate the expansion of the 1230s.

The first Dominican Cardinal, Hugh of St. Cher, was elected in 1245 and the spate of bulls favouring the Order issued around this date were presumably partly due to his influence. In 1244, in addition to the exemption from the tithe, burial rights were re-affirmed, the Dominican habit defended, the secular clergy directed to permit the friars to preach and hear confession and the master general's power within the Order confirmed,⁽⁵³⁾ while in 1246 several building campaigns were favoured with papal indulgences for those helping with the work.⁽⁵⁴⁾

In the Provincia Romana the mood was one of consolidation. After the mid 1230s the foundation of full convents slowed to the steady rate of only one or two per decade, maintained to the end of our period.⁽⁵⁵⁾ (This is in contrast to the Franciscans, who continued to found numerous houses (sometimes with few friars) in small towns, as well as in the major centres favoured by the Dominicans.⁽⁵⁶⁾) The boundaries of preaching and begging areas - predicazioni - in the contado surrounding each convent were agreed, emphasising the established position of each house and its members within a defined

area.⁽⁵⁷⁾ Preachers general were free to move about their province and convent members, especially lectors, students and priors, moved from one house to another, but the ordinary friar could now expect to stay in one region for most of his career.⁽⁵⁸⁾ Of course the friars continued to visit other centres in their predicazioni, sometimes establishing a locus, but the Order had become more cautious about creating new full convents and a considerable time now elapsed between this unofficial Dominican presence in a town and the official foundation of a house. Spoleto, a locus by 1248, only became a convent in 1258; Pistoia, a locus by 1249, was a convent in 1259.

The Order's growing resources were concentrated on new building in established centres. Throughout the later 1240s and the 1250s work was in progress at Florence, Orvieto, Viterbo, Lucca, Anagni, Pisa, Perugia and Siena (?). Even the two loci at Spoleto and Pistoia, which in earlier days might have been content with a borrowed oratory and some make-shift accommodation, were provided with some new buildings, even before their establishment as full convents.

In the spring of 1246 at least five houses (Siena, Florence, Orvieto, Viterbo and Lucca) received the benefit of papal indulgences (similarly worded although varying in the number of days' indulgence) for those helping with building work. A further issue of bulls, in the 1250s, granted indulgences for those visiting certain Dominican churches (Orvieto, 1254; Lucca, 1255; Siena, 1256) on the feasts of Dominic and Peter Martyr. These privileges were presumably due to an eagerness to promote the cult of Peter Martyr, the Order's second saint, canonized in 1253, but may also be connected with the completion of building campaigns at these houses.

The building in these decades indicates how pressing the need for space was in Dominican churches and convents. None of the houses favoured by the Pope in 1246 was without some kind of building: Lucca and Florence had inherited structures including oratories and a church; Siena, Viterbo and Orvieto had been provided with new buildings within the last ten to twenty years. The growth of the Order, the influx of recruits and, above all, popularity with the laity, meant that small oratories and chapels were now quite inadequate.

This change in requirements is nicely demonstrated at Spoleto. The citizens are said to have invited the Dominicans to settle in the town in 1248 (perhaps because of persistent heresy in the Valle

Spoletana). The commune handed over an existing chapel and adjoining buildings to the friars but from the outset agreed to provide money for a new church and conventual buildings. This new church, duly built, proved too small to accommodate all those who attended it so that by 1252, when Spoleto was still only a locus, work on a larger new church was in progress. In that year Peter Martyr passed through the town, on his way from Rome to Milan, and agreed to appeal to the citizens for money to complete the new work. The saint preached in the piazza with such success that this larger church was soon finished (although perhaps not actually dedicated until 1258 or 1259).

The popularity of Dominican preachers, above all St. Peter Martyr, was a major reason for the need for more space in Dominican churches and in the piazzas created beside them. In 1244 the friars of S. Maria Novella purchased the piazza in front of the church (now the Piazza dell'Unità Italiana) and, with St. Peter Martyr, obtained permission to enlarge it for the purposes of preaching.⁽⁵⁹⁾ Despite this type of provision such crowds attended St. Peter Martyr's sermons and his public trials of heretics that a chair had to be provided (by the faithful of Milan) in which he was carried above the heads of the crowd.⁽⁶⁰⁾ In 1253 Peter's canonisation was proclaimed by Innocent IV in another large Dominican piazza, established in front of S. Domenico, Perugia.

It was not always enough to provide open areas for preaching. In bad weather, or for the sake of better acoustics, it was preferable to preach indoors. Originally the friars had used existing large buildings such as the local cathedral, when not preaching outside, but they were sometimes hindered in this by the secular clergy (e.g. Pisa, 1261) and were well-advised, whenever possible, to provide their own buildings instead. These larger churches were needed for services as well as sermons. As the friars' ties with the laity strengthened, they began to recite more private masses, perform more parish functions and hear more confessions. More room was needed, first for the people visiting the church, and later for their tombs and private chapels which began to fill and sometimes obstruct the interiors.⁽⁶¹⁾

Whenever, and wherever, possible, convents continued to increase their sites. For example, S. Romano, Lucca, growing up against the

town walls, cut off the public road in 1263, and had to compensate by opening a new gate elsewhere in the walls.

Patronage in this period came from varied sources. Non-Dominican prelates still helped the Order: in addition to the papal bulls already mentioned, Cardinal Raniero Capocci is an example of an outsider who continued to lavish help at Viterbo and, through the exercise of his office as papal vicar, at Spoleto and Lucca. The communes also continued to help. In 1246 and 1251 Siena gave 50 lire to building work at S. Domenico (perhaps surviving examples of an annual donation). Within the towns, important individuals and families had already given land to help establish the Order, but in this period more modest contributions were also received from other sections of the laity. The earliest surviving example of a lay testamentary donation to Dominican building work favoured the locus at Pistoia in 1252. The sum bequeathed was only five soldi but this kind of donation, once multiplied, presumably provided constant help for Dominican finances - and constant irritation to the secular clergy.

Relations with the secular clergy worsened during these years, both in the towns and at the universities, particularly Paris.⁽⁶²⁾ In both places the mendicants were seen to be usurping the formerly exclusive rights of the seculars, and often executing their traditional duties more effectively. In the towns of central Italy the Dominican success in touching the hearts and pockets of the laity (discussed more fully below) was a source of tension. Sometimes the bishops or cathedral chapters intervened on the side of the seculars, disputing some of the privileges lavished on the Order by the papacy, obstructing their rights to free burial in their convents (Pisa, 1253); preventing them preaching in the cathedral (Pisa, 1261); prohibiting the laity in their diocese from receiving penance, being buried or making testamentary donations to any except parish priests (Perugia, 1258); forbidding them to celebrate mass in a private house and trying to stop them occupying local churches (Città di Castello, 1270).

These difficulties continued until at the Council of Lyons, in 1274, the Pope attempted to resolve the situation by putting the mendicant clergy onto a more regular and stable basis.

Foundations up to c.1320.

During the rest of the period under consideration the slow, cautious pace of foundations, characteristic of the 1240s and 50s, continued. A locus generally waited ten, or as much as twenty years, before becoming a full convent. Almost all the large central Italian towns had already received a Dominican house, so these new settlements were placed in secondary centres - Rieti, Narni, Città di Castello, Prato, Foligno, Gubbio, Tivoli, Cortona, Bevagna, Sarzana and Terracina - almost all towns of considerable size, all except Prato and Bevagna bishoprics. Exceptionally, a second house, S. Maria Sopra Minerva, was founded in Rome.

As more Dominicans entered the church hierarchy they were able to help the houses of their Order. Narni and Foligno, possibly also Rieti and Terracina, were under the hand of Dominican bishops when the friars established themselves in these towns. Following Hugh of St. Cher, further Dominican cardinals were created, several of whom contributed to new, more lavish Dominican building campaigns: in the 1260s Annibaldo Annibaldi contributed generously to the rebuilding (probably the second) of the Orvieto church and convent; in 1297 Hugues Aycelin's will left money to the building of S. Maria Sopra Minerva; in 1304 Benedict XI initiated the rebuilding of S. Domenico, Perugia; and Niccolò da Prato's will of 1321 left money to building work at S. Domenico, Prato and established a monastery for Dominican nuns, S. Niccolò, in the same town.

Adventurous building campaigns created problems. Earlier construction had usually been finished quickly, but work begun from the 1260s onwards often dragged on for many years or even for decades. The 1290 general chapter issued a plea to speed the completion of cemeteries and churches,

'Volumus et ordinamus quod priores et alii fratres accelerent cimiteriorum benedictiones et ad ecclesiarum consummatarum consecracionem dent operam efficacem'. (63)

Dominican churches begun during this period, several of which still survive - wholly or in part, often took so long to finish that

dating the construction of their various parts is virtually impossible.

These large churches, with tall, extensive naves, prominent transepts and a good supply of chapels - notable landmarks in the town - became a matter of civic pride. The communes, which had often provided sites for the new houses, particularly in the 1230s, and had already given further financial assistance to some houses, contributed generously and regularly to certain building campaigns during this period in, for example, Florence, Siena, Perugia and Pistoia. Deliberations concerning the communal help for the new Piazza to the west of S. Maria Novella (and the related development of the Ponte alla Carraia) in 1288, include a phrase which clearly shows the connection between communal and mendicant projects, '... ad honorem et pulchritudinem ecclesie et Comunis ...'.⁽⁶⁴⁾

The Council of Lyons: a Turning Point in Dominican History.

A turning point is marked by the Council of Lyons in 1274.⁽⁶⁵⁾ Up to that date the major mendicant Orders had grown, flourished and altered, while still officially subscribing to the ideals of their founders. At the same time, numerous smaller mendicant Orders, often more loosely governed and spontaneous than the larger Orders, had sprung up. At Lyons the papacy was faced with the task of stopping the uncontrolled growth of mendicant Orders, which angered the secular clergy and might veer towards heresy, while not losing the valuable assistance of the major mendicant Orders, which were directly answerable to the papacy and commanded enormous spiritual and financial support among the laity, '... quos evidens ex eis utilitas Ecclesiae universali proveniens perhibet approbatos, ...'.⁽⁶⁶⁾

The solution chosen at the Council - intended only as a temporary measure - was to suppress all Orders founded without papal permission since the Lateran Council of 1215; to forbid the further growth, in possessions or membership, of the majority of mendicant Orders; to leave the Carmelites and Augustinians at their present numbers, pending further legislation; and to approve the Franciscans and Dominicans, who were also given permission, in a bull issued after the close of the Council, to accept properties with a safe conscience.⁽⁶⁷⁾

The effect of these rulings was to ensure that the smaller, more informal Orders would die out - with the urging on of the secular clergy - within a generation, unless they could find a powerful patron to establish some means of protecting them, while the Carmelites and Augustinians were granted a breathing-space and gradually succeeded in confirming themselves as part of the establishment, relatively secure from the attacks of the secular clergy.

For the Dominicans and the Franciscans the Council marked both a victory and a defeat. The victory lay in the guarantee of continued papal support and protection against the complaints of the secular clergy, in return for relatively minor concessions, hardly observed in practice, concerning the role of Dominicans and Franciscans in ministering to the laity in the parishes. These minor concessions, indicated in the chapter legislation of the Dominicans,⁽⁶⁸⁾ were the only explicit cost of the victory; but in fact a heavy defeat was also implicit - a defeat for the original principles of the two major mendicant Orders.

In the case of the Dominicans, regulations concerning the strict observance of poverty had gradually been relaxed since the founding of the Order, to fit in with actual circumstances, but the explicit commitment to the mendicant life had not been abandoned. The bull issued after the Council of Lyons, which permitted friars to accept properties with a safe conscience, and the concessions made by the Order to the secular clergy, which implied a withdrawal from some of the income of mendicancy and parish revenues, was the final admission - not yet official, but to all intents and purposes clear - that the Order had ceased to follow the path of apostolic mendicancy laid down for it by St. Dominic. (The bull Supra Cathedram of 1299, which directed friars to give a quarter of all legacies and other donations to the parish church, made this break even clearer,⁽⁶⁹⁾ but an attempt by Benedict XII in the 1330s to make this change official was resisted, and it was only in 1475 that properties and rents were officially accepted by the Order.⁽⁷⁰⁾)

This defeat by no means destroyed the Order, nor did it provoke terrible repercussions and recriminations similar to those felt in the Franciscan Order for many years to come.⁽⁷¹⁾ The transition was effected rather calmly; poverty had always been a tool for the Order's purposes rather than the mainspring of its

existence: so long as the activities of study, preaching and the supervision of confession and penance - all in defence of orthodoxy - were left undisturbed, an essential part of the character of the Order was left intact. Besides, leaders of the Order such as Humbert of Romans were more concerned with practical survival and success than with blind adherence to the original form of the Order. (The Order had always tended to think in this way, from the moment when Dominic, forbidden to make a new rule, agreed to adopt the Rule of St. Augustine and skilfully chose the Constitutions and general chapter acts as his means of bestowing a distinctive character on the Order instead.) Thus, although the Order's financial base had been changed, its financial viability was ensured.

At the same time actively organised groups of heretics were on the wane; commitment to the beliefs of the Cathars had not died out completely in Italy, but it was beginning to be viewed as a far less active menace than previously.⁽⁷²⁾ It is symptomatic that by about 1265 confraternities were turning their attention away from the struggle against heresy and towards a greater interest in formalised piety, especially in the form of Marial devotion.⁽⁷³⁾ The chief reason for the foundation of the Dominican Order had been to combat heresy, to study and preserve orthodox teaching and to instil the fruits of this study in the laity. Now that the threat from the heretics had lessened, the Order turned increasingly to the execution of parish duties and to study.⁽⁷⁴⁾ Dominican studia, at conventual, provincial and international level, provided an efficient basis for instruction. A new series of general regulations concerning study was implemented in the general chapter of 1274, while the 1288 chapter acts of the Provincia Romana reveal a complex, developed system of teaching at local level.⁽⁷⁵⁾

The second half-century of the Order witnessed its ever-increasing strength, importance and vigour, as it took its place as part of the establishment. One of its members - Pierre de Tarentaise - became Pope in 1276, while another - Thomas Aquinas - came to be regarded, after some initial dissent, as one of the foremost doctors of the contemporary church.

(c) The Position of the Dominicans within the Towns of Central Italy.

The Order's earliest convents were bases for the friars, not centres for the local population, but the Dominicans soon developed their contacts with the laity and embedded themselves in the religious life of the towns. The position of the Dominicans in the life and structure of the central Italian towns which they inhabited is a complex study, by no means yet completed.⁽⁷⁶⁾ The question can, and must, be approached from a number of directions, political, social, religious, economic and so on. Moreover, no two towns are alike. Each has its individual peculiarities of site, history and circumstance, which must be studied and evaluated before any broader conclusions are drawn. Only three aspects will concern us (briefly) here: the main links in the chain of the Order's success with the laity, the composition of the membership of the Order itself and the literal position of the Order's foundations in relation to the town.

Successes with the Laity.

The Dominicans first made an impression as skilful itinerant preachers who explained in the vernacular, and with the aid of colourful exempla,⁽⁷⁷⁾ the fundamental doctrines of the church.⁽⁷⁸⁾ Evidently a successful preacher was a versatile man;⁽⁷⁹⁾ Humbert of Romans (master general 1254-63, d.1277) ends a passage in his De Officiis Ordinis concerning the duties of a preacher with the tag, 'Respice quid, cur, ubi, quomodo, quando loquaris'.⁽⁸⁰⁾ Humbert's Sermones ad diversos status, a collection of materials for sermons indexed for different times and places, shows a wide variety of possible audiences, roughly fifty different kinds of clergy, several types of students and groups of laity including the following,

'laicos in civitatis; rectores et alias officiales; maiores; ad turbam populare civitatis; familiam divitum; laicos in castris/villis/burgis; nobiles; nobiles malos; nobiles devotos; magnates; pauperes; operarios conductivos; omnes mulieres; mulieres nobiles; mulieres burgences divites; mulieres familias divitum; mulieres pauperes in villulis; mulieres malas corpore sive meretrices',

and for different places and occasions, some ecclesiastical and others secular,

'Depositione magnatus secularium per ecclesiam faciendam; in solenni consecratione seu benedictione regis/regine; in omni electione potestatis secularis; in militia nova solenni; in torneamentis; in parlamentis regum; in solenni tractatu de quocumque negocio; in solenni tractatu pacis; in mercatis ...'. (81)

Elsewhere Humbert insists that the preacher should visit small, poor places and castelli, as well as populous towns; in other words, the Dominican mission was to the whole population, not restricted to certain sections of the town laity, for example those in the suburbs.⁽⁸²⁾ His approach must vary according to his audience,

'quibusdam enim competant subtilia, quibusdam plana et simplicia, quibusdam instructiva, quibusdam motiva, quibusdam terribilia, quibusdam gaudiosa'. (83)

Whatever the approach, the subject matter of his sermons always concerns,

'Deus, angelus, homo, coelum, diabolus, mundus, infernus, praecepta, consilia, sacramenta, Scriptura, virtutes, vitia'. (84)

According to Humbert the fruit of preaching, '... colligitur in confessionibus et in consiliis animarum'.⁽⁸⁵⁾ The Dominicans had been fortunate enough to have permission to hear confession in connection with preaching since 1221.⁽⁸⁶⁾ Their carefully-aimed sermons encouraged their audience to secure personal salvation. The first step on the path of redemption was confession, and it was natural for a layman to confess to the man whose preaching had moved him, or to one of his associates. Confession immediately set up a personal relationship between the layman and the friar. A person receiving directions for his penance from a Dominican continued to connect the granting of absolution with the Order and might eventually wish to receive the last rites from the hands of one of its members. This in turn led to the desire to be buried in a

Dominican church, perhaps wearing the Dominican habit,⁽⁸⁷⁾ to pay for commemorative masses and leave legacies to the Order.

Any person with means was under pressure to make a will; in Florence anyone dying intestate without reasonable cause was denied burial in consecrated ground.⁽⁸⁸⁾ Thus there was a need for trustworthy executors which the well-educated Dominicans, increasingly familiar figures in the towns and by the death-beds of the laity, fulfilled admirably. The general chapter of 1243 already mentions this practice (*... cum fratres intersunt testamentis ...*) but the Order did not at first give official approval, believing this activity to be against the Constitutions,

'... cum secundum constitutiones fratres non debeant esse dispensatores alienarum pecuniarum et exequutores testamentorum frequenter oporteat facere contrarium caveant universi ne exequuciones testamentorum recipiant super se ullo modo'.

(*Cap. Gen.*, 1252) (89)

One reason for disapproval was no doubt the desire to placate the secular clergy, who saw the donations which had previously come to them being directed to the mendicants. In the year of the Council of Lyons (1274) and the following year, the general chapter acts clearly state this concern,

'In testamentis personas moneant et inducant ut ecclesiis suis parrochialibus legata faciant sicut decet' (90)

'Cum ex exequucionibus testamentorum frequenter odia distractiones et dispendia varia incurramus priores non sint faciles ad licenciandum fratres ad execuciones huiusmodi recipiendas nisi ex causa rationabili et honesta'. (91)

But Dominicans continued to be valued as executors - by Cardinals⁽⁹²⁾ as well as laymen - and were increasingly remembered in the wills of the laity.⁽⁹³⁾

Dominicans were always permitted to bury their members, and members of the laity, in their cemeteries. The right was obtained in a bull of 1216, confirmed in a bull of 1227, further confirmed in 1244 and subsequently.⁽⁹⁴⁾

The right to provide burials, and thus to obtain the attendant masses and legacies, was a highly-prized privilege which the secular clergy sometimes tried to inhibit, for example in Pisa in 1253-60. The leaders of the Order discouraged the placing of tombs within churches (partly to avoid congesting church interiors, as discussed below), for example the 1250 general chapter ordered, 'Quod in nostris ecclesiis sepulture non fiant',⁽⁹⁵⁾ but the friars must sometimes have brought pressure to bear on the laity, trying to persuade them to choose burial in their churches. In the year of the Council of Lyons the general chapter directed,

'Personas eligentes apud suas ecclesias
parrochiales sepeliri fratres a suo proposito
non avertant'. (96)

The laity continued to seek burial in Dominican houses (for individual examples see the catalogue, appendix 1). S. Domenico, Siena, kept an obituary list of laymen buried there, from 1336 onwards, which gives some picture of the people who wished to be interred by the Dominicans at that date.⁽⁹⁷⁾ (E.g. between 1336 and 1432 the lists include 21 spicers or apothecaries, 20 goldsmiths, 19 notaries, 38 wool-workers, 22 dyers and 35 painters.)

In addition to the regular income which such burials secured, the Order sometimes attracted major patrons who were buried in their churches and whose connection with a particular house might last through several generations. Raniero Ubertini, non-Dominican bishop of Volterra (d.c.1296 or c.1300), who paid for the embellishment of the choir of S. Domenico, Arezzo, was given an elaborate wall-tomb on the north wall of the cappella maggiore; his brother Enrico, canon of Arezzo, was also buried in S. Domenico and at least one family member, Bishop Guglielmo Ubertini's brother Ugo, became a Dominican. The Orvieto obituary list praises Trasmondo Ronaldeschi, Dominican Bishop of Sovana, for his love of his Order and of the Orvieto house. He brought two members of his family into the Order (one of whom, Tramo, became bishop of Orvieto), gave the Dominican habit to a sister of his and three nieces, and drew his family closer to the Order, both in life and death, by making a 'glorious sepulchre' for them in the Dominican church, in which his parents and close relatives were buried.⁽⁹⁸⁾

In the early years, mendicancy gave the opportunity for daily contact with the laity. Clergy who had to beg for their keep had of necessity to know the laity in their preaching area well, while the act of giving food to the preacher involved even a humble member of the laity in an act of religious patronage, as a part of daily life, and gave him a personal interest in the advancement of the Order. The ability of the Dominican Order to support itself, largely without fixed revenues in the first fifty years of its existence, shows the practical wisdom of this direct contact. Bishop Fulk, in his 1215 letter of approbation, already envisaged a reason why the laity might be particularly happy to see their money going to the Order,

'Since the law provides that a considerable part of the tithe must always be assigned to and distributed among the poor, it is clear that we are bound to assign, of preference, a part of the tithe to those who, for Christ, have chosen evangelical poverty and endeavour thus, not without struggle, to enrich each and every one of the heavenly gifts, as much by their example as by their teaching. Thus the faithful from whom we reap temporal goods enable us to sow, by means of ourselves and of others, spiritual goods, fitly and opportunely'. (99)

So the donations of the faithful were an admirable religious activity for two reasons: the donors were giving help to the poor, and at the same time supporting a movement whose way of life and zealous religious activity would bring spiritual benefits to everyone involved. (100)

Humbert of Romans stressed the preacher's mission to the simple and to the poor, observing that the Dominicans' humble appearance would not frighten away such people. (101) He also considered the good effect of the poor preacher on magnae personae. (102) His sermon categories, listed above, show that he was well aware of the value of rich and influential allies. The newly powerful groups in the towns, families such as the Monaldeschi in Orvieto, the Ubertini and Tarlati in Arezzo, and the Vacca, and del Grugno in Pisa, did not enjoy the traditional patronage rights which the older nobility, originally based in the country, held, for example, in

Benedictine foundations.⁽¹⁰³⁾ The new Orders in the towns gave them the opportunity to act as founders, establishing their importance and their burial places in new churches.

Between these two poles - the humble and the mighty - the mass of men in the towns were often pleased to contribute or bequeath sums of money, large or small, to churches which offered them more satisfaction and attention than their parish churches.

The Dominicans encouraged the laity to be more actively involved in religious life by organising confraternities. These had various purposes: initially to tend the cult of a specific saint (e.g. S. Domenico, Bologna) and to organise the faithful as agents in the combat against heretics (e.g. Florence, Milan); later, to sing lauds to the Virgin, sometimes in connection with the veneration of her image (e.g. Florence, Siena) and to establish and control groups of flagellant penitents (e.g. Perugia).⁽¹⁰⁴⁾

Although some lay confraternities had existed previously, they had never been fostered and organised on such a large scale. The Dominicans were particularly active in this field, probably founding confraternities from the late 1220s onwards, and providing two major figures in this development, Peter Martyr⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ and Ambrogio Sansedoni.⁽¹⁰⁶⁾

The early confraternities, especially those associated with St. Peter Martyr, were particularly concerned with the fight against heresy, but by around 1265, when the heretics were becoming less of an active threat, Marial congregations also became more pacific, interesting themselves more in the cult of the Virgin and the religious instruction of their members. It was at about this time that Ambrogio Sansedoni introduced in Siena the practice of singing lauds which was to become so popular. The confraternities, which had drawn much initial energy from the lay enthusiasm of the hallelujah year (1233) and the fervour of the flagellant movement (esp. 1260) settled into a more formalised piety, involving the laity in liturgical and 'para-liturgical' activities, securing papal indulgences (notably from Alexander IV, 1254-61), supplying statutes (e.g. Arezzo, 1262, Siena, 1267) and occupying chapels within or around Dominican churches (e.g. Florence, Spoleto, Siena, Rieti).

The sermons preached to confraternities helped the layman to understand complex religious matters; opponents of the mendicants complained that they attracted people to their sermons by means of their confraternities.⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ Members were drawn from many sections of the population. The 1259 statutes of the Bologna confraternity included attempts to bring the heads of confraternities from different social strata - knights, artisans, shopkeepers and nobles,⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ while Orlandi says that the S. Maria Novella laudesi confraternity 'traeve i confratelli del ogni ceto di cittadini'.⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ Some congregations were more exclusive, and perhaps more independent of their Dominican hosts; the Rieti confraternity dedicated to the Virgin, St. Dominic and St. Peter Martyr, founded between 1263 and 1268, gradually became that of the rich merchants of the town, for whom a new chapel, paid for by the Commune, was built in 1326.

Sometimes there were not only spiritual but also financial links between a confraternity and the Dominicans. Although the Dominicans were permitted to look after their own financial affairs, it appears that sometimes confraternities administered building funds, the provision of pittances, bequests and other matters for the friars.⁽¹¹⁰⁾

A group of laity more closely involved with the Order was the so-called Third Order, or Ordine della Penitenza. These assemblies of pious men and women were given their formal organisation by Munio de Zamora (master general, 1285-91), and were permitted to wear distinctive habits.⁽¹¹¹⁾ Membership of a lay Order sometimes led to full membership of the Dominican Order. The Orvieto obituary list mentions one Teodorico domino Zacharia (member of a leading popolano family⁽¹¹²⁾) who, after his marriage, joined the Milizia della Vergine Maria and always observed the offices.⁽¹¹³⁾ Against his parents' wishes, he decided to become a Dominican, and at the same time placed his wife in a Dominican monastery.⁽¹¹⁴⁾

The piety of one or two members of the Third Order eventually brought about their canonisation or beatification; the Blessed Vanna of Orvieto and the Blessed Margherita of Città di Castello, both tertiaries, were the subjects of local cults long before their official beatification. However, only a handful of Dominican saints and blessed connected with the Provincia Romana engendered a local cult, and this was always slow to achieve wider recognition.⁽¹¹⁵⁾

Even Ambrogio Sansedoni, for whom a large shrine was built in the middle of S. Domenico, Siena,⁽¹¹⁶⁾ was not beatified until 1622.

The popularity of the Order was rarely fuelled by lay devotion to its local members. Only in Bevagna, Città di Castello, Florence, Orvieto, Perugia and Siena, did the laity seem to have manifested some devotion towards local Dominican beati. Elsewhere only the cults of the major, international saints of the Order flourished at all.

The Dominicans achieved a rapid and firmly-based success in central Italy. Major steps in their progress can be clearly distinguished, but the precise composition of their audience continues to be the subject of study and debate. Confraternity membership lists⁽¹¹⁷⁾ and statutes,⁽¹¹⁸⁾ lay obituary lists,⁽¹¹⁹⁾ the content of sermons,⁽¹²⁰⁾ the financial guilt of the urban bourgeoisie,⁽¹²¹⁾ the saints' names chosen for contado-dwellers,⁽¹²²⁾ contemporary guides to preachers and descriptions of the friar's daily life⁽¹²³⁾ have all been scrutinized for clues. The results of these studies (interpreted with caution) contribute to a more subtle picture of relations between Order and laity. It is as well to remember Humbert of Romans' insistence on the preacher's need to be adaptable.⁽¹²⁴⁾ He envisaged many audiences for the Dominican. Although the majority of the Order's supporters undoubtedly came from the middle strata of the town population, including those whose families had recently immigrated from the contado, the sobborghi should not be emphasised at the cost of other areas.⁽¹²⁵⁾ The Order's teaching was also to be taken to those in the countryside and to the poor, while its most vital support (especially in the early days) came from those with power and means, who dominated the life of the town and often played a part in the world beyond it.

The Membership of the Order.

The best source for the membership of an individual convent is its obituary list. Such lists were only prescribed by the Provincia Romana chapter in 1341, but by 1280 a record was already being kept in S. Maria Novella, which listed every member of the

convent since its foundation. Similar lists from Perugia, Orvieto and Pisa, begun in about 1300, 1340 and 1348 respectively, also deal with the period from their foundation dates onwards.⁽¹²⁶⁾

These lists must be interpreted with caution. They start by describing events which occurred a century earlier, in entries which are brief and possibly inaccurate; even when dealing with events from the author's own lifetime, the information which they give is selective and the topics treated not consistent. On the other hand, there is much to be gained from a study of obituary lists: they give, as no other source can, some picture of a whole convent over an extended period. Everyone, from the most humble lay brother, or the youngest novice who died before making his profession, to the most important bishop or cardinal, is included. If the information provided is selective, it still has the merit of dealing with the subjects which seemed most important and interesting to its Dominican author. The chronological span demonstrates the relations between the convent and several generations of the same family. The terminology and classifications given in the necrology have the advantage of being contemporary; precise terms - nobiles, clares familia, dives mercatorum, antiquo familia and so on, are available for the description of social standing.

Identifying and labelling social groups in a medieval town is a difficult and dangerous task.⁽¹²⁷⁾ Appendix 2 tries to determine whether those who came from families substantial in either means or power, spent more on art and other items than those whose background is not mentioned by the obituary lists, or is designated as modest. This question needs to be asked, even if the attempt at giving an answer is crude. The same is true of other categorisations in appendix 2 on which the following observations are based. There are a few external aids. In the case of Orvieto a list of the nobility, made in 1322,⁽¹²⁸⁾ is of some help, although to be noble was not necessarily to be rich or powerful; Waley has described the difficulty in distinguishing recent nobility from the 'pseudo-popolani' who played a major role in the life of the city.⁽¹²⁹⁾ The datasto of 1292, partially published by Pardi,⁽¹³⁰⁾ is a better guide to prosperous families, but is of course limited to those living within Orvieto. For Pisa, Bonaini, who published the text of the obituary list, drew on his knowledge of Pisan

families in noting, whenever possible, the background of the individual friars, and Cristiani's list of important Pisan families was also consulted when compiling appendix 2.⁽¹³¹⁾ Orlandi's edition of the S. Maria Novella necrology provides each entry with notes on the background and further career of the friar in question.

The Orvieto obituary list, composed by Fra Matteo Caccia from about 1340 onwards, and covering the period up to 1348, is the one considered most fully in appendix 2, with Caccia's own classification of a friar's family used whenever possible. Out of a total of 121 full friars and 29 lay brothers, 43 ($\approx 28\%$) appear to have come from families of nobility, importance or some wealth. These include ten families appearing in the list of nobility of 1322, members of the powerful Monaldeschi family, the son of a judge, the son of a rich merchant, a former canon lawyer and families with notable land holdings in the 1292 catasto. This indicates a fair proportion of friars of substance, but members of particularly wealthy families - those listed in the catasto with land holdings over 2000 libbre - are generally absent. The Pisa obituary list reveals a similar pattern; a good sprinkling of friars came from noble or well-established popolani families, but Gaddo di Conti Donoratico, a member of a really powerful house, '... progenies ... in tota Italia satis clara ...'⁽¹³²⁾ is mentioned with particular emphasis, and the willingness of such an 'exalted' person to be poor and humble is dwelt on at length.

A large proportion of the Orvieto Dominicans came from local families. Fifty-one (just over a third) definitely came from Orvieto, twenty-one from the surrounding contado, and only four members are definitely stated not to have come from Orvieto and its contado. The house depended for its recruitment on personal contacts, and concentrated these efforts both in the town and the predicazione which encompassed it. S. Domenico occupied the S. Pace quarter of the city but there is no evidence that the Dominicans drew their membership from the area of town which they inhabited. Local recruitment was also high in Pisa, and in Florence it seems that a larger proportion came from the surrounding predicazione than from the town itself. (Again the actual area occupied by the convent does not appear significant.)

This local membership may not always have been the case in other houses, at least at an early date, when there were fewer convents to choose from. A contemporary description of the consecration of the Viterbo cemetery in 1243, lists the members of the convent, the prior and subprior; seventeen full friars (frate), among whom one each came from Corneto (Tarquinia), Tuscania, Prato and Hungary (?), and two each from Viterbo, Arezzo, Siena and Catania (the others unspecified); and five lay brothers (conversi), of whom one came from Corneto, one from Florence and two from Viterbo (one unspecified).

In Orvieto a number of families maintained links with the Order. There are seven examples of brothers joining the Order and seven examples of uncles and nephews in the house (suggesting a pattern of younger sons joining the convent). One family, the Mascone, had five members, while another group, the Salamare and de Terzia, supplied seven Dominicans, whose obituary list entries show the variety of careers a member of the house might pursue. ⁽¹³³⁾

Simonetto and his cousin Andrea della Terza came from an important popolano family. ⁽¹³⁴⁾ Andrea, twice subprior of Orvieto, twice provincial visitor, prior of Pistoia and Tivoli, became a preacher general in 1315 and visited the East. After sixteen years he returned and went to the Curia, where he was warmly received by the Pope (John XXII) and was made vicar general over all Dominicans going overseas to preach. He died in 1340 in the Dominican house which he had founded in Trebizond. The obituary list says that these two Dominicans were cousins of the brothers Katalano and Andrea Salamare, Dominican members of a wealthy family shown in the catasto to own property worth more than 2000 libbre. ⁽¹³⁵⁾ Katalano, who died in 1332, after about nine years in the Order, was a devout man. During his private prayers he recited five psalms based on the five letters of the Virgin's name and eventually received a vision of her. Chola Nalli Salamare, their uncle, entered the Order at an advanced age. As a layman he had enjoyed a good reputation and had gone daily to the Dominicans, or to some other church, to hear the divine offices and preaching. Having joined the Order he celebrated mass daily, became infirmerer, and was an industrious worker, solicitous for the upkeep and construction of the church and conventual buildings. He died in S.

Maria Sopra Minerva in 1335. Two other members of the family ('de domo de Salamaris') also joined the Order. Katalano Neri Salamare left his family to do so, and his brother Giovanni Neri became master of novices and later subprior of Tivoli.

Although the membership of the house was firmly rooted in the locality, friars travelled outside Orvieto on preaching missions, quests for alms and (more permanently) to study or hold offices in other houses. The obituary list mentions ninety-four such long-term journeys, generally made within the Provincia Romana, especially within Umbria and to Rome.

Once a friar had passed through the gate of S. Domenico, Orvieto and entered the Order, did the social status he had enjoyed in the outside world affect his position within the convent walls? The early Dominicans had joined to share a life of mendicant poverty. However, conditions in a central Italian Dominican house were not as egalitarian as might be expected. Positions and tasks were strictly defined and apportioned, as we see in Humbert of Romans' De Officiis Ordinis (discussed in chapter 3); lectors and students enjoyed certain privileges - dispensation from begging and other practical tasks, individual cells and so on; ⁽¹³⁶⁾ those bringing money into the Order with them were able to enjoy the comforts it could secure. ⁽¹³⁷⁾

Family connections presumably helped the friar, who was daily visible and available in the town, not shut away in a remote monastery. Of nineteen Orvieto friars who obtained posts in the church hierarchy outside the Order, thirteen are known to have come from families 'of substance'. (It seems that a man from such a family had twice as much chance of promotion.) On the other hand, offices within the Order were generally only held for a short time, so that opportunities for promotion and travel were good, provided a friar - whatever his origins - benefitted from the education liberally administered by the Order. Forty friars are listed as holding office (excluding that of subprior of Orvieto) within the Order - twenty from families 'of substance', twenty from modest or unspecified backgrounds. ⁽¹³⁸⁾

The Orvieto lay-brothers, who might have been expected to

hold a lowly position, particularly in an Order composed entirely of priests, were a heterogeneous band. A conversus was expected to have, or learn, a skill, as Humbert of Romans shows,

'... item, illis qui nesciunt aliquam artem in ordine necessariam debet assignare de illis qui sciunt fratrem aliquem qui eos doceat aliquam artem huiusmodi, et ad discendum eos compellere'. (139)

Of twenty-nine in the Orvieto house, twelve had stated skills, vestiarius (5), calcifex (1), ortolanus (2), carpentarius (2), murandus (1), barbarius (1). Although the majority are given no surname of any kind (which may denote humble birth) four could afford to give money or gifts to the convent and one, who joined the Order late in life, was the brother of a provincial visitor. Educational standards varied. The general chapter acts of 1254 insist on the provision of sermons in the vernacular for conversi on certain days.⁽¹⁴⁰⁾ The obituary list of Orvieto records one illiterate lay-brother who could recite the offices and hours of the Virgin and always went to listen to sermons, another who could read the office and say the canonical hours and another who wrote books for the Lucca convent. One converso became a full friar and went on to receive the house in Todi for the Order; a few were able to attach themselves to the household of some important ecclesiastic and rise in that way. Conversi could travel, especially if they had a useful skill, but generally they stayed in Orvieto. The first converso to be granted burial within the Orvieto church was interred in front of the altar of Sts. Peter and Paul in 1333.⁽¹⁴¹⁾

The Sites chosen for Convents.

The very earliest foundations - Florence, Rome and Siena - were initially some distance from the town, but within a year or two moved nearer to the centre (S. Sabina) or just outside the town walls (Florence, Siena).

The early Dominican settlements needed to be close enough to the populous towns to be able to reach many people when preaching, and to beg fruitfully for provisions. The friars also required easy access to the heart of the town so that they could preach in the large central open spaces and buildings, and return to the

convents for study, meals and sleep. In addition they needed to be able to reach the inhabitants of the surrounding contado easily, without the necessity of having to return to the convent before the town gates closed for the night.

A common solution was to take a house just outside the town walls, close to a gate. Land in these areas was relatively cheap and plentiful, consisting often of orchards or open parcels of land, so that a patron, or patrons, were able to help set up a Dominican house at a fairly low price. (In time subsidiary market places often grew up near the town gates; these provided convenient extra preaching areas in which many people from both town and country assembled.⁽¹⁴²⁾)

A position close to, and immediately outside the walls, near a gate, remained a characteristic Dominican one, even after the Order's houses became centres of worship and preaching, within the town, in their own right. The Sienese house was so close to the walls that it was actually built up against them and needed the permission of the Commune to make new openings in the walls.

On the other hand, there were certain advantages in being inside the walls, especially for security and defence. The Viterbo house, situated on a hill outside the town, had to surround itself with a fortified ditch, and was given, in 1244, a church inside the town for use in times of danger. Some houses were built on sites within the walls, the earliest probably being Pisa (1221), followed at intervals by Lucca (1236), Todi (before 1243), Spoleto (1248), Rieti (1263), Tivoli (1285) and Bevagna (1291) - not all on sites of the Order's own choosing.

However, the advantages of being outside the town (particularly the availability of land as the town centres became increasingly crowded) outweighed the disadvantages. One house, Anagni, even moved from inside to outside, presumably on being offered a better site. Later foundations such as Prato (site found 1281) still chose to be outside the walls (two Lucchese friars were sent to Prato by the Provincial to find a suitable site, agreed on in the presence of commune officials.) Many of the houses which did occupy positions within the town walls by the 14th century, did so because new walls were built which enclosed them, not because they changed sites. Siena, Arezzo, Perugia, Pistoia, Prato and Foligno are all examples of this.⁽¹⁴³⁾ Thus, both

literally and figuratively, the Dominican houses were outside the 12th and early 13th century towns, but within those of the 14th century.

Good road connections were always important. A clear example is Pistoia, situated on a street (named after the Dominicans) leading to the Palazzo del Comune and the Duomo, and near the gate for the Via Cassia and Florence. Pistoia was originally a preaching stop served by friars from S. Maria Novella, and the Pistoia convent was founded by the Florentine, so the preference for this side of town probably stems from early convenience. Similarly the Lucca convent, probably founded by the Pisa convent, occupied a site near the gate leading to that town.

The siting of houses might also be related to the pauses on a journey.⁽¹⁴⁴⁾ Prato, a late foundation and presumably before that a convenient stopping-off point, is situated on the road running through the town, which links Florence and Pistoia.

The plan of a late medieval central Italian town can be seen as a neat expression of its historical structure. For example, at Pistoia the early medieval, 13th and 14th century walls form a succession of concentric rings, with the Cathedral and Palazzo del Comune at the centre of the first circle and the subsequent mendicant foundations - Franciscan, Dominican, Augustinian, Carmelite and Servite - encircling the second walls and enclosed by the third circuit. But reference to the other town plans in the catalogue shows that this is the exception rather than the rule. Often the ground was hilly and did not permit such lucid geometry, or the town site was bounded by cliffs which precluded any serious building immediately outside the walls. Frequently a town could not support the full range of major mendicant Orders. At the same time the quirks of patronage, local geography, earlier building and piecemeal acquisition of land, combined to affect the relative positions of Dominican house, cathedral, town hall, walls, gates, roads and other convents. The catalogue which forms appendix 1 of this thesis gives a summary, in plan form, of the positions of these basic man-made elements, not previously available, for all the central Italian towns which played host to Dominican convents.⁽¹⁴⁵⁾

(d) Church Architecture in the Provincia Romana. (146)

Since the story of Dominican churches in the first hundred years of the Order is one of constant addition, rebuilding and change of site, all traces of the earliest phases of Dominican architecture are lost. Fortunately sufficient buildings, or parts of buildings, remain to indicate three of the strands subsequently found in the design of Provincia Romana churches: the use of a simple type of aisleless ground-plan already favoured by the Franciscans; a more developed variant of this design, apparently peculiar to the Dominicans; and a number of individual designs which have in common the use of nave arcades, and also (in most cases) rib-vaulted naves. The first type was probably adopted around the middle of the 13th century, when substantial new churches were beginning to be built specifically for the Order; the second type seems to have been introduced during the second half of the century; and churches with arcades were built at various times in the later 13th and early 14th centuries.

The simple ground-plan apparently borrowed from the Franciscans, consisted of a rectangular box terminating at the east in a square, rib-vaulted, cappella maggiore, flanked by two smaller rib-vaulted rectangular chapels, all contained within the width established by the nave. There was no transept, and the distinction between choir and nave would originally have been made by the provision of a tall screen. (147) Wagner-Rieger considers that S. Francesco, Cortona (begun 1230 or 1245) was probably the earliest building of this type. (148)

S. Domenico, Arezzo is the most complete surviving Dominican example in the Provincia Romana (figs. 1,2). Its choir and chapels and the eastern part of the nave were probably built during the third quarter of the 13th century, after which there was apparently a pause in work. This is indicated by a variation in window-type and spacing in the rest of the nave. (149) Another probable early example is S. Caterina, Pisa, where a new church may have been completed some time after 1252. The ground-plan of this building seems to have been that of the present structure, without the chapels which were later added to the south of the choir (fig. 3).

The only difference from the Arezzo plan is that the chapels flanking the cappella maggiore extend slightly beyond the line of the nave wall, necessitating a slight projection between the chapels and the main body of the church, too small to be considered as a rudimentary transept. This type continued to be used for many years, for example at Prato, begun 1284,⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ and Cortona, begun c.1400.⁽¹⁵¹⁾

The plan was most convenient. It provided adequate space for the friars, and for the requirements of wealthy lay patrons who might wish to control a private chapel. The box-like nave derived from the simplest type of parish church, whose function it partly duplicated, while at the same time serving as a covered preaching-area, with good visibility and acoustics. It complied with Dominican regulations in having vaulting only over the choir (see chapter 2) and a wooden-roofed nave, and although much larger and more imposing than the earlier legislators intended, it did retain a certain plainness. On a practical level, it could be built with whatever materials were locally available or were donated and once the east end had been completed and consecrated, construction of the nave could continue for many years, as funds permitted, more land adjoining the convent was acquired or necessity demanded, without undue disturbance to the celebration of divine service. The building histories of many Dominican churches confirm this piecemeal method of construction - which often makes it very difficult to be certain when a specific piece of building work was undertaken. Dominican churches are also difficult to date because of the repetition of ideas in their ground-plans, and because they lack carved decoration which is more susceptible to changes of taste and therefore more easily datable. Apart from the occasional foliate pilaster capital, or foliate or historiated vault-rib respond, for example at Pistoia (fig.5) or Arezzo, Dominican churches without arcades tend to be devoid of sculptural decoration.

Despite the repetition of box-like wooden-roofed naves with rectangular, rib-vaulted choir chapels, the finished church could vary considerably in appearance, because of the differences in local building materials. This is clearly demonstrated by four Dominican churches which, because of a peculiarity in their ground-plan, and

an apparent proximity of date, deserve to be considered as a group. The churches of S. Domenico, Pistoia (figs. 4-8), Spoleto (figs. 17-19) and Rieti (figs. 14-16) and S. Romano, Lucca (figs. 9-13) have (or had) the same three eastern chapels as the simpler Arezzo design, but differ from it in other respects. The width of the cappella maggiore has been increased in relation to that of the nave, and the side-chapels given a square plan, so that the line of the nave walls falls slightly outside the axis of each side chapel, instead of being continuous with the side-chapel outer walls, as at Arezzo (see esp. figs. 4, 14). Between the nave wall and chapels, a transept has been formed by the addition of two square, rib-vaulted compartments (between the cappella maggiore and side-chapels in size) which project to the north and south from the line of the nave walls. Because of the sideways displacement of the side choir-chapels, the arch which forms the entrance to each transept springs from a respond slightly to the side of the keystone of the corresponding chapel entrance arch. A wooden roof covers the whole nave, abutting the wall above the eastern chapels, and the entrance arch to each transept compartment pierces the nave wall below the line of this roof without interrupting it. These features: the slight mis-alignment between transept arch and side-chapel axis, and the combination of 'low' transepts with a nave roof which continues to the east wall of the nave, are apparent (or may be deduced⁽¹⁵²⁾) in the four churches listed.

However, their actual appearance differs. S. Domenico, Pistoia (figs. 4-8) is built of brick. On the exterior, lombard banding runs along below the roof, narrow pilaster strips originally framed tall, round-headed windows and the plinth is composed of a facing of squared masonry. Inside the church the corbels and capitals of the east end are carved with foliate decoration and human or animal heads. The exterior decoration is similar to that of north Italian Dominican churches, including S. Domenico, Bologna itself,⁽¹⁵³⁾ while the interior carving is similar to some of the work at S. Maria Novella.

At S. Romano, Lucca (figs. 9-13) the south wall of the church (visible only above cloister level) is brick-built and a portion of the exterior of the south wall of the south chapel, now encased in

the sacristy, has a stone plinth similar to that at S. Domenico, Pistoia, with a base for a brick (?) pilaster which was never provided. The original section of the exterior of the north side of the church is, however, faced throughout with squared stones, presumably built over a brick core, with windows similar to those at Pistoia (also now filled) but with pilaster strips applied only to the north transept and north chapel corners. The original top part of the nave wall was lost when the roof was raised, but the lombard banding applied to the north transept was presumably intended throughout, as at Pistoia. The brick exterior of the east end probably dates mainly from the enlargement accomplished with the bricks from the demolished Augusta. The trefoil head of the first window west of the transept on the north nave wall may represent the original form of all the nave windows at Lucca and Pistoia. The interior of S. Romano has been heavily disguised under baroque accretions. The first chapel to the north of the cappella maggiore has been restored to reveal a rib vault with plain rounded brick mouldings, and an entrance arch supported on stone-faced pilasters, with simple bases and rudimentary foliate capitals. The pointed arch which originally framed the entrance to the south transept bay is now embedded in later work (fig. 12), and the point at which it met the wall above the chapel entrance arch is no longer visible, while its partner to the north has disappeared entirely.

The exterior of S. Domenico, Rieti (figs. 14-16) is faced with rather roughly prepared small squared stones. Narrow pilaster strips divide the walls and there is lombard banding below the roof at the east end. The tall, narrow windows have pointed heads, and one retains trefoil cusping. The church has kept its wooden roof, but the rest of the medieval decoration has been disguised and the chapels bricked in. The exterior of the east wall of the cappella maggiore shows the original form of the east window: a triple light, contained under a framing arch, the head pierced with two oculi and a diamond-shaped window. This design is similar to those at Pistoia and Spoleto, but while those are merely reconstructions based on remaining medieval fragments, the Rieti window is one of the few among Provincia Romana examples to indicate clearly its original design.

The flat exterior surface of the south nave and transept walls of S. Domenico, Spoleto (figs. 17-19) is enlivened by a facing of alternating bands of small white and pink stones. The eastern chapels and the north side of the church, abutted by the cloister and other conventual buildings, is in rough stone, with ashlar used only at the corners. The restored interior has no medieval details, apart from the simplest vault ribs and responds. The pointed lancets have decorated heads which appear to be wholly modern. Spoleto is the only church of the group to retain its side portal - a round-headed entrance, terminating in a gable, the jambs lined with undecorated columns with foliate capitals, supporting similarly plain voussoirs. At Pistoia, Lucca and Rieti, only the bricked-up outlines of the side doors remain. Presumably all these doors were supplied during the pause before money for the western portions of the naves, and for façades, became available.

The respond carrying the transverse arch and vaulting rib at the south-west corner of the north transept in S. Domenico, Pistoia, bears the date 1274 (fig. 5). The construction of the east end (probably begun in the 1250s) must have been complete within or soon after that year. Work was in progress on a new Dominican church 'large enough to hold all the citizens of Spoleto' by 1252 - presumably the eastern portion of the present church - while in Rieti the construction of a new church had been undertaken by 1266. At Lucca there is evidence of the intention to enlarge the buildings in 1255, 1262 and 1263, but the first indication that work was actually underway comes only in 1268 while in 1274 Pistro Angiorelli's will bequeathes money 'ad opus utilitatem opere et laboratus ecclesia eorum hedificatioe noviter incepte' (my italics).

Thus the design shared by these churches was in use early in the second half of the 13th century. Biebrach shows only two Franciscan churches of similar types: S. Francesco, Pescoia, which has the characteristic mis-alignment between nave wall and side-chapel entrance arch, but no vaulted transept compartments; and S. Francesco, Pistoia, which does have square vaulted transepts but displays alignment between the nave wall and the wall dividing

the pairs of side-chapels.⁽¹⁵⁴⁾ In neither church does the wooden roof of the nave abut the wall above the eastern chapels. Biebrach gives no date for these two buildings, but since they were both probably begun at the end of the 13th century,⁽¹⁵⁵⁾ they presumably derived from the Dominican group those features which they share with them.⁽¹⁵⁶⁾

This distinction between Dominican and Franciscan designs is uncharacteristic. In several central Italian towns, for example Arezzo, Cortona, Prato and Siena, the designs of the local Dominican and Franciscan churches are similar even if they were built at different dates.

Around the mid century, Humbert of Romans lamented the lack of uniformity in Dominican buildings - a uniformity which he felt to be a feature of the buildings of more established Orders,

'Established religious Orders ... show uniformity not only in their observances, but also in their habits and in their buildings and such like. It makes me groan to think how far from achieving this we are, for they have churches and conventual buildings of the same shape, organised in the same way, while our churches and buildings are of all types and arrangements.' (157)

There was never a thoroughgoing programme to impose a particular type of church throughout the Dominican Order, or even within a single province, but it is tempting to see the emergence of a specifically Dominican ground-plan as the result of Humbert's intervention. In any case there was certainly a practical reason for the design introduced at that time in the Provincia Romana.

The need for more room in the choir, which became pressing as membership of the Order increased, must have prompted the addition of transepts. The problem is apparent in the general chapter acts, for example in 1246, when the prior of La Rochelle was instructed to remove a tomb (presumably creating an obstruction) from the friars' choir, or at least place it (less obtrusively) 'in angulo ecclesie'.⁽¹⁵⁸⁾ More specifically, churches built or adapted after 1243 were supposed to be able to accommodate a

double choir 'sit in ecclesiis nostris duplex chorum: unus conversorum, alius clericorum'.⁽¹⁵⁹⁾

The transept areas were a Provincia Romana solution. Lack of space in the choir was probably felt more keenly in the average Dominican church than in its Franciscan counterpart. There were far fewer Dominican churches in central Italy⁽¹⁶⁰⁾ and, unlike the Franciscan houses, they were bound to maintain a minimum number of friars.⁽¹⁶¹⁾ All Dominican friars (excluding, of course, lay brothers) were priests, needing room in the choir, while many Franciscans were not. Moreover the constant movement of Dominican students from one house to another, as studia in particular subjects were organised in different convents, meant that it was necessary to allow space for a number of extra friars in houses which were frequently appointed centres of study. An extreme example is S. Maria Novella, which became the studium generale for the Provincia Romana in about 1311, and is recorded as a studium theologiae in 1281, and a 'special' studium theologiae by 1288, and which possesses a particularly extensive choir.⁽¹⁶²⁾ Records of the site of annual studia do not exist from before 1269, and are sporadic after that date, but it appears that Pistoia, Luoca, Spoleto and Rieti all played host regularly to different types of studia.⁽¹⁶³⁾

A consideration of what remains of the medieval work at Pistoia, Lucca, Rieti and Spoleto shows the variety of building materials and decorative detail which were used when the same basic design was employed in different parts of the province. This suggests that in each case local builders were employed for much of the work. On the other hand the re-use of one general design indicates the circulation of sketches - or verbal descriptions - and presumably some overall supervision by an itinerant adviser. The obituary lists include several references to friars or lay-brothers skilled in carpentry (carpentarius) (a useful accomplishment in view of the extensive wooden roofs in Dominican churches) and, more rarely, as architects.⁽¹⁶⁴⁾ The Perugia necrology mentions a certain Rainaldo di Angelo, who died in 1331 after fifty-eight years in the Order.⁽¹⁶⁵⁾ He constructed buildings both for the Perugia convent and for many other convents in the province. He is recorded as a good carpentarius and domificator,

who both practised his own skills in the building of churches, and where necessary supervised others. Unfortunately the obituario is not sufficiently specific for it to be possible to identify his work, but it is interesting to note that while he worked outside his own house, his travels were confined to the Provincia Romana. Rainaldo should probably be regarded as the exception rather than the rule. Too much emphasis has previously been placed on identifying the oeuvre of the few named Dominicans mentioned for their knowledge of building. Much of the work undertaken in the different houses consisted of routine maintenance, or the erection of simple conventual buildings, and the friars mentioned in obituary lists for their building skills may often have been engaged in this rather humble type of work. Moreover, Humbert makes it clear that outsiders were expected to stay in the convent while assisting with building work.⁽¹⁶⁷⁾ There is no reason to suppose that the actual designs of Dominican churches, especially the more complex ones, were not determined by professional lay architects. In the Provincia Romana the particular Dominican strength seems to have been the ability to direct the conduct of work rather than its design. Good educational standards and the opportunity for varied practical experience within the convents of the province is likely to have made men such as Giovanni da Campi, who supervised the 1333 reconstruction of the Ponte alla Carrara and other works for the Commune,⁽¹⁶⁸⁾ sought-after advisers.

The introduction of the plan just discussed was a useful step, but scarcely an architectural achievement on the part of the Order. The basic vocabulary of the majority of Provincia Romana churches is First Romanesque in origin. Box-like naves, lombard banding and 'low' transepts, are all characteristic of earlier north Italian architecture, even if clothed in the pointed arches and rib vaults of the Gothic style.⁽¹⁶⁹⁾ Even the Cistercian element evident in the ground-plans - the three-chapel termination - was, Wagner-Rieger believes, transmitted to Italy by non-Cistercian churches such as those of the Humiliati in north Italy.⁽¹⁷⁰⁾ Moreover, the reminiscence of Cistercian architecture goes no further than the plans; it does not appear in the elevations.

These Provincia Romana churches scarcely contributed to the spread of Gothic architecture in central Italy. Apart from anything else, the Dominican ban on vaulting throughout the church, if observed, was bound to inhibit the use of Gothic forms.

A handful of churches differed from the general pattern by introducing arcades, or nave vaults, or both. This is where the architectural achievements of the Provincia Romana lie - in buildings which have largely disappeared from sight. Some of these churches would merit, or have already merited, a study to themselves. The intention here is simply to list the six of them as a group.

The earliest is probably S. Maria a Gradi, Viterbo, rebuilt after severe storm damage in 1246, with the help of Cardinal Raniero Capocci. The appearance of the church is difficult to ascertain: it was enlarged in the 15th century, rebuilt in the 18th century, bombed in the Second World War, and now forms part of a state prison which does not welcome visitors. However, a 19th century description by Cristofori, presumably based on unnamed earlier sources, says that the church had a Latin cross shaped plan and was,

' ... di stile gotico, ma molto angusta ...
il disegno della chiesa gotica di Gradi era
identico e forse del medesimo architetto
di S. Martino al Monte Cimino'. (171)

S. Martino al Cimino, which still exists, is a rib-vaulted church with a nave arcade of alternating cylindrical and compound piers. It has transepts, four square eastern chapels and a polygonal apse (fig. 20). Cardinal Capocci, patron of S. Maria a Gradi, appears to have paid for building work at S. Martino too. (172)

The Dominicans of Perugia apparently decided to build a larger church at some time in the late 1240s or early 1250s, and completed it in 1260. This building, later superseded by the new, 14th century church of S. Domenico, survives in part. Its pink and white striped façade is visible behind the east walk of the Chiostro Grande, (fig. 21) its nave now houses the deposito of the Archivio di Stato, Perugia and although its east end has been

demolished, portions of two pink and white striped cylindrical piers are visible, embedded in the north-east and south-east corners of the 'nave', while the upper part and capital of the south-eastern pier and of one other (whose base cannot be seen within the Archivio deposito) are visible protruding through what is now the floor of the entrance to the Soprintendenza dell' Antichità, Perugia. (fig.22) The precise form of the original church cannot be reconstructed from the available fragments, but the evidence of the plain cylindrical piers shows that it had an arcade.

The rebuilding of S. Domenico, Orvieto (figs. 23-26), financed by Cardinal Annibaldo Annibaldi, probably began in 1262. The building was restored in the 15th century, and underwent a baroque transformation in the 17th century, while in the 1930s the entire nave was demolished to make way for the Accademia Femminile Fascista di Educazione. On the basis of the remaining structure, which extends as far as the western side of the crossing (now bricked in to form the north wall of the present church) Bonelli has reconstructed a church, with extremely narrow side-aisles (2.10 m.) almost the height of the nave, (figs. 23, 24) which he sees as an important fore-runner of the Orvieto Duomo.⁽¹⁷³⁾ (This reconstruction suggests a unique and extremely strange design, but is admittedly based on the remaining structure. Perhaps the narrow aisles did not actually run the full length of the nave.)

The remaining three churches are much better known: S. Maria Novella (choir, c.1246 - c.1279, nave, c.1279 - c.1300) (fig.27), S. Maria Sopra Minerva (c.1280 onwards) (figs. 28, 29), and S. Domenico, Perugia (1304 onwards) (fig.30). Sources and affiliations have been suggested for the design of each of them, although the investigation is hampered by the difficulty of reconstructing the original architects' intentions and, in the case of Rome and Perugia, going back beyond later restoration and transformation. Specific debts to Cistercian ground-plans, north Italian architecture, and local building traditions, have all been acknowledged, while Wagner-Rieger's broader view of the typology of mendicant church design has revealed the importance of general links with the churches of S. Domenico, Bologna and S. Giovanni in Canale, Piacenza.⁽¹⁷⁴⁾

It now appears that besides specific debts and the general influence of the Order's important early buildings, the particular context of building in the Provincia Romana should be considered. The province was evidently an ambience in which variety and experiment flourished, when money was available and the attention of important patrons was engaged. (It is significant that Viterbo, Orvieto and Perugia were all towns favoured by the Curia.) This background may help to explain why the coherent use of particular architectural types, which may be discerned in some of the great northern Italian Dominican churches,⁽¹⁷⁵⁾ was never characteristic of the strikingly individual and little-imitated achievements of Dominican church architecture in central Italy.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 1

1. Monumenta Diplomatica S. Dominici, MOPH, 25, ed. V.J. Koudelka OP, (Rome, 1966), pp.56-8.
2. See M.H. Vicaire OP, Histoire de Saint Dominique, (Paris, 1957), vol.I, chaps. 7,8,9,10, pp.205-358, and H.C. Scheeben OP, Der Heilige Dominikus, (Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1927), chap.5, pp.91-107.
3. Jordan of Saxony, Libellus de principiis Ordinis Praedicatorum, ed. H.C. Scheeben, MOPH, 16 (Rome, 1933), pp.35-7.
4. Jordan, Libellus, p.46.
5. Acta Canonizationis S. Dominici, ed. A. Walz OP, MOPH, 16 (Rome, 1933), pp.150-51. (Perpetuated in the Constitutions, see A.H. Thomas OP, De Oudste Constituties van de Dominicanen, Bibliothèque de la Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, 42 (Louvain, 1965), p.364.
6. On the subject of 12th and 13th century interest in poverty and the apostolic life see in particular M.H. Vicaire, 'Fondation, approbation, confirmation de l'ordre des Prêcheurs', Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, 47 (1952), pp.123-41, 586-603; Id., L'Imitation des apôtres: Moines, Chanoines, Mendicants (IV-XIII siècles), (Paris, 1963); Études sur l'histoire de la Pauvreté, Publications de la Sorbonne, 'Études', 8, ed. M. Mollat, (Paris, 1974), vol.I, chaps.4 and 6.
7. J.D. Mansi, Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio, (Florence, 1759 ff.), vol.XXII, col.1002.
8. Mansi, Conciliorum, cols.998-9.
A recent consideration of the extent and nature of lay involvement in religious life is A. Murray, 'Piety and Impiety in thirteenth century Italy', Popular Belief and Practice, Studies in Church History, 8 (Cambridge, 1972), ed. G.J. Cuming and D. Baker, pp.83-106.
9. MOPH, 25, p.73.
10. Vicaire, Histoire, vol.II, p.18, note 37, points out that there is only one comparable previous example; the canons of Val-des-Écoliers had decided to give up all properties and to accept only rents and alms.
11. For these reforms see P. Mandonnet OP (with M.H. Vicaire), Saint Dominique, L'Idée, L'Homme et L'Oeuvre, (Paris, 1937), vol.II, part II, esp. pp.176-82. For dependence of the text of the Dominican Constitutions on previous models see Thomas, Constituties, passim, esp. Arts.II, III, pp.8-54; Id., 'Les Constitutions dominicaines témoins des 'Instituta' de Prémontré au début du XIIIe siècle (1216-20)', Analecta Praemonstratensia, 42, fasc.1-2 (1966), pp.28-47.

12. Confirmed by papal bull in 1216 (MOPH, 25, p.77); a letter from Simon de Montfort to his seneschal in 1217 orders him to defend all the properties - omnes domos et res - belonging to his dearest brother Dominio (MOPH, 25, p.85); Jordan of Saxony's description of the renunciation of rents and property, cited above, specifically mentions those in the Toulouse area.
13. MOPH, 25, pp.56-8.
14. Vicaire, Histoire, II, p.88 ff.
15. For the dates of early foundations see A.M. Walz OP, Compendium historiae Ordinis Praedicatorum, (Rome, 1930), part I, chap.3.
16. See below, chapter 2.
17. Jordan, Libellus, p.67.
There is disagreement on the precise chronology of the introduction of full mendicancy. For a summary see W.A. Hinnebusch OP, 'Poverty in the Order of Preachers', The Catholic Historical Review, 45 (1960), pp.436-53.
18. MOPH, 25, p.148.
19. See Hinnebusch, History, p.158.
20. MOPH, 25, pp.127-9.
21. Acta Canonizationis, pp.150-51.
22. '... centum libre Bononinorum quas dominus Ugolinus, doctor legum, dedit Predicatoribus ex venditione cuiusdam vinee de ortis quam ab eis emit.' MOPH, 25, pp.172-4.
23. See e.g. Acta Canonizationis, pp.137,166.
24. Thomas, Constitutes, pp.319 (also mentioned in the gravi culpa), 320, 329-30; H. Denifle, 'Die Constitutionen des Predigerordens vom Jahre 1228', Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters, 1 (1885), p.225; Thomas, p.364.
25. Acta Canonizationis, pp.156-7.
26. Acta Canonizationis, p.144.
27. Thomas, Constitutes, p.364.
28. (According to the punctuation in Thomas' edition, although not in Denifle's.) Thomas, p.367.
29. The holding of money and property by individual friars is discussed further below, chapter 3, part (a).

30. Details about individual convents in the Provincia Romana and generalisations concerning the province are based on the information given in the catalogue, appendix 1. No further references will be provided in the footnotes to this chapter.
31. See Vicaire, Histoire, II, pp.307-13.
32. MOPH, 25, pp.163-4.
33. MOPH, 25, pp.145-6.
34. Thomas, Constituties, pp.364,362; Denifle, 'Constitutionen', p.197.
35. Thomas, pp.358, 361-2.
36. See Vicaire, Histoire, II, appendix 6.
37. Thomas, p.364.
38. BOP, I, pp.5-6.
39. Caccia, p.8.
40. A Perugian chronicle described the 1233 convent as heremicolarum gurgustis persimilem, see Masetti, I, p.87.
41. See below, chapter 4, for further discussion of his canonisation and cult.
42. BOP, I, p.49.
43. E.g. BOP, I, pp.24, 25, 28.
44. Acta Capitulorum Generalium Ordinis Praedicatorum, ed. B.M. Reichert OP, MOPH, 3 (Rome, 1898), pp.12, 15, 32.
45. See Masetti, p.83. (I have not been able to trace these rulings in Reichert's edition of the chapter acts.)
46. Humbert, Opera, II, pp.276-7.
47. BOP, I, p.131.
48. Florence, Archivio di Stato, S. Maria Novella, 9.1.1242.
49. Thomas, Constituties, p.360.
50. MOPH, 3, pp.44-5.
51. MOPH, 20, p.16.
52. Caccia, pp.12-14.
Dominican bishops of cathedral towns containing a Provincia Romana convent are listed in appendix 1.

53. BOP, I, pp.133,137,138; Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Fondo Domenicani I, No.15.
54. Listed in appendix 1 under Siena, Florence, Orvieto, Viterbo and Lucca.
55. With the exception of the decade of the 1280s, in which four or five looi, extant for varying lengths of time, became full convents.
56. See below, note.160.
57. E.g. the 1262 settlement over preaching areas between Lucca and Pistoia, mentioned in a letter from the provincial prior, Aldobrandino Cavalloanti, now in the Archivio di Stato, Lucca, perg. di S. Romano, 1262.
58. See below, chapter 1, part (c).
59. See S. Orlandi OP, 'Il VII Centenario della Predicazione di S. Pietro Martire a Firenze (1245-1945)', MD, 63 (1946), pp.31-2.
60. Orlandi, pp.33-4, 41, 59-63.
61. See below, chapter 1, p.57, chapter 3, p.132.
62. See D.L. Douie, The conflict between the seculars and the mendicants at the university of Paris in the thirteenth century, Aquinas Paper, 23 (London, 1954).
63. MOPH, 3, p.257.
64. S. Maria Novella, 12.1.1288; see G. Pampaloni, Firenze al tempo di Dante, (Rome, 1973), n.43.
65. For the Council of Lyons see C-J Hefele, Histoire des Conciles d'après les documents originaux, trans. H. Leclercq, VI, i, (Paris, 1914), pp.153 ff., esp. can.23, pp.200-202; R.W. Emery, 'The second Council of Lyons and the mendicant orders', The Catholic Historical Review, 39 (1953), pp.257-71.
66. Hefele, p.202.
67. BOP, I, pp.531-2.
68. E.g. laity must remember their parish church in their wills, must be encouraged to pay the tithe and other parish dues, must not be dissuaded from burial in their parish church (Cap. Gen. 1274, MOPH, 3, p.176).
The concessions are summarised by J. Moorman, A History of the Franciscan Order, (Oxford, 1968), pp.177-8; see also H.C. Lambermond OP, Der Armutsgedanke des Hl. Dominikus und seines Ordens, (Zwolle, 1926), pp.79-81.
69. Lambermond, Armutsgedanke, pp.83-5.

70. BOP, III, p.528; Lambermond, pp.85-98.
71. See M.D. Lambert, Franciscan Poverty, (London, 1961), chs.7 onwards.
72. See G. Leff, Heresy in the later Middle Ages, (Manchester, 1967), II, pp.450-51.
73. Meersseman, 'Études', III, p.18.
74. Humbert of Romans, fifth master general of the Order, gives a clear summary of the shift in the Order's function: Propter quid ordo principaliter fuit institutus, Opera, II, pp.38-9.
75. For the Provincia Romana see I. Taurisano OP, 'L'Organizzazione delle scuole Domenicane nel secolo XIII', Miscellanea Lucchese, 45 (1928), pp.93-129. For a general survey comparing different mendicant orders see J. Cannon, 'Panorama geografico, cronologico e statistico sulla distribuzione degli Studia degli ordini mendicanti, Inghilterra', Le Scuole degli Ordini Mendicanti, Convegni del Centro di Studi sulla Spiritualità Medievale, 17 (Todi, 1978), pp.93-126.
76. The important researches co-ordinated by the Centre de Recherches Historiques de la VI^e section de L'École des Hautes Études are not yet complete. See J. Le Goff, 'Ordres Mendicants et Urbanisation dans la France médiévale: État de L'enquête', Annales, Économies Sociétés Civilisations, 25 (1970), pp.924-46. A recent collection of studies touching a variety of aspects, considering the current state of research and providing the basic bibliography is 'Les Ordres Mendicants et la Ville en Italie Centrale (v.1220-v.1350)', Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome. Moyen Ages, Temps Modernes, 89 (1977), pp.557-773.
77. E.g. see C. Delcorno, L'Exemplum nella Predicazione Volgare di Giordano da Pisa, Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti. Memorie, Classe di Scienze Morali, Lettere ed Arti, 36, fasc.1, (Venice, 1972).
78. A recent comparison of the content of Dominican and Franciscan sermons is C. Delcorno, 'Predicazione Volgare e Volgarizzamenti', Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome, 89 (1977), pp.679-89.
79. Before becoming a preacher a friar had to be at least twenty-five years old, to have studied theology for at least a year and to have undergone thorough questioning by the chapter or diffinitors. To become a predicatore generale, preaching within a whole province rather than being limited to the predicazione of a single house, three years study of theology was required. See Thomas, Constituties, pp.356, 363, 365.
80. Humbert, Opera, II, p.371.

81. Humbert of Romans, Sermones ad diversos status, (Hagenaw, 1508).
Two recent studies of the audiences for Dominican preaching are C. Delcorno, Giordano da Pisa e l'antica predicazione volgare, Biblioteca di 'Lettere' Italiane, 14 (Florence, 1975), part I, chap.2; D.R. Lesnick, Popular Dominican preaching in early fourteenth century Florence, Ph.D. thesis, (University of Rochester NY, 1976).
82. Expositio Regulæ B. Augustini, Humbert, Opera, I, p.52; De Officiis Ordinis, de Officio Praedicatoris Communis, Humbert, Opera, II, p.371. There has been little study of religious life in the contado. A notable exception is C.M. de la Roncière, 'L'Influence des Franciscains dans la campagne de Florence au XIVe siècle (1280-1360)', Mélanges de L'École Française de Rome, Moyen Age, Temps Modernes, 87 (1975), pp.27-103.
83. Humbert, Opera, II, p.370.
84. Ibid.
85. Humbert, Opera, I, p.52.
86. MOPH, 25, pp.163-4.
87. See e.g. Provence chapter acts, 1268, in C. Douais, Acta Capitulorum Provincialium Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum, (Toulouse, 1894), p.133, directing that habits should not be given to the dead.
88. See R.C. Trexler, 'Death and Testament in the Episcopal Constitutions of Florence (1327)', Renaissance Studies in Honour of Hans Baron, ed. A. Molho and J. Tedeschi, Biblioteca Storica Sansoni, n.s. 49 (Florence, 1971), p.64.
89. MOPH, 3, pp.26,64.
90. MOPH, 3, p.176.
91. MOPH, 3, p.181.
92. See the forthcoming book on Cardinals' wills by A. Paravicini Bagliani, cited in chapter 3.
93. For an interesting discussion of lay wills in Rome see R. Brentano, Rome before Avignon, (London, 1974), ch.7.
94. BOP, I, pp.3,25,133.
95. MOPH, 3, p.53.
96. MOPH, 3, p.176.
97. See M.H. Laurent OP, I Necrologi di S. Domenico in Camporeggio, Fontes vitae S. Catharinae Senesis historici, 20, (Siena, 1937).

98. Caccia, pp.107-9.
99. MOPH, 25, p.57.
100. The relation between poverty - both actual and religious - and the popularity of the mendicant Orders with the urban laity has recently been explored by L.K. Little, Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe, (London, 1978).
101. Humbert, Opera, I, p.52.
(The religious life of the poor in the later middle ages is a little-visited subject. See A. Murray, 'Religion among the poor in thirteenth century France', Traditio, 30 (1974), pp.285-324.)
102. Ibid.
103. For a comparison of the patrons and character of the Orders of monks and friars see B.H. Rosenwein and L.K. Little, 'Social meaning in the Monastic and Mendicant Spiritualities', Past and Present, 63 (1974), pp.4-32.
104. See Meersseman, 'Études', passim.
Roman province confraternities are listed in appendix 1. Since the completion of research for this section a further study by Meersseman, containing new and revised material, has appeared, Ordo Fraternitatis: Confraternite e Pietà dei laici nel medioevo, 3 vols., Italia Sacra, Studi e Documenti di Storia Ecclesiastica, 24-6 (Rome, 1977).
105. See Meersseman, 'Études', III, pp.8 ff., 16 ff. and Orlandi, MD, 63 (1946), pp.26-41, 59-87; 64 (1947), pp.31-48, 109-36, 170-211.
106. See Meersseman, 'Études', I, pp.39-41, III, pp.46-7.
107. See Meersseman, 'Études', III, pp.30-31; Id., 'La prédication dominicaine dans les congrégations mariales en Italie au XIIIe siècle', ASP, 18 (1948), pp.131-33.
108. See Meersseman, 'Études', II, p.67.
109. Orlandi, MD, 64 (1947), p.110.
110. E.g. see Meersseman, 'Études', III, pp.58-9; Orlandi, p.111.
111. See Meersseman, Ordo Fraternitatis, pp.386-9.
112. See D. Waley, Mediaeval Orvieto, (Cambridge, 1952), pp.94, 115.
113. For this Order see Meersseman, Ordo Fraternitatis, pp.1262-7.
114. Caccia, pp.90-91.
115. All are listed in appendix 1.

116. See A. Vauchez, 'La commune de Sienne, les Ordres Mendiants et le culte des saints. Histoire et enseignements d'une crise (Novembre 1328 - avril 1329)', Mélanges de L'École Française de Rome, 89 (1977), pp.757-67.
117. E.g. Orlandi, MD, 64 (1947), p.110. A forthcoming Ph.D. thesis by John Henderson for the University of London will consider in detail the membership of Florentine 13th and 14th century confraternities.
118. Meersseman, 'Études', II, p.67.
119. E.g. Laurent, I Necrologi.
120. Delcorno, Giordano; Lesnick, Dominican preaching.
121. Little, Religious Poverty.
122. De la Roncière, 'La Campagne'.
123. E.g. Humbert, Opera and Sermones.
124. See above, pp.37-8.
125. The geographical location of Dominican convents in the suburbs has mistakenly been taken as a full and satisfactory explanation of its audience. (See e.g. Murray, 'Piety', pp.84-6.) See the section on convent sites, below.
126. For a full list and details of publication see appendix 2.
127. The task has generally been avoided in respect of membership of the Dominican Order. A notable exception is J.B. Freed, The Friars and German Society in the Thirteenth Century, (Cambridge, Mass., 1977), ch.4.
128. Orvieto, Archivio di Stato, Riformagioni, 1322, ff.76v.-79v.
129. Waley, Orvieto, esp. pp.37-42, 113-15.
130. G. Pardi, 'Il Catasto d'Orvieto dell'anno 1292', Bolletino della Reale Deputazione di Storia Patria per l'Umbria, 2 (1896), pp.225-320.
131. E. Cristiani, Nobiltà e Popolo nel comune di Pisa dalle Origini del Podestariato alla Signoria dei Donoratico, Istituto Italiano per gli Studi Storici, 13 (Naples, 1962).
132. Bonaini, p.443.
133. Caccia, pp.84, 90, 109-114.
134. See Waley, Orvieto, p.115, n.1.
135. Pardi, 'Catasto', pp.235-6.
136. See Acta Cap. Gen. (1236), MOPH, 3, p.6, and see above, note 45.

137. See the section on private means in chapter 3. See also Humbert, Opera, I, pp.113, 132, on the subject of the rich and the poor entering the Order.
138. Caccia is quick to point out members of important families, so an unspecified background may often indicate a more modest one.
139. Humbert, Opera, II, p.234.
140. MOPH, 3, p.70.
141. Caccia, p.113.
142. See H. Saalman, Medieval Cities, (London, 1968), pp.31-2.
143. In the case of Foligno the enclosure was almost immediate.
144. As C. Bourel de la Roncière has found for the sites of Franciscan convents in 13th and 14th century Tuscany. See Le Goff, 'Urbanisation', p.927, n.4.
145. On the plan of the late medieval Italian town see esp. W. Braunfels, Mittelalterliche Stadtbaukunst in der Toskana, (Berlin, 1953). The recent study by E. Guidoni, Arte e Urbanistica in Toscana, 1000-1315, (Rome, 1970), tends to forget that two-dimensional town plans represent three-dimensional forms. The six Italian town plans provided (as evidence of the mendicant mission to the suburbs) in Murray, 'Piety', p.85, are too selective and simplified to be informative; they also contain inaccuracies.
146. The best general consideration of Dominican and Franciscan architecture in Italy, and its sources, is R. Wagner-Rieger, 'Zur typologie italienischer bettelordens-kirchen', Römische Historische Mitteilungen, 2 (1957/58), pp.266-98. See also the useful summary by P. Héliot, 'Sur les Églises gothiques des Ordres mendiants en Italie Centrale', Bulletin Monumental, 130 (1972), pp.231-5.
 The basic work on wooden-roofed Dominican and Franciscan churches in Tuscany and Umbria is K. Biebrach, Die Holzgedeckten Franziskaner- und Dominikanerkirchen in Umbrien und Toskana, (Berlin, 1908), which provides a generous number of ground-plans and drawings but is unfortunately marred by inaccuracies in dating.
 For mendicant churches in Umbria see W. Krönig, 'Hallenkirchen in Mittelitalien', Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte, 2 (1938), pp.1-142, and id., 'Caratteri dell'architettura degli Ordini Mendicanti in Umbria', Storia e Arte nell'età comunale, Atti del Sesto Convegno di Studi Umbri, (Perugia, 1971), vol.I, pp.165-98.
 For 13th century Dominican architecture throughout Europe and its connection with the Order's legislation see the fundamental article by G.G. Meersseman OP, 'L'Architecture dominicaine au XIIIe siècle, légis et pratique', AFP, 16 (1946), pp.136-90, and for a useful introduction to central Italian mendicant building, summarising the historical and

legislative background rather than dealing with individual monuments, see id., 'Origini del tipo di Chiesa Umbro-Toscano degli Ordini Mendicanti', Il Gotico a Pistoia nei suoi rapporti con l'arte gotica Italiana, Atti del 2o convegno Internazionale di Studi, (Pistoia, 1972), pp.63-77.

147. See the section on church furniture in chapter 3 (c).
148. Wagner-Rieger, 'Typologie', p.288.
149. For references to the bibliography and building history of this and all following Dominican churches, see the catalogue, appendix 1.
150. For the present plan see F. Gurrieri, Pittura Murale nel San Domenico di Prato, (Florence, 1974), p.67, fig.1.
151. Not 1250, as Biebrach, Dominikanerkirchen, p.18, states.
152. The east end of S. Romano, Lucca, in particular, has been subject to additions and alterations.
153. See V. Alce, Il Convento di San Domenico in Bologna nel secolo XIII, (Bologna, 1973), figs.2,4.
154. Biebrach, Dominikanerkirche, p.39, fig.83; p.41, fig.88.
155. Toscana, Guida d'Italia del Touring Club Italiano, (Milan, 1959), pp.242, 317.
156. Wagner-Rieger's broader grouping of churches places Franciscan and Dominican examples together, but the distinction between the two types seems justified.
157. Humbert, Opera, II, p.5.
158. MOPH, 3, p.37.
159. See Masetti, p.65. (I have not been able to trace this ruling in Reichert's edition of the chapter acts).
160. By 1300 there were approximately 165 Franciscan foundations within the area roughly equivalent to the Dominican Provincia Romana which contained 22 full convents by the same date. See H. Jedin, K.S. Latourette and J. Martin, Atlas zur Kirchengeschichte, (Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1970), pp.42-3.
161. Twelve. See Thomas, Constitutions, p.358.
162. See appendix 1.
163. Ibid.
164. For S. Maria Novella see S. Orlandi OP, Necrologio di S. Maria Novella, (Florence, 1955), vol.I, p.xxiv, note 26. An Orvieto example is Fra Iohannes, Carpentarius, Caccia, p.84.

165. Perugia, Biblioteca Augusta, MS.1141.
166. For example Fra Sisto and Fra Ristoro, credited by Marchese, and many others since Vasari, with the design and initial construction of S. Maria Novella, without any contemporary evidence. See Marchese, Memorie, vol.I, chap.3; Orlandi, Necrologio, p.xxiv.
167. Humbert, Opera, II, pp.331-2.
168. Orlandi, Necrologio, p.xxiv, note 26.
169. Héliot, 'Ordres Mendiants', p.231, points to the Lombard and Carolingian origins of these simple constructions, as does Wagner-Rieger, 'Typologie', pp.289-90.
170. Wagner-Rieger, p.289.
171. F. Cristofori, Le Tombe dei Papi in Viterbo, (Siena, 1887), p.76.
172. For S. Martino in Cimino see R. Wagner-Rieger, Die Italienische Baukunst zu Beginn der Gotik, (Graz/Cologne, 1957), vol. II, pp.232-4, fig.31, plates 37,38.
173. R. Bonelli, Il Duomo di Orvieto e l'Architettura Italiana del Duecento Trecento, (Rome, 1972), pp.76-7, 84, note 38.
174. Wagner-Rieger, 'Typologie', passim.
175. E.g. see H. Dellwing, Studien zur Baukunst der Bettelorden im Veneto, Kunstwissenschaftliche Studien, 43 (Munich/Berlin, 1970), passim.

CHAPTER 2:

DOMINICAN LEGISLATION ON ART AND ARCHITECTURE

The Structure of Dominican Legislation.

Dominican legislative procedure was complex and relatively efficient. The Lateran Council of 1215 had prohibited the writing of any new monastic rules,⁽¹⁾ so in 1216 St. Dominic chose the Augustinian rule for his new Order. This was supplemented by the Constitutions, developed between 1216 and 1236. The first section of the Constitutions, Distinctio Prima, the equivalent of a monastic customary, derived chiefly from the Premonstratentian Customary. The Distinctio Secunda, equivalent to monastic statutes, originated in part from St. Dominic's own ideas and was influenced by the decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council and by Cistercian legislation. Several versions of the Constitutions survive.⁽²⁾

The Constitutions formed the permanent core of Dominican life and legislation and yet were adaptable; changes could be made, if approved in three general chapter meetings. The practice of holding an annual general chapter had been introduced by the Cistercians and had been followed either willingly (Carthusians, Canons-Regular) or as a result of Papal inducement (Benedictines, Cluniacs) by most Orders, by the early 13th century.⁽³⁾ The Dominican general chapter was much broader in scope and more centralised than its predecessors. For two consecutive years it was composed of one diffinitor elected by each provincial chapter, and in the third year it consisted of the prior of each Dominican province.⁽⁴⁾ It held direct and equal power over every Dominican in the Order, and within it every area of the Order was represented. It was largely through the general chapter, and through the allegiance of every Dominican to the Order as a whole, rather than to an individual house, that the master general of the Order was able to exercise greater overall control than the head of any previous religious Order. Conversely, the general chapter had the power to elect or depose the master general.

The mendicant Orders, perhaps encouraged by the ruling of the Fourth Lateran Council,⁽⁵⁾ introduced division into provinces,

to replace the networks of affiliation and cells favoured by the monastic Orders.⁽⁶⁾ The use of provinces also tended to ensure unity and uniformity. At the head of each province was a provincial prior who was responsible to the master general. Through these provincials, by way of the annual provincial chapter⁽⁷⁾ and with the support of a provincially-based system of visitation, the priors and friars of each individual house were supervised.⁽⁸⁾ (The provincial chapter was attended by the prior and an elected representative, socius, from every convent and by the preachers-general.) Offices were not held permanently and there seem to have been fairly frequent changes of personnel.⁽⁹⁾

The recorded deliberations of the general chapter survive from 1220 onwards.⁽¹⁰⁾ The records were divided into different sections. First, the suggested emendations to the Constitutions, which had to be approved in three different years. Secondly, the ordinaciones (also known by various other names, e.g. admoniciones), which dealt with more temporary or specific matters of administration, or repeated and amplified the rulings of the Constitutions. Thirdly, absolutiones from office were noted and finally a list of those to be remembered in the prayers of the Order was set down.

Provincial chapter acts exist for the Roman province (1243-1344), Provence (1230-1302), Spain (various dates between 1241 and 1299), Lombardy (1254-1293), Lower Lombardy (1307, 1309-1312), Teutony and Dacia (various dates).⁽¹¹⁾ While varying in arrangement and content from province to province, the acta all indicate the range of business which concerned the provincial chapter: Repetition of general chapter rulings, details of daily organisation and domestic conventual matters, appointments to and absolution from office, arrangement of studia, questions to be asked at the next general chapter, specific punishments and stipulation of prayers for benefactors.

There seems to have been a considerable effort to ensure that all this carefully planned legislative machinery was effective. The prologue to the Constitutions, partly taken from the Pre-monstratentian Customary, enjoins strict adherence.⁽¹²⁾ The acta themselves indicate the repeated, carefully defined attempts to enforce regulations. The 1240 acta from Provence state that every house must keep a book containing the general and provincial acta.⁽¹³⁾ In 1245 the general chapter orders every house in the Order to keep

such a book, which is to be read four times a year.⁽¹⁴⁾ Humbert of Romans says that all provincial visitors should carry with them copies of the Constitutions and general and provincial acts, containing the latest corrections.⁽¹⁵⁾ In 1304 the general chapter was still trying to ensure that every house possessed a full copy of all the most recent acta. 'Cum ex ignorantia actorum tam generalium quam provincialium capitulorum defectus multi proveniant ...'.⁽¹⁶⁾ Galbraith considers that the machinery remained in good working order throughout the period under consideration,

'Though there is no doubt that the master eventually did become an autocrat, and that the provincial Priors came to regard local loyalty as more important than conformity with the general policy of the Order, this tendency was held in check by the general chapter down to the middle of the fourteenth century. Even after that officialdom never quite assumed the gigantic proportions in the Order of Preachers that it did in other Orders.' ⁽¹⁷⁾

To sum up: Dominican legislation was new and different. It was capable of expressing and developing a distinct and unified character for the Order. At the same time it provided for the expression and maintenance of that character through the execution of the smallest details of observance in daily routine. The system was flexible enough to reflect changes in the everyday experience of the Order and sometimes to permit alterations in the legislation in response to those changes. The Constitutions in their early form reflect a kind of ideal, while the general and provincial chapter acts, at different levels, show the impact of experience on this ideal.

Previous Legislation on Art.

During the 12th century several strict new religious Orders were founded.⁽¹⁸⁾ The legislation of various of these Orders and the individual comments of some of their members, show a critical attitude to the uses, abuses and excesses of ecclesiastical art, ornament and architecture. This material provides evidence

of the attitudes to art which existed, when Dominican legislation was being formed and indicates previous methods of legislation.

From Tertullian onwards, art in the service of Christianity had been regarded with suspicion, as a possible source of idolatry.⁽¹⁹⁾ The arguments concerning this problem received their fullest elaboration during the Iconoclast controversy in Byzantium.⁽²⁰⁾ During the 12th century, new, wider-ranging arguments and views were expressed and old objections revived. Many of these attitudes find their immediate source in the writings of St. Bernard. The frequently quoted section in the Apologia⁽²¹⁾ comprises various arguments: art is a distraction which takes away time from proper study;⁽²²⁾ art is a foolish expense; among the laity, giving is in danger of replacing praying; admiration rather than repentance is encouraged; decorated floors are a waste of money and occasion disrespect.

Bernard's arguments reach as far back as St. Jerome: monks have renounced the pleasures of the world, so for them, although not perhaps for all religious, expenditure on art and architecture is unsuitable.⁽²³⁾ Jerome, in his letter to Paulinus of Nola, contrasts the richness of church decoration with the hunger of the poor.⁽²⁴⁾ His statement is repeated by Candidus in the ninth century,⁽²⁵⁾ and echoed by St. Bernard. Guigues I, the Carthusian prior, writing about ten years after St. Bernard, objects to the building of unsuitably luxurious cells, when alms should be being given to the poor.⁽²⁶⁾ Hugue de Fouilloi, Augustinian Canon, writing in about 1153, observes that Adam and Eve are depicted clothed on the walls of churches, while nearby the poor are naked.⁽²⁷⁾ Peter the Chanter, Canon of Paris Cathedral, also objects to money being spent on the fabric of churches rather than on the poor,⁽²⁸⁾ (and to the dubious methods used to obtain money for building).⁽²⁹⁾

Thus early comments on expenditure on art survived to be repeated and elaborated throughout the 12th century, especially by influential members of the newly founded Orders. There was hostility to excesses in art on financial grounds; because of the clash with the monastic way of life, and through fear of harmful effects on the laity.

A chain of arguments defending art, wholly or at least in part, also reached back through the middle ages. Paulinus of

Nola was presumably not the first person to defend Church decoration as a means of instructing the laity and enticing them into the churches.⁽³⁰⁾ Later, Gregory the Great expresses similar opinions.⁽³¹⁾ St. Bernard takes up the argument again, at the same time stressing the distinction which Jerome had already suggested,⁽³²⁾ between behaviour suitable for the regular and secular clergy: bishops are justified in using art as a means of exciting the devotion of the carnali populi. Euge de Fouilloi describes this distinction very clearly: it is right that the houses of the religious (Augustinian Canons) should be placed in peaceful surroundings, away from the tumult of the laity. For those whose churches are among the laity, it may be permissible to use pictures to attract those who, 'non delectantur subtilitate scripturae'.⁽³³⁾ So art could sometimes be condoned as a means of instruction or of stimulating prayer.⁽³⁴⁾ Even St. Bernard grudgingly admits, 'etsi noxia sunt vanis et avaris, non tamen simplicibus et devotis'.

This more positive attitude to art has no reflection in the legislation of the regular clergy until the Dominican chapter acts from the middle of the 13th century discussed below. Earlier legislation is negative. The development of the scope of this legislation, its use of particular words and phrases and its connection with statements by individual members of the Orders concerned, can be traced in some detail.

The first piece of evidence is a description of conditions in a monastery, rather than an actual record of legislation. It is a passage dealing with the foundation of the Grande Chartreuse by St. Bruno in 1084, probably written between 1114 and 1115, about thirty years after the event.⁽³⁵⁾ Because of this gap in time, it cannot be considered as a reliable source for St. Bruno's attitudes in 1084, but similarities between this passage and the first written statutes of the Carthusians in 1128, suggest that the comments attributed to St. Bruno at least formed part of the oral legislative tradition of the Order in the first quarter of the 12th century. This early record concerns itself with metal-work, rather than with painting or building: all types of gold and silver ornament, except for chalices, are forbidden. A gift of some silver chalices and decorative shields, sent by the Count of Nevers, is returned.

The Cistercian Exordium, a description of the early life of the Order, generally dated to the first half of the 12th century, possibly c.1120, is another passage which is not strictly speaking a piece of legislation.⁽³⁶⁾ Again it is metalwork which is to be limited: the chalice and eucharistic reed must be silver or gilded rather than gold; candelabra, ampullae and thuribles are also controlled, and ecclesiastical vestments must also be plain and made of simple materials. For the first time a reason is given for these restrictions. The terms used will be constantly repeated in succeeding legislation: nothing which smacks of superbia or superfluitas must appear in a Cistercian church, lest the Order's paupertas be marred.

Clearly, ideas about restraint in church decoration were not an exclusively Cistercian preserve. The Carthusians followed many of the same practices. However it is the Cistercians, even at this early date before any concrete legislation had been formed, who pursue the observance of paupertas with thoroughness and are already formulating a brief explanation of their directives. A far fuller consideration of the subject appears in St. Bernard's Apologia mentioned above. Bernard uses a variety of argument which never appears in the legislation and his work must be used as a supplement to the legislation, in helping us to understand the attitudes of 12th century Orders.

The earliest surviving written legislation is Carthusian. Guigues' statutes⁽³⁷⁾ prohibit the use of gold and silver ornaments, apart from chalices and eucharistic reeds, and altar-frontals and hangings are banned. The small variations between this passage and the two already discussed, do not seem particularly significant. Of more interest is the omission of any reference to buildings (as in the previous passages) apart from the admonition that nothing is to be changed in cells without permission.⁽³⁸⁾ Neither of the two succeeding versions of the statutes (1259, 1367) mentions buildings either. This suggests a gap between legislation and Guigues' personal opinions.

In writing to the Carthusians of Mont-Dieu⁽³⁹⁾ he attacks the elaboration of cells. Money is spent on making existing cells luxurious rather than on building new ones. Cells are ambitiosa

and sumptuosa, instead of having formam paupertatis et sanotae simplicitatis speciem. The vocabulary is similar to that of the Cistercian Exordium but this passage does not enter the Carthusian legislation. Either building forms were considered less important and less worth legislating about than the question of liturgical vessels and hangings or it was thought that the legislative system was not capable of enforcing this type of obedience. The external appearance of the Order, important though it seems to Guigues in his letter, is not seen as something which can be thoroughly regulated and controlled through the statuta.

A more thorough attempt to control the appearance of an Order by means of legislation comes in the Cistercian statutes of 1134.⁽⁴⁰⁾ These set a precedent which, like the remarks of St. Bernard on luxury in art, are often repeated. Liturgical vessels are again controlled: no precious materials are to be used, except in making chalices and eucharistic reeds; two of these in silver or silver-gilt are permitted. Ecclesiastical hangings and vestments are also regulated. For the first time sculpture and painting are banned from Cistercian churches and monastic buildings, on the grounds that they may disturb meditation and religious seriousness. (They are not condemned as a harm to poverty.) Wooden painted crosses, as mentioned in the Exordium, are permitted. Illuminated manuscripts are forbidden and windows are to be clear, without crosses and pictures.

The attention to detail shown in these statutes had some chance of being carried out in practice. The Cistercians instituted annual general chapters (less democratic than mendicant general chapters but doubtless still reasonably effective)⁽⁴¹⁾ and backed this up with a thorough system of visitation.⁽⁴²⁾ There was much more point in their trying to control appearance than there would have been for the Carthusians, with their less developed government, even though the leaders of both Orders held similar views on the subject. Yet the Cistercians still did not deal with the size or type of church buildings. (St. Bernard's remarks had already shown that there was a need to do so.) Hugue de Fouilloi, addressing the Augustinian Canons in about 1153,⁽⁴³⁾ describes a standard for their buildings, 'Aedificia fratrum non superflua sint, sed humilia; non voluptuosa, sed honesta', but there is no record of whether this standard became part of any legislation.

The terms used are interesting; paupertas is not mentioned and humilitas and honestas are seen as the virtues to aim at.

In the next fifty years the Cistercians added little to their legislation on art. Repetition of the ruling on plain glass windows indicates that the Order had problems of enforcement but continued to try to ensure obedience to the statutes.⁽⁴⁴⁾ In 1182 a limit was put on the money to be spent on new land or buildings.⁽⁴⁵⁾ The fear of debt was a motive for restraint which was to recur often; the first positive restriction on building occurs in this context in 1188, when a warning is given against grandia et sumptuosa aedificia.⁽⁴⁶⁾ A penance for excessive building, given in 1192, implies the existence of fixed standards for Cistercian buildings, although these had not been set down in writing; the abbot of Longpont is guilty of building a dormitory contra formam et consuetudinem ordinis.⁽⁴⁷⁾ In the same year the abbot of Clairvaux is penanced for failing to correct, during his visitation, the building of the church at Vaucelles, which in its excessus ... multos scandalizat.⁽⁴⁸⁾ The legislative vocabulary for describing buildings is now almost complete.

A further power of the general chapter is shown in 1198, in the order that the construction of a reportedly sumptuous building in Chalivois is to stop.⁽⁴⁹⁾ In 1200 legislative attention turns to uniformity in seals - important, of course, for more than purely artistic reasons. The design is limited to 'effigie cum baculo, vel sine effigie cum manu et baculo annotetur.'⁽⁵⁰⁾ From 1205 onwards, perhaps as a result of changing building fashions, the general chapter has to deal with decorated pavements. The offending floor is seen, in its curiosa varietate, as hateful to the poverty of the Order. Objections on precisely these grounds appear surprisingly seldom in the Cistercian statuta. The mention of paupertas here may reflect the growing concern with a return to the apostolic life in the early 13th century.

In 1213 a brief restatement of regulations is made.⁽⁵¹⁾ This time liturgical vessels and vestments are not mentioned at all; obedience to previous decrees was either complete or had broken down completely, or this was not considered the correct context for such matters. Instead pictures and sculpture (except, now, for the imago salvatoris), pavements and lavish buildings are condemned. Cistercian legislation had responded in some measure to changing problems

and had gradually broadened its scope.

It seems that apart from the Carthusian legislation mentioned above, no other Order had so far dealt with art and architecture in its legislation.

Early Dominican Legislation and the Attitudes of St. Dominic.

Unlike Bernard and Guigues, St. Dominic has not left us a personal statement of his attitude to art. Instead we have to rely on the reports of Dominic's contemporaries, made during the canonization procedure in 1233, at least twelve years after the events described. As in the case of St. Bruno, discussed above, the text may be influenced by later developments, but the evidence of five witnesses agrees sufficiently closely to suggest that the Acta Canonizationis gives a reasonably reliable indication of St. Dominic's attitudes.

His objections are not based, as Bernard's were, on a variety of arguments. Control of the appearance of the Order has only one motive - to uphold poverty. As I have already described, poverty is rarely stressed and almost never given as the sole reason for restraint, in earlier statements and legislation concerning art. In the Acta Canonizationis restraint is so completely linked with poverty, that Dominic's attitudes to decoration are quoted as a major proof that he was summus paupertatis amator.⁽⁵³⁾

Dominic also differs from his predecessors in the importance he attaches to paupertatis ... in edificiis and, for the first time, in ecclesiis. The prohibition of luxurious ecclesiastical vestments and hangings and of gold and silver vessels, apart from chalices, customary by now, takes second place in St. Dominic's thinking. Only one witness out of five mentions Dominic's attitude to liturgical vessels,⁽⁵⁴⁾ but all mention the cheapness of cells or churches. This change is not surprising. Control of lavish accoutrements for the divine service represents a form of symbolical restraint. This emerges clearly from the repetition of words such as simplicitas or honestas in the writings discussed above. What is being aimed at is an appearance congruent with simplicity, without superfluity. Dominic was more concerned with the actual observance of poverty in everyday life, so his thoughts naturally turned first

to living conditions in cells, (viles domus et parvas), to regulations on clothing and to the appearance of churches being taken over by the Order for daily use.

Dominic was also firm about the relinquishing of possessions. Like St. Bruno, he refused a gift made by one of the laity.⁽⁵⁵⁾ Peter the Chanter reports that St. Bernard wept when he saw some simple shepherds' huts which reminded him of early Cistercian dwellings.⁽⁵⁶⁾ St. Dominic also wept, when he returned to S. Nicolò, Bologna, and discovered that some of the cells had been made a braccia taller in his absence.⁽⁵⁷⁾ His over-reaction, 'Vultis tam cito paupertatem relinquere et magna palatia edificare' indicates strictness and an awareness that any relaxation would simply be the thin end of the wedge. The work at S. Nicolò remained unfinished while he lived, Fra Stefano reports. The implication that building recommenced once the restraining influence of the Saint had gone, shows that Dominic's fears, if strongly stated, were justified.

The Acta Canonizationis indicates that despite some similarities with the opinions and statements of predecessors, Dominic held some positive personal views about art. The earliest Constitutions may also reflect his attitudes. Similarities between the two texts could be explained as the influence of ideas expressed in the Constitutions on an account of events written at least twelve years after they had occurred, but it is most probable that Dominic played an important part in forming the Constitutions, and that this is the reason for similarities between the two texts.

Thomas thinks that the section on buildings, De Edificiis, was first included in the Constitutions in 1220.⁽⁵⁸⁾ It was placed in the Distinctio Secunda, which was influenced by Cistercian legislation, the decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council and St. Dominic's ideas, rather than in the Premonstratentian-based Distinctio Prima. This was appropriate since the Cistercians already had legislation on art while the Premonstratensians did not. Thomas suggests that the passage originally ran,

'Mediocrates domos et humiles habeant fratres nostri, ita quod nec ipsi expensis grauentur nec seculares vel religiosi in nostris sumptuosis edificiis scandalizentur. Et non fiat lapidibus testudinata nisi forte super chorum et sacristiam.' (59)

In contrast with previous legislation and in accordance with Dominio's ideas, the passage is wholly concerned with buildings. Liturgical vessels and vestments are not yet mentioned in the Constitutions. Presumably this reflects the same concern with poverty in everyday life which has already been pointed out in the Acta Canonizationis. Another innovation is the positive attitude taken to legislation. Most previous rulings concerned themselves with what should be excluded from churches or corrected. The repertoire of terms developed, concentrates on qualities which should not be seen: sumptuosa, voluptuosa and so on. The Dominican passage starts by saying how buildings should, rather than should not, look: mediocres, humiles. The restrained appearance of the buildings is clearly set down; the spirit is close to that of St. Dominic in the Acta Canonizationis. The only forerunners of this approach fall outside formal legislation. Guigues' letter gives some guidance⁽⁶⁰⁾ and Hugue de Fouilloi,⁽⁶¹⁾ by means of contrasts, presents a clear standard to aim at. The Dominicans strengthen Hugue's use of the term humilitas by the addition of the word mediocritas.

The reasons for the Dominican decree are much more clearly formulated than in previous legislation. Distaste for extravagance and the fear of debt had been evident for many years in Cistercian legislation, although never so succinctly expressed. Soandalizentur recalls the Cistercian chapter acts of 1192.⁽⁶²⁾ Clearly it was essential that the early Dominicans neither upset the laity by going against the spirit of the Order nor provided other Religious with ammunition for attacks on their faults. The argument in the Acta Canonizationis, based on St. Dominic's spiritual convictions concerning poverty, has here been tempered by more mundane considerations. A concern for economy and a wish to preserve the ideal image of a mendicant Order is linked with a practical desire not to anger either the laity or other religious.

The second sentence of the passage is even more positive and precise. It is interesting that stone vaulting throughout a church is considered the one luxury in architecture worth prohibiting through specific legislation. The Cistercians, despite their interest in simplicity, and sometimes poverty, generally constructed fully-vaulted churches. In 1220 the Dominicans can have had little choice in what their churches looked like. The early churches

which the Order possessed were all ceded by other Orders or other clergy, and the earliest type of church building undertaken by the Dominicans themselves was the construction of small oratories; private places for the celebration of mass (as discussed in chapter 1). This regulation therefore seems to represent an ideal set up for the future rather than a reflection of excesses which had already occurred. Presumably the idea of vaulting only the east end in stone, was prompted by the appearance of existing wood and stone roofed churches in, for example, central Italy.⁽⁶³⁾ The Dominicans were evidently taking parish churches rather than the grand edifices belonging to the monastic Orders as their model. The regulation was to prove sensible and practical. Restricting vaulting to the east end ensured economy and stressed the division between the friars' choir, a monastic enclosure for the celebration of masses and the office, and the church of the laity, a large open area approximating to the functions of both preaching square and parish church.

Thomas shows that the first sentence of De Edificiis was soon altered,

'Mediocrates domos et humiles habeant fratres nostri, ita quod murus domorum sine solarario non excedat in altitudine mensuram duodecim pedum et cum solarario viginti, ecclesia triginta.' (64)

The characterisation of the first part of the sentence has been kept, but the description in the second part has been replaced by much more specific directions. Perhaps the description of motives was considered too forthright or perhaps it was simply too difficult to enforce a general ruling, and so it was felt that a specific one would be more effective.

Again it is interesting to see which feature is singled out for comment in the effort to maintain mediocritas and humilitas. The importance attached to the height of dormitories and, in second place, churches,⁽⁶⁵⁾ surely derives from St. Dominic. The episode of the dormitories at S. Nicolò makes this clear.⁽⁶⁶⁾ And we may owe to Dominic himself, a man capable of weeping at the sight of a dormitory but also capable of firmness, precision and the channelling of religious zeal into the creation of a

workable order (unlike St. Francis), the innovation of including such precise measurements in ecclesiastical legislation. This precision is especially remarkable for originating in an Order which hoped from the start to be international. Only full confidence in the complex legislative system described above could have made the idea possible. The ruling must have become even more cumbersome as the Order increased in size and geographical distribution.

Three further additions concerning building were made to the De Edificiis chapter within the next fifteen years. Since these additions were made before 1239, when the surviving records of the general chapter begin, it is not possible to date them exactly from the years of their passage through the chapter. I shall follow here the dates which Thomas proposes.

Thomas says that in the 1228 chapter Jordan of Saxony was responsible for a mild tightening-up of the rules. He dates to this year the addition, 'Si quis de cetero contrafecerit, pene gravioris culpe subiacebit'.⁽⁶⁷⁾ The specification of the degree of punishment (separate chapters of the Constitutions were devoted to different degrees of culpa), suggests that there had already been infringements of the regulations and that these had been viewed with considerable displeasure by the Master General.

Through comparison with related legislative texts Thomas dates the following passage between 1221 and 1235:

'Item, in quolibet conventu tres fratres de discretioribus eligantur, sine quorum consilio edificia non fiant.' (68)

The previous passage was intended to control building by threat; this passage takes a more constructive approach. The three trustworthy friars could be relied upon to regulate finances, guard against debt and shoulder the cares of administration, as well as monitoring the appearance of buildings. The regulation probably grew out of current practice in the rapidly expanding Dominican houses. Perhaps it should be dated near 1221, since it clearly reflects St. Dominic's idea reported in the Acta Canonizationis,

'Item dixit, quod nolebat quod fratres intromitterent se de temporalibus, nec de facto domus, nec de

consiliis temporalium, exceptis illis quibus
 commissa fuerat cura domus, sed volebat quod
 alii semper essent intenti lectioni, orationi
 vel predicationi.' (69)

Here Dominic again shows himself to be a practical man. Poverty must be strictly observed, but not at the risk of a breakdown in administration.

A third addition concerning buildings, dated by Thomas to between 1221 and 1231, rules that,

'in diebus dominicis servilia opera, ut
 lapides portare, ligna aggregare et similia,
 fieri prohibemus.' (70)

This suggests that the friars took part in the practical side of construction work as well as in the administration.

The Constitutions received no further changes or additions concerning art or architecture until 1241. The alterations made in this and later years, can be seen passing through the general chapter acts.

Raymond of Peñaforte's Additions to the Legislation.

The earliest mention of art in the surviving general chapter acts coincides with the brief master generalate of Raymond of Peñaforte, 1239-40. Raymond was a legal expert: he had studied and taught civil law at Bologna and then entered the Dominican Order at about the age of forty-six, in 1222; he rose to become papal chaplain and penitentiary, dealt with questions of ecclesiastical legislation for the Pope and, between 1232 and 1234, undertook a revision of the corpus juris of papal and conciliar decretals. The two general chapters over which he presided, contain the first recorded examples of harsh public penances in the Order. Humbert of Romans later described the strictness of his character,

'Et apponens maximam curam, ut etiam in
 minimis rigor Ordinis servaretur'. (71)

As master general he was responsible for the re-organisation and revision of the Dominican Constitutions. (72)

It is not surprising that Raymond wished to include in the Dominican legislation the subjects of furnishing and decoration. The burgeoning fortunes of the Order, described above, had already led to the acquisition of items which were too ornamental or, strictly speaking, superfluous. Within the Provincia Romana, for example, Honorius III is said to have given an alabaster papal chapel with papal altar, chalice, paten and corporal to S. Sabina ⁽⁷³⁾ while by 1244 Cardinal Raniero Capocci had showered S. Maria a Gradi with gifts which included metalwork and vestments. ⁽⁷⁴⁾ A passage from the provincial chapter acts of Provence for 1243 shows the kind of decoration which was appearing: the Dominicans of that province are instructed to behave respectfully to the altar by removing any large and/or silver crosses, while coats of arms (scuta) and banners (vexilla) must not be suspended in their churches. ⁽⁷⁵⁾ Under the heading admonitiones in the records of the 1241 provincial chapter of Spain appears the item de picturis. ⁽⁷⁶⁾

The clear, carefully-worded regulations introduced under Raymond, were apparently intended for inclusion in the Constitutions. The general chapter acts of 1239 list several such additions - Inchoamus has constituciones ... - among them those concerning art. Silk vestments, precious stones and gold or silver ornaments - except for chalices - are forbidden. A separate paragraph directs that Dominican houses must not contain images, except for painted ones, nor books with gold lettering, nor glazed windows decorated with anything other than crosses. A passage immediately following this, enjoining observance, is taken by Creytens to refer to the whole of Raymond's reorganisation of the Constitutions, but apparently refers particularly to these passages concerning art and decoration,

'Statuimus ut hoc correctio et ordinatio et additio ab omnibus uniformiter et universaliter observetur'. ⁽⁷⁷⁾

Apparently Raymond continued to give the matter careful consideration; in the general chapter of the following year these sections were slightly amended. The section on images was altered, presumably in the interests of clarity, to read, '... non habeamus ymagines sculptas'. Instead of painted images alone being permitted ('... ne de cetero in nostris conventibus

habeantur nisi piete ...') as in the previous year, sculpted images were not specifically prohibited. The ruling of the previous year forbidding silk vestments was removed and replaced by a somewhat milder, but more precise, instruction: hangings and vestments must be without precious stones or gold, except for orphreys, and only the hebdomadarian might wear a silk cope in choir or in processions. (78)

The text of Raymond's revised Constitutions, as established by Creytens, includes only one of the above additions - that concerning the hebdomadarian's use of silk - although the new regulations on art and decoration introduced into the Constitutions by Humbert of Romans in 1261-63 are added in the margin of Creytens's main textual source. (79) The measure concerning silk copes received its third reading in the general chapter of 1242, but the section on images, gold lettering and window decoration does not appear beyond its second reading in 1240, and the subject of gold and silver vessels is never repeated. (80) Since the chapter nota are not always complete, this is not conclusive evidence; either Raymond's additions were dropped before they entered the Constitutions, perhaps being considered more suitable topics for general chapter legislation than for the more permanent body of rules, or they were eclipsed by Humbert's more general ruling of twenty years later. The only obvious sign of Raymond's intervention in the section of the Constitutions concerned with art and architecture is the transfer of the passage De Edificiis, previously thirty-fifth chapter in the second distinction, to the first chapter in that distinction, amalgamated under the heading De Domibus Concedendis with regulations concerning the foundation of new houses and the admission of women into different parts of the church and convent. (81)

Other items mentioned in the 1240 general chapter, dealing with existing abuses, were apparently never intended for inclusion in the Constitutions. All notabiles superfluitates (decorations or actual choir stalls? (82)) must be removed from choirs and no further ones introduced. No Dominican may have a seal which is curiosum except for the Master General whose seal may be (and sometimes was (83)) decorated with a crucifix. (84)

As might be expected of someone as well-versed in canon law as Raymond, some of these regulations betray the influence of

the legislation of earlier Orders, in particular the Cistercians. As described above, liturgical vestments and vessels, sculpture and painting, decorated glass and seals had all been subjects of previous legislation. Nevertheless, the precision of the instructions given in 1239 and 1240 indicate an attempt to deal with pressing problems and are no mere imitation of more established Orders. The concern with keeping choirs free of unnecessary obstruction or decoration appears to be a particularly Dominican, and typically practical, concern, mentioned again in later general chapters.

The following ten years of general chapter legislation are characterised by two main concerns, both engendered by the Order's rapid expansion: the fear of debt resulting from over-ambitious building projects, and the problem of accommodating tombs within Dominican churches.

In 1250 the priors of Newcastle and Ross were penanced for excessive building. The acts show that their fault lay not only in transgressing the humble spirit of the Order but also in the more mundane offence of incurring debt,

'Absolvimus priores de novo castro etc.
Sciassem. quia tempore famis edificavit
domum et magnis debitis obligavit et fratres
penuria victus afflixit'. (85)

An attempt to avoid this kind of difficulty had already been made two years earlier, in the general chapter acts of 1248. There it had been acknowledged that building debts might sometimes be incurred, and an attempt made to contain them by stipulating a limit of twenty-five Tournois pounds.⁽⁸⁶⁾ However, this measure was never included in the Constitutions, perhaps because of the problems of enforcing it. Another attempt to contain the situation through legislation occurs in the Spanish provincial chapter acts for 1242. Work on the church at Pamplona should include the body (corpus) of the old church, so that neither its vault (arcus) nor its walls are destroyed.⁽⁸⁷⁾

A phrase in a general chapter ruling of 1243 (Cum fratres intersunt testamentis) shows that Dominicans were accustomed to acting as executors by that date.⁽⁸⁸⁾ One obvious result of this

role (as discussed in chapter 1) was a widespread wish to be buried within a Dominican church. Dominican legislators tried to discourage this, probably on at least two counts: such popularity would upset the secular clergy, and prominent tombs cluttered the church interiors. The general chapter acts mention the subject in 1245, 1246 and 1250, the Provence provincial acts in 1251 and the Spanish provincial acts in 1249.⁽⁸⁹⁾

Instructions given to provincial visitors by the general chapter in 1252 show a renewed attempt to curb some of the excesses Raymond of Peñaforte had tried to control,

'Visitatores huius anni advertant diligenter si quas invenerint curiositates in celaturis (ceiling? carving?) vel incisionibus lapidum (incised tomb slabs?) in picturis vel in choris, sigillis, fibulis, cultellis ...'. (90)

Decorated Paschal and other candles were also forbidden. Evidently these temporary measures were insufficient, as a consideration of the legislation introduced by Humbert of Romans will show.

Humbert of Romans' Additions to the Legislation.

The years of Humbert of Romans' master generalate, 1254-63, were significant ones in the development of Dominican art legislation. In the face of increasing prosperity and laxity it was decided to support and extend the existing legislation, both by ruling through the general chapter and by adding to the Constitutions. But the tone was not entirely hostile to art. This characteristic spirit of compromise and common sense, coupled with the efficient Dominican legislative system, gave the new measures some chance of success. The passage in the Constitutions concerning art and architecture, as fixed by Humbert, was not changed again until 1300.

The 1258 general chapter acts reveal a determination to enforce the current Constitutions, through the vigilance of the provincial visitors,

'Iniugimus districte prioribus et fratribus quod non faciant edificia nisi humilia et mediocria et secundum formam constitutionis. Et volumus quod visitatores anni presentis

ubi invenerint aliquos in contrarium
excessisse significant futuro capitulo
generali.' (91)

Abuses evidently were reported: in 1261 the prior of Cologne was told that the new choir being built there should be 'corrected' (presumably lowered) to conform with the Constitutions. The prior of Barcelona (the site of the 1261 general chapter) and those friars who advised him at the time when the new, excessively tall, dormitory was begun, were penanced.⁽⁹²⁾ Humbert's encyclical dispatched from Barcelona that year warns against, 'superbia in hedificiis ... que mundum non mediocriter scandalizant'.⁽⁹³⁾

As for the decoration of the interiors of the Order's buildings, remonstrations from the general chapter were not sufficient. Humbert decided to include a new ruling on the subject (given readings in the general chapters of 1261, '62 and '63) in the Constitutions themselves,

'In capitulo de domibus concedendis ubi dicitur super ohorum et sacristiam etc. addatur nec fiant in domibus nostris superfluitates et curiositates notabiles in sculpturis et picturis et pavimentis et aliis similibus que paupertatem nostram deformant'. (94)

Permanent regulations on buildings, which were the friars' own concern, was one matter, but these regulations on the contents and decoration of churches - often linked by donation and by devotional habits to the tastes of the laity - was another. But strict measures were necessary, if the Order was to maintain an appearance of poverty and humility. This 1263 addition to the Constitution specifies that all items which paupertatem nostram deformant must be avoided, and Humbert's encyclical of 1261 emphasises how scandal could be provoked by lavish buildings. The opposition encountered by the Dominicans during the mid 13th century has already been described in the preceding chapter. At this time the practice of poverty had to be maintained, to avoid arousing more jealousy among the secular clergy (and possibly also to avoid providing the laity with too attractive an alternative to their parish church). Meanwhile, to support the leaders of the Order, who were defending the doctrine of Apostolic poverty against

attack, poverty must be seen to be observed and to be spiritually fruitful.

The actual ruling is very similar to a Cistercian statute of 1231,

'Districte praecepitur ut novitates et superfluitates in picturis, in sculpturis, in aedificiis, in vestibus pretiosis et aliis similibus, quae deformant antiquam Ordinis honestatem ab omnibus domibus Ordinis penitus evellantur ...'. (Pavements, although not mentioned here, had already been included in a Cistercian statute of 1213, discussed above). (95)

As in the Cistercian statute, which bans novitas and superfluitas rather than, as in that Order's 1213 statute on a similar subject, the objects themselves,⁽⁹⁶⁾ the Dominican measure is open to interpretation: only superfluitates et curiositates notabiles which are judged to deform poverty, are forbidden.

Humbert was sometimes prepared to encourage art. In the 1254 and 1256 general chapters, attempts to popularise the feasts of St. Dominic and St. Peter Martyr included instructions to set up their images in Dominican churches,

'Apponatur diligencia quod festum beati Dominici et beati Petri ubique celebratur et quod ymages eorum in locis congruentibus depingantur et nomina eorum in kalendariis et litanis et martirologiis annotentur.' (97)

This is the first example of the legislative system of a religious Order being used for the positive promotion of art.

Legislation after the Master Generalate of Humbert of Romans.

In the latter part of the 13th century there is a shift of emphasis in general chapter legislation. Decoration and obstruction of church interiors are rarely mentioned. On the other hand, three admoniciones show renewed attempts to curb personal acquisition of superfluous or frivolous items: in 1273 ornamented vestments, gold, silver or jewelled crosses, rings and precious stones, are once again forbidden; in 1265 and 1276 visitors are told to look out for items such as decorated mirrors and clasps and 'curious'

hose - little comforts to which many of the brothers had evidently become accustomed.⁽⁹⁸⁾

In the 1289 chapter an attempt was made to soften the punishment due for breaking building regulations. The phrase pene gravioris culpe debite subiacebit in the Constitutions was to be replaced with the milder gravius puniatur. This amendment was passed again in the 1290 chapter but never obtained the necessary third reading.⁽⁹⁹⁾ The measure may not have survived a change in master generals: in 1291 Munio de Zamora resigned, to be succeeded in the following year by Stephen of Besançon, apparently a man of strict views, who, during his short term of office (1292-4), ordered the removal of a large iron candelabrum which had been suspended above St. Peter Martyr's tomb.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾

Towards the end of the 13th century ambitious new building campaigns were being undertaken. In 1290 the general chapter tried to regulate matters, by urging priors and other friars to effect the completion and consecration of churches and cemeteries as quickly as possible.⁽¹⁰¹⁾

The next decade saw virtually no mention of art or architecture in the chapter legislation. This is the period in which evidence of Dominican expenditure on art begins in earnest; enforcement of the regulations may have become increasingly difficult. By the end of the century the pressure of circumstances was evidently greater than the strength of the legislation. For the first time since 1261-3 the Constitutions were altered, but now they were softened, not strengthened. Through the chapters of 1297, 1298 and 1300 the section of De Domibus Concedendis concerning the height of buildings and the restriction of church vaulting to the choir and sacristy, was removed, leaving the way open for tall, fully-vaulted buildings such as S. Domenico, Perugia.⁽¹⁰²⁾ (The presence of this legislation had not previously prevented the construction of a building such as S. Maria Novella.) Appropriately, it was Niccolò Boccasini, later a benefactor of the Perugia church, who was master general at the time of this amendment. As Pope Benedict XI, his gifts to Dominican houses confirm his fondness for art and display.⁽¹⁰³⁾ During his generalate help was required for the rebuilding of Peter Martyr's tomb in Milan. The previous master general, Stephen of Besançon had, as already mentioned, suppressed the lamps above the tomb. Niccolò, on the other hand, is shown by

the general chapter acts to be emphatic about the help needed in making a new tomb, 'eumptuosum opus ... ad eiusdem sancti gloriam et ad devocionem fidelium excitandam ... operi sic necessario et meritorio ...'.⁽¹⁰⁴⁾

After 1300 Dominican legislation on art and architecture began to stagnate. The general chapter acts cease to mention the subject and the Constitutions of 1358-63 contain the same wording as those of 1300. The paragraph on art and architecture had not yet been repealed; the Order had not totally given up its belief in an appearance congruent with poverty. But it had given up the belief that this could be thoroughly enforced and obeyed.

The Provincial Chapter Acts.

The provincial chapter acts of the Provincia Romana do not often deal with questions of church form and decoration.⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ They tend to be more concerned with domestic conventual matters such as friars' habits and personal possessions, seals, the form of cells and dormitories and the construction of prisons. In the last quarter of the 13th century, when the general chapter had largely stopped mentioning these items, the provincial chapter continued to legislate about them. The daily details of observance were probably more easily regulated by the provincial than the general chapter.

The provincial chapter often repeated, amplified and meted out specific penances for breaches of general chapter legislation. For example, the Provincia Romana responded to the 1240 general chapter instruction on seals in 1244; the 1239-40 correction of vestments in 1246; the 1276 regulations on individual clothing and possessions in 1278.⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ Conversely, an idea might be mooted in the provincial chapter before it was considered by the general chapter. In 1262 the Provence province petitioned the general chapter to provide the feast of St. Peter Martyr with an octave.⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ An interesting Provincia Romana directive of 1247,

'quilibet prior studeat habere ymaginem B.
Dominici in domo sua' (108)

anticipates the first general chapter ruling on the subject by seven years and probably reflects the customs of that particular province.

Thus a link was formed between local events and general legislation.

The provincial acts also record new foundations and personnel and occasionally shed light on the history of a particular house, such as the severe poverty of the Arezzo convent in 1252, or the illicit sale of ecclesiastical vestments in Anagni in 1256, or on current practices such as the 1301 reminder that convents should not borrow, with interest, more than 20 libras usualis monete, without special license. (109)

The provincial chapter naturally concerned itself with local and political matters. Masses were often stipulated for figures of importance to the province and instructions were given on the subject matter of sermons,

'Volumus quod fratres de domino papa et dominis cardinalibus bene loquantur et honeste, et excessus ecclesie quantum possunt commendent et excusent. Idem etiam de domino rege Syccilie volumus observari'.

Directions were also given on the need to keep out of local controversy (in which many must have indulged).

'mandamus quod fratres de negotiis civitatum, guerrarum et partium se nullatenus intromittant ...' (110)

Above all, the provincial chapter acts are useful in showing us that at the everyday conventual level, the Dominican Order regulated its affairs with care.

The Dominicans and the Art Legislation of Other Religious Orders in the 13th Century.

During the 13th century various religious Orders established or reformed their general legislation. (111) The Dominican legislative machinery was often a source of inspiration, especially for the new mendicant foundations. Members of the Order were treated as experts, who could be called in to recast the regulations of other regular clergy. But the regulations of each Order still varied to suit its individual character. This is clear in the case of art legislation.

The Franciscans.

To understand the comparison between the rulings of the two Orders, the particular nature of Franciscan legislation must first be considered briefly.⁽¹¹²⁾ The fundamental Franciscan law was the Rule of St. Francis. This text could not be changed, but statutes which effectively modified its application could be introduced by the general chapter. This met less frequently than its Dominican counterpart - only once in three years⁽¹¹³⁾ - and since statutes required only one reading for approval (in contrast to the Dominican system of three readings) rulings could be introduced or repealed with greater ease in the Franciscan Order. Brooke believes that, 'The Franciscans may well not have adhered so strictly to the original wording'.⁽¹¹⁴⁾ Thus the body of Constitutions approved at the general chapter of Narbonne in 1260 (the earliest surviving example) and those recorded at the chapters of Assisi (1279) and Paris (1292), were less permanent and binding sets of regulations than the Dominican prescriptions of the same name.⁽¹¹⁵⁾

The lack of any records from earlier Franciscan chapter meetings makes comparative datings between the legislation of the two main mendicant Orders rather problematic. The original statutes were drafted in 1239, and considered by the general chapter of that year and of 1242. Brooke provides approximate datings for the paragraphs in the Constitutions which concern us,⁽¹¹⁶⁾ and these will be followed here. She maintains that despite similarities, Franciscan legislation is not generally based on that of the Dominicans.⁽¹¹⁷⁾

Franciscan art legislation appears to be a compound of earlier and contemporary sources and original thinking. Sections in the Narbonne Constitutions concerned with the decoration of buildings and with liturgical vessels and vestments (as in the case of the Dominicans) have their most obvious roots in Cistercian statutes, especially those of 1231. Like the Dominicans, the Franciscans tailored these directions, especially those concerning vestments, to suit their own needs.

'Fratres aurifrigiatis vel sericos pannos non habeant, cingulis et stolis exceptis, nec talibus aliunde commodatis utantur ... Calices simplices fiant in opere plano'.⁽¹¹⁸⁾

In rubric 3, paragraph 15, of the Narbonne Constitutions,

'curiositas in picturis, caelaturis (oeillings
or carvings?), fenestris, columnis et
huiusmodi ...'

are banned from the Order's buildings.⁽¹¹⁹⁾ The wording at the start of the paragraph, 'Cum autem curiositas et superfluitas directe obvient paupertati ...', similar to the Dominican 1261-3 ruling, suggests that influence might travel in both directions between the two Orders.

Legislation on buildings does appear to lean on the Dominican example. As discussed above, the Dominicans were the first Order known to introduce this type of legislation, and the Franciscan equivalent (dated by Brooke to between 1239 and 1257) is certainly later. Attempts are made to restrict the vaulting of churches,

'Ecclesiae autem nullo modo fiant testudinatae,
excepta maiore capella'

and their dimensions,

'... superfluitas in longitudine latitudine
et altitudine, secundum loci conditionem,
arctius evitetur'. (120)

Here the Franciscans are vaguer than the Dominicans. No precise measurements are supplied and the phrase secundum loci conditionem recognises the problems of enforcement over a large area with many local customs and styles.

The comparatively relaxed tone of this legislation, coupled with the knowledge that Franciscan legislation was more pliable than its Dominican equivalent, create the impression of an Order less willing, or less able, to control display than its contemporary. This impression is strengthened by the wholly original section in the Narbonne Constitutions, concerning decorated glass. The Cistercians permitted only white glass, with no crosses or painting,⁽¹²¹⁾ Raymond of Peñafort's statutes forbade all decoration except crosses, while the Franciscans allow that,

'fenestre vitreae historiatae vel picturatae
de cetero nusquam fiant, excepto quod in

principali vitrea post maius altare chori,
haberi possint imagines Crucifixi, B.
Virginis, B. Iohannes, B. Francisci et B.
Antonii tantum.' (122)

Other Mendicant Orders.

None of the other Orders used as much art legislation as the Dominicans or Franciscans. Often the short sections which were introduced did not follow Dominican models, even if much of the rest of the legislation and organisation did. (123)

The Servite Constitutions, possibly dated to c.1280, are largely dependent on the Dominican example (124) but scarcely mention art or architecture, apart from one paragraph which is particularly apt for an Order devoted to the service of the Virgin,

'... sed antequam de loco exeant, coram altari vel ymagine Virginis Marie ad reverentiam concurrant flexis genibus, eandem cum reversi fuerint repetentes. Et hanc ultimam reverentiam faciant, quotienscumque pertexerint extra locum'." (125)

The surviving chapter acts from the years 1295 to 1320 do no more than to rule, in 1315, that no money for building or building materials is to pass through the hands of the friars. (126)

The 1290 Constitutions of the Augustinian friars, also influenced by the Dominicans, (127) are concerned, in a rather general manner, with the propriety of the Order's buildings and the adequacy of their furnishings. The qualities recommended are munditia and honestas (128) rather than paupertas, and there are no admonitions against curiositas or superfluitas.

'Item Prior quilibet, quantum Ordinis honestatem, honorem et bonam famam diligit, Oratorium vel Ecclesiam, in his quae ad ornatum et decorem Ecclesiae pertinent, studeat sollicite conservare. Domos vero et officinas omnes et maxime dormitorium, refectarium et foresteriam munde et honeste procuret penitus retinere'.

'... Et an Prior sollicitus et intentus sit ad promotionem loci, et diligenter inquirent et

videant in quibus locum promovit, et utilitates et meliorationes Ecclesiae et Domorum, quae suo tempore factae sunt. Item si Ecclesiam seu Oratorium facit teneri mundum et honestum, et in his quae ad cultum pertinent divinum, debito et religioso modo ornata servat. Item si dormitorium, foresteriam et infirmariam, in cellis et lectisterniis tenet et observat, secundum quod constitutio sibi praecipit observare ...'. (129)

A general chapter ruling of 1290 does mention poverty, but puts more emphasis on uniformity,

'Diffinimus quod Ordo noster sit uniformis et quod omnia loca nostra fundamentum habeant paupertatis ...'. (130)

The Carmelite rule was reformed by two Dominicans, Hugh of St. Cher and Guillaume of Antère, in 1247.⁽¹³¹⁾ The surviving Constitutions of 1324 are, in general, modelled on the Dominican example. The system of a committee of three friars to advise on building matters, in this case for a whole province rather than an individual house, may come from the Dominicans,

'In qualibet autem provincia tres fratres, qui habeant industriam ordinandi opera facienda, per priorem provincialem et diffinitores capituli provincialis ordinentur, de quorum fratrum consilio et assensu nova loca vel antiqua non ordinata et opera quaecumque notabilia ordinentur et aedificia sumptuosa perpetua inchoentur et aedificentur'. (132)

The impression that lavish buildings are not necessarily frowned on, but simply require close control, is confirmed in another paragraph,

'Nullum tamen opus notabile et sumptuosum inchoetur per quemcumque, nisi de licencia prioris generalis vel provincialis et de ordinatione et assensu trium fratrum praedicatorum.' (133)

The general chapter acts, which chiefly survive from 1318 onwards, contain nothing on the subject of art or architecture.

These three mendicant Orders were not prepared to control the appearance of their houses through stringent, detailed legislation. Perhaps this is a reflection of Dominican and Franciscan difficulties in implementing decrees on the subject, by the late 13th century, when these other Orders were framing their existing legislation. The elements of Dominican and Franciscan legislation which these more recent legislators ignore entirely, are those derived from the Cistercians and other earlier models. The concern of 12th century legislation with the form of liturgical vessels and vestments, was of no interest to these later foundations.

•

NOTES TO CHAPTER 2

1. Mansi, Consiliorum, XXII, col.1002.
2. Editions of the Dominican Constitutions:
 Earliest forms: A.H. Thomas OP, De Oudste Constituties van de Dominicanen, Bibliothèque de la Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, 42 (Louvain, 1965).
 '1228' form (but see Thomas, Constituties, pp.244-5, for comments on the dating of this text): H. Denifle, 'Die Constitutionen des Predigerordens vom Jahre 1228', Archiv für Litteratur- und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters, 1 (1885), pp.162-227.
 Including 1236 additions: H.C. Scheeben OP, Die Konstitutionen des Predigerordens unter Jordan von Sachsen, Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte des Dominikanerordens in Deutschland, 38 (Cologne/Leipzig, 1939).
 Including changes made by Raymond of Peñafort, 1238-41: R. Creytens OP, 'Les constitutions des Frères Prêcheurs dans la rédaction de S. Raymond de Peñafort (1241)', AFP, 18 (1948), pp.5-68.
 1256 version: 'Constitutiones Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum', ASOP, 3 (1897-1898), pp.31-60, 98-122, 162-181.
 1260 version: British Library Add. MS. 23,935, ff.74v-80v.
 1358-1363 version: British Library Add. MS. 23,935, ff.572r-579v. Printed as appendix II in G.R. Galbraith, The Constitution of the Dominican Order 1216 to 1360, (Manchester, 1925).
3. See J-B. Mahn, L'Ordre Cistercien et son gouvernement des origines au milieu du XIIIe siècle (1098-1265), Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 161 (Paris, 1945), chaps.1,2,3 and 4, pp.243-52.
4. See Galbraith, Constitution, for a convenient summary of Dominican legislative procedure.
5. Mansi, Consiliorum, XXII, cols.999-1002.
6. C. Douais, Acta Capitulum Provincialium Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum. (Première Province de Provence, Province Romaine, Province d'Espagne), (Toulouse, 1894), introduction, p.ii. The Dominican division occurred in 1221.
7. A Dominican innovation. See Galbraith, Constitution, pp.53-4.
8. See Douais, Acta Capitulum, introduction.
9. Galbraith, chap.3.
10. Acta Capitulum Generalium Ordinis Praedicatorum, ed. B.M. Reichert OP, MOPH, 3-4, 8-14 (1898 ff.).

11. Editions of Provincial Chapter Acts:

Roman Province: Acta Capitulorum Provinciae Romanae (1243-1344), eds. T. Kaeppli OP and A. Dondaine OP, MOPH, 20 (1941).

Provence and Spain: Douais, Acta Capitulorum.

Lombardy and Lower Lombardy: 'Acta Capitulorum Provinciae Lombardiae (1254-1293) et Lombardiae inferioris (1309-1312)', ed. T. Kaeppli, AFP, 11 (1941), pp.138-72.
Alfonso d'Amato OP, 'Atti del Capitolo Provinciale della Lombardia inferiore celebrato a Vicenza nel 1307', AFP, 13 (1943), pp.138-48.

Teutony (1248-88(?)): H. Finke, 'Zur Geschichte der deutschen Dominikaner im XIII. und XIV. Jahrhundert', Römische Quartalschrift für Christliche Altertumskunde und für Kirchengeschichte, 8 (1894), pp.374-9.

Dacia (various dates between 1252 and 1291): G. Stephens, 'Brottstycken av en Dominkaner-Ordens eller Predikare-Brödernas Statuteller Capitel-Bok infran XIII. Arhundradet, och gällande för 'Provincia Dacia' eller de Nordiska Riken', Kirkehistoriske Samlinger, 1 (1849-52), pp.545-642; 2 (1853-56), pp.128-9.

12. Thomas, Constitutes, p.311.

13. Douais, Acta Capitulorum, p.15.

14. MOPH, 3, p.32.

15. Humbert, Opera, II, p.351.

16. MOPH, 4, p.4.

17. Galbraith, Constitution, pp.190-91. See p.109 for a description of the declarationes which from 1320 onwards began to gloss, and on occasion to supersede the Constitutions.

18. For a brief clear summary of these new 12th century Orders see D. Knowles, The Monastic Order in England, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1963), pp.197-207.

19. Quinti Septimi Florentis Tertulliani, De Idolatria, ed. and trans. P. van der Nat (Leiden, 1960), chaps.3-7. (Dated by the editor to shortly before 197.)

20. See, for example, the texts in C. Mango, The Art of the Byzantine Empire, 312-1453, Sources and Documents in the History of Art, ed. H.W. Janson, (New Jersey, 1972), chap.5.

21. Bernard of Clairvaux, Apologia ad Guillelmum, Sancti Theodoric Remensis abbatem, chap.12, PL, CLXXXII, cols.914-16. (c.1124).

22. A similar point is made later (c.1153) by Hugue de Fouilloi, 'Legatur Genesis in libro, non in pariete'. Hugue de Fouilloi, De Claustro Animae, book II, chap.4, PL. CLXXVI, col.1053. Hugue includes the main points current in the 12th century in a rapid, condensed manner.

23. Jerome, Epistola CXXX. Ad Demetriadem, chap.14, PL. XXII, cols. 1118-19. (c.414).
24. Jerome, Epistola LVIII. Ad Paulinum, chap.7, PL.XXII, col.584. (c.395.)
25. Candidus Fuldensi, Sancti Egilis Vita, PL. CV, col.393.
26. Guigonis, prioris quinti majoris Cartusiae, Epistola seu Tractatus ad fratres de Monte-Dei, chap.XII, par.36, in S. Bernardi Opera Omnia, ed. J. Mabillon, 4th ed., (Paris, 1839), vol.II, part 1, cols.448-9.
Guigues made a (lost) edition of St. Jerome's letters.
27. Hugue de Fouilloi, De Claustro Animae, col.1053.
28. Petri Cantoris Verbum Abbreviatum, chap.86, PL. CCV, col.256. (After 1180).
29. Petri Cantoris, col.257.
30. Paulinus of Nola, Carmina XXVII, 542-95, PL. LXI, cols.660-61. (Early 5th century).
31. Sancti Gregorii Magni Epistolarum. Lib.XI. Epistola XIII, PL. LXXVII, cols.1128-29. (End of 6th or beginning of 7th century).
32. Jerome, Epistola CXXX, col.1118-19.
33. Hugue de Fouilloi, De Claustro Animae, col.1053.
The Dominican Order did not fit into these distinctions, since it was composed of regular clergy, yet was placed within the towns.
34. Durandus shows that these attitudes were still current c.1268: Guillelmus Durandus, Rationale Divinorum Officiorum, book I, chap.3, par.1-5, (pp.23-4 in the 1859 Naples edition).
35. Guibert de Nogent, De Vita Sua, book I, chap.11, ed. C. Bougin, in Guibert de Nogent, histoire de sa vie (1053-1124), Collection de textes pour servir à l'étude et à l'enseignement de l'histoire, (Paris, 1907), pp.32-4. For a discussion of the dating of this passage see the introduction, pp.xliv-xlvi.
36. Printed in Les monuments primitifs de la règle Cistercienne, ed. P. Guignard, Analecta Divionensia, (Dijon, 1878), pp.61-75. The section under consideration is 'De morte primi abbatis, et promotioni secundi, et de institutis et letitia eorum', Guignard, Monuments, pp.73-4.
The origins and dating of the early Cistercian documents - the Exordium, the Carta Caritatis and the Instituta - are hotly disputed, especially by Lefèvre and Turk. For a summary of the arguments see D. Knowles, 'The Primitive Cistercian Documents', Great Historical Enterprises, Problems in Monastic History, (London 1963), pp.197-222.

37. Disciplina Ordinis Cartusiensis, tribus libris distributa, ed. I. le Masson, new ed. (Meudon, 1894). Guigue's statutes are on pp.53-148. Le Masson, p.53, dates the statutes to c.1132. H. Sommer, in Lexicon für Theologie und Kirche, vol.V, (Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1960), col.1381, gives the date as 1128. In either case the statutes are earlier than the Cistercian statutes of 1134. The section discussed here is De Ornamentis, chap.40, par.1,15.
38. Le Masson, Disciplina, pp.134-5.
39. Guigonis, Epistola, cols.448-50.
40. Statuta Capitulorum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis, ed. J.-M. Canivez, Bibliothèque de la Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, 9-14 (Louvain, 1933 ff.)
For the statutes of 1134 see Canivez, vol.I, pp.12-33.
Chapters mentioned here are 10 (p.15), 20 (p.17), 80 (p.31).
41. Mahn, L'Ordre Cistercien, part III, esp. pp.216, 250.
42. Mahn, part III, chap.4.
43. Hugue de Fouilloi, De Claustro Animae, col.1053.
44. 1159, 1182, Canivez, Statuta, vol.I, pp.70,91.
45. Canivez, I, pp.90-91.
46. Canivez, I, pp.109-10.
47. Canivez, I, p.150.
48. Canivez, I, pp.151-2.
49. Canivez, I, p.228.
50. Canivez, I, pp.251-2.
51. Canivez, I, p.404.
52. ~~Footnote omitted.~~
53. Acta Canonizationis, p.137.
54. Ibid.
55. Acta Canonizationis, p.150.
56. Petri Cantoris, col.257.
57. Acta Canonizationis, pp.156-7.
58. Thomas, Constituties, pp.259-60.
59. Thomas, p.260, note 104.
60. See above, note 39.

61. See above, note 43.
62. See above, note 48.
63. See above, chapter 1 (d), esp. note 169.
64. Thomas, Constituties, pp.260, 366-7.
65. Again the dormitories, of everyday concern and already being built, are mentioned first.
66. See above, note 57.
67. Thomas, Constituties, p.283, note 208, p.367.
68. Thomas, p.290, note 241, p.367.
69. Acta Canonizationis, pp.150-51.
70. Thomas, p.286, note 222, p.367.
71. See R.P. Mortier OP, Histoire des Maîtres Généraux de l'ordre de Frères Prêcheurs, vol.I (Paris, 1903), pp.258-60, 274-8, 280-81.
72. See Creytens, 'Les Constitutions', passim.
73. See catalogue entry for S. Sabina.
74. See catalogue entry for S. Maria a Gradi.
75. Douais, Acta Capitulorum, p.24.
76. Douais, p.607.
77. MOPH, 3, p.11; Creytens, 'Les Constitutions', pp.6-7.
78. MOPH, 3, pp.13, 15.
79. Creytens, p.31, note 9, p.48, note 5.
80. MOPH, 3, pp.22; 13.
81. Creytens, pp.47-8.
82. It is not always clear whether chorus refers to the architectural structure, the liturgical area or the wooden seats and enclosure. The Pisa and Orvieto obituary lists both refer to the making of chori which are evidently seats, (Bonaini, p.588; Caccia, p.84). Mortier, Histoire, vol.I, pp.575-8, describes the usual arrangement of the east end of a Dominican church.
83. E.g. Munio de Zamora. See G. de Francovich, 'L'Origine e la diffusione del orocifisso gotico doloroso', Römische Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte, 2 (1938), pp.243-4, fig.219.
84. MOPH, 3, p.17.

85. MOPH, 3, p.54.
86. MOPH, 3, p.42.
87. Douais, Acta Capitulorum, p.608.
88. MOPH, 3, p.26.
89. MOPH, 3, pp.32, 37, 53; Douais, pp.42-3, 610.
90. MOPH, 3, p.64.
91. MOPH, 3, p.93.
92. MOPH, 3, p.111.
93. Litterae Encyclicae Magistrorum Generalium Ordinis Praedicatorum,
ed. B.M. Reichert OP, MOPH, 5 (Rome, 1900), p.59.
94. MOPH, 3, p.108.
95. Canivez, Statuta, vol.II, p.93.
96. See above, note 51.
97. MOPH, 3, pp.70, 81.
98. MOPH, 3, pp.170, 130, 187.
99. MOPH, 3, pp.248-9, 254-5.
100. Mortier, Histoire, II, p.303.
101. MOPH, 3, p.257.
102. MOPH, 3, pp.283, 287, 294-5.
103. See appendix 3 and chapter 3 (c).
104. Acta Cap. Gen. (1297), MOPH, 3, p.286.
105. The Provence provincial chapter acts show more interest in the
subject. See e.g. Douais, Acta Capitulorum, 1243, p.24;
1249, p.35; 1251, pp.42-3; 1252, p.48; 1261, p.84; 1268,
p.132; 1279, p.233; 1281, p.263; 1298, p.425.
106. MOPH, 20, pp.2, 6, 50.
107. Douais, p.95.
108. MOPH, 20, p.7.
109. MOPH, 20, p.141.
110. (1268, 1265), MOPH, 20, pp.34, 31.
111. For a survey of legislation of the religious Orders see J.
Hourlier OSB, L'Age Classique 1140-1378: Les Religieux,
Histoire du Droit et des Institutions de l'Eglise en Occident,
10, ed. G. le Bras (Paris, 1973).

112. See R. Brooke, Early Franciscan Government, (Cambridge, 1959), pp.279-82.
113. Brooke, Government, p.156, note 2; Moorman, History, pp.150-51.
114. Brooke, p.281.
115. For the Constitutions of Narbonne, with variations at Assisi and Paris noted, see 'Statuta Generalia Ordinis', ed. M. Bihl OFM, Archivum Franciscanum Historicum, 34 (1941), pp.13-94, 284-358.
116. Brooke, pp.296-7.
117. Brooke, p.280.
118. Bihl, 'Statuta', p.48. (1239-60, ?1260)
119. Ibid. (Before 1257, possibly after 1242).
120. Ibid.
121. 1134. Canivez, Statuta, I, p.31.
122. Bihl, p.48. (Before 1257, probably after 1242).
123. The Discussion here is limited to the mendicant Orders. The Premonstratentians, the Order of Grandmont and the Cistercians also legislated on art during the period.
124. See A.J. Papi, Origine delle Costituzioni dei Servi di Maria, (Rome, 1949).
125. Constitutiones antiquae fratrum Servorum Sanctae Mariae, ed. A. Morini and P. Soulier in Monumenta Ordinis Servorum Sanctae Mariae, 1 (Brussels, 1897), fasc.1, p.43.
126. Constitutiones Novae sive ordinamenta facta in capitulis generalibus, ed. P. Soulier in Monumenta Ordinis Servorum Sanctae Mariae, 2 (Brussels, 1898), fasc.1, p.18.
127. See Galbraith, Constitution, p.184.
128. A quality mentioned in the Cistercian statutes of 1231.
129. ed. I.A. Cendoya OSA, Las Primitivas Constituciones de los Agustinos, (Valladolid, 1966), pp.91, 107.
130. Cap. Gen. 1290. Analecta Augustiniana, 2 (1908), p.291.
131. Dictionnaire d'Histoire et Géographie Ecclésiastique, vol.XI, (Paris, 1949), col.1079.
132. ed. B. Zimmerman O Carm, Monumenta Historica Carmelitana, (Lerins, 1905), p.23.
133. Ibid.

PART 2CHAPTER 3:INDIVIDUAL AND CORPORATE PATRONAGE.(a) Individual Patrons.

Information about individual Dominican patrons can be found in two main sources: wills and convent obituary lists. Unfortunately this information can only be linked with existing objects in very few cases, so the following discussion focuses on documentary evidence for lost or unspecified works; consideration of surviving items is often reserved for later chapters. Appendix 3 provides a list of all the individual patrons of metalwork, textiles and buildings, whom I have so far been able to locate. Donors of illuminated manuscripts are listed in appendix 4, donors of panel paintings in appendix 5. (References included in these appendices are not generally duplicated in the notes to this chapter.)

Prelates.

It has been possible to trace the text of five Dominican wills having some connection with the Provincia Romana, and indications of six others which are now lost. Of the five extant wills, two belong to cardinals: Hugues Aycelin (1297)⁽¹⁾ and Niccolò da Prato (1321)⁽²⁾ and three to bishops: Pietro Angiorenelli (1274),⁽³⁾ Teodorico Borgognoni (1298)⁽⁴⁾ and Arnolfo, bishop of Umana (1279).⁽⁵⁾ In addition licentiae testandi exist for the Dominican Popes Innocent V (1275)⁽⁶⁾ and Benedict XI (1301)⁽⁷⁾ and for Cardinal Annibaldo Annibaldi (1272).⁽⁸⁾ A description in the Orvieto Obituário of a donation made by Cardinal Latino Malabranca includes the passage '... quin etiam pluribus nostre provincie provisum est in elemosinas largas per suos executores ...' (my italics),⁽⁹⁾ which indicates that the Cardinal made a will, now lost (a codicil made before 11 August 1294 is in course of publication⁽¹⁰⁾). The same obituário records that Trasmondo Monaldeschi, bishop of Sovana (d.1330) left money to the Orvieto house to act as his executors.⁽¹¹⁾ A record of donations, which suggests the former existence of a will, lists the gifts made by Bernardo Zamora, prior of Viterbo and brother of

the Master General Munio de Zamora, to the Viterbo house in 1288.⁽¹²⁾

All the surviving wills relate to bishops and cardinals, in other words to men who had risen to a position of importance outside the Order and who were generally free of the financial restraints which might hamper other Dominicans in the free expression of their taste for works of art. This raises the problem of whether these donations can be treated as a part of the patronage of the Order. It seems to me that they can legitimately be included, both because these men make it abundantly clear in their wills that they still considered themselves a part of the Order,⁽¹³⁾ wishing to be buried in Dominican churches and favouring many Dominican houses with donations, and because general chapter legislation shows that they were also supposed to observe unity with the Order during their lifetime, combining the dignity of their office with some of the practices of a Dominican. Initially a friar could not become a bishop without the consent of the Pope, the master general or the general chapter.⁽¹⁴⁾ Later, he needed the permission of the master general or a provincial prior.⁽¹⁵⁾ The 1247 general chapter stated that,

'Priores provinciales moneant episcopos ordinis nostri in suis provinciis ut in vestibus et calceamentis, et in aliis quibus in officio episcopali impedimentum non prestatur se conforment ordini alioquin fratres eis in socios non concedantur et dati revocentur ab eis'. (16)

So in many ways they were still expected to conform to the ways of the Order. In addition, these men often worked strenuously for the advancement of the Order, acted as Dominican representatives at the Curia and in other centres of power and contributed written works of importance. The subject matter of some of the art which they acquired also indicates the ties which they felt with the Order.

Because these men had risen within the church hierarchy they needed to maintain a suitable household and chapel. Generally they could afford to furnish their chapel lavishly; either they came from a rich and powerful family and had therefore won promotion within the church, or they had had the opportunity of benefitting financially from the importance of their position. Thus the items mentioned in the wills of the higher clergy tend to be similar,

whatever the man's religious background. Moreover, the employment of notaries to draw up these lengthy documents puts us at one remove from the testator's ideas and intentions. But these wills are still sufficiently individual documents, to yield some useful information.⁽¹⁷⁾ For example, it may be significant for the question of personal attitudes, despite the intervention of a notary, that the wills of both Niccolò da Prato and Hugues Aycelin are meticulous in their description and enumeration of individual liturgical vessels and vestments, and their destinations, while by contrast the will of, for example, Cardinal Boccamazza (not a Dominican) which goes into scrupulous detail concerning the distribution of land, merely indicates that all the contents of his chapel were to be distributed among the churches of Rome, without any mention of individual items.⁽¹⁸⁾

A survey of surviving cardinals' wills in the period up to 1320 shows considerable variety.⁽¹⁹⁾ Neither the grouping of objects, nor the position in which they are mentioned, is fixed. Many cardinals begin their wills by speaking about the type of funeral and tomb which they require, while others, such as Riccardo Petroni (not a Dominican) who made his will in 1314, mention their burial much later on in their testament and give no specifications for the appearance of their tomb.⁽²⁰⁾ Petroni, like Boccamazza, was not interested in the details of the distribution of the contents of his chapel,

'Calicem vero et alique sunt in cofano cappelle nostra et paramenta corporis nostris, <et> pannos ad aurum vel de serico integros sive incisos, memoratis tribus monasteriis inter ea equaliter distribuenda legamus'.

So we are justified in taking notice when a testator does take care over the description of his tomb or of the objects in his possession.

Of course many items apart from art objects were mentioned in these documents; in fact liturgical vessels and vestments, donations to building programmes, paintings and the description of tombs, form only a relatively small part of the subject matter of any will. Hugues Aycelin's two wills, one concerning his Italian and the other his northern possessions, show this diversity of legacies clearly.

The two wills are very different in character. The will

dealing with his French possessions, made in Orvieto on 24 August 1297, is chiefly concerned with gifts of money for the establishment of hospitals, churches, convents, prebends, vicariates, pittances and other endowments, and usually stipulates the masses and offices for the dead which are to be said in return for these benefactions. In addition there are bequests of money to relatives and to other individuals. Art objects are only mentioned in the clause which states that any silver vessels in the Cardinal's possession at the time of his death are to be sold by his executors to help raise money to implement his last wishes. Thus the first will shows Aycelin eager to spend his money on substantial endowments, which will, as it were, enhance his spiritual credit.

The 'ultramontane' will, made in the same place, on the same day, indicates an interest in art. Donations of money, especially for pittances and for the celebration of masses, appear again, but in addition we read about a gift of 100 gold florins to help in constructione operis of S. Maria Sopra Minerva.⁽²¹⁾ Aycelin's attitude to spending on art is nicely shown in paragraph 74 of the will: 400 gold florins are to be distributed within the province of Tuscany, at the rate of ten florins per house. The remainder of the money (over 100 florins) is to go to fabrice ecclesiae FP S. Maria de Minerva in Urbe, in other words, art and architecture are not the most important things on which to spend money, but any surplus may be devoted to them. In paragraph 76 money is again apportioned in an interesting fashion. Everything due to the Cardinal from the census of Apulia, Sicily and England, and the revenues from various other debts, is to be divided into four parts. One part will go to provide dowries in France, one part for dowries in central Italy, one part to the Jacobins in Paris and one part for the construction of the Dominican convent in Nevers. Spending on construction work is only one of many concerns, yet it definitely has its own place within the scheme of things.

Ayoelin's will describes the liturgical vestments which are to be bequeathed to others. Of course the details given are partly for purposes of identification, but there seems to be some pleasure taken in the exact record of the design, decoration and materials of each object: 'Indumenta ... de dyapro cum colombis, quorum pedes et capita sunt de auro';⁽²²⁾ 'Capam ... cum perlis et bestiis et avibus de filo aureo super samitam violaceum ...'.⁽²³⁾ Aycelin appears to

have gone to some trouble to obtain some of his possessions: he notes that some of his vestments were purchased from the Patriarch of Jerusalem.⁽²⁴⁾ (Niccolò da Prato's will gives the same impression. It mentions an altar frontal, decorated with a figure of St. Dominic, which the Cardinal presumably had made specifically for himself.)⁽²⁵⁾ The Viterbo house, demonstrating its wealth and importance, gave Aycelin a silver gilt chalice, a missal and an antiphonary, when he was raised to the cardinalate. In paragraph 21 of his will, Aycelin returns these gifts to that house, with the added present of all his vineyards in the district.⁽²⁶⁾ A cope given to the Cardinal by Hugo de Curtis, OP, bishop of Bethlehem, was also to be returned to the donor after Aycelin's death. If de Curtis predeceased him, the cope was to go to the Cardinal's nephew Arberto, canon of Clermont, who was to pray for the souls of both the Cardinal and the Bishop, as an obligation which came with the gift.⁽²⁷⁾

The most striking feature of Aycelin's two wills is his attitude to his burial. He seems to have been possessed by a strong desire to arrange matters as precisely and meaningfully as possible. His first idea is that he must be buried in the Clermont Dominican house. If he cannot be buried there immediately, then his bones are to be transferred there, while his flesh (caro et viscera which obviously could not be transported from one place to another, for reasons of hygiene) is to be buried in the Dominican convent, or failing that the Franciscan convent, of the town in which he dies.⁽²⁸⁾ This instruction appears almost at the beginning of the Italian will but by paragraph 58 Hugues has some further ideas on the subject.⁽²⁹⁾ If for any reason Clermont ceases to be a part of the Provincia Provincie, he does not wish to be buried there and revokes all gifts related to the burial (no reason is given for this stipulation). Instead, if he dies outside Rome, he is to be buried in the church of Saint-Cerneuf at Billon, 'que quidem ecclesia nutrit et educavit nos et alios clericos de genere nostro iam a ducentis annis et circa et forte plus ...'. If he dies in Rome, he is to be buried, 'Superius ante pedes maioris altaris S. Sabinae, et ponatur ibi tumba cuprea super nos que sit adequata pavimento ut fratres dum viderint habeant memoriam nostri in orationibus suis'. Evidently Aycelin is extremely concerned with the propriety and efficacy of each type of burial. One of the aspects which he finds it necessary to control is the type of tomb - an unusual one - if he is to be

buried in S. Sabina. Artistic and religious aspirations are fused in the directions given for its appearance.

The priorities voiced in Aycelin's wills may be compared with the impression given by a brief description of his life, in the Orvieto obituario, written approximately fifty years after his death.⁽³⁰⁾ More than half of the description deals with the generosity of his will. First, the purchase of land, in order to supply the income to pay for perpetual pittances for the Roman and Provence Provinces, is mentioned. Through this gift, Aycelin deserves to have his soul remembered forever in the prayers of the friars. Secondly, the rich treasure of wonderful books, textiles and church ornaments which he disposed of in his will, is spoken of with admiration. Both types of donation are considered worthy of favourable comment by Caocia, author of the obituario.

Niccolò da Prato spends a considerable part of his will on the description of decorative objects and buildings. Although he made various donations of money, many of his legatees received books or objects from his chapel instead. The bulk of his fortune went to building projects at S. Domenico and S. Niccolò, Prato. The Perugia and Orvieto obituarii devote considerable space to describing his benefactions and note that da Prato left a great treasure 'in pecuniam numerata necnon in paramentis et libris' to the houses of the Roman Province.⁽³¹⁾

These Dominican wills all tell roughly the same story: as one might expect, Dominicans in high places did indeed accumulate money and possessions, and were actively interested in the way they were disposed of after their death. Almost all the wills indicate some interest in art, which these prosperous men considered to be a significant, if not a major, item on their list of expenditure.

Excursus: The Private Means of the Individual Friar.

The possession of personal funds by the individual friar never seems to have been expressly forbidden, provided the money was held in the communal deposit, although the actual handling of money was generally limited to the procurator and certain other convent officers.⁽³²⁾

Money might either be brought into the Order by a friar at the time of his entrance, or received by him later. An early

example of a friar bringing his means with him is Pietro di Luciano da Aquapendente, about whom the Orvieto obituary list reports, 'obtulit se et omnia bona sua in manibus eius pro conventu' during the priorate of Niccolò of Orvieto, said to have died in 1236.⁽³³⁾

▲ 1268 provincial chapter ruling from Provence shows that convents unwisely began to count on the contribution which a novice might bring with him towards his upkeep - convents are warned not to induce novices to make a substantial donation to one house, lest they then move to another house and become a financial burden upon it.⁽³⁴⁾

Once within the Order, friars evidently did hold, give and receive money, although they were not supposed to do so. Several provincial chapter rulings of the 1240s show attempts to control matters, but they stop short of forbidding these activities entirely and rapidly become less strict: no money is to be held, given or received, without permission of a superior (1241);⁽³⁵⁾ money is not to be held in any way outside the house (1243); friars holding money, or anything else, with seculars, except with the consent or licence of their prior, will be deprived of these items (1244); licences permitting possession of money, granted by the provincial prior, must be revoked, except in the case of funds provided by relatives for the cost of books (1244); money belonging to individuals must be placed in the communal depositum to which three friars hold the key (1246).⁽³⁶⁾ These measures were not effective. Chapter legislation throughout the period shows that friars persisted in holding money, keeping it in their cells,⁽³⁷⁾ holding property and possessions outside the convent, keeping jewels and money privately,⁽³⁸⁾ making books to sell for profit, sometimes even selling or pawning objects belonging to the convent, taking money for hearing confessions⁽³⁹⁾ or trying to influence the sick to donate money to an individual friar, rather than to the convent as a whole.⁽⁴⁰⁾

The bull of 1266 permitting Dominicans to accept inheritances which would have come to them in secular life, must have improved the financial situation of the more fortunate friars.⁽⁴¹⁾ For example, there are records of individual S. Maria Novella friars receiving bequests in 1297, 1300, 1305 and 1308,⁽⁴²⁾ while in 1300 a friar of the Arezzo house was granted an annual stipend by his brothers, in return for waiving his rights to his inheritance.⁽⁴³⁾

All the evidence, especially that of the general and provincial chapter acts, shows that certain friars were capable of spending money - on art as well as other items - from at least the 1240s, if not earlier, while by the later 13th century substantial sums were finding their way to some convent members.⁽⁴⁴⁾

Friars.

The advantages and disadvantages of obituary lists as a source of information about individual friars, have already been discussed in chapter one. The occasional mentions of private donations which these lists contain, are our only real clue to the interest in art manifested by individual convent members. (The tables on which the following observations are based form appendix 2.)

Out of the 414 friars recorded in the obituario of S. Maria Novella before the middle of the 14th century, twenty-three are mentioned as having made one or more donations of money, land or objects to the convent or to other recipients. Out of these twenty-three, eight are mentioned as having given an art-object or helped in a specific building campaign. In Pisa and Orvieto there seems to have been a similar situation. In Pisa, thirteen out of 240 friars made one or more donations of some kind, and out of these, six financed some type of art or architecture. In Orvieto the number of donors was fourteen out of a total of 150, with five friars spending money on art.

At first sight this evidence suggests a general lack of interest in donations, but it must be remembered that these figures include many people, especially conversi, who could not afford to make any kind of noteworthy donations. However, the evidence concerning those who could presumably afford to pay - those whom I have characterised as being from families of some wealth or importance - is just as clear. In the Orvieto house, out of a total of forty-three friars who apparently came from families of substance, thirty-four made no recorded donation at all, and of those whose contributions were noted down, only four seem to have shown interest in art or in building projects. In Pisa, eight friars out of fifty-nine securely from prominent families made donations, and of these eight, three patronised the visual arts. In other words, donations were by no means the norm among those who could presumably afford to give, and art of some kind or other was the least popular type of donation.

Taking together all sixty-two donations recorded for the Pisa, Orvieto and Florence houses (sometimes more than one donation was the gift of the same man) we have an interesting view of the different ways in which conventual friars spent their money. The most popular item was the provision of a pictantia on a specific feast day: twenty-six donors favoured this practical gift, which would ensure that the friars of the house remembered them with gratitude on the day of their chosen saint. There were twelve donations to building programmes, again a practical gift, and nine sums of money, often of considerable size, for unspecified purposes. There were four gifts of books and four of metalwork, three of paintings, two to provide for the setting up of an altar or chapel, one for liturgical vestments or hangings and one gift of relics obtained in Cologne. The total number of donations for art-objects and for building was twenty-two and the total for all other types of donation was forty. Thus within the convents there was an interest in various types of donation, with particular emphasis on gifts of an immediately practical nature. Art played a part, but not a major part, in the list of choices.

The statistics for procurations - donations made through the agency of a particular friar, in favour of a project in which he was interested - tell the same story, as far as the different categories are concerned. In the three obituarii there are eleven instances of procurations for buildings - three for hospices, seven for church and conventual buildings and one for an altar and chapel, and seven for art - three for altarpieces, two for textiles, one each for metalwork and frescoes.

There are some isolated examples of friars showing a clear interest in art which even went beyond financial considerations. Giacomo Bianconi of Ravenna reputedly used some money, which had been given to him by his mother to buy clothing, to have two wooden sculptures made in Perugia, ⁽⁴⁵⁾ and Pietro Bernardi is mentioned in the Orvieto obituatio as having sold his bible in order to have the money to pay for a silver cross, worth 100 lire, for the use of the sacristy. ⁽⁴⁶⁾ The general chapter acts also indicate that an enthusiasm for art and architecture occasionally meant that problems of finance were ignored. Several priors were punished for building debts, ⁽⁴⁷⁾ while the Arca di S. Domenico had to be financed with the help of contributions from the whole Order to ensure its completion. ⁽⁴⁸⁾

These examples of a keen interest in art among the members of the convents seem to have been the exception rather than the rule.

(b) The Mechanism of Conventual Patronage.

A considerable amount of information concerning the mechanism of conventual patronage can be found in Humbert of Romans' De Officiis Ordinis.⁽⁴⁹⁾ This work provides us with an account of the duties of each officer within a Dominican convent. Since Humbert was at one time master general of the Order, and an active legislator and reformer, his evidence can be given some weight, and the detailed and practical nature of the De Officiis Ordinis strengthens the impression that we are reading a fairly faithful reflection of conditions in a mid-13th century Dominican house. To judge by Humbert's evidence, the responsibility for the appearance of, and expenditure on, art and architecture commissioned by the convent, at first sight a democratic process, actually rested largely with individuals.

In the case of building programmes the procedure was as follows:

The praefectus operum, who should preferably have some knowledge of building matters, was responsible for the day to day organisation of work. He was to assume the financial duties normally fulfilled by the procurator, he was to hire workers, arrange if necessary for their board and lodging, look after and ensure the supply of building materials which were donated or bought and watch out for any repairs which might be necessary in the church or convent.⁽⁵⁰⁾

He was fully accountable to his superiors. In general it was they who were to initiate the work, and the praefectus could not start any repairs or new work without their permission. Requests for building material must have official approval and detailed accounts must always be presented to the chapter.⁽⁵¹⁾ The prior, in turn, was to appoint and take advice from friars well-versed in matters of finance and building,⁽⁵²⁾ (the Constitutions provided for a committee of three to advise on building matters⁽⁵³⁾) and no large sums were to be spent without the approval of either the whole convent or, more often, of certain members - consiliarii - deputed for the purpose.⁽⁵⁴⁾ The records of punishments for incautious building ventures preserved in the general chapter acts, show that the prior, and sometimes also the sub-prior, were responsible to the general chapter for building activities.⁽⁵⁵⁾ In some years the general chapter instructed the visitors to examine the appearance of buildings in the province.⁽⁵⁶⁾

Thus the chief responsibility and power over a building campaign lay with the prior, whose decisions could generally only be modified by one or two advisors whom he himself appointed. Humbert warns the prior to avoid curiositas in buildings,⁽⁵⁷⁾ thus indicating that their appearance was his responsibility, but the original planning of the design must often have been the concern of the praefectus operum, since Humbert instructs him to take care that the work is 'durabilia et humilia, et ... paupertati et religioni consona videantur'.⁽⁵⁸⁾

A similar procedure is described for obtaining liturgical vestments and vessels and imagines. In this case the sacristan received money from the procurator, or directly from donations or offerings, or from the sale of old or worn items.⁽⁵⁹⁾ He had to read out his accounts in front of the chapter and could make no purchases without the approval of the prior.⁽⁶⁰⁾ He was responsible for the provision, maintenance and safekeeping of all the instruments of the cult and of the lights, for the decoration of the altars and for the appearance and good repair of the church, sacristy and chapter house.⁽⁶¹⁾

Humbert seems to have expected the sacristan to press the laity or those within the Order to make gifts to the sacristy, or to persuade the prior to authorise expenditure on such items, since he says, somewhat vaguely, 'et cavere debet ne perdat aliquod de istis (instruments of the cult) sed potius secundum eius industriam augmententur',⁽⁶²⁾ (my italics). In a large convent the prior could appoint a socius to share the duties of the sacristan.⁽⁶³⁾ In matters concerning the sacristy, the prior does not even seem to have been obliged to take the advice of the consiliarii, let alone the whole convent.

A sentence from Humbert's description of the procurator's duties emphasises the direct control which the prior had over art and architecture. It was the procurator's duty,

'facere et solvere omnes expensas quae fiunt in domo, nisi forte circa sacristiam, vel opera, vel alius hujusmodi, cum prior aliter ordinaverit faciendum'.⁽⁶⁴⁾ (my italics)

The information provided by Humbert is corroborated by other sources. The 1262 provincial chapter acts of the Provincia Provincie

show the prior's control over his convent and his responsibility to those above him. At the absence or death of a prior, the sub-prior or vicar must not undertake any major changes to the house or building; priors who need to borrow money over the 25 libbre fixed limit, for works such as the enlarging of a house, must not do so without the permission of the provincial prior.⁽⁶⁵⁾ The 1261 general chapter, held while Humbert of Romans was master general, makes two references to the duties of conventual priors. The Cologne prior was personally given the task of ensuring that the choir of the church was 'corrected' so as to conform with the regulations of the Order, before the feast of St. Michael.⁽⁶⁶⁾ The second example shows a sharing of responsibility,

'Fratrī qui erat prior Barchinonensis quando dormitorium fuit inceptum et fratribus qui tunc temporis erant positi ad dandum consilium circa opera ex quorum imprudencia seu negligencia seu dissimulacione factum est quod predictum dormitorium altitudinem ab ordine taxatam notabiliter excedit iniungimus xiiidies in pane et aqua et totidem disciplinas et districte iniungimus quod domus que sunt adhuc faciende ibidem non fiant alciores quam in constitutionibus est taxatum'.⁽⁶⁷⁾

Humbert's arrangement of his De Officiis Ordinis gives some indication, implicit in the structure of the convent, of the way in which the various officers were regarded. It is clear from his enumeration of all the convent officials that there were many reasons for making demands on convent funds, and that art and architecture were by no means first on the list. The sacristan is mentioned quite early on, among officials concerned with the church service or with teaching, but the praefectus operum appears one from the end of the list, between the shoemaker and the gardener. The sacristan had many varied duties to perform, and activities such as taking care of the lamps and candles are mentioned before the decoration of altars.⁽⁶⁸⁾ The instruction to regulate the appearance of buildings comes towards the end of the prior's list of duties.⁽⁶⁹⁾ Similarly art and architecture play only a minor role in the activities of the visitor, who had to investigate a convent on behalf of the general chapter. The fact that supervision of the visual arts was not normally one of his chief concerns is proved by the specific

instructions to make such a check which are occasionally given in the general chapter acts. ⁽⁷⁰⁾

The picture which emerges is similar to that already given by a study of wills and obituarii: art was only one among many concerns. It was by no means the most frequent object of Dominican attention and spending. On the other hand there are indications, as was the case with individual donations, that art could sometimes enjoy a special status. The sacristan and the praefectus operum had more control over expenditure and fewer dealings with the procurator than, for example, the gardener; ⁽⁷¹⁾ and, as has been shown, the prior could exercise direct control over these two officials. Thus in cases of particular enthusiasm, on the part of the prior, the sacristan, the praefectus operum or, just occasionally, some other individual friar, efficient machinery for patronage was provided.

The obituarii show us some examples of this enthusiasm. Jacopo Donati, a learned and well-travelled man, employed by the Pisans as an ambassador to Robert of Anjou, became prior of S. Caterina, Pisa and favoured the convent in several ways. He provided a generous annual pictantia, left many of his books to the library and paid for the completion of one side of the cloister (no longer extant - 'fuit laudabili sculptura perfectus') with his own money. ⁽⁷²⁾ In addition, he arranged for the construction of the façade of S. Caterina (fig. 31), which he initiated and saw through to completion, having himself procured money for the work and presumably also negotiated the gift of marble from the Gualandi family's S. Giuliano quarry. ⁽⁷³⁾ The S. Caterina façade is one of the few Dominican church façades, perhaps the only one, to be completed within the 14th century, and certainly the only one to be given a full marble revetment in that period. ⁽⁷⁴⁾ This was due partly to the good fortune of being close enough to Carrara to ensure an uninterrupted supply of marble but also to the energetic interest which Donati showed in arranging for such an elaborate completion for the architecture of S. Caterina. Presumably Donati employed the same workshop which had completed the cloister wing (now lost) which he himself financed, ⁽⁷⁵⁾ and the appearance of the façade may owe something to his own tastes and preferences in architecture and sculpture.

The Pisa house also produced a sacristan, Fra Pietro, with a keen interest in art. The obituario calls him 'sacrista super-excellens'.⁽⁷⁶⁾ He supplied the sacristy with many vestments and hangings, arranged for the making of a large crystal cross in Venice⁽⁷⁷⁾ and commissioned the Simone Martini polyptych on behalf of the house. The 16th century Annales of S. Caterina mention that the altarpiece was obtained during the priorate of Tommaso da Prato but elsewhere make it clear that it was through Fra Pietro's efforts, 'ipso etiam urgente et instante ...' that the painting was made.⁽⁷⁸⁾ Pietro's appreciation of fine objects and good workmanship is borne out by the story of his journey to Venice to have the crystal cross made, and even more so by the commissioning of the Pisa polyptych, which has a programme carefully chosen to emphasise the role of the Order and its saints, as will be discussed below. Fra Pietro's personal interests thus helped bring about the production of an unusual and important painting, by means of the structure of conventual patronage, even though he did not pay for the work himself.

A praefectus operum, or operarius, could clearly affect the course of conventual patronage. The S. Maria Novella obituario tells us that Jacopo Passavanti,

'... propter suam industriam factus fuit operarius ecclesie nostre, quam tantum promovit, magnificavit et decoravit in multis scilicet testudinibus pluribus et picturis, ut nullus unquam operarius tantum fecit in eadem propter quod meruit sepeliri ante capellam maiorem versus capellam'.⁽⁷⁹⁾

Passavanti was also prepared to spend some of his own money on art - for example, he gave twenty florins to have a painting made in the convent refectory in 1354.⁽⁸⁰⁾ This personal interest, linked with conventual funds and with his talent for procuring money from others, led to the organisation of a great deal of work. He was able to persuade the Tornaquinci family to pay for the decoration of the cappella maggiore which he himself organised.⁽⁸¹⁾ Others gave money for the completion of the church fabric, for the façade and for the execution of frescoes and left all the arrangements in Passavanti's hands.⁽⁸²⁾ The honourable burial place accorded to him - one usually reserved for the higher clergy or for a major benefactor - indicates, as does the laudatory tone of the obituario, how highly

a Dominican house could regard a friar who did so much to enhance the appearance of the church and convent through his own efforts, albeit not with his own money.

The tastes and organisational skills of these conventual officers were also important when a major project, deriving funds from various sources, had to be co-ordinated. The money might come from many different clergy and laity, but the appearance of the work produced depended on the Dominicans who were in charge. For instance, the Chiostro Grande of S. Maria Novella was financed by various people: one friar made contributions from his own money and procured further sums from his relatives and from others, at least five other Florentine families made contributions, and some of the other cloister arcades may have been paid for from conventual funds.⁽⁸³⁾ Despite the number of patrons the cloister is, apart from the coats of arms carved on some of the piers, quite unified in appearance. Presumably the form of the cloister was determined by the conventual officers who supervised the work, rather than by any individual donors.

Similarly, the Cappella di S. Niccolò at S. Maria Novella was financed jointly by Dardano Acciaiuoli and by the convent, the actual appearance of the chapel resting with the convent operarii.⁽⁸⁴⁾ Not only did they supervise the construction of the chapel, and presumably its fresco decoration, but they also despatched two friars, Matteo and Migliore, to Siena, to collect the altarpiece commissioned for the chapel.⁽⁸⁵⁾ What appears at first sight to be an example of lay patronage, turns out to be a project designed and arranged by certain friars of the Florentine convent.

(c) A Survey of Dominican Patronage.

The loss of so many objects of Dominican patronage hinders our understanding of the type of art favoured by members of the Order. However, some consideration of the problem is still possible. One approach is to consider which particular forms of art - painting, metalwork, architecture and so on - were favoured by members of the Order at different periods. Lost, as well as existing objects will be considered, so that as broad a view as possible of the changing patterns of Dominican patronage is obtained. A detailed analysis of individual surviving works is attempted in later chapters.

When examining the evidence it must be borne in mind that some objects of donation were useful and necessary while others were not. The knowledge that a Dominican house possessed a chalice tells us nothing about the attitude of the prior or sacristan towards art, since this object formed a central part of the cult, but if the same house owned a large polyptych, we could probably assume that there was a particular interest in art among some of its members. Before surveying the various forms of art individually, it may therefore be useful to pause here and return to Humbert's description of the sacristan's duties, where we can find the relative value of the various objects needed for the divine service clearly set out. (86)

Excursus: The Contents of a Dominican Sacristy.

Among the objects which Humbert lists as necessary for the celebration of the mass are the following:

'Item debet providere quod hostiae pulchrae cum pyxidibus decentibus, et vinum purum, et sanum, et bonum, et aqua recens, et munda, cum ampullis honestis, calices, vestimenta, libri necessarii pro missis, ... , thuribulum cum carbonibus, et thus in diebus festis in majori missa, et crux deferenda in totis duplicibus ... semper habeantur in promptu ...'.

Further on Humbert mentions in more detail the furnishings which are suitable for the altar and those celebrating at it. First vestments are mentioned,

'... indumenta pro ministris, et ornamenta pro altaribus honesta, et pulchra, et diversa, secundum diversitates temporum et festorum: ita quod in diebus magis solemnibus solemniora producantur'.

There follows a description of the precise way in which the altar should be covered, with two tobaliae, a palla and a corporale,⁽⁸⁷⁾ and after this are mentioned the other suitable accoutrements for the altar,

'Cogitandum est etiam ei quod habeantur aliquae reliquiae in vasis pulchris et decentibus, vel arcellis; et cruces, et imagines aliquae competendis decoris; et de his aliqua sunt ponenda in festis majoribus super altare ad ornatum'.

The 1264 inventory of S. Romano, Lucca shows the actual contents of a Dominican sacristy at about the date Humbert was writing.⁽⁸⁸⁾ The inventory fits quite closely with Humbert's prescriptions. Just over the minimum number of objects required for the mass to be said at each altar is provided. Di Poggio, who published the inventory, records a processional (now apparently lost) which suggested that in 1264 S. Romano possessed five altars⁽⁸⁹⁾ while the inventory lists four chalices ad filum, one simplicem and one other which was on loan to Bishop Teodorico Borgognoni, one conventual missal, four other missals and various other mass books, and six wooden pixes.⁽⁹⁰⁾

The sacristy was more generously supplied with vestments and hangings, perhaps because Lucca was the centre of a flourishing silk industry (and perhaps also as the result of the preferences of certain priors, sacristans and donors). There were four main altar cloths for the conventual altar alone, including one ad Agnus Dei and another ad rosas and various other hangings, some decorated with gems, for the conventual altar, the high altar and other altars. As for vestments, there were several complete sets for the priest, deacon and subdeacon as well as various other

clerical vestments. The number and type of other objects in the inventory also appear to fit with Humbert's recommendations. There were six wooden boxes for holding relics, one silver thurible and one copper one, one large limoges cross of copper, one small one and one silver cross (but no mention of any images).⁽⁹¹⁾

The order in which objects are listed in the inventory and in Humbert's description is close, although not exactly the same. Reference to other inventories of the period, such as the 1266 inventory of Piacenza Cathedral⁽⁹²⁾ and the 1239 and 1286 inventories of Lucca Cathedral,⁽⁹³⁾ shows quite different arrangements and indicates that there was no set method of making an inventory at the time. Thus the connection between the S. Romano inventory and the De Officiis Ordinis suggests some similarity of ideas and priorities, and possibly even some standard inventory procedure within the Order.

A superficial comparison with other inventories (no general survey or study of the subject is yet available) gives the impression that S. Romano possessed a moderate number of goods (with rather more altar coverings than usual). For instance, S. Romano's five chalices (plus one on loan) exceeds Lucca Cathedral's two chalices of the 1239 and 1286 inventories, when the Cathedral had at least six altars,⁽⁹⁴⁾ but is modest in its provision of one chalice per altar when compared with the four chalices mentioned in the Libro dei Benefattori della Basilica di S. Pietro⁽⁹⁵⁾ as having been given by Boniface VIII for the altar of his funerary chapel. The Lucca inventory also seems to be unusually methodical and detailed, listing everything including the implements required to make the host, and the four stones which composed the portable altar.⁽⁹⁶⁾ The list was made during the priorate of Pietro Angiorelli, who was later to make very generous donations to the sacristy and fabric of S. Romano in his will,⁽⁹⁷⁾ so the precision of the inventory may owe something to him.

One other piece of information about the Lucca sacristy may well be representative of other Dominican houses of the period: we cannot be sure how many of the objects mentioned in the inventory were chosen by or given to the Dominican sacristan. Some vessels, vestments and books, at least the minimum required at the time, had been handed over to the Lucca Dominicans by the Benedictines with the churches of S. Bartolomeo and S. Romano in 1236 and 1237.⁽⁹⁸⁾ The

'handing down' of instruments of the cult was presumably quite common, at least in the early days of the Order.

Metalwork.

The acquisition of metalwork, more elaborate than was strictly necessary for the cult, occurred from the early days of the Order. From 1239 onwards, prohibitions in the general chapter acts make it clear that gold and silver chalices and other metal objects were being accumulated,⁽⁹⁹⁾ and in 1273 gold and silver crosses decorated with gems were added to the list of proscribed objects.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾

A liking for metalwork can also be traced on an individual level, in various parts of the Order. As already mentioned, Pietro Bernardi, of the Orvieto house, decided to sell his bible for about 100 lire, in order to buy a silver-gilt cross to present to the sacristy,⁽¹⁰¹⁾ while at Hugues Aycelin's promotion to the cardinalate, the Viterbo convent presented him with a chalice.⁽¹⁰²⁾ In Aycelin's will there are detailed descriptions of the gold chalice and jewelled mitre and ring which he wished to leave to Boniface VIII and of a large silver-gilt crucifix with figures of the Virgin and St. John, which was not to be changed in any way after his death (if the intended recipients planned to break this condition, it was to be given to S. Sabina instead).⁽¹⁰³⁾ Niccolò da Prato, Pietro Angiorelli, Benedict XI and Trasmondo Monaldeschi, bishop of Sovana, all willed metalwork to Dominican houses,⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ and Fra Giovanni Cistone, a lay-brother in the Orvieto house, gave two silver ampullae which had previously been for his own use, to his convent.⁽¹⁰⁵⁾

The acquisition of metalwork was no doubt due not only to its liturgical importance but also to its intrinsic value. An item could be used as a surety, or sold, in time of need and was a convenient way of storing wealth, for members of an Order which demanded that they travelled frequently and held no land or property outside the convent.

The chalice and paten given by Benedict XI to the Perugia convent appear to be the only surviving items of Dominican-donated metalwork.⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ The chalice is a rare early example of Italian translucent enamel work, comparable to the earlier chalice made by Guccio di Mannaia and given by Nicholas IV to S. Francesco Assisi,⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ but lower in quality. The piece was apparently made specially for

its donor, since included among the saints represented on the base is St. Dominic. (fig.32) (The crucifixion scene on the chalice is discussed below.) Benedict XI gave a gold chalice to S. Domenico, Bologna, but this has not survived, since it was melted down, in about 1383, to help form the head-reliquary of St. Dominic.⁽¹⁰⁸⁾

Liturgical Vestments and Hangings.

Recorded donations of liturgical vestments and hangings are scarce, but the surviving examples suggest that they were generally supplied in generous numbers, exceeding the quantity which was strictly necessary. Prohibitions by the general chapter indicate that there was a taste for decorative vestments - silk copes, and altar-hangings and vestments decorated with precious stones and gold - from around 1240 onwards.⁽¹⁰⁹⁾

Liturgical textiles were no doubt most frequently acquired by those Dominicans who had become cardinals or bishops and maintained their own chapels. The generosity and care with which they distributed these items in their wills may have been encouraged by the knowledge that (according to Orlandi) it was customary at funerals to show the valuable textiles which the deceased or his family had given to holy places or religious communities, not only on the funeral bier but also in a public display.⁽¹¹⁰⁾ Fra Baro Sassetti of the S. Maria Novella house, who arranged for the commissioning of the church's high altarpiece, also equipped the sacristy with a complete set of silk vestments.⁽¹¹¹⁾ The S. Maria Novella obituary list does not specify that he was ever a sacristan of S. Maria Novella but his concern with vestments and altar furnishings, and the fact that he once received some precious textiles from Betto Brunelleschi on behalf of the convent, suggest that he may in fact at one time have held the post.⁽¹¹²⁾ One example of a sacristan who did enrich his convent's store of textiles, albeit by procuration rather than from his own pocket, is Fra Pietro of the Pisa house, the friar responsible for the commissioning of Simone Martini's polyptych.⁽¹¹³⁾

The only vestments from the early Provincia Romana surviving in a Dominican house are those at S. Domenico, Perugia which are said to have belonged to Benedict XI.⁽¹¹⁴⁾ (figs.33-36) They comprise an alb, sandals, a cope with orphrey, a fragment of an

orphrey from a chasuble(?), and a mitre. The three embroidered works - the two orphreys and the mitre - differ stylistically,⁽¹¹⁵⁾ but all have recently been attributed by Bertelli to late 13th century Rome.⁽¹¹⁶⁾ He compares the mitre, in which he sees the influence of Cavallini's style, to the Uppsala cope of 1296. The fragmentary orphrey, of which only the figures of St. Peter and another apostle(?) remain, is executed in a heavier, bolder manner, with broader, simpler delineation of drapery and stockier proportions than the saints represented on the orphrey now attached to the cope. In style, stitchery and decoration it is identical to the orphrey from the chasuble of Benedict XI in the Museo Capitolino, Velletri. (Compare fig.36 with figs.37,38)⁽¹¹⁷⁾

Building.

Donations to the fabric were a particularly expensive form of patronage. The record of Trasmondo Monaldeschi's gifts to the Orvieto house in the convent obituario shows the relative cost of different items.⁽¹¹⁸⁾ Monaldeschi gave approximately 1000 lire to the fabric of the church, but the gift of a 'precious and beautiful' chalice cost him only a tenth of that sum - 100 lire, while a fine polyptych made especially for Monaldeschi by Simone Martini and his workshop cost only slightly more than this - 100 gold florins. Only the Bishop's fine collection of books, expensive objects essential for the work of the Order, were also estimated to be worth 1000 lire, and this gift was a donation of personal possessions already accumulated, rather than the fresh expenditure of a large sum of money directly for the convent.

Large donations for building work were naturally limited to church prelates or the occasional wealthy friar. This was the most practical of gifts in assisting a new or expanding convent and thus contributing to the success of the Order, and a man who made a substantial contribution to the fabric of a church or convent would then be remembered by the convent in their chapter-meeting prayers as a benefactor.⁽¹¹⁹⁾

Although we know that many of the Dominicans who could afford to do so favoured this type of patronage, it is difficult to deduce anything further about their taste in architecture from these donations. Donors did not generally finance a specific piece of

building work or supervise its appearance as was generally the case with portable objects. (Moreover the need for money for repairs and new building was an ever-present one, not strictly comparable with the decision to purchase or donate a decorative item of metalwork or textile to a house which might already be provided with the minimum necessary number of such objects.) This basic, obvious difference between architecture and the other visual arts was certainly appreciated during the period. Aquinas, for example, considered that works of art, provided they were not intrinsically bad, were to be judged as objects solely to give pleasure; but he approved more strongly of useful arts such as agriculture, architecture and the making of arms.⁽¹²⁰⁾

Apart from those donations made by men outside the convent, there are also records of contributions made by friars for a specific piece of work in their own house. These individuals apparently favoured the construction of domestic buildings - cloisters, dormitories, and refectories - above work on the fabric of the church. Apart from the obvious practicality of this approach (which follows St. Dominic's own preferences, discussed in chapter 1) it must be noted that at the time when individual friars began to have extra money which could be spent on building campaigns, many church buildings were already nearing completion. Personal interest was also a consideration. In 1334 new dormitories were built at S. Maria Novella with the aid of the money and physical labour of many of the friars. Those who gave some kind of assistance, financial or practical, to the work, were then granted the right to occupy one of the new cells for life.⁽¹²¹⁾ Some friars were also involved, through donation, collection of money and administration, in the setting up of hospices in the predicazione surrounding their convent.⁽¹²²⁾ This building activity was also of a very practical nature. On the other hand a few surviving pieces of work, such as the Chiostro Grande at S. Maria Novella, show that the friar in charge of a particular project could create a fine piece of architecture and sometimes even one which, as in the case of the S. Caterina, Pisa façade (fig.31), had a purpose which was almost entirely decorative.⁽¹²³⁾

The three categories discussed above - metalwork, vestments and buildings - were all necessities for any religious Order. The groups which follow (at least in their decorated forms) were not. There was no compulsion to have any marker or monument for a place of burial, to decorate choir books or to commission panel paintings. The patterns of patronage for these objects therefore provide an interesting index of the changing attitudes of Dominican donors.

Tombs. (124)

The significance of the papal permission for lay and ecclesiastical burials in Dominican cemeteries, obtained in 1216 and confirmed in 1227, has already been discussed in the context of Dominican relations with the laity in the towns, in chapter 1. There is no evidence concerning the immediate actual results of this permission but general chapter rulings of 1245 and 1246 show that large tombs had been erected in Dominican churches (at least in France) before the middle of the century:

'Non fiant in ecclesiis nostris cum sculpturis prominentibus sepulture et que facte sunt auferantur', (125)

'Iniugimus prior Ruppellensi (La Rochelle) quod tumbam que est in choro fratrum faciat efferi si comode poterit vel saltem in angulo ecclesie collocari'. (126)

Evidently the general chapter rulings were not entirely effective, since it was felt necessary to include in the 1250 acts the statement, '... in nostris ecclesiis sepulture non fiant',⁽¹²⁷⁾ but, on the other hand, there are no substantial Dominican tombs surviving in the Provincia Romana which date from before the very end of the 13th century.

The earliest known wall-tombs in the churches of the Provincia Romana, dating from the second half of the 13th century, all belong to non-Dominicans. Those of Pope Clement IV (d.1268), Pietro di Vico, prefect of Rome (d.1268) and Rogerio Ubaldini, archbishop of Pisa (d. by 1295?), formerly in S. Maria a Gradi, Viterbo, were all wall-tombs, with canopies set over the tomb chests, decorated with

Cosmati work.⁽¹²⁸⁾ None of them seems to have included a representation of St. Dominic. The earliest central Italian tomb including the Dominican saint (except, of course, for his own) is the now-fragmentary monument to Cardinal Guillaume de Braye (d.1282) in S. Domenico, Orvieto, by Arnolfo di Cambio.⁽¹²⁹⁾ The design is a development of the tomb type used for Clement IV, with the novel inclusion of an enthroned Virgin and Child to whom the kneeling de Braye is presented by a standing figure of St. Peter, while a standing St. Dominic looks on. The wall-tomb of Guillaume Durand, bishop of Mende (d.1296), in S. Maria Sopra Minerva, a canopy tomb with effigy, by Giovanni di Cosma, has a similar representation in mosaic of the deceased being presented to the enthroned Virgin and Child, in this case by St. Privatus, with Dominic again as the onlooker.⁽¹³⁰⁾ The inclusion of St. Dominic in these two cases is the only overt indication that these tombs were made for Dominican churches.

The three tombs of St. Dominic, discussed at some length in chapter 4, indicate a progressive interest in elaborate tombs among Dominicans. As the Order entered its second half-century, the wish to honour its dead fittingly and publicly was more keenly felt. In 1278 and 1279 the general chapter recommended that the obituaries of master generals should be placed in Dominican martyrologies.⁽¹³¹⁾ The taste for distinctive tombs for Dominican cardinals, bishops, master generals and provincial priors apparently developed in France in the last quarter of the 13th century, while from about 1295 onwards the Dominicans of central Italy also began to show an interest in tomb design. Unless a man was unusually provident in ordering his own tomb before his death, the choice of its appearance rested with his executors.⁽¹³²⁾ Most Dominicans (and many non-Dominicans) chose members of the Order as their executors, so that it can generally be assumed that the tomb of a Dominican, placed in a Dominican church, reflects the tastes of a member of the Order, even if not specifically of the deceased.

Basically there were two main types of tomb available and the patron's choice depended on which of two considerations he counted the more important: position or appearance. If a Dominican prelate wished to be buried in a specific part of the church, as befitted his office, generally near the high altar, then he had to choose a floor slab. On the other hand, he might prefer to recommend himself to the memory of the friars by means of a large and splendid

wall-tomb. Information concerning the Provincia Romana indicates that both types were favoured more or less equally, with no clear division of taste discernible between those holding different offices within and outside the Order.

At least four of the master generals and two of the cardinals who died before 1320 were buried under a floor slab.⁽¹³³⁾ Something is known about the appearance of two of these monuments, one formerly in S. Sabina, the other still visible in that church.⁽¹³⁴⁾ The tomb-slab of Master General Munio de Zamora (d.1300), originally to the left of the conventual altar (now at the centre of the east end of the nave) is a marble slab decorated, most unusually, with a mosaic portrait of the deceased.⁽¹³⁵⁾ The choice of this bright and durable material seems successful, but was not often imitated. Cardinal Aycelin's tomb, formerly in front of the high altar,⁽¹³⁶⁾ was also made of an unusual material, in this case copper, as described in his will of 1297,

'... eligimus sepeliri in Ecclesia Fratrum de Santa Sabina superius, ante pedes maioris altaris Sancte Sabinae, et ponatur ibi tumba cuprea super nos quaesit adequata pavimento, ut fratres dum viderint habeant memoriam nostri in orationibus suis'.⁽¹³⁷⁾

The choice of a tomb slab also helped ease overcrowding in Dominican churches. This problem must have been acute, at least in the more popular houses. One chronicler states that by 1380 the Viterbo church, S. Maria a Gradi, contained the mortal remains of eight cardinals and thirty-four bishops.⁽¹³⁸⁾ Some non-Dominican prelates were buried under a tomb slab in a Dominican house, for example Cardinal Leonardo da Guarcino, whose will stipulates '... et corpus meum sepeliri volo in Ecclesia seu loco fratrum ordinis Praedicatorum'.⁽¹³⁹⁾ Ecclesiastics who travelled frequently could reasonably expect to find such a church in any large town. In the event Guarcino died in Lucca, in 1311, on his way to the coronation of Henry VII of Luxemburg, and was buried in the Dominican church of S. Romano.⁽¹⁴⁰⁾ His tomb slab (fig.39), now stored in the remaining wing of the cloister, employs another interesting decorative technique: a marble ground with the effigy and diaper background delineated in pink and black inlay (powdered brick and mastic?). Two-coloured inlay on Lucchese church façades such as S. Michele

provide a precedent for the scheme but its use on tomb slabs is apparently unusual. The close similarity of Guarcino's slab to one made for the tomb of Guglielmo Dulcino OP, bishop of Lucca, who died in 1349,⁽¹⁴¹⁾ indicates that Guarcino's tomb was in fact executed a considerable time after his death. An earlier, simpler, inlaid tomb slab from S. Romano is that of the Contessa Capuana Donoratico (d. c.1300) (fig.40), in which the effigy of the deceased (dressed as a Dominican nun) is shown in black on a plain marble ground.⁽¹⁴²⁾

Aldobrandino Cavalcanti (d.1279) was not only the driving force behind the rebuilding of S. Maria Novella but also became provincial of the Provincia Romana and, later, bishop of Orvieto and papal vicar in Rome.⁽¹⁴³⁾ It is, perhaps, appropriate that his is apparently the earliest surviving elaborate Dominican wall tomb in the Provincia (fig.41).⁽¹⁴⁴⁾ Now placed high up in the south transept of S. Maria Novella, Cavalcanti's effigy is flanked at the head and feet by the diminutive figures of Sts. Dominic and Peter Martyr. All three figures are carved in relief on the face of a vertical slab which supports an arched canopy.

A similar wall-tomb appears high up (approximately 2m 40 above the floor) on the north wall of the cappella maggiore of S. Domenico, Arezzo. This is the monument of Ranieri degli Ubertini (d. c.1296 or c.1300), bishop of Volterra, member of the important Aretine Ubertini family and, although not a Dominican, probably a major patron of building work on the choir of S. Domenico.⁽¹⁴⁵⁾ (figs.42,43,49) Like the Cavalcanti tomb, the Ubertini monument consists of a vertically set relief of the effigy, supported on consoles and surmounted by a canopy. Unlike the Florentine tomb, it also includes, in the space between slab and canopy, a fresco (now considerably damaged) of the Virgin and Child enthroned, flanked by two angels, with the diminutive figure of the deceased kneeling at the foot of the throne. This feature, and details of the canopy which, with its cusped arch and crocket capitals, is far more accomplished than the Florentine monument, are reminiscent of late 13th century Roman works such as the tomb of bishop Pietro Caetani at Anagni or the tomb of cardinal Matteo Aquasparta in S. Maria in Aracoeli.⁽¹⁴⁶⁾ The effigy, again a more proficient work than its

Florentine counterpart and attributed by some to a Sienese hand, is flanked by the small figures of two friars probably conducting a funeral service, in place of the two Dominican saints.

A further relief slab in the south transept of S. Maria Novella is all that remains of a third version of this tomb type. It comes from the monument of bishop Corrado della Penna OP, bishop of Fiesole (d.1312 or 1313).⁽¹⁴⁷⁾ (fig.44) In this example the design is more unified, possibly because a smaller piece of stone was used. The Dominican standing by the bishop's head stands so close to him that he appears to rest the arm which supports his book on the bishop's mitre, while the other figure is largely hidden behind the bishop's legs, as he leans forward to smooth out his garments. Both these Dominicans appear to be taking part in a funeral service, like those on the Ubertini tomb, but each has a halo and may thus be intended to represent Dominican saints or blessed.⁽¹⁴⁸⁾

Tombs with vertically-set effigy reliefs are a comparative rarity. Two slabs in S. Reparata, Florence may be earlier examples than the Dominican tombs⁽¹⁴⁹⁾ but do not include attendant figures and were not necessarily set beneath canopies. One later example, this time from the tomb of a layman of the Del Mancino family (d.1323) (and again without attendant figures) occurs on an avellio on the exterior of S. Romano, Lucca, set beneath a canopy with trefoil-headed arch.⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ (fig.45)

Two features of the design make it particularly suitable for a Dominican context. Placing the effigy relief vertically instead of horizontally prevents the tomb from projecting far into the church, while supporting the chest on corbels, high up the wall, also avoids the cluttering-up of the choir which the Dominican general chapter had so clearly objected to.⁽¹⁵¹⁾ The two Dominican figures are included with due reticence and propriety. They are not shown on a large scale, presenting the deceased to the Virgin and Child, as in earlier and contemporary elaborate non-Dominican tombs. Instead, even when they represent saints, they busy themselves with their appointed duties, attending to the funeral service and praying for the soul of the departed.

The form of the tomb of the first Dominican pope, Innocent V, is not known, but one piece of evidence concerning it still exists. Charles of Anjou wrote to his rector in Rome, Hugues de Besançon, after Innocent's death, instructing him to look for a suitable tomb:

either a classical sarcophagus (... aliqua conca profundis vel alcius alterius pulcri lapidis ...) or, if this was not forthcoming, to order a new tomb, presumably gothic in style (... fieri facias sepulchrum consimilem illi comitis Attrebatensis et etiam si fieri poterit pulcriorem ...).⁽¹⁵²⁾

The monument of the second Dominican pope, Benedict XI, survives, providing the first example in the Provincia Romana of a very expensive, specifically Dominican tomb.⁽¹⁵³⁾ (figs.46-48) Apparently the construction was organised by a Dominican: Crispolti says that Niccolò da Prato arranged the commission.⁽¹⁵⁴⁾ Benedict left metalwork and vestments to the Dominican house in Perugia, the town in which he died, and helped in the collection of money for the new church of S. Domenico, which was begun in the year after his death, and in the accumulation of indulgences.⁽¹⁵⁵⁾ He may even have seen the new Dominican church as a kind of personal mausoleum, and references to miracles in the long epitaph which accompanies his tomb suggest that the local Dominicans hoped for his eventual canonisation.

It seems that work in other Dominican churches was borne in mind, when this important tomb was commissioned. A comparison of Benedict's effigy, especially the head (fig.48), with that of Raniero degli Ubertini in S. Domenico, Arezzo (fig.49), reveals such a close resemblance, for example in the treatment of hair, folds of skin and the meticulous description of surface textures, that both figures may well be by the same hand. The design of the tomb probably relies to a great extent on that of the de Braye monument in S. Domenico, Orvieto, but one significant difference, perhaps symptomatic of the changing nature of the art being made for the Dominicans, is that Domenico is here given the important task of presenting the deceased to the Virgin for the first time. The relationship between the deceased, the presenting saint and the Virgin and Child is shown by glance and gesture more fully than in the de Braye tomb. The naturalistic device of turning the Pope's head slightly to one side ensures that he is visible, without having to tilt the body at too unnatural an angle. The newly created tier between the effigy and the upper figures provides space for further figures of saints, including the other Dominican saint - Peter Martyr. These relief busts represent an additional stage of illusionism beside the large scale effigy of the deceased, whose body actually rests in the tomb,

and the full-length representations of saints, angels and the Virgin and Child.

The monument is composed of disparate elements which help to explain the lack of agreement over attribution. Many of the decorative elements can be recognised elsewhere in Umbria, especially in the façade of Orvieto cathedral, while the motif of twisted columns inhabited by putti occurs on the portal of S. Fortunato, Todi. This combination of inspiration from tombs in other central Italian Dominican houses, workmen available in the region, an abundant supply of money and, probably, a Dominican with an interest in art in charge of the project⁽¹⁵⁶⁾ produced a unique and impressive piece of work.

Ordinary Dominicans, officers of the convent and many of the provincial priors, had burials far more suited to the original character of the Order. From 1216 onwards they were allowed an independent cemetery for themselves and any of the faithful who wished to be buried there.⁽¹⁵⁷⁾ Presumably the humble burial plots were undecorated. In S. Sabina it became customary, at an unknown date, to bury all the friars beneath a single unmarked stone in the nave of the church,⁽¹⁵⁸⁾ while in S. Romano, Lucca, the second chapel to the north of the cappella maggiore was reserved for the burial of the friars, at least from the early 14th century onwards. There were three openings to the tombs, in front of the altar of the Holy Sacrament, near which the friars prayed each evening for the souls of their departed brothers.⁽¹⁵⁹⁾ Presumably similar arrangements were common in other Dominican churches. It seems that the spirit of humility in the face of death gradually declined. In 1376 a section was set aside in S. Maria Novella as a burial place for Dominicans without a family chapel.⁽¹⁶⁰⁾ However, the particularly illustrious inhabitants of the Florentine house, who often belonged to wealthy local families, were probably an exception. The memory of most ordinary Dominicans was only perpetuated when convent obituary lists began to be kept.⁽¹⁶¹⁾ This event itself marks a turning point in attitude to the virtues of righteous anonymity.

The earliest recorded lay floor tomb, the relief slab of Guido da Campi (d.1312) in S. Maria Novella, dates from the early 14th

century.⁽¹⁶²⁾ Soon the churches became full of tomb slabs, as the occasional sepoltuario or floor plan shows.⁽¹⁶³⁾ Florence, Prato and Lucca, perhaps in an effort to keep church interiors clear while not discouraging the increasing demands of the laity which brought a considerable income, developed the avelli (figs.45,50). Lay funerary chapels such as those in the Chiostro dei Morti in Florence also helped to meet the demand.

Illuminated Choir Books.

The great majority of surviving illuminated books from Dominican houses are choir books.⁽¹⁶⁴⁾ Antiphonaries, graduals and other choir books, generously decorated with illuminated and historiated initials, some decorative border-work and many pen-decorated initials, were the object of a considerable amount of Dominican patronage in the late 13th and early 14th century. Although much of the work in these books is of very routine quality, and some decidedly poor, Dominican interest in the medium probably played a significant part in its development, if only because of the number of commissions for which it was responsible: within Italy thirteen convents and monasteries between them brought about the production of at least eighty-six illuminated choir books, while the survival of miscellaneous leaves and cuttings, and the documentation of lost works, show that the number must originally have been considerably higher. (A list of choir books, leaves and cuttings, with select bibliography, is given in appendix 4. References for these listed items are not supplied in the notes to the present section.)

A striking feature of these books is the number of artists who decorated them. Each house's set was illustrated by more than one, sometimes as many as five different hands and in no case can it be said with absolute certainty that an artist employed by one Dominican convent, then worked for another. This observation raises the possibility that some of the artists were friars who belonged to the particular house in question. Certainly, the older monastic Orders had encouraged their members to produce manuscripts in their scriptoria and Humbert of Romans includes in his De Officiis Ordinis a short section entitled de officio gerentes curam scriptorum which makes it clear that a Dominican convent might make books not only

for its own use but also for sale.⁽¹⁶⁵⁾ Convent obituary lists include references to friars noted as scribes⁽¹⁶⁶⁾ and, very occasionally, also as illuminators, for example Fra Egidio degli Scalzi of Perugia⁽¹⁶⁷⁾ or Fra Vanni da Verona of S. Maria Novella,⁽¹⁶⁸⁾ but these references never come in sufficient number to suggest any organised production of decorated books within Dominican houses. Occasionally a friar might decorate a manuscript for his own pleasure, as Giovanni Dominici did, and encouraged Dominican nuns to do,⁽¹⁶⁹⁾ but the majority of illustrations were, as Orlandi and Garzelli suggest for S. Maria Novella,⁽¹⁷⁰⁾ no doubt executed by professional artists.

Reference to any corpus of late 13th and early 14th century Bolognese illumination, such as that available in Melnikas' publication of the Decretum Gratiani,⁽¹⁷¹⁾ quickly shows that many of the hands which can be distinguished in Dominican choir books were also employed on a series of quite different, non-Dominican commissions. Compare, for example, S. Domenico, Bologna, Cor.6, f.107v. (fig.51) with Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, MS.2060, ff.8r., 86v.;⁽¹⁷²⁾ or S. Domenico, Bologna, Cor.33, f.112v. (fig.52) with Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS.Vitr.21.2, f.6r.⁽¹⁷³⁾ An artist who appears in the Bologna books can sometimes be seen at work on a choir book for another Order. Compare, for example, S. Domenico, Bologna, Cor.14, f.21r. (fig.139) with one of the Franciscan choir books in Zara, S. Francesco, Cod.B, Ascension miniature (fig.53). This situation can also be observed outside Bologna. The artist of S. Maria Novella Cor.F (inv.1355), f.20v. (fig.54) was also responsible for a 13th century gradual in the Museo Diocesano, Pistoia, for example f.306r., representing Christ and a choir of monks.⁽¹⁷⁴⁾ A comparison of f.225r. of this Pistoia manuscript, representing the donation of the cintola,⁽¹⁷⁵⁾ with an illustration of the same subject in a Franciscan antiphonary sold at Sotheby's, 8 July 1974, lot 85, f.62v. (fig.55) again reveals the same hand, showing that the artist fulfilled both Dominican and Franciscan commissions. (A direct comparison between the Dominican and Franciscan choir books is Cor.F, f.167v. and lot 85, f.112r. (figs. 56, 57).)

The artist often seems to have received his instructions from notes written on the margins of the manuscripts. These have generally been trimmed away after the completion of work, but some

examples remain:

'Christum sedentem in /// ascendentem in ///
sequentes apostlos /// proicientes inanos ///'
(Dubrovnik, St. Dominic, MS.85, f.75v); (176)

'Una ecclesia magna et intus sepultura alta(?)
Sancti Petri Martiris qui appareat in habitu
fratrum et de subter infirmi qui sanentur
et desuper multe lampades accense'
(Bologna, S. Domenico, Cor.9, f.78r). (177)

The second example gives further support to the impression that most of the illuminators of the choir books were non-Dominican professionals.

An exception to this anonymous professionalism is to be found in a Dominican gradual in the Sammlung Ludwig, Cologne. The Ludwig manuscript, its sister volumes in Chicago and Stockholm, and a related leaf for sale at Sotheby's⁽¹⁷⁸⁾ are decorated in a lively and unpolished style with biblicol scenes and a considerable number of Dominican subjects,⁽¹⁷⁹⁾ framed by Bolognese-derived borders and bas-de-page roundels containing half-length figures of praying Dominican friars and nuns, who watch with concentration the events depicted on the page. (E.g. f.38r., fig.58) A note on f.159v of the Ludwig gradual provides us with the artist's identity,

'Ego Jacobellus dictus Muriolus de Salerno
hunc librum scripsi. notavi. & miniavi. &
fuit primum opus manuum mearum'. (180)

The earliest illuminated Dominican choir book which has so far come to light is the second part of a Dominican antiphonary, now MS. 65-62 DJ in the De Menil Foundation, Houston, dated by Dirks to shortly after 1240 on liturgical grounds, and placed by Garrison in mid-13th century Tuscany, probably Florence, from a consideration of style. The manuscript contains many decorated initials but no historiated ones. There are two main initial styles, one employing a tightly-woven, complex interlace, probably based on earlier Tuscan designs (fig.59); the other using broader, softer leaf forms, with hatching, dotting and scroll-work picked out in a fine white line (fig.60). This style may be connected with northern Italy: the book is said to have come from a Dominican house in northern Italy and was catalogued as north Italian when auctioned by Schab, New York.

This second initial style bears some general similarity to that of another early Dominican choir book, now Cor.36 in S. Domenico, Bologna, said to have come from the Dominican convent in Forlì and dated by Alce to the last decades of the 13th century. The Forlì book contains ten decorated initials and one historiated initial, possibly the earliest extant in a Dominican choir book, showing a saint (accompanied by two others) offering his soul to God (f.1r) (figs.61,62).

More 13th century historiated initials occur among the predominantly 14th century work in some of the choir books made for a Dominican monastery which are now in the Museo Civico, Bologna - for example, Cor.7 (old numbering) f.114v.⁽¹⁸¹⁾ This appears to be an Emilian work of the second half of the 13th century (but is quite different from the early 14th century style generally found in the S. Domenico, Bologna choir books).

The S. Maria Novella (figs.56,63,105,121,124-6) and Lucca (figs. 64, 102, 140, 180) choir books present, like the early De Menil Antiphonary, a somewhat puzzling mixture of Tuscan and northern features. Orlandi dates the S. Maria Novella books to the last quarter of the 13th century, possibly c.1270, principally on stylistic grounds. (Since the Lucca books appear to be a weaker version of some of the S. Maria Novella work, perhaps executed by an artist who had played a more junior role in the work in Florence (compare, for example, S. Maria Novella, Cor.E (inv.no.1354), f.234v and Lucca, Biblioteca Statale, MS.2654, p.440, (figs.63,64) they should probably be placed just after the S. Maria Novella books.) In both sets of books decorative motifs and border patterns recall Bolognese work but the general effect, especially the figure style in the Lucchese books, is unlike what is known of contemporary Bolognese illumination.⁽¹⁸²⁾ Orlandi's attribution of the S. Maria Novella choir books, based on previous opinions and on his own observations, reflects this variety, in the identification of at least five different masters: two Bolognese, one Cimabuesque and the rest probably Florentine.

Several conclusions may be drawn: the mixture of styles and hands in the S. Maria Novella books indicates that no ready-made, large workshop was available to execute such a commission in a homogeneous style in Florence at that time. Nor were the Dominicans of Florence able to summon such a workshop from elsewhere or order

its products - the De Menil and Forlì books suggest that earlier Dominican choir books had not been decorated with an extensive programme of historiated initials.⁽¹⁸³⁾ The Dominicans of S. Maria Novella may have decided to use a mixture of local artists and painters from further north, who may have brought with them examples of work which the local artists copied.⁽¹⁸⁴⁾ Whatever the precise cause, the influence of 13th century Bolognese illumination is certainly present in these books.⁽¹⁸⁵⁾

An artist with greater skills than those of the men employed by S. Maria Novella, decorated two graduals for the Dominican monastery at S. Jacopo a Ripoli (now in the Museo S. Marco, Florence). Even if this master was not himself Bolognese, but a Tuscan follower of Cimabue, as Salmi believed,⁽¹⁸⁶⁾ his training appears to be wholly northern - compare f.37r of S. Marco Grad.F and f.16r of Grad.G (figs.65,66) with Bologna Museo Civico Cor.16 (old numbering), f.63r.⁽¹⁸⁷⁾ There is no trace of this artist's work in the S. Maria Novella books, and the Jacopo a Ripoli books may well have been decorated at the turn of the century, after the other Florentine books had already been completed.

One further example of contact between a central Italian Dominican house and Bolognese miniaturists, probably belonging to the very end of the 13th century, is the set of books made, in an unusually homogeneous style, for the Gubbio convent (figs.95,96,106, 117,118,123,132,135). The use of Bolognese artists is rather surprising since S. Domenico, Perugia was apparently able to call on the services of a flourishing group of Umbrian illuminators at about the same time. (figs.97,98,108,109,115,133,137,145, 179) The set of Perugia books was completed in the 14th century by a group of Perugian artists, (fig.128) whose work can also be seen in non-Dominican commissions in the town.⁽¹⁸⁸⁾ Apart from one miniature (MS.2783(F), f.128r) there is no indication of Bolognese work in these books⁽¹⁸⁹⁾ - evidently Perugia was one of the few central Italian artistic centres which was at that time able to produce a generously illustrated set of choir books without recourse to outside, Bolognese, assistance.

Turning to the books produced for S. Domenico and for Dominican monasteries in Bologna itself, (figs.51,52,67,68,69,88,89,90,91,92,93,104, 107,114,116,127,134,138,139) a considerable number of different hands can again be distinguished. Surprisingly, none of these artists appear to have worked on commissions for Dominican convents outside Bologna;

the network of recommendations between houses which might have been expected (and which will be shown, below, to have operated in the field of panel painting) does not seem to have functioned in this case. Even the presence at Bologna of one of the two copies of Humbert of Romans' Exemplum, from which the text of all Dominican service books was supposed to be taken,⁽¹⁹⁰⁾ did not encourage central Italian houses to have their books illustrated by the artists who worked for their Bolognese confrères.

Similarly, no special programme governed the decoration of Dominican choir books. However, the Dominican milieu for which they were all produced seems to have ensured some common characteristics. The books all concentrate, not surprisingly, on illustrating major church feasts and representing the most generally revered saints. Only scenes from the gospel story, or from the well-established iconographies of popular saints, are used as narrative material. Originality is generally reserved for illuminations of a more allegorical nature, as will be discussed below (chapter 5), and occasionally for the representation of Dominican themes, although these are often treated in a pedestrian manner (see below).

Patronage for choir books came from various quarters. A wealthy Dominican such as Teodorico Borgognoni might donate one or more books (figs. 67, 68), while a group of friars, or an individual, represented as suppliant figures in a choir book, had presumably contributed to its creation. (A list of suppliant figures in choir books is given in appendix 4.) A friar could apparently finance the decoration of a single leaf, as is demonstrated by a leaf (f. 103r) inserted in S. Domenico, Bologna Cor. 26 (in company with other unhistoriated additions), decorated in a quite different, later, style from the main body of the book, and representing the Annunciation and, at the foot of the page, a suppliant friar kneeling beside St. Mary Magdalen. (fig. 69) An initial could be decorated to mark a special event - a cutting from a choir book, now in the Cini collection,⁽¹⁹¹⁾ apparently represents the reception of a new friar into the Order. The upper part of the initial contains a blessing Redeemer figure, while below two kneeling Dominicans, one younger than the other, face each other, the younger man's hands joined in a gesture of prayer which was also used by a novice before the prior at the moment of making his profession. Beside these

figures are two laymen and a laywoman, presumably the family of the new friar. Sometimes a whole convent or monastery seems to be represented, as in the Chicago/Cologne/Stockholm books or Bologna, S. Domenico Cor.523 (figs.58, 27). Illuminated choir books seem to have been particularly popular with nuns and many of the surviving examples come from monasteries - a disproportionate number, considering the relatively small group of foundations for Dominican nuns in comparison with those for friars.⁽¹⁹²⁾ One explanation may be that the nuns were not involved in work outside their house, as were the majority of friars, and could therefore linger over the singing of services, and their embellishment - both oral and visual - in a manner expressly discouraged among their brothers.⁽¹⁹³⁾ Laymen and women also contributed to the cost of producing and decorating books, as various supplicant figures, for example in the Perugia books, indicate. The representation of Doge Marino Zorzi in the Dominican choir book now in the Museo Correr (MS.V, 131, f.1r)⁽¹⁹⁴⁾ indicates that a layman might even donate a set of books.

Panel Painting.

Dominican panel painting, its patronage, and the changes which can be distinguished in it before and after the Council of Lyons (1274) will be discussed in the chapters which follow. (Panel paintings are listed in appendix 5.) This section will be restricted to two subjects: lost works and the attitude of four individual Dominicans to painting.

The Orvieto obituario records that Latino Malabranca OP, Cardinal of Ostia, 1278-94, had the image of St. Dominic painted on all the gates of Bologna (the precise medium is not reported).⁽¹⁹⁵⁾ (This act seems to have had little artistic impact, at least on the manner of representing the saint, as will be discussed below, chapter 5.) In 1316 Benedict of Montefiascone OP, prior of S. Sisto, gave to the Dominican house of S. Maria a Gradi, Viterbo, his yconam de sex tabulis, which was distinguished by its many relics, scenes and ornaments⁽¹⁹⁶⁾ (possibly one of those large reliquaries with crystals and illuminations of Venetian manufacture.⁽¹⁹⁷⁾) In his will Niccolò da Prato left 'Tres tabulas pictas, quae ponuntur super altare' to S. Domenico, Prato - one of the earliest references to

panel painting in a will.⁽¹⁹⁸⁾ Fra Domenico da Parlascio of the Pisa house (d.1348) who came from the 'noble house' of Parlascio and must have entered the Order at an advanced age, since he was married twice before he did so, paid for a crucifix (or fresco of the crucifixion?) above the prior's table in the refectory.⁽¹⁹⁹⁾ One layman merits inclusion in this list of patrons of lost works. Riccuccio di Puccio, member of the S. Maria Novella Laudesi, who made his will on the 15 July 1312, had a keen interest in panel painting.⁽²⁰⁰⁾ He left money to the sacristy of S. Maria Novella to provision the lamps which burned continually before the large panel in qua est picta figura beate Marie virginis (the Rucellai Madonna) and the crucifix ... picti per egregium pictorem, nomine Giottum bondonis ... (Riccuccio had paid for this lamp himself). In addition, among many other bequests, he left money to S. Domenico, Prato for oil for the lamp which illuminated the pulcra tabula situated in that church, which Riccuccio had himself commissioned from Giotto. Unfortunately we know nothing about the subject matter or format of either this work or the panels given by Niccolò da Prato to the same church; all seem to have vanished without trace.

Four Dominicans who were connected, in one way or another, with the acquisition of images, provide some information on their attitudes to these works:

In 1221 St. Dominic, anxious to persuade the nuns of the Monasterium Tempuli to join the Dominican Order and come under the spiritual supervision of the friars, carried their sacred image of the Madonna Avvocata, a long-prized possession of the nuns, to the church of S. Sisto in Rome.⁽²⁰¹⁾ The nuns had already promised in 1220 to join with the other houses of nuns in Rome, and live together in one house under Dominican supervision, as the nuns of Prouille in south-west France had already done. But they had not honoured the agreement - important to Dominic since it presented him with his first opportunity to establish a Dominican foothold in Rome. Returning to Rome in 1221, Dominic persuaded the nuns to honour their agreement and encouraged them by leading the joyful procession to the new monastery himself, bearing the much-venerated icon on his own shoulders. Thus the leader of the Order himself showed a keen awareness of the persuasive power of art in a religious

context. His Order was committed to a life of poverty, owning no land other than that on which the convent stood, receiving no rents or payments, and opposing frivolous decorations and possessions, yet for the sake of expediency he was prepared to countenance, even to accept gratefully, the presence of a painted image.

The Order's second saint, Peter Martyr, seems to have been well aware of the usefulness of images in attracting the attention and stimulating the devotion of the laity, for he is traditionally credited with the encouragement of street tabernacles in Florence. It is said that during the 1244 campaign against the heretics he urged the laity to affirm their faith by placing holy images outside their houses and on street corners, and to venerate them with the singing of laudi.⁽²⁰²⁾ St. Peter thus initiated, or at least gave early encouragement to one of the central activities of the confraternities, which was to prove so popular with the laity.

One patron who has left some indication of his motives for ordering a painting is Trasmondo Monaldeschi, bishop of Sovana. The description of his life in the Orvieto obituario⁽²⁰³⁾ is apparently arranged chronologically, so it can be assumed that it was while Trasmondo was living in the Orvieto house that he paid for a mass to be celebrated daily for St. Mary Magdalen, over a period of fifteen years. Whenever possible he celebrated himself. At his death he left one hundred florins for the establishment of an annual pictantia to the value of four florins, on the feast of St. Mary Magdalen and he spent the same sum - one hundred florins - on the polyptych signed by Simone Martini, now in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Orvieto,⁽²⁰⁴⁾ which shows the tiny figure of Trasmondo being presented by the Magdalen to the Virgin and Child. (fig.70) The passage in the obituario which describes the reason for his daily mass for St. Mary Magdalen,

'... suam autem habuit in matronam et
interventricem apud Deum beatam Mariam
Magdalenam, cuius diem affectu et effectu
venerabatur quam plurimum',

fits perfectly with the attitude shown in the painting. For as long as was possible, Monaldeschi would pray to the saint himself or pay others to pray as proxy for him. By making a visual record of himself in the act of prayer, he also hoped to make a form of constant

supplication which might recommend him eternally to the saint, as well as keeping him in the memories and prayers of the Orvieto friars.

The Perugia obituario provides a further example of such an attitude.⁽²⁰⁵⁾ Fra Taddeo de messer Giacomo dei Giacomini (d.1327(?)), prior of the Perugia convent at some time between 1310 and 1320, was so devoted to St. Elizabeth of Hungary (who had been canonised in Perugia in 1235⁽²⁰⁶⁾) that he celebrated mass at her altar every morning. He gave a pictantia for her feast, introduced the singing of laudi in her honour and propter huius sanctem (sic) reverentiam et devotionem had painted an ymaginem ... sumptuosam et pulchram ... in tabula pulchra, in which he was depicted kneeling before the saint, which he set up in a prominent place on the exterior of the church.

Wall-painting, Sculpture and Church Furniture.

Three categories which seem to have prompted little enthusiasm among Dominican donors are wall-painting, sculpture and church furniture. Surviving examples from before 1320, too few to warrant a separate list, are mentioned in the catalogue of Dominican convents.

With the possible exception of one fresco in the north transept of S. Domenico, Pistoia,⁽²⁰⁷⁾ (fig.94) and two others connected with Cardinal Niccolò da Prato, no 13th or early 14th century Dominican is represented as a supplicant figure in a central Italian wall painting. Nor is there any noticeable concentration of fresco painting in the eastern part of Dominican churches - the area frequented by the friars. Although there is the occasional representation of a Dominican saint: Ambrogio Sansedoni at S. Domenico, Arezzo; Dominic, Peter Martyr and Aquinas at S. Maria Maggiore, Narni; Dominic at S. Domenico, Pistoia; (fig.94) one scene from the life of Dominic at Arezzo (fig.100) and two at S. Giacomo, Bevagna;⁽²⁰⁸⁾ (figs.101-3) the death of Peter Martyr (now lost) at S. Maria Sovella;⁽²⁰⁹⁾ Dominic flanking the Crucifixion (fig.170) at S. Biagio, Fivoli and in the chapter house at Pistoia⁽²¹⁰⁾ (figs.157-8); there is no indication of a planned programme of representations of Dominican saints to excite the devotion of either the friars or the laity, and little evidence of any spontaneous enthusiasm on the part of those either within or outside the Order. Even Dominican saints and

blessed with strong local cults whose popular standing might have been expected to encourage clusters of votive frescoes, are virtually never commemorated on the walls of Dominican churches.

There is not really sufficient evidence to permit generalisations about the type of subject-matter favoured, except for the observations that the choice was usually routine and that no particular subject or iconography was frequently repeated. The quality of workmanship was generally decidedly low, although claims have been made for the importance of the artists employed at S. Maria Novella,⁽²¹¹⁾ and a convent tended to give each new job to a different artist, instead of consistently employing the same man. The lack of quality makes it difficult to date the majority of paintings, but it seems probable that none date from earlier than the last two decades of the 13th century, and that they only began to appear in any number in the third decade of the 14th century, right at the end of the period with which this thesis is concerned. (In the later 14th and early 15th century votive frescoes in Dominican churches increased considerably in number, but hardly at all in quality.)

The only Dominican patron known to have appreciated fresco painting is Niccolò da Prato. He was an executor for Cardinal Giovanni Boccamazza, who left money to the Dominican house of S. Maria a Gradi, Viterbo, without specifying in his will the way in which it should be spent.⁽²¹²⁾ Da Prato chose to use it for the completion of the dormitory and for the painting (now lost) of,

'... imagine B. Virginis ab Angelo salutare
cum propria, ac. Card. Joan Boccamazza effigie
ac Fr. Scambii Viterbiensis (OP, another of
Boccamazza's executors) procuratoris olim sui'. (213)

Beneath the painting in the dormitory was the inscription,

'Hoc opus Dormitorii fieri fecit Ven Pater Fr.
Nicolaus de Prato Ord. Praed. Card. Episc.
Hostien. Pro anima Ven. Patris b.m. Joannis
de Bocamatiis. Episc. Tusculani An. MCCCXI'. (214)

Da Prato also seems to have had himself represented as a suppliant before a holy scene, in this case the Crucifixion, in a much damaged fresco on what is now the east wall of the sacristy in S. Domenico, Prato (figs. 71, 72).

Sculpture appears to have been even less popular. Perhaps this is partly due to the Order's legislation, which was clearly against it from the outset. The 1239 general chapter acts forbade ymagines nisi pictae⁽²¹⁵⁾ and the point was spelt out in a ruling of the following year, 'non habeamus ymagines sculptas'.⁽²¹⁶⁾ Presumably there was a general avoidance of anything which might encourage idolatry. Aquinas, like so many before him, had made this point by condemning, 'idola vel aliqua ad cultum idolatriae pertinentia'.⁽²¹⁷⁾

On the other hand at least some Dominicans held a more favourable view of sculptural images, since the story of Beato Giacomo Bianconi of Bevagna's purchase of two wooden sculptures with the money intended to buy his clothing, was permitted to circulate. Two wooden pieces of modest workmanship and uncertain date, a crucifix and a standing Virgin and Child, which may be those which Bianconi bought, are still in the Dominican church in Bevagna.⁽²¹⁸⁾ However, apart from this example, virtually no free-standing sculpture from the period up to 1320 survives, despite the existence of at least two competent sculptors in the Order during the period. One of these, Fra Guglielmo of Pisa, is identified only in non-Dominican commissions (apart from the Arca di S. Domenico)⁽²¹⁹⁾ while the other, Fra Pasquale of S. Sabina, is known to us only by the marble sphinx now in the Museo Civico, Viterbo, signed by him and dated 1286, and the lion on the paschal candlestick, signed Pasquale, in S. Maria in Cosmedin.⁽²²⁰⁾ De Francovich ascribed to the Dominicans and Franciscans a central role in the dissemination of the wooden crocifisso gotico doloroso in Italy,⁽²²¹⁾ but within the area and period covered by this thesis only the Bevagna orucifix and a particularly harsh example in S. Domenico Orvieto (fig.167) are known in Dominican churches. The only other piece of individual sculpture of which I am aware, a small, marble, half-length figure of a friar holding a book and attached to a colonette decorated with cosmati work, now in the cloister of S. Sabina (generally referred to as St. Dominic, although this requires proof) probably once formed part of a piece of church furniture - a pulpit, screen or ciborium - or of a tomb or architectural feature. Some of the strips of marble moulding, inlaid with cosmati work, which are also now in the S. Sabina cloister, may originally have formed part of the same object.⁽²²²⁾

Church furniture, now almost entirely lost, at one time transformed the interior of every Dominican church. No examples of individual Dominican patronage are known in this field but it must be supposed that convents were often responsible for the provision of screens, wooden choir stalls, pulpits, altars and so on.

General chapter legislation provides some information. From at least 1243 onwards, all Dominican churches had to have a double choir arrangement, to accommodate both clerics and lay brothers.⁽²²³⁾ The choir of a Dominican church was separated from the nave by a screen of such a height that it was necessary to provide an opening in it, through which the laity could look, during the elevation of the host.⁽²²⁴⁾ Sources such as a 15th century Sepoltuario from S. Domenico, Pistoia,⁽²²⁵⁾ Ugonio's description of S. Sabina,⁽²²⁶⁾ and Fra Vincenzo Borghigiani's chronicle of S. Maria Novella⁽²²⁷⁾ confirm the existence of these tall screens, and provide some further information. Altars were generally set up against the west and sometimes also the east face of a screen, and were often accompanied by paintings and tombs which have subsequently disappeared. Screens marked a barrier which the laity (especially women) could not easily cross.⁽²²⁸⁾ Any decoration east of a screen could not easily be seen from the layman's church. The screen formed the easternmost part of the lay church, and more painting and decoration may have been concentrated on it than on any other part of the nave.

There is no evidence for nave side-altars, patronised by the laity, before the second quarter of the 14th century. From that period onwards there is occasional documentary evidence from, for example, S. Domenico, Arezzo.⁽²²⁹⁾ A later 14th century foundation in Arezzo, the Dragomanni Chapel, (fig.73) comprises an altar, altar canopy, aumbry and short enclosing side walls and in the same church the repeated areas of fresco decoration with semi-circular tops indicate that there were originally more arched altar-canopies in the nave. (fig.99) The Pistoia Sepoltuario shows that each altar was accompanied by a chest (panca) or bench (scabellum).⁽²³⁰⁾ A simpler altar, in the form of a niche decorated with a fresco, flanked by an aumbry and originally supplied with a canopy or some other kind of projection above, can be found at S. Domenico, Orvieto and no doubt, formerly, in other churches.

A description of 1316 of the furnishings of the Laudesi chapel in S. Maria Novella lists wrought iron screens and a bench.⁽²³¹⁾

Metal attachments on the west faces of the walls dividing the S. Domenico, Arezzo choir chapels probably originally secured metal screens across the chapel entrances. The aumbries in S. Sabina⁽²³²⁾ and S. Giacomo, Anagni are elaborate pieces with cosmati inlay. Other existing aumbries are in the form of niches, sometimes, as in S. Domenico, Perugia, carved with trefoil heads.

Nothing is known about internal or external early Dominican pulpits, apart from the bare fact that they existed. Their total disappearance may indicate that they were made of temporary materials, and attached to screens that were later removed, or that they displayed no artistic merit which might persuade later generations to preserve them. (Representations in choir book illustrations (e.g. figs. 109, 137) tend to support this interpretation.)

The patterns of Dominican donation just examined show that during the 13th century interest in art centred primarily around necessities: church and conventual buildings and the vessels and vestments used in the cult. When money was spent on these items, it was spent (in proportion, of course, to the capacities of the donor) despite and sometimes almost regardless of the cost involved.

From the end of the 13th century onwards, as all Dominican houses came to possess what they required for their maintenance and for the celebration of the divine service, other considerations began to influence donors more strongly and their tastes began to change. These changes cannot simply be attributed to greater wealth within the Order; building programmes and metalwork could be very expensive forms of donation, while panel paintings often cost relatively little. Rather, what had distinguished donations in the 13th century, at least at the outset, had been the practical nature of the gifts which were favoured, while the most noticeable features which the favoured items of the late 13th century onwards (tombs, illuminated choir books and panel paintings) have in common, are their lack of practical use and the opportunity which they provide to emphasise the donor of the object. In other words, Dominican donors appear to have become strongly interested in items which pleased them for their purely decorative aspects, and which could be directly seen

as an aid to the preservation of the donor's memory in the prayers of others, and thus as an aid to his salvation.

Dominicans were sometimes prepared to spend money generously on art and architecture throughout the period under discussion, but it seems that their attitudes moved, broadly speaking, from a distant and in some ways altruistic position, to a more personal and direct appreciation of the objects concerned, towards the end of the 13th century.

.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 3

1. Two wills and a codicil of the same year, printed in F. Duchesne, Histoire des Cardinaux Francois, (Paris, 1660), vol.II, pp.231-46.
This text, and documents relating to other cardinals and popes, will shortly be available in a comprehensive edition of wills, licentiae testandi and other essential information on the subject of cardinals' wills of the 13th and 14th centuries, by Agostino Paravicini Bagliani. Dott. Paravicini Bagliani was kind enough to show me the typescript of his book while still in course of preparation; references do not always, therefore, include page numbers. Where possible, reference has been made to earlier editions.
2. Printed in V. Pineschi OP, Supplemento alla Vita del Cardinale Niccolò da Prato, (Lucca, 1758), pp.48-54.
A codicil of the same year exists. See Paravicini Bagliani, pp.427-37.
3. 13th century copy of will (made before departure for Council of Lyons): Lucca, Archivio di Stato, Fondo Diplomatico di S. Romano, 17 March 1274. Extracts printed in E. Lazzareschi OP, 'L'Ultima Volontà di Fr. Pietro Angiorelli, Vescovo Domenicano di Lucca', MD, 46 (1929), pp.112ff.
Records of further legacies made by Angiorelli in Lyons, 13,15,16 May 1274, confirmation of legacies to S. Romano, made by Paganello, bishop of Lucca, 6 February 1277: transcribed in F.V. di Poggio, Aneddoti e altre memorie riguardanti la religione domenicana, (unpublished MS), ff.176-7.
4. Will of October 1298, codicil of November 1298: Bologna, Archivio di Stato, fondo S. Domenico, 7410, R.P.A.28.
5. Printed in T. Kaeppli OP, 'Dalle pergamene di S. Maria in Gradi di Viterbo', AFP, 33 (1963), pp.244-5.
6. QE, I, p.354 (and in Paravicini Bagliani).
7. Paravicini Bagliani, p.75.
8. Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Reg. Vat.37, f.20v. See Paravicini Bagliani.
9. Caccia, p.35.
10. Paravicini Bagliani, pp.268-70.
Malabranca was granted Licentiae Testandi in 1278,1285,1287, see Paravicini Bagliani, p.55.
11. Caccia, p.109.
12. See Kaeppli, 'Viterbo', p.246.

13. E.g. see Teodorico Borgognoni's donatio inter vivos of 1298, concerning gifts to S. Romano, Lucca, made shortly before his death, 'Sciens igitur scriptum esse quod ad locum unde exeunt flumina revertuntur ...', printed by F.V. di Poggio OP in Miscellanea Stephani Baluzii, ed. J.D. Mansi (Lucca, 1764), vol.IV, pp.607-9.
14. Acta Cap. Gen. (1233). MOPH, 3, p.4.
15. Acta Cap. Gen. (1255). MOPH, 3, p.72.
16. MOPH, 3, p.39.
17. I should like to thank Agostino Paravicini Bagliani for discussing this point with me. He considers that since there was no fixed formula for the central inventory in a will, and since the notary often seems to have known the cardinal in question quite well, the tastes and character of the testator were probably often reflected, albeit at second hand, in the particular form of his will.
18. 15th century copy of will: MS. Vat.Lat.14064, f.6v. Printed by Paravicini Bagliani.
19. Paravicini Bagliani, passim.
20. Paravicini Bagliani, pp.402-9.
21. Par.14. Duchesne, Cardinaux, II, p.232.
22. Par.40. Duchesne, II, p.234.
23. Par.37. Ibid.
24. Par.40. Ibid.
25. Fineschi, Supplemento, p.50. In a note Fineschi discusses whether or not the object is indeed a paliotto.
26. Duchesne, II, p.233.
27. Par.37. Duchesne, II, p.234.
28. Pars.3,4,5. Duchesne, II, p.231.
29. Duchesne, II, p.235.
30. Caccia, pp.36-7.
31. Caccia, pp.39-41; Perugia, Biblioteca Augusta, MS.1141, f.5r.
32. Listed in Humbert of Romans, De Officiis Ordinis, see esp. De officio depositariorum ... procuratoris ... consiliariorum ... eleemosynarii.
33. Caccia, p.69. (The death date is added in a 16th century hand).

34. Douais, Acta Capitulorum, p.132.
35. Provence province. Douais, p.19.
36. Roman province. MOPH, 20, pp.1,4,3,5-6.
37. Roman province, 1275. MOPH, 20, p.45.
38. Acta Cap. Gen., 1274, 1312. MOPH, 3, p.174, MOPH, 4, p.59.
39. Roman province, 1316, 1322, 1294. MOPH, 20, pp.199,223,116.
40. Acta Cap. Gen., 1319, 1320. MOPH, 4, pp.116,123.
41. BOP, I, p.470.
42. Florence, Archivio di Stato, Diplomatico di S. Maria Novella, 12 November 1297, 28 August 1300, 26 July 1305, 6 November 1308.
43. Florence, Archivio di Stato, Diplomatico di S. Domenico, Arezzo, 23 August 1300.
44. The fundamental work on Dominican poverty, Lambermond, Armutsgedanke, places the decline in the observance of poverty rather later. For example, Lambermond interprets the bull Mare Magnum, 28 March 1261, (BOP, I, pp.405-8) as the original permission for the Order to receive revenues to pay for liturgical vestments, vessels and so on, and emphasises the decade of the 1260s as the beginning of laxity (Lambermond, pp.76ff.) whereas a careful reading of Mare Magnum shows it to be purely a reminder to bishops not to impose the decimo, and study of chapter legislation demonstrates the financial capability of individuals within the Order by the 1240s.
45. See G. Boccolini, La Madonna e il crocifisso di Bevagna. Sculture lignee medioevali, (Urbino, 1968).
46. Caccia, p.76.
47. See above, chapter 2, p.90 and note 85.
48. See below, chapter 4, p.172 and note 24.
49. Printed in Humbert, Opera, II, pp.179-371.
50. Cap.35, Humbert, Opera, II, pp.331-3.
51. Humbert, II, p.333.
52. Cap.3, Humbert, II, p.204.
53. Thomas, Constituties, p.367.
54. Cap.21, Humbert, II, p.285.
55. E.g. see above, chapter 2, p.90 and note 85.

56. E.g. 1258. MOPH, 3, p.93.
57. Humbert, II, p.209.
58. Humbert, II, p.332.
59. Cap.10, Humbert, II, pp.249,251-3.
60. Ibid.
61. Humbert, II, pp.247-53.
62. Humbert, II, p.252.
63. Humbert, II, p.253. This was the case in Florence, see Orlandi, Necrologio, II, p.159.
64. Humbert, II, p.282.
65. Douais, Acta Capitulorum, p.92.
66. MOPH, 3, p.111.
67. Ibid.
68. Humbert, II, pp.247-53.
69. Humbert, II, pp.201-9.
70. E.g. 1252, 1258. MOPH, 3, pp.64,93.
71. Cap.36, iii, Humbert, II, p.336.
72. Bonaini, p.487.
73. The gift is recorded in an inscription on the façade. See G. Corallini, La Chiesa di S. Caterina in Pisa, dalle origini ad oggi, (Pisa, 1965), pp.4,34.
74. The modest masonry fronts of S. Domenico, Arezzo and S. Domenico, Spoleto may possibly have been finished in the period. The marble facades of the Florence and Prato churches were not completed in the 14th century. Wealthy houses such as S. Maria a Gradi, Viterbo, may have had completed façades which are now lost.
75. The workmen may have come from Carrara as well: compare the S. Caterina façade with that of the Carrara Duomo.
76. Bonaini, p.500.
77. The crystal cross may have been chosen in emulation of the Pisan Franciscans; a Venetian cross with the kneeling St. Francis represented at the base still exists in S. Niccolò, Pisa. See P. Toesca, Il Trecento, (Turin, 1951), p.1073, fig.763.
78. See below, chapter 7(b), p.250, note 92.
79. Orlandi, Necrologio, I, p.89.

80. Orlandi, I, p.459, II, p.529.
81. Orlandi, II, appendix ii, doc.xx. The frescoes were later covered by the subsequent Ghirlandaio cycle, but a few fragments have been recovered from the vault. See Offner, Corpus, IV, 1, pp.iv,v,8 and note 4, 25 and note 5. Previously there was some (purely decorative) ducento painting in the cappella maggiore. See Wilkins (article cited below, note 212), p.159 and note 79.
82. E.g. see Orlandi, II, appendix ii, doc.xxiv. See also Orlandi, I, pp.456-7.
83. Orlandi, I, pp.399-400.
84. Orlandi, I, pp.351-4.
85. Orlandi, I, p.373. (He gives no reference but Borghigiani seems to be the source.)
86. Humbert, Opera, II, pp.249-52. Humbert's description is of particular interest since it was he who gave the Dominican liturgy its definitive form.
87. Humbert's description - a short tobalia covering the top of the altar, a longer tobalia reaching almost to the ground on both sides, a palla covering almost all the upper part of the altar, a corporale and a large cover for the altar when the other covers were not in use - seems to correspond to contemporary practice. J. Braun, Die liturgischen Paramente in Gegenwart und Vergangenheit, (Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1924), shows that the situation was fluid. He says (p.186) that the 1289 Synod of Rodez stipulated five coverings for the altar. On the other hand Durandus only mentions two coverings - duplici mappa - and other synods of 1287 and 1300 also mention a minimum of two coverings. Smaller churches often only just reached, or fell below, this minimum requirement. In Rome there seems to have been a use of three altar coverings 'from an early date'. The date of the introduction of covers for altars not in use, is uncertain.
88. Printed by di Poggio in Miscellanea Stephani Baluzii, vol.IV, pp.600-604.
89. Di Poggio, p.602, note e.
90. 'vi eburneas, duas magnas; quarum una est nova, et alia antiqua, et tres parvas, et una est maxima pro reliquiis ubi est in summitate cristallus et alius ornatus.' (Di Poggio, p.601).
91. Di Poggio, in discussing points of Dominican dress (p.601, note g) says that '... extat in coenobio ... antiquissima S. Dominici imagi' but it is of course impossible to say when this entered the convent and how old it really was.

92. A.G. Tononi, 'Gli inventarii delle due chiese maggiori Sant' Antonio e Cattedrale di Piacenza dei secoli XII-XIV', Archivio Storico per le Province Parmensis, 1 (1892), pp. 106-8.
93. P. Guidi and E. Pellerinetti, Inventari del Vescovato della Cattedrale e di altre chiese di Lucca, Studi e Testi, 34 (Rome, 1921), pp.120-22,179-82.
94. This number can be deduced by counting those named in the 1239 inventory.
95. E. Müntz and A.L. Frothingham Jr., Il Tesoro della Basilica di S. Pietro in Vaticano, (Rome, 1883), p.11.
96. The illuminated choir books which belonged to the convent (see appendix 4) are not mentioned here since they must have been made at a somewhat later date.
97. See appendix 3.
98. See I. Taurisano OP, I Domenicani in Lucca, (Lucca, 1914), pp.221-3.
99. See above, chapter 2, pp.88ff.
100. MOPH, 3, p.170.
101. Caccia, p.76.
102. See above p. 113.
103. Duchesne, Cardinaux, II, pp.231,234.
104. See appendix 3.
105. Caccia, p.80.
106. See F. Santi, Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria. Dipinti, Sculture e Oggetti d'Arte di Età Romanica e Gotica, (Rome, 1969, pp.166-8, plates 141b,c,d,e. (Santi attributes them to Siena.)
For further references see appendix 3.
107. See C. Brandi, Duccio (Florence, 1951), pp.131,138; ill. plate 23.
108. See appendix 3.
109. See above, chapter 2, pp.88ff.
110. Orlandi, Necrologio, I, p.311. (He gives no reference for this statement.)
111. Orlandi, I, p.40.
For the altarpiece see below, chapter 7(b), pp.264-8.
112. See Orlandi, I, p.327.

113. Bonaini, p.500.
For the altarpiece see below, chapter 7(b), pp.249-58.
114. See appendix 3.
115. Toesca, Trecento, p.876, gives the following attributions:
'dalmatica ... disegno da un pittore Romano', 'stola ... un bizantineggiante senese', 'mitra ... un giottesco'.
116. C. Bertelli, 'Opus Romanum', Kunsthistorische Forschungen Otto Pächt zu ehren, (Salzburg, 1972), pp.99-117.
117. See Bertelli, pp.109-10, fig.14; L. Mortari, Il Museo Capitolare della Cattedrale di Velletri, (exhibition catalogue), (Rome, 1959), No.42, pp.52-3.
Also in the same style is a pair of orphreys for a chasuble in the Victoria and Albert Museum, Nos.7813 and A-1862, described as Italian (possibly Orvieto), 1280-1320.
118. Caccia, pp.107-9.
119. See Hinnebusch, History, p.354.
120. See E. de Bruyne, Études d'Esthétique Médiévale, (Bruges, 1946), vol.III, p.338.
121. Orlandi, Necrologio, II, pp.429-30, appendix ii, doc.xv.
122. See appendix 3, p.476.
123. See above, p.122.
124. Listed in the catalogue, appendix 1.
125. MOPL, 3, p.32.
126. MOPL, 3, p.37.
127. MOPL, 3, p.53.
128. See J. Gardner, 'Arnolfo di Cambio and Roman tomb design', BM, 115 (1973), p.424 and fig.14 for Clement IV's tomb; pp.427-8 and fig.18 for Pietro di Vico's tomb. For Rogerio Ubaldini see D. Sansoni, Il sepolcro dell' Arcivescovo Ruggieri nella chiesa di S. Maria in Gradi a Viterbo, (extract from Nuova Antologia, 16, June 1926).
129. See Gardner, 'Arnolfo di Cambio', pp.423-4, fig.13.
130. See Gardner, pp.437-8, fig.37.
131. MOPL, 3, pp.198,204.
132. Niccolò da Prato's will includes two approaches: either he wished to be buried in S. Maria Sopra Minerva, in a tomb of the same type as Cardinal Latino Malabranca's or, if he died outside Rome, he wished to be buried in a Dominican church but left

the choice of tomb type to his executors, '... ubi fiat sepultura pro nobis prout placuerit Executoribus nostris'. (Fineschi, Supplemento, p.48.)

133. Master Generals Humbert of Romans, John of Vercelli, (see Kortier, Histoire, I, p.169), Stephen of Besançon (see Taurisano, Domenicani, p.19), Cardinals Annibaldo Annibaldi (see DBI), Hugues Aycelin (Duchesne, Cardinaux, II, p.235).
134. Outside the Provincia Romana, the appearance of part of Humbert of Romans' tomb slab is known. See Humbert, Opera, I, pp.xiv-xv, ill. on p.xv.
135. See Gardner, 'Arnolfo di Cambio', p.435 and figs.32,33.
136. See J.J. Berthier, L'Église de Sainte Sabine a Rome, (Rome, 1910), p.515.
137. Duchesne, Cardinaux, II, p.235.
138. See appendix 1.
139. Lucca, Archivio di Stato, Diplomatico S. Romano, 30 November 1311. Printed in Faravicini Bagliani.
140. See Taurisano, Domenicani, p.19.
141. See Taurisano, p.28, note.1.
142. See Taurisano, pp.184-204.
143. See Orlandi, Necrologio, I, pp.230-35.
144. See Paatz, III, pp.705, 790, note 203. The statue of the Virgin and Child is not part of the original tomb.
145. For a summary of attributions see A. Carzelli, Sculture Toscane nel Duecento e nel Trecento, (Florence, 1969), pp.151-2, figs.124-6. A very battered figure of St. Peter Martyr from S. Domenico, Siena, is attributed by Carzelli (p.152, fig.127) to the same hand as the Ubertini tomb and may well have come from a similar tomb (or from a piece of church furniture.) For Ubertini's patronage see appendix 1.
146. See Gardner, 'Arnolfo di Cambio', p.438, figs.39,40.
147. See Paatz, III, pp.706,794, note 211.
148. The three tombs are discussed by W.R. Valentiner, 'Observations on Sienese and Pisan Trecento Sculpture', AB, 9 (1926-27), p.108, figs.12,13,14, who, confusing similarity of iconography and design with similarity of style, attributes all three to Agostino and Angelo da Siena. These attributions were rejected by W. Cohn Goerke, 'Sculptori Senesi del Trecento', Rivista d'Arte, 20 (1938), pp.285-6.

149. See P. Bargellini, G. Morozzi and G. Batini, Santa Reparata: La Cattedrale risorta, (Florence, 1970), pp.60-63.
150. See G. Lera, 'La Chiesa di S. Romano a Lucca', Arte Christiana, 51 (1963), p.254.
151. See above, p.132.
152. See J. Gardner, 'The Tomb of Cardinal Annibaldi by Arnolfo di Cambio', BM, 114 (1974), p.141.
153. For a summary of attributions see Garzelli, Sculpture, pp.205-7, figs.331-6. See also E. Ricci, 'Il sepolcro del B. Benedetto XI in S. Domenico di Perugia', Augusta Perusia, I (1906), pp.89-91; G.B. Ladner, Die Papstbildnisse des altertums und des mittelalters, Monumenti di Antichità Cristiana pubblicati dal Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, ser.II, 4 (Città del Vaticano, 1970), vol.II, pp.341-6. The tomb, now in the present church of S. Domenico, Perugia, was originally in the earlier Dominican church of S. Domenico.
154. See Ladner, Papstbildnisse, II, pp.342,345.
155. See above, pp.128-30, and appendix 1.
156. See above p.137. (Niccolò da Prato showed himself to be aware of the precise appearance of tombs, in his will. If he died in Rome he wished to be buried in S. Maria Sopra Minerva, 'et volumus quod ibi sepulcrum nostrum a illam formam fiat, sicut est sepultura B.M.Dom.Letini olim Episc. Ostien. ...' (Pineschi, Supplemento, p.48).)
157. SOP, I, pp.2-4.
158. Berthier, Salise, p.435.
159. See Lera, 'S. Romano', p.260.
160. See Paatz, III, pp.704,789, note 196.
161. Obligatory in the Provincia Romana from 1341. MOPH, 20, p.332.
162. See Paatz, III, pp.737,829, note 413.
163. N.g. see Pistoia, Biblioteca Porteguerri, MS.B.76, printed in S. Orlandi OP, I Domenicani a Pistoia fino al sec.XV, (Florence, 1957), pp.29-56. Hall, 'Ponte' (cited below, note 227) p.160, fig.1, provides a plan of tomb slabs beneath the tramezzo. D. Abbrescia OP and G. Lera, Chiesa di S. Romano, (Lucca, 1966), pp.60-62, use the evidence of a similar plan.
164. Dominicans were also interested (not surprisingly) in decorated bibles, with friars depicted as supplicants and with occasional Dominican scenes, as some surviving examples indicate, e.g. Gilhofer and Rauschburg Sale, Lucerne, 21-22 November 1933; H.P. Kraus, Fifty Mediaeval and

- Renaissance Manuscripts, Cat.88 (New York, 1958) No.33, pp.73-4, colour ill. p.74, plates 148-50; Sotheby's Dyson Perrins Sale, 1 December 1959, Lot 61; Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, MS.Lat.Z.6 (1859). An illuminated bible and an illuminated missal, in the possession of Dominican cardinals, are listed in appendix 4.
165. Humbert, Opera, II, pp.266-8.
166. E.g. for Florence see S. Orlandi OP, 'I Libri Corali di S. Maria Novella con miniature dei secoli XIII e XIV', MD, 82 (1965), pp.136-41.
167. Perugia, Biblioteca Augusta, MS.1141, f.29r, see U. Gnoli, Pittori e Miniatori nell'Umbria, (Spoleto, 1923), p.102.
168. Orlandi, Necrologio, I, p.55.
169. See A.M. Biscioni, Lettere di santi e beati Fiorentini, (Florence, 1736), pp.106,109.
170. Orlandi, 'Libri Corali', p.141; A. Garzelli, 'Miniature Fiorentine del Duecento', Arte Illustrata, 59 (1974), pp.339-41, considers the S. Maria Novella books were produced in the convent scriptorium, but decorated by laymen.
171. A. Melnikas, The Corpus of the Miniatures in the Manuscripts of Decretum Gratiani, Studia Gratiana, 16, 3 vols., (Rome, 1975).
172. Ill. Melnikas, Corpus, vol.I, pp.83,132.
173. Ill. Melnikas, I, p.87.
174. Ill. N. Chiarini, Museo Diocesano di Pistoia, (Florence, 1968), plate 9. (A. Conti, in the catalogue entry, p.21, attributes the work tentatively to a Pistoiese, working in the 1270s or '80s.)
175. Ill. Chiarini, Museo, plate 9.
176. See T. Kaeppli OP and H.-V. Schooner OP, Les Manuscrits médiévaux de Saint-Dominique de Dubrovnik, Institutum PP. Praedicatorum Romae ad S. Sabinae, Dissertationes Historicae, 17 (Rome, 1965), p.100.
177. V. Alce OP and A. D'Amato OP, La Biblioteca di S. Domenico in Bologna, (Florence, 1961), p.167, note 7. For examples from S. Maria Novella see Orlandi, 'Libri Corali', p.198.
178. See appendix 4, pp.483-4, for further mention of these manuscripts, which have only recently been recognised as a group.
179. E.g. the vision of Reginald of Orleans, the vision of the theologian of Toulouse, the miracle of the loaves, St. Dominic ascending the two ladders to heaven, the translation of St. Dominic (?).

180. See H.P. Kraus, Monumenta Codicum Manuscriptum, (New York, 1974), p.47, which provides the following translation, 'I, Jacobellus, called Muriolus, i.e. little Jake, called Mousiekin, of Salerno, wrote, noted, i.e. with musical notation, and illuminated this book; and it was the first work of my hands'. The Kraus catalogue assumes Jacobellus was working in Bologna, c.1270.
181. See M. Salmi, Emilia e Romagna, Tesori delle Biblioteche d' Italia, 1, ed. D. Fava, (Milan, 1932), p.289, fig.142.
182. See G. Castelfranco, 'Contributi alla Storia della miniatura Bolognese del '200', Bologna, 7 (1935), pp.11-22, for a survey of Bolognese 13th century illumination, including the dated works.
183. The 13th century illustrations which occur in a few of the Bologna Museo Civico choir books are not numerous, and probably date from after the S. Maria Novella books.
184. As Garzelli has pointed out, some artists from the S. Maria Novella choir books can be identified at work for other Tuscan centres. ('Miniature', passim.)
185. This is generally acknowledged although not usually demonstrated with the help of precise comparisons, e.g. see M. Salmi, La Miniatura Fiorentina Gotica, (Rome, 1954), p.2, 'Nella seconda metà del secolo, come in altri centri, domina a Firenze l'influsso della miniatura bolognese ...'. Garzelli minimises the importance of Bologna in the S. Maria Novella choir books and considers them a Florentine production (without suggesting where the artists may have trained).
186. Salmi, Miniatura, p.5. An opinion repeated in R. Chiarelli, I Codici Miniati del Museo di S. Marco a Firenze, (Florence, 1968), p.65, and Garzelli, 'Miniature', p.339.
187. Ill. Castelfranco, 'Contributi', fig.15. Castelfranco considers this group Bolognese rather than Cimabuesque.
188. See D.R. Gordon, Art in Umbria c.1250-c.1350, typescript Ph.D. thesis, (University of London, 1979), chap.6.
189. See A. Caleca, La Biblioteca Capitolare di Perugia, Miniatura in Umbria, 1 (Florence, 1969), p.95.
190. The other copy was in Paris. See Acta Cap. Gen., MOPH, 3, p.60.
191. Ill. P. Toesca, La Collezione di Ulrico Hoepli, Monumenti e Studi per la Storia della Miniatura Italiana, 1 (Milan, 1930), plate 43.
192. By 1345 there were 31 foundations for friars in the Provincia Romana and 11 for nuns. See QS, I, p.viii.
193. The friars were to sing the offices quickly. See Denifle, 'Constitutionen', p.197.

194. Ill. Venezia e Bizanzio, (exhibition catalogue), (Venice, 1974), No.103.
195. Caccia, pp.34-6.
196. Copy of original(?) donatio inter vivos, ASV, Fondo Domenicani, II, 42, p.15. See V.J. Koudelka OP, 'Le "Monasterium Tempuli" et la fondation Dominicaine de San Sisto', AFP, 31 (1961), p.41, note 87.
197. E.g. Bern, Historical Museum, Diptych, ill. P. Toesca, 'Un Capolavoro dell'Orificeria Veneziana', Arte Veneta, 5 (1951), p.16, fig.11.
198. Lioneschi, Supplemento, p.50.
199. Bonaini, p.537.
200. Florence, Archivio di Stato, Perg. di S. Maria Novella, 15 July 1312. Partially printed in S. Orlandi OP, 'La Madonna di Duccio di Boninsegna e il suo culto in S. Maria Novella', IB, 74 (1957), pp.208-12.
201. See Cecilia Cesarini, Miracula b. Dominici, ed. A. Walz OP, Miscellanea Pio Paschini, (Rome, 1949), I, pp.323-5; Koudelka, 'San Sisto', pp.13-19, 48-59.
202. See F.L. del Migliore, Firenze Città Nobilissima, (Florence, 1684), p.391; E. Gerspach, 'I Tabernacoli delle vie di Firenze', Rassegna Nazionale, 1 December 1904, p.508.
203. Caccia, pp.107-9.
204. See below, pp.258-62.
205. Perugia, Bib. Augusta, MS.1141, ff.41r-42v. Taddeo, who came from a 'hoble' family, was lector or prior in several houses. See also W. Bombe, Geschichte der Peruginer Malerei, (Berlin, 1912), p.41, note 2, who prints part of the description from a 16th century account which varies in some details from the original obituario.
206. See G. Kaftal, Iconography of the Saints in Central and South Italian Schools of Painting, (Florence, 1965), no.122.
207. See below, p.192.
208. See below, p.194.
209. See below, p.203.
210. See below, pp.227, 208-9.
211. J.H. Stubblebine, 'Cimabue and Duccio in S. Maria Novella', Pantheon, 31 (1973), pp.15-21, attributes the two severely damaged lunette frescoes in the Laudesi (St. Gregory) Chapel to Cimabue, claiming that Cimabue and Duccio between them produced a unified chapel decoration encompassing

both fresco and altarpiece.

D. Wilkins, 'Early Florentine Frescoes in Santa Maria Novella', *Art*, n.s.1 (1978), pp.141-74, figs.1-9,12-15, 20-22, attributes the frescoes to Duccio instead. Wilkins provides a painstaking consideration of the fragmentary remains of early frescoes in the Gondi, Laudesi, Rucellai and Ognissanti Chapels, seeking evidence for a flourishing of pre-Giottesque fresco painting in Florence. However he tends to over-emphasise the significance of his material - which is in poor condition and of a fragmentary nature - when he claims, for example, that 'These frescoes at Santa Maria Novella immeasurably enrich our conception of the early moments of Florentine fresco painting' (164) or that the Gondi and Laudesi chapels, '... reveal that a carefully conceived, iconographically consistent fresco program was already developed in the late Duecento in Florence'. The confident attributions of the Laudesi chapel work to either Cimabue or Duccio seem to me to be, given the present condition of the paintings, excessively optimistic.

212. MS.Vat.Lat.14064, f.5v.

213. See ASV, Fondo Domenicani, II, 42, pp.8,39; Masetti, p.245.

214. Ibid.

215. MOPL, 3, p.11.

216. MOPL, 3, p.13.

217. See de Bruyne, Esthétique, vol.III, p.338, note 1.

218. See Boccolini, Bevagna, passim.

219. See below, chapter 4, note 26.

220. See I. Faldi, Museo Civico di Viterbo, (Viterbo, 1955), pp.54-5, figs.35,35a; V. Martinelli, 'Su una statuetta di San Domenico a Roma, opera giovanile di Arnolfo', Scritti di Storia dell'Arte in onore di Ugo Procacci, (Milan, 1977), vol.I, p.80, notes 8 and 9.

221. De Francovich, 'Crocifisso', passim.

222. See Martinelli, 'Statuetta', pp.73-81, figs.51-4. Martinelli opposes the attribution of the piece to Fra Pasquale and proposes instead the young Arnolfo di Cambio. He is unsure of the piece's original function. See also Berthier, Église, pp.324-9, who suggests that it formed part of a 13th century ambo.

223. See Masetti, p.65. (I have not been able to trace this ruling in Reichert's edition of the chapter acts.) See also above, chapter 2, note 82.

224. Acta Cap. Gen., 1249. MOPH, 3, p.47, 'Intermedia que sunt in ecclesiis nostris inter seculares et fratres sic disponantur ubique per priores quod fratres egredientes et ingredientes de choro non possint videri a secularibus vel videre eosdem. Poterunt tamen aliquae fenestre ibidem aptari ut tempore elevationis corporis dominici possint aperiri'.
225. Pistoia, Biblioteca Porteguerri, MS.B.76, printed in Orlandi, Pistoia, pp.29-56.
226. See Berthier, Église, p.326.
227. See M.B. Hall, 'The Ponte in S. Maria Novella: The problem of the rood screen in Italy', JMOI, 37 (1974), pp.157-73, esp. pp.157-66. Ground plan showing the position of the Ponte is fig.36d. For the function of rood screens see also Id., 'The Tramezzo in S. Croce, Florence, reconstructed', AB, 56 (1974), pp.338-40.
228. 'In aliis que sunt in ecclesiis iuxta chorum fratrum a dextris et a sinistris mulieres ingredi non permittantur', Acta Cap. Gen., 1249, MOPH, 3, p.47.
'Mulieres claustrum, officinas nostras et oratorium numquam ingrediantur, nisi in consecratione ecclesie. In parasceve vero chorum poterunt intrare usque ad officium sed in ecclesia laicorum vel extra in loco determinato prior eis de deo et de spiritualibus loquatur', Thomas, Constitutes, p.316.
'Ipsius (the cantor) etiam est dare operam ne extranei nimis faciliter intrent chorum, et maxime laici, vel pueri', Humbert, Opera, II, p.242.
See also Hall, 'S. Croce', p.339, and see above, note 226.
229. Florence, Archivio di Stato, Diplomatico di S. Domenico, Arezzo, 12 August 1338.
230. See Orlandi, Pistoia, pp.37,55, note 9.
231. See Paatz, III, pp.740,830, note 421.
232. III. Berthier, Église, p.395, fig.76.

PART 3

A large part of the art of a new religious Order is propaganda. Painting and sculpture may be used to explain the character of the Order and the beliefs which it promotes, to describe the story of its foundation and of its early members and to induce the laity to patronise its churches.

The early Dominicans showed more interest and skill in some of these areas than others and this variability often sets apart the art produced for them from that produced for their fellow Mendicants, the Franciscans, who developed a much firmer grasp of the art of religious propaganda.

The third part of this thesis traces Dominican efforts in tackling the varied uses of art in the service of a new religious Order. In contrast to the preceding chapter, it is based on the detailed consideration of individual surviving objects. This approach also leads to the identification of certain recurring characteristics in art produced for the Order.

CHAPTER 4:

THE DOMINICANS AND THE ARTS BEFORE THE COUNCIL OF LYONS

Before the Council of Lyons (1274) the Dominicans were occupied with the problems of establishing convents and building or adapting and equipping churches for their own use. They were also fighting for their survival. After 1274 their position was more secure (as discussed above, chapter 1⁽¹⁾). At the same time the patterns of patronage discussed in the preceding section show that from the late 13th century onwards spending habits began to change, as far as art was concerned.⁽²⁾ Thus both the general circumstances of the Order and of its art patronage suggest that the period before Lyons, when only a handful of painted or sculpted works were produced for the members of the Order, has some claim to be considered separately.

The Arca di S. Domenico.

The Arca di S. Domenico, despite its location in Bologna, outside the Provincia Romana, is essential to any consideration of art connected with the Dominicans of central Italy. It is one of the earliest examples of Italian art acquired by the Order, a rare example of 'corporate' Dominican patronage, executed by artists who normally worked within the area of the Provincia Romana. The vicissitudes of Dominic's burial place and tomb aptly illustrate the changing attitudes to expenditure, display and art within the Order, already discussed in the preceding chapters, while the design of the 1267 Arca contains the germ of much that was to become typical of art executed for the Order, and underlines the negative effect which the character of St. Dominic and his life had on that art.⁽³⁾

The First Tomb.

When Dominic died in Bologna in 1221, he was buried beneath the feet of the friars, as he had requested,⁽⁴⁾ at the entrance to the choir.⁽⁵⁾ His grave was covered by a heavy, undecorated stone slab, cemented in at floor level.⁽⁶⁾ Almost immediately the population

of Bologna, grateful for miracles and cures, began to suspend wax ex votos representing eyes, hands, feet and so on, above the tomb.⁽⁷⁾ The early friars, horrified by this violation of the spirit of Dominic's life and teaching, removed these signs of devotion and virtually succeeded in smothering the nascent cult.⁽⁸⁾ Unlike the Franciscans, the Dominicans preferred to place the emphasis on the whole Order rather than on its founder.

The Second Tomb.

By the 1230s the atmosphere has apparently changed, for the Order began to press to have its founder canonised. Growing difficulties with the secular clergy may have suggested the wisdom of stressing the sanctity of Dominic - and thus of the whole Order. Perhaps the canonisation of a second Franciscan saint, Anthony of Padua, in 1232, helped to influence the Dominican point of view.⁽⁹⁾

Jordan of Saxony, second master general of the Order, wrote to the Bologna friars, rebuking them for their quite unnecessary caution in removing offerings from the tomb of Dominic, thereby causing his memory to be forgotten.⁽¹⁰⁾ Petrus Ferrandus, when describing the decision to translate Dominic's body, taken in the general chapter of 1233, seems to have forgotten that the founder actually requested a humble burial, when he says that it was considered 'unworthy that his bones should be hidden in the ground, lying under people's feet'.⁽¹¹⁾ Humbert of Romans makes even clearer the deliberate attempt to encourage the cult of Dominic by providing a more visible tomb,

'... since it was no longer possible to hide the sanctity of the blessed man, his body, originally buried in a humble place, had to be transferred with honour to a higher one, in order to lead the devotion of the faithful in a worthy way.' ⁽¹²⁾

The appearance of this second tomb can to some extent be reconstructed from contemporary and near-contemporary sources. It was made of marble,⁽¹³⁾ reached some distance above floor level⁽¹⁴⁾ and had a flat top.⁽¹⁵⁾ Galvano Fiamma, a later but generally reliable source, says the tomb was obtained by Jordan, the master general and Stephen, prior provincial, and that it bore no sculpted image.⁽¹⁶⁾

Jordan's campaign ended successfully with the canonisation of Dominic in 1234. However the new saint does not seem to have become especially popular, even within his own Order. In 1250 the general chapter had to urge all priors and friars to encourage the dedication of churches to St. Dominic, as much within the Order as outside it - apud se quam apud alios.⁽¹⁷⁾ The 1247 Roman Province chapter acts, and 1254 and 1256 general chapter acts, instruct all convents to ensure Dominic's feast is written into the calendar and that an image - ymago - of the saint is displayed in church.⁽¹⁸⁾ This piece of legislation seems to have been largely ignored. In contrast to the considerable number of panels of St. Francis which survive, there exists only a single panel of St. Dominic from the Roman Province.⁽¹⁹⁾

The Order also tried to foster the saint's cult by providing new writings about his life. Following the first life of St. Dominic, Jordan of Saxony's Libellus, written shortly before the canonisation, a series of further versions were commissioned, to the accompaniment of requests in the general chapter acts for new information to be supplied by members of the Order.⁽²⁰⁾ Petrus Ferrandus, Constantine of Orvieto, Humbert of Romans, Bartholomew of Trent, Stephen of Bourbon, Thomas of Cantimpré and Gerard Frachet all wrote lives of St. Dominic before 1260, but the majority of these works were simply re-arrangements of previous sources, containing little new material; evidently there was no flourishing oral tradition concerning St. Dominic in the middle of the 13th century.⁽²¹⁾

The Third Tomb.

The saint's lack of popularity probably helps to explain the commissioning of a third tomb by 1265, only thirty years after the completion of the second one.⁽²²⁾ The Order probably saw the new Arca as a further means of promoting his cult. Even if there was currently little success in this particular field, the richness of the Arca, designed by the finest sculptor available, does reflect a period of confidence for the Order as a whole. Massive affirmations of privileges, which in particular helped the Order's financial position, appeared in the bulls Mare Magnum issued by Alexander IV in 1261 and Clement IV in 1265.⁽²³⁾

In 1265 an appeal was made to every member of the Order, via the general chapter, for funds to complete the tomb.⁽²⁴⁾ The chapter acts refer to the Arca as 'structura solempnis ... ad honorem beati Dominici' - a thoroughly approving tone for something which, not that long before, would have been regarded as a quite unjustifiable extravagance. Since the Arca was complete by 1267⁽²⁵⁾ the Order evidently contributed, thus making the tomb one of the few examples of corporate Dominican patronage. Moreover one of Nicola Pisano's probable assistants on the tomb, Fra Guglielmo, was himself a Dominican.⁽²⁶⁾

Dominic's third tomb was an elaborate work whose precise reconstruction is still a point of debate. The tomb chest is embellished with six scenes, two on each long side and one on each short side, divided by standing figures. A general chapter ruling of 1335, stating that the Arca di S. Pietro Martire in Milan should follow the design of the Arca di S. Domenico, indicates that this tomb chest was originally supported by caryatids as S. Peter Martyr's still is.⁽²⁷⁾ Two such groups (in the Bargello, Florence and in Boston) and two single figures (in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London) have at various times been proposed as parts of the original structure. A reconstruction drawing published by Pope-Hennessy, even if open to doubt in some details, will be used here as a guide to the Arca's initial appearance.⁽²⁸⁾ (fig.74)

The original site of the Arca is also uncertain. Berthier implies that it lay on a (liturgical) North-South axis, near the division between the friars' choir and the nave, and believes that the side which now faces forwards (liturgical North) originally faced the laity (liturgical West).⁽²⁹⁾

The use of an elevated chest for the tomb of a monastic founder, or indeed any saint, is unusual at this date. The general Italian practice had been to hide venerated bodies and relics away in crypts or behind screens and enclosures: even St. Francis was probably buried in this way.⁽³⁰⁾ The Dominicans chose to make their founder's tomb visible and accessible to pilgrims.

The Programme of the Arca di S. Domenico.

It is instructive to analyse how the Arca, so closely connected

with the policies of the Order, represents the founder: it stresses Dominic's role within the Order rather than as an individual saint.

There is a difference between the reliefs on the back and front of the Arca in both form and content. Those on the front, apparently intended to be seen by the faithful visiting the shrine of the saint,⁽³¹⁾ have simple compositions with long rows of figures on the same level, easily read at a distance, representing two of Dominic's miracles: the Raising of Napoleone Orsini (fig.80) and the Miracle of the Books (fig.81). The scenes on the back, five instead of two, have far more complicated interlocking compositions, based on diagonal lines, and deal with the approbation of the Dominican Order (figs.76,77). This side was perhaps intended to be seen by the friars seated in their raised choir, and from closer to.

The story of the approbation of the Order starts on the right side of the tomb chest. (fig.75) Heavenly approbation is shown in the vision in which Sts. Peter and Paul appeared to St. Dominic and handed him the book and the staff, indicating the teaching and preaching mission of the new Order.⁽³²⁾ To the right of this scene, hardly separated from it, in a representation which appears only on the Arca, Dominic is shown handing the book - in other words orthodox teaching - to a kneeling Dominican. Thus Dominic is shown as one who transmits rather than originates, essentially forming a link between heavenly agents and the rest of the Order.

On the back of the Arca the story of blessed Reginald of Orleans is shown. (fig.76) Master Reginald, who for five years held the chair of Canon Law at Paris, fell ill, decided to join the Dominican Order and received a vision in which the Virgin showed him the Dominican habit. Reginald recovered and became an important member of the Order, living in the university towns of Paris and Bologna.⁽³³⁾ These scenes indicate heavenly approval for the Order, specifically its habit, and show that important figures from the university world were welcomed into the Order by Dominic - a suitable point to press in Bologna.

The second group of scenes on the back of the tomb chest (fig.77) show official ecclesiastical approval for the Order: the Pope (Innocent III) issues a bull in favour of the Order, dreams that Dominic is supporting the Lateran and confirms the Order and its chosen Rule (in the last case the pope is presumably Honorius III).⁽³⁴⁾

Apparently the iconographic stock of the Order was so small that it was obliged to borrow the scene of the saint supporting the Lateran, which does not appear in early written versions of Dominic's life, from depictions of the life of St. Francis (fig.78).⁽³⁵⁾

The left side of the Arca shows a miracle of St. Dominic in which bread for the convent was provided by two mysterious figures, when none had been found that day by begging.⁽³⁶⁾ (fig.79) The scene implies divine approval for the Dominican practice of voluntary poverty. Iconographically it echoes the Last Supper. Several scenes in the life of St. Francis imply a parallel between the saint and Christ; this is the only scene using similar implications for Dominic, and it is not without significance that the parallel chosen emphasises the eucharist and Christ's relation with His apostles, in order to make a comment on Dominic's relation with his friars, and the Dominican mission to teach the orthodox meaning of the eucharist in the world.

Even on the front of the Arca, where Dominic's miraculous and therapeutic powers - more traditional attributes of a saint - are stressed, the Miracle of the Books, (fig.81) in which Dominic's book leaps from the flames while that of the heretic burns, again indicates divine approval for the orthodox teaching of the Dominicans.⁽³⁷⁾

Scenes of the saint's birth, death or entry into heaven - popular material for cycles of a saint's life - are not included on the Arca. On the other hand, the theme of orthodox teaching is underlined by the choice of the individual dividing and supporting figures. The long sides of the tomb chest are divided by representations of the Virgin and Child and of the Redeemer.⁽³⁸⁾ At the four corners stand the four doctors of the church, who helped prepare the orthodox doctrine concerning the worship of Christ and the Virgin.⁽³⁹⁾ The caryatid figures include six deacons, representatives of the orthodox church service,⁽⁴⁰⁾ three archangels - divine messengers - and probably the three theological virtues.⁽⁴¹⁾

Dominic's third tomb was infinitely more lavish than the makers of his first tomb would have approved, but the light in which he is shown does not entirely contradict their beliefs. He is shown as the essential Dominican, the agent of the Order, rather than as a miracle-working leader. The introduction to Jordan of Saxony's Libellus bears out this interpretation:

'At the request of a good number of friars who wanted to know ... how the Order ... was founded, who were the early friars of the Order and how it grew, ... here is an account recorded from the early friars, who lived with and heard master Dominio, blessed servant of Christ, founder, master and brother of this religious society ...'. (42)

In other words, the Libellus is to be an account of all the early friars, among whom Dominic happens to be the most important. In a way this is the reverse of the position of St. Francis within his Order and its art, where the attributes and life of the original founding saint become the pattern which every member should take as his first duty to imitate.

Dominican Panel Paintings Executed before the Council of Lyons.

In addition to the Arca a small group of panel paintings can be assembled as representatives of pre-Lyons Dominican interest in art.

Three panel paintings can be confidently placed in a pre-1274 central Italian Dominican milieu: the Madonna Avvocata from S. Sisto Vecchio, now in the convent of the Rosario on Monte Mario, Rome, (43) (fig.18) the twice-repainted panel of St. Dominic now in the Fogg Museum (44) (fig.84) and the reliquary shutters from the shrine of Beato Andrea Gallerani in S. Domenico, Siena. (45) (figs.112,113) Giunta Pisano's signed crucifix in S. Domenico, Bologna (and possibly the crucifix in S. Domenico, Arezzo, attributed to Cimabue) also date from before 1274. (46) (figs.159,160)

To this list can be added, with varying degrees of certainty, a tabernacle from the Jarves Collection now at Yale, (47) (fig.182) a panel of the Virgin and Child enthroned with Sts. Dominic and Maximinus of Provence, attributed to the Magdalen Master, present location unknown (48) (fig.82) and a lost panel of St. Dominic from S. Maria Novella, dated by Fineschi to the 13th century. (49) (fig.85)

Outside central Italy a panel from S. Maria della Purificazione, Bologna, depicting Dominic's Miracle of the Loaves (50) (fig.111) and a casket formerly in the Von Hirsch Collection, Basel, (51) (fig.83) may also date from before 1274.

These pre-Lyons works are discussed further in the chapters which follow, divided according to subject matter: representations of Dominican saints; crucifixes and crucifixion scenes; depictions of the Virgin and Child.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 4

1. See above, pp.34-6.
2. See above, pp.152-3.
3. Dominic's first, second and third tombs were discussed at some length in J.J. Berthier OP, Le Tombeau de Saint Dominique, (Paris, 1895). However, since the implications of these three burials have never been fully considered by art historians, a reconsideration of available sources seems permissible.
4. '... unus fratrum tunc interrogavit eum, et dixit ei: Pater ubi vultis sepeliri corpus vestrum? Et ipse dixit: Sub pedibus fratrum', Acta Canonizationis, p.151.
5. The precise location is not known. Bartholomew of Trent, Vita S. Patris Dominici, (composed 1245/51) AASS, August, I, p.561, par.13, says that he was buried somewhere between two altars, '... eum in ecclesia Sancti Nicolai, quae nunc suo nomine intitulatur, inter duo altaria sepelivit.' Bartholomew of Breganze, bishop of Vicenza, who preached at Dominic's 1267 translation, implies in the sermon that the first tomb was at the entrance to the choir, 'Ad primum translatus fuit (Dominicus) de limine templi', printed by Berthier, Tombeau, p.149. Berthier himself (p.11) suggests that the tomb was behind the high altar at the entrance to the choir, and in front of a second altar situated at the end of the choir.
6. Jordan of Saxony describes the first tomb during his account of the first translation (written by 1236), 'Lapis duriori cemento sepulcro compaginatus aufertur, et erat de suptus capsula lignea terre subfossa', Libellus, p.86.
7. Jordan, Libellus, pp.72,83.
8. Jordan, pp.72,82-4.
9. The rebuilding of the Bologna church on a slightly different site, leaving Dominic's tomb exposed to the elements, doubtless also influenced the decision. See Jordan, p.84.
10. Litterae Encycloiae, p.2.
11. Petrus Ferrandus, Legenda Sancti Dominici (composed 1237/42), ed. M-H Laurent OP, MOPH, 16 (Rome, 1935), p.246, 'Indignum quidem videbatur ut eius ossa humanis subiecta pedibus humus tegeret, ...'.
12. Humbert of Romans, Legenda Sancti Dominici (composed by 1254), appendix, par.2, ed. A. Walz, MOPH, 16 (Rome, 1935), p.424, '... cum non posset ulterius beati viri sanctitas occultari fidelium dignum duxit devotio, corpus eius humili prius loco repositum, ad altiorem debito cum honore transferre.'

13. Jordan, Libellus, p.87, 'Delatum est corpus ad monumentum marmoreum ...'.
14. Ferrandus, Legenda, p.246, '... corpus eius humili loco depositum in locum transferre reverencius altiozem'. See also Humbert, cited above, note 12. Galvano Fiamma, Chronica Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum (composed some time after 1333), ed. B.M. Reichert OP, MOPH, 2, i (Rome/Stuttgart, 1897), p.100, calls it an archa.
15. Ferrandus, Legenda, p.255, relates the story of a certain Guillaume Alacre, who was cured of fever by going to the church of S. Nicolò, Bologna and lying super lapidem sepulture beati Dominici, which must presumably have had a flat top.
16. Fiamma, Chronica, p.88, '... magister Iordanis cum fratre Stephano Provinciali procuraverunt unum tumulum de marmore, ubi non erat aliqua ymago sculpta, satis pulcrum'. For the earliest mention of the new tomb, the motives for ordering it and delay in obtaining it, see Jordan, Libellus, par.124-5; pp.84-5.
17. MOPH, 3, p.53.
18. '... quilibet prior studeat habere imaginem b. Dominici in domo sua', Acta Cap. Prov. Rom., (1247), MOPH, 20, p.7.
'... Priores et alii fratres ouram habeant diligentem quod nomen beati Dominici et beati Petri martiris in kalendariis et in litanis scribantur et picture fiant in ecclesiis ...', Acta Cap. Gen., (1254), MOPH, 3, p.70.
'... Apponatur diligencia quod festum beati Dominici et beati Petri ubique celebretur et quod ymages eorum in locis congruentibus depingantur ...', (1256), MOPH, 3, p.81.
19. See below, chapter 5.
20. e.g., '... Fratres qui sciunt vel scient in antea aliqua miracula pertinencia ad beatum Dominicum vel beatum Petrum que non sunt scripta priori Bononiensi scribant pertinencia ad beatum Dominicum ...', Acta Cap. Gen. (1255), MOPH, 3, pp.76-7.
21. For a summary of 13th century versions of the legend of St. Dominic see M-H Vicaire OP, Saint Dominique de Caleruega d'après les documents du XIIIe siècle, (Paris, 1955), pp.15-24, esp. p.22.
22. A request for funds for the completion of the Arca made in the general chapter of 1265 (see below, note 24) makes it clear that work was underway by this date.
The Arca is generally attributed to Nicola Pisano and assistants, possibly including Arnolfo da Cambio, Fra Guglielmo and perhaps Lapo. See C. Gnudi, Nicola Arnolfo Lapo, (Florence, 1948), passim. (Includes extensive photographic coverage).
See also S. Bottari, 'L'Arca di S. Domenico in Bologna', Scritti di Storia dell'Arte in Onore di Mario Salmi,

(Rome, 1961), I, pp.391-415, which supplies a useful bibliography in the footnotes, (reprinted as chapter I of L'Arca di S. Domenico in Bologna, (Bologna, 1964); C.C. Malvasia, Le Pitture di Bologna, 1686, photographic reprint, ed. A. Emiliani, Fonti e Studi per la Storia di Bologna e delle Provincie Emiliane, 1, (Bologna, 1969), pp.147-9.

For a recent discussion of antique influences on the style of the Arca see M. Seidel, 'Studien zur Antikenrezeption Nicola Pisanos', MKIF, 19 (1975), pp.345-53.

23. BOP, 1, pp.405-408, 452-3.
24. 'Rogamus priores et fratres universos quod cum ad honorem beati Dominici patris nostri fiat Bononie structura solempnis si de alcuius pecunie dispensacione vel aliunde honeste aliquod subsidium impertiri voluerint illud priori Bononiensi transmittant ne propter defectus expensarum opus remaneat incompletum', MOPH, 3, p.130.
25. The translation took place on 5 June 1267 at the time of the General Chapter. See the eye-witness account by Bartolomeo of Breganze printed in M. Piò OP, Delle Vite degli Huomini Illustri di S. Domenico, revised ed., (Bologna, 1620), cols.116-25.
26. First stated in the late 14th century obituary list of S. Caterina, Pisa, ed. Bonaini, pp.467-63. Discussed by Gnudi, Nicola, pp.11-12, 17-19; Bottari, 'L'Arca', pp.391-4.
27. '... in forma et materia simile per omnia sepulcro beati Dominici ...', MOPH, 4, p.233.
28. J. Pope-Hennessy, 'The Arca of St. Dominic: A Hypothesis', BM, 93 (1951), pp.347-51. Bottari, 'L'Arca', pp.397-402, discusses the various reconstructions.
29. Berthier, Tombeau, p.23, n.1, '... le tombeau resta placé entre le chœur des religieux et la nef des fidèles ... Nous croyons bien que la face aujourd'hui tournée du côté des fidèles l'était déjà alors ... derrière le tombeau se trouvait le chœur des religieux, et le Christ (i.e. the side which is currently the back) regardait le chœur.' Berthier (pp.8, 23, n.1, 24) assumes that the Arca was in the same position as the second tomb, which he supposes to have been in the nave, in front of the friars' choir, on the women's (South) side of the church, near the altar for the faithful. Alce, Convento, p.154, also concludes that the second tomb was in a different position from the first tomb, to the west of the choir screen, in a side aisle, and shows the third tomb in this position in his ground plan of the 13th century church and convent (tav.15) based on a sepultuario written in 1291 (Archivio del Convento di S. Domenico in Bologna, Sepulture, 1). Alce's ground plan appears to show the Arca parallel to and abutting the south aisle wall. He does not give the text of the sepultuario upon which this arrangement may be based, but it seems most unlikely that a

new monument, sculpted on all four sides, and probably moved to the nave aisle to facilitate circulation for pilgrims without disturbing the friars, would have been built up against the wall.

30. I should like to thank Giulia Barone and Diederik Schönau for sharing with me their views on the original character of St. Francis' tomb.
31. See above, note 29.
32. For convenience, references for episodes in Dominic's legend will be made only to the composite text, translated into French, made by Vicaire from 13th century lives of Dominic. Vicaire, Documents, pp.62-3.
33. Vicaire, pp.68-70,75-6.
34. Vicaire, pp.62-3.
35. See Mandonnet, Saint Dominique, vol. I, pp.158-9, where the inclusion of the event in Dominic's life is called purement légendaire and the earliest Dominican version (Constantine of Orvieto, composed 1246-7) is shown to be borrowed from a Franciscan text (Il Celano, composed 1244-46). The Arca version of the scene (fig.77) can be traced to a specific Franciscan prototype: the Dream of Innocent III in the cycle attributed to the Maestro di S. Francesco in the Lower Church, S. Francesco, Assisi. (fig.78) Only in these two versions of the scene is the pope shown gesturing towards the vision with open hands, while St. Francis or St. Dominic support the Lateran on their backs, rather than on their shoulders, heads bent forwards, left elbow tucked into the waist, left arm lying along the thigh and hand braced against a bent left knee which takes the main weight of the body. Since the scene is Franciscan in origin and was often used in Franciscan art but rarely in Dominican art, and since the Arca is the earliest Dominican example, the Dominican version was almost certainly derived from the S. Francesco fresco. This provides a terminus ante quem of 1267 (or possibly as early as 1265) for the Lower Church Assisi frescoes, (five years before the crucifix from S. Francesco al Prato, now in the Galleria Nazionale Perugia) and establishes another fixed point in the career of the Maestro di S. Francesco, in representations of the life of St. Francis and in the decoration of S. Francesco Assisi.
36. Vicaire, Documents, pp.86-7. Sometimes the miracle is described as having taken place in Rome, sometimes in Bologna.
37. Vicaire, pp.40-42. (This composition may also owe something to a Franciscan prototype: St. Francis' Trial by Fire before the Sultan.)
38. The bearded, long-haired male dividing figure is always identified as the Redeemer although the type is an unusual one, (e.g. Berthier, Tombeau, p.23).

39. Berthier (pp.84-6) and most later writers, identify the corner figures thus, although, puzzlingly, one of them is dressed as a Dominican. (fig.79) Berthier identifies this figure as Jerome, but perhaps it is Augustine, whose Rule was followed by the Dominicans and who was himself regarded as the founder of another Order of friars. The dividing figures on the Arca di S. Pietro Martire include the four doctors of the church, plus St. Thomas Aquinas and St. Eustorgio. Ill. R. Cipriani, G.A. dell'Acqua, F. Russoli, La Cappella Portinari (Milan, 1963), figs.24-29.
40. Their attributes are itemised by Seidel, 'Antikenrezeption', p.347.
41. See Pope-Hennessy, 'The Arca', passim.
42. Jordan, Libellus, p.25.
43. 715 x 425mm.
C. Bertelli, 'L'immagine del "Monasterium Tempuli" dopo il restauro', AFP, 31 (1961), pp.82-111. (He dates the icon to the 8th or 9th century). See also above, p.146 and below, p.235.
44. 1150 x 615 mm.
J. Stubblebine, Guido da Siena, (Princeton, 1964), pp.84-7;
C. Gomez-Moreno, E.H. Jones, A.K. Wheelock Jr., M. Meiss, 'A Sienese St. Dominic modernized twice in the thirteenth century', AB, 51 (1969), pp.363-5.
45. 1215 x 710 mm.
P. Bacci, 'Il Maestro del Beato Gallerani', in Dipinti Inediti e Sconosciuti di Pietro Lorenzetti, Bernardo Daddi ecc., (Siena, 1939), pp.1-32; Stubblebine, Guido da Siena, pp.69-71.
46. For these, and other Dominican crucifixes, see Chapter 6.
47. Centre panel: 229 x 189 mm. Wings: each 210 x 89 mm.
Provenance: James Jarves Jackson Collection, Florence.
See C. Seymour Jr., Early Italian Paintings in the Yale University Art Gallery, (New Haven and London, 1970), pp.11-13.
48. 1750 x 870 mm.
G. Coor, 'A Neglected Work by the Magdalen Master', BM, 89 (1947), pp.119-29, plate 1; Garrison, Index, no.177, p.79.
49. V. Fineschi OP, Memorie Istoriche degli uomini illustri del Convento di S. Maria Novella di Firenze, (Florence, 1790), p.xxviii.
50. Height varies from 370-390 mm. Total length: 4920 mm.
Garrison, Index, no.606, p.222, calls it 13th century Bolognese.

51. Height: 152 mm. Width: 130 mm. Length: 285 mm.
Provenance: ex Volkonsky Collection Rome, 'Former owner reported to de Jerphanion that coffer had come from a North Italian town', Garrison, no.625, p.227. Sold Von Hirsch sale, Sotheby's, 22.6.78, lot.263.

CHAPTER 5:

THE REPRESENTATION OF DOMINICAN SAINTS.

The Fogg St. Dominic Panel.

The twice-repainted panel of St. Dominic now in the Fogg Museum (fig.84) - the earliest surviving representation of St. Dominic on panel⁽¹⁾ - may come from the church of S. Domenico, Siena.⁽²⁾ Although the provenance of the work cannot be traced back beyond a private collection in Tuscany at the beginning of this century,⁽³⁾ there are grounds for arguing that the panel once stood in the Sienese Dominican church: the second repainting of the panel - the layer now visible - has been attributed to a Sienese hand of c.1280-35⁽⁴⁾ and the retooling to Ugolino da Siena,⁽⁵⁾ so the painting must have been kept in an area in which Sienese painters were working in both the last quarter of the 13th and first quarter of the 14th centuries.⁽⁶⁾ The dearth of panels of St. Dominic and the saint's lack of widespread general popularity indicate that the work was probably made for a Dominican church. The intervention of Ugolino da Siena in such a minor capacity, suggests that the work comes from a Dominican foundation for which he had executed more important work, or which was in his own home town - in other words S. Maria Novella, Florence (for which Ugolino executed a lost polyptych discussed in chapter 7 (b)) or S. Domenico, Siena. S. Maria Novella appears to be ruled out because of the former existence in that church of another 13th century panel of St. Dominic, recorded in an 18th century engraving. (fig.85) To judge from that engraving, the work was rather similar to the Fogg St. Dominic panel (as discussed below), but small, yet significant, details in the representation of the Dominican habit (the cowl pointing sideways and the cappa (mantle) forming a straight line across the body, rather than dividing into two loops) show that the two works are not identical. S. Domenico, Siena could well have invited a local artist, even if an important one, to undertake the retooling of the Fogg panel. The convent was certainly capable of obtaining and housing such a painting at all the operative dates.

The survival of only one large-scale panel painting of St. Dominic from the Provincia Romana underlines the failure of the Dominicans to interest their members or sympathetic lay donors in commissioning representations of the founder. Had demand been greater, painters might have found it worth their while to produce such works for stock, as was apparently the case with panels of St. Francis in Margaritone d'Arezzo's shop.⁽⁷⁾ As mentioned above, the general and Roman province chapters tried to encourage the display of representations of Dominic and Peter Martyr, generally unsuccessfully.⁽⁸⁾

On the other hand, the one work which does survive has undergone three modernisations: two of considerable areas of the paint surface and one of the halo tooling. This recurring attention, without parallel in the 13th century, may possibly indicate that the panel was cared for, perhaps also commissioned, by a lay confraternity which venerated St. Dominic.

The one other painting in a Dominican church which was repainted during the period covered by this thesis - Guido da Siena's so-called Palazzo Pubblico Madonna - comes from S. Domenico, Siena.⁽⁹⁾ The repainting of both panels may have links with confraternities. During the 13th century the Dominicans of Siena were particularly active in the encouragement of popular piety. The singing of Laudi, which was to become the central activity of many confraternities, was introduced in the Siena congregation in about 1261, spreading from there to Florence, Perugia, Pisa, Imola and many other centres.⁽¹⁰⁾ Ambrogio Sansedoni, the Sienese Dominican most concerned with the organisation of lay devotion,⁽¹¹⁾ was evidently greatly revered and admired in his native city: there is a tradition that when Sansedoni died in 1286, so many people came to S. Domenico and made offerings that the Dominicans built a new large transept for their church.⁽¹²⁾ In the following year the construction of a chapel in honour of Sansedoni - opus sumptuosum - was begun right in the middle (nel bel mezzo) of the church.⁽¹³⁾

Sansedoni was connected with two distinct confraternities: a Laudesi confraternity dedicated jointly to the Virgin and St. Dominic, for both male and female members, whose earliest surviving statutes date from 1267, and a Disciplinati confraternity, founded in about 1261, originally dedicated to S. Croce and given statutes and renamed the confraternity of St. Dominic by Ambrogio Sansedoni in about 1270.⁽¹⁴⁾

Two other convents, Orvieto and Viterbo, also had Laudesi confraternities jointly dedicated to the Virgin and St. Dominic, while at Rieti a triple dedication, to the Virgin, St. Dominic and St. Peter Martyr, existed, but none of these houses also possessed a flagellant confraternity dedicated to St. Dominic;⁽¹⁵⁾ the occurrence of two St. Dominic confraternities may be unique to Siena.

This intensity of confraternity activity, centred on the Virgin and, to an unusual degree, St. Dominic, provides a plausible background for the two repainted works. A more well-known and well-documented instance of lay patronage in a Dominican church is the Laudesi commission for Duccio's Virgin and Child in S. Maria Novella. Images could play an important part in confraternity services.⁽¹⁶⁾ Lay piety must have been a stimulus, perhaps the actual instrument, of the commissioning of another painting from S. Domenico, Siena - the reliquary shutters (attributed to the school of Guido da Siena) which almost certainly come from the shrine of the blessed Andrea Gallerani, a layman who belonged to the Dominican third order.⁽¹⁷⁾ (figs. 112-3) Gallerani was venerated for his charitable acts and posthumous miracles and although not canonised is shown on the shutters as a saint - an index of popular local devotion. Bacci convincingly suggests that the shutters may have been executed around 1274, the year in which Bernard, bishop of Siena, granted an indulgence of a year for those visiting Gallerani's tomb on Easter Monday.⁽¹⁸⁾

Neither the Fogg St. Dominic nor the Palazzo Pubblico Madonna can be proved to be works commissioned by a confraternity⁽¹⁹⁾ but bearing in mind the religious climate in S. Domenico, Siena, the link with Guido da Siena's shop which these two works and the Gallerani shutters share, the unusual size and design of each of these works at a time when most Dominicans showed little imaginative interest in panel painting, and the evidence of continued care of the works, it may be supposed that the panels of Dominic and of the Virgin and Child were entrusted to the charge of members of confraternities or of the third order, whose enthusiasm and tastes originally stimulated the purchase of the paintings.

The Dates of the Fogg St. Dominic.

Since the taking of X-ray photographs revealed two earlier paint surfaces,⁽²⁰⁾ two attempts have been made to date the various phases of the panel.

Stubblebine dated the final layer to not later than c.1290, on stylistic grounds, and attributed it to an unspecified assistant of Guido.⁽²¹⁾ He felt that the X-rays were not clear enough to permit stylistic analysis of the two earlier layers and therefore turned to other evidence for his datings. A consideration of the gabled panel-shape led him to suppose that the original work could not be earlier than the 1280s. This placed him in the awkward position of trying to fit two repaintings into the space of a single decade, but while acknowledging the difficulty, he tried to support his contention by referring to Dominican attitudes to art:

'The Dominican prohibition against decoration of all sorts during the earlier part of the 13th century strengthens the belief that such an image as the Fogg St. Dominic was not created before the 1280s'. (22)

The provincial and general chapter legislation on images discussed above are sufficient to prove him wrong here. Another argument for a late dating of the original panel, based on the amount of 'luxurious space' in which the figure is placed, also fails to convince.

Gómez-Moreno, Jones, Wheelock and Meiss were more optimistic about the usefulness of the X-ray photographs for stylistic analysis. By comparing features such as pose, gesture, dress and the treatment of eyes with, in one case, the Louvre and Pescia St. Francis panels and, in the other case, the Bardi St. Francis panel and Coppo's Siena Servite Madonna, they concluded that the original panel might date from the second quarter of the 13th century and the second phase from c.1260. A comparison with the work of Guido da Siena and a consideration of a possible completion date of certain building work at S. Domenico, indicated to them the date of c.1280-85 for the panel's final form.

While Stubblebine dates the original panel improbably late,

Sómez-Moreno et al. may be dating it too early. Stubblebine's consideration of Dominican attitudes, albeit faulty in practice, is helpful in principle. This thesis has already tried to show that early members of the Order had little time or interest to lavish on panel painting purchases. Apart from the S. Sisto Madonna Avvocata, which is a special case, no panel painting in Dominican possession can be dated earlier than the second half of the 13th century. Stylistic analysis based on X-rays does not provide sufficient grounds for proposing an exception to this rule in the case of the Fogg St. Dominic.

On the other hand, a date soon after the mid century for the original panel is attractive for several reasons. The panel may have been an isolated response to the provincial and general chapter requests for images of St. Dominic to be set up, issued in 1247 and 1254/56 respectively. Stubblebine maintained that the shape of the panel could not date from earlier than the 1280s but Garrison says the shape was in use considerably earlier, 'As a painted wooden shape it does not come into general favour until about 1260'.⁽²³⁾

If the proposed Sienese provenance for the panel is correct, the dating in the 1250s which I have suggested would fit conveniently with the history of the Sienese house. From 1226 onwards some Dominican buildings occupied part of the present S. Domenico Camporegio site but from 1246 onwards it appears that a fresh building campaign was underway there.⁽²⁴⁾ Further documentation shows that at some time before 1262 a church had been completed on the site. The completion date of the new church may have been 1256, since on 13 February of that year a bull of Alexander IV granted a forty day indulgence for all those visiting the church of the Sienese Dominicans on the feasts and octaves of Sts. Dominic and Peter Martyr.⁽²⁵⁾ (This does not seem to be part of a general issue of bulls in favour of the Order: I have traced no other bull with similar wording issued to another house at this date.) Encouraged by chapter legislation in 1247 and 1254/56, the Sienese Dominicans or their lay followers may have chosen to mark the move to the new church by the commissioning of the panel - especially apt since it was presumably at this date that the Sienese Dominicans first dedicated their church to Dominic, one of the earliest in the Provincia Romana to be so named.⁽²⁶⁾

Stubblebine's dating of 'not later than c.1290' for the top layer of the painting (necessitated by the dates he gives to layers one and two) seems somewhat late; Gomez-Moreno's dating of c.1280-85 is more convincing, given the relation of the style to the work of Guido da Siena - by 1290 any repainting of a cherished image in Siena might be expected to be carried out in a Ducciesque rather than a Guidesque style. S. Domenico was full of visitors, many of them doubtless confraternity members, after Ambrogio Sansedoni's death in 1286.⁽²⁷⁾ Perhaps the late Dominican's confraternity connections prompted the freshening-up of an image well-known to many of those who came to visit his tomb.

Sansedoni's role in confraternity organisation at S. Domenico may also provide a date for the first repainting. As mentioned above, in c.1270 he reformed and re-dedicated the flagellant confraternity of S. Croce. The renaming of a confraternity in honour of St. Dominic would have been an opportune moment for the repainting of the saint's image in the church - an image which had perhaps been looked after by the Laudesi confraternity dedicated jointly, by 1267 if not earlier, to both the Virgin and St. Dominic. As has already been pointed out, this joint dedication was unusual. The congregation may originally have been solely Marial. Although it is hardly more than pure hypothesis, it is tempting to imagine a link between the adoption of Dominic as joint patron of the Laudesi confraternity and the origin of the Fogg panel: the work could have been commissioned in honour of the occasion, or perhaps the presence of the panel in the church, acquired at the completion of the church in 1256, stimulated the devotion of the laity and led to the dedication of the confraternity.

The Original Shape of the Fogg St. Dominic.

The panel has not retained its original shape. Both design and condition indicate that it has been cut at the bottom.⁽²⁸⁾ The representation of St. Dominic was presumably originally full-length. In this respect I agree with the reconstruction of the panel proposed by Gómez-Moreno⁽²⁹⁾ but I do not agree with the suggestion that the figure was originally flanked by twelve small scenes and had a gable like that of the Bardi St. Francis panel. Given that the panel borrows from Franciscan examples, there is no reason why it should not borrow from the single figure (e.g. Margaritone) type rather than

from the Lucchese, Pisan and Florentine types with side scenes.

Gómez-Moreno admits that the vertical edges of the panel 'were not cut at a later date' but suggests that the hypothetical side panels may have been glued to the central panel (although 'No traces of glue, however, have been found'⁽³⁰⁾). The presence of 'ring-shaped red and white decorations' along the vertical framing mouldings, which Gómez-Moreno takes to be segments of circles (no illustration is supplied) also lead her to conclude that, 'The image of Dominic, therefore, is only the central part of a larger altarpiece'. However, there seems no reason why these traces of pigment should not be either remnants of decoration of the outer frame, or date from some later stage in the panel's history when a new framing, perhaps even scenes, may have been added, as in the case of the late 16th century addition of scenes to the sides of the St. Dominic panel in S. Domenico Maggiore, Naples.⁽³¹⁾ A comparison of the proposed reconstruction of the Fogg panel with the other Naples Dominic panel, now in the Museo di Capodimonte, made by Gómez-Moreno, is not relevant, since these side scenes too are a later addition, (as will be discussed below). Crude saw marks indicate that the upper edge of the panel has at some time been re-cut.⁽³²⁾ Gómez-Moreno reconstructs a gable, surmounting both image and side-scenes. Perhaps instead the Fogg St. Dominic, like the two Naples panels, (figs.86,87) had a rectangular top with an inscribed moulding⁽³³⁾ or, like the gabled panel of St. Francis in Orte Duomo⁽³⁴⁾ had a broad, decorated framing moulding, which was later trimmed.

The Lost S. Maria Novella St. Dominic Panel.

There is evidence for the former existence of one other early panel representing St. Dominic, in the Roman Province. In one of his books on S. Maria Novella, Fineschi reproduces a print after a panel still in the convent's possession in the 18th century, but now lost.⁽³⁵⁾ (fig.85)

Unfortunately only the figure is reproduced, with no indication of panel shape, but despite the relative crudeness of the copy, which permits no judgement on the basis of style, there are grounds for supposing Fineschi's early dating of the panel to be correct. He says that the work is 'giudicata dagl'intendenti prima di Cimabue' and points out the early form of the Dominican habit (with shorter tunic

and scapular) in which the saint is depicted. A further early feature is iconographic, namely the inclusion of the side view of Dominic's hood, a motif current in representations of Francis and Dominic until the late 13th century.⁽³⁶⁾ In this particular,⁽³⁷⁾ in gesture and in pose the work bears some resemblance to the truncated Fogg panel (although, as discussed above, they are not identical), adding weight to the argument that that painting originally represented only a single, full-length figure. Perhaps the Florence painting was also a response to the chapter requests for images; the first general chapter ruling was made in 1254 and the Provincia Romana chapter immediately following this was held in the Florence house.⁽³⁸⁾

Two Neapolitan Panels of St. Dominic.

Two other panels of St. Dominic, both in Naples (outside the area which is the main concern of this thesis but within the original, larger, Provincia Romana) should be mentioned briefly.

The panel of St. Dominic in S. Domenico Maggiore, Naples (fig.86) is traditionally linked to the foundation date of the church: 1231. It is said to have been brought to Naples by Fra Tommaso Agni, founder of the convent, in that year, but I have been unable to trace this tradition further back than the 19th century.⁽³⁹⁾ In fact the panel clearly dates from the second half of the century, probably towards the end of it. It is currently attributed to a Neapolitan hand of the late 13th century, so the tradition of its importation does not appear to have any support on stylistic grounds, while the 1231 date was clearly given to it to honour the foundation date of the church.⁽⁴⁰⁾ The actual painting could conceivably have been acquired to mark the construction of a new church for the Naples convent, probably dedicated to St. Dominic instead of St. Mary Magdalen, as had previously been the case, begun in 1283⁽⁴¹⁾ or the creation of the Dominican Province of Naples and the Kingdom of Sicily, of which the Neapolitan house was the religious and intellectual centre, in 1294.⁽⁴²⁾

The second Neapolitan panel of St. Dominic, now in the Museo di Capodimonte, previously in S. Pietro Maggiore, Naples and, according to one source, originally from the Dominican church in Gaeta, seems to be a local piece of work.⁽⁴³⁾ (fig.87) The relief pattern of squares on the halo occurs in two other works in the region: a crucifix from the monastery of S. Paolo in Sorrento⁽⁴⁴⁾ and a

crucifixion panel in S. Domenico Maggiore, Naples.⁽⁴⁵⁾(fig.178)

The loose handling of the paint, sketchy modelling and treatment of faces - highlights and touches of red applied over a smooth, dark tan ground, all indicate that the author of the St. Dominic panel may have been a rather weak follower of the artist responsible for the crucifix from S. Paolo and, more generally, places the work in the tradition of Campanian painting initiated in the lost paintings of Montecassino, and now exemplified by the frescoes of S. Angelo in Formis.

The two Dominican supplicants on the panel, probably prior and subprior of the convent for which the panel was commissioned, may well have ordered this work in conscious imitation of the S. Domenico Maggiore St. Dominic panel. Most students of the Capodimonte painting have accepted the side scenes as contemporary with the main panel, while Garrison believes them to be a later addition.⁽⁴⁶⁾ I accept his opinion, both on grounds of stylistic comparison between the main figure and side scenes and because of the physical evidence, which shows the three panels to be entirely separate entities, with the central panel alone cut at the base, perhaps at the time that the side scenes were added. (The S. Domenico Maggiore Dominic panel had fourteen small scenes added to its sides in the late 16th century.⁽⁴⁷⁾)

Other Representations of St. Dominic.

Bologna, Dominic's burial place, might be expected to have owned a full-length representation of the saint, but a series of illuminations of the standing Dominic in choir books from S. Domenico Bologna suggest the contrary. None of these five examples⁽⁴⁸⁾ (figs.88-92) is precisely alike. They appear to owe their similarities to a simple request for the artists in question to depict a standing Dominican, with halo and book, and show no signs of being the careful imitations which might be expected in the presence of a cherished original.

Indeed, representations of the saint generally display a notable combination of sameness and diversity. The saint is always shown holding a book (usually, but not exclusively, in his left hand), generally closed. In earlier examples he makes a blessing gesture with his other hand, while from the turn of the century he begins to

be shown holding a lily, symbol of chastity, instead. All this is sameness. The diversity lies in the precise position and gesture of the hands, in the inscription displayed when the saint's book is open⁽⁴⁹⁾ and, more significantly, in the choice of facial type. Although a brief but clear description of Dominic's appearance made by Cecilia Cesarini, a nun of S. Sisto who knew the saint, was available in the 13th century,⁽⁵⁰⁾ representations of the saint vary considerably. He may be shown as young or old, ascetic or robust, bearded or beardless, brown-haired, grey-haired or (as Cecilia actually describes him) red-haired. Two quite different representations of him appear on different folios of the same Bolognese choir book (Bologna, S. Domenico, Cor.5, ff.81r, 124r. (figs.93,116)) and the facial type used for St. Peter Martyr by Simone Martini on the S. Caterina, Pisa polyptych in 1319 (fig.238) is re-used by Simone's workshop for the figure of St. Dominic in the S. Domenico, Orvieto polyptych only a few years later (fig.240).⁽⁵¹⁾ Evidently the saint left no clear imprint on the visual imagination of Italian artists or patrons of the 13th and early 14th centuries. Even the striking image (derived from his legend⁽⁵²⁾) of the star which, depicted on Dominic's forehead or floating beside his head, was to become a recurring feature of his iconography, is rarely shown in manuscripts of the period and appears only somewhat crudely scratched in, perhaps as an afterthought, on several panel paintings.

Donors were apparently not generally eager to be depicted kneeling before the saint. Only a handful of examples, chiefly in manuscripts, survive, and these all show Dominican friars or nuns.⁽⁵³⁾ A single example of a 'votive' fresco, in which only the donor's hands, joined in prayer, are now visible, is the late 13th century painting of the standing saint on the north wall of the north transept of S. Domenico, Pistoia. (fig.94) The few frescoes of the saint painted in Dominican churches later in the 14th century tend to fall east of the original site of the Tramezzo, not in the part of the church most frequented by the laity. Representations of the saint for non-Dominican patrons are in general scarce and follow the same lines as the type already described: a standing Dominican with halo and book.⁽⁵⁴⁾ (Dominican examples of Dominic paired with Francis will be discussed at the end of the chapter.)

Why were panels of St. Dominic less popular than panels of

St. Francis? Apart from anything else, there were simply far fewer Dominican than Franciscan houses - the most probable potential patrons - in central Italy, the area most geared to the production of panel paintings. By 1300 there were roughly seven times as many Franciscan foundations as Dominican ones within the area covered by the Provincia Romana.⁽⁵⁵⁾

Representations of a recently dead saint might be expected to flourish first in the areas in which he lived and performed miracles and near where he was buried. These representations would serve in the first place as reminders of the saint's work, and of his tomb and the miracles which continued to be accomplished around it; that is, the paintings would take on something of the flavour of relics. In that area the new iconography of the saint would be developed by artists in local shops⁽⁵⁶⁾ or outsiders specially called in to meet the new demand.⁽⁵⁷⁾ From there the type might become popular and spread to other areas, until the representation of the saint became a widely accepted type of panel painting. This seems to have been the case with the Franciscans, whose numerous Italian houses often commissioned or were presented with representations of the founder.⁽⁵⁸⁾

For the Dominicans the situation was different. Bologna, the site of the saint's tomb, and Spain and South-West France, the scenes of many of the events related in accounts of his life, were not areas in which panel painting flourished. Moreover, as already mentioned, the Bolognese friars who watched over his tomb at first positively discouraged the laity from treating it as a site where miraculous cures might be performed. At a time when Lucchese and Pisan artists were being commissioned to produce paintings for Franciscan churches, the Bologna Dominicans were busy removing ex votos from the tomb of their founder so zealously that the master general found it necessary to intervene and reprimand them.⁽⁵⁹⁾

Representations of the Life and Miracles of St. Dominic.

In contrast with many of the panels depicting St. Francis, none of the images of Dominic appear to have been flanked, originally, by scenes from his life and miracles. The plain fact that Dominic's career lacked colourful incident, combined with the conditions just discussed, had a dampening effect. Indeed, narrative representations of Dominic in any medium during the first century of the Order are few.

Apart from the Arca, the only collections of scenes - not long enough to be considered as cycles - occur in choir books in Gubbio (Archivio Comunale Cor. D, f.153v., Cor. C, f.76v., (figs.95,96) executed by a Bolognese artist, in the late 13th century) and Perugia (Biblioteca Augusta MS.2795 (A), f.46v., (figs.97,98) executed by a little more than competent artist in the same period). These scenes fill the initials I or M within the office for Dominic's feast.

The only evidence for a set of frescoed scenes comes from S. Domenico, Arezzo. Decorative banding, employing a meandering motif, runs along both nave walls of the church at the level of the side chapel capitals, for the first four bays. (figs.2,99) (Beyond this, a slight change in window form indicates a building break.) This banding, and two somewhat later bands above it, show that the Dominicans were prepared to give at least a minimal decorative character to their churches from the outset, while perhaps also preparing for the organisation of frescoed images, scenes or cycles. Directly beneath this banding, and probably contemporary with it,⁽⁶⁰⁾ appear St. Peter, St. Paul and the titulus for St. Dominic, placed beneath an arcade. (figs.99,100) To the side is a border composed of a fictive dentil motif and beside this, still integral with the rest, the illegible remains of a further scene. Assuming that the figures of Peter and Paul formed part of a representation of Peter and Paul giving the Book and Staff to Dominic, we have evidence here of a cycle, or at the very least two scenes, from the life of Dominic, painted, judging by the style, in the last quarter of the 13th century.⁽⁶¹⁾

One further example of frescoed scenes from the life of Dominic, on the walls of the cappella maggiore of S. Giacomo, Bevagna, probably dates from the second quarter of the 14th century - outside the period dealt with in this thesis. (figs.101-3)⁽⁶²⁾ Two scenes are depicted on the north wall of the chapel: the Miracle of the Loaves and, below this, the Miracle of the Books. None of the decoration which presumably occupied the south chapel wall has survived.

All the other extant examples of representations of Dominic's life are single scenes. Two of these occur on panel: the Andrea Gallerani reliquary shutters and the Pologna panels of the Miracle of the Loaves, the remainder are all to be found in Dominican choir books.⁽⁶³⁾

The majority of Dominic scenes (if such a small number can be referred to as a majority) appear in manuscripts produced for, or at least by artists from, Bologna. The choice of this particular medium can partly be explained by the wishes of the patrons (discussed in chapter 3) but it is also true that any influence which the tomb of Dominic had on local artists was likely to be expressed in the form of manuscript illumination, since Bolognese 13th and early 14th century painters tended to work on parchment rather than panel or plaster. Yet if the presence of the Arca helped prompt the use of a few narrative representations, it did not greatly influence the choice of scenes or compositions.

The Vision of Sts. Peter and Paul, Miracle of the Loaves, Miracle of the Pook, Raising of Napoleone Orsini and Dream of Innocent III all appear in both the Gubbio and Perugia choir books, but the scenes of the Approbation of the Rule are omitted, indeed they do not appear outside the Arca. Conversely, depictions of Dominic's birth, death and ascent to heaven which are not used on the Arca, are used in choir books from Bologna, Gubbio and S. Maria Novella. Doubtless the selection of scenes was always partly governed by the small number of events in Dominic's legend which lent themselves to visual representation, but some episodes, such as the rescue of the drowning pilgrims in France,⁽⁶⁴⁾ or the young Dominic selling his books and distributing the proceeds among the poor during a famine,⁽⁶⁵⁾ are represented successfully in later periods although they were not favoured in central Italy during the Order's first century.⁽⁶⁶⁾

The vision granted to Dominic's mother before his birth provides one of the more attractive incidents in his legend. The precise form of the vision varies from version to version: in its first form Jordan's Libellus says that she saw Dominic himself, with a moon on his forehead,⁽⁶⁷⁾ Petrus Ferrandus (followed by most later writers) says that it was a star, not a moon,⁽⁶⁸⁾ while a passage inserted in a later version of Jordan's Libellus says that rather than her son, she saw a symbol of his future role in her vision: a small dog, carrying a flaming torch in its mouth.⁽⁶⁹⁾ Only two illustrations of the vision survive from the period in question: one, showing Dominic himself with a star (?) on his forehead, in an early 14th century antiphonary from S. Domenico, Bologna (Cor.12, f.1r.), (fig.104) the other, showing the dog and torch and a star, and also (uniquely)

showing the bathing (?) of the infant Dominic, with the star above his head, in a Florentine antiphonary of the late 13th century, from S. Maria Novella (SMN Cor.E (invent. no.1354), f.151v.). (fig.105)

Dominic's death is represented in a companion roundel on the same folio of the antiphonary from S. Domenico Bologna (fig.104) and, also in a bas-de-page roundel, in one of the Bolognese-executed choir books in Gubbio (Archivio Comunale Cor.C, f.76v.). (fig.95) In both cases the miniature follows the traditional design for such scenes. Dominic's reception into heaven, witnessed by Fra Guala, prior of the Brescia house and later bishop of the same town, is related by Jordan.⁽⁷⁰⁾ Guala saw two ladders ascending to heaven, the top of one ladder held by Christ, the other held by His mother. Angels moved up and down the ladders, and between them sat Dominic, who gradually ascended until he was welcomed into heaven by the Virgin and her Son. Although the Perugia illuminated initial I makes no reference to Dominic's birth, death or reception into heaven, the Bolognese manuscript in Gubbio (Arch. Com. Cor.C, f.76v.) (fig.95) imaginatively turns the I of In medio ecclesia into a ladder flanked by angels, with scenes from Dominic's life depicted between the rungs. Below the ladder, in a roundel, Dominic's death is shown, while at the top of the ladder Dominic sits in glory between Christ and the Virgin. Another of the Bolognese Gubbio codices (Arch. Com. Cor.O, f.30v.) also refers to the scene, by showing a standing Dominic above a column of angels in roundels. (fig.106) The antiphonary from S. Domenico, Bologna which shows Dominic's birth and death (Cor.12, f.1r.) also includes the only other example of the Ascent of the Ladder, in this case one instead of two, witnessed by two groups of figures, one lay and one Dominican, contained in bas-de-page roundels (Cor.12, f.21v.). (fig.107)

The Donation of the Staff and Book by Sts. Peter and Paul occurs in two main forms. Either the two saints appear to the side of the kneeling Dominic, as on the Arca, (fig.75) so that all three figures are shown in three-quarter view, or Peter and Paul flank the standing Dominic, in a composition similar to that used for the coronation of a king or investiture of a bishop.⁽⁷¹⁾ The former type is used at S. Domenico, Arezzo (fig.100) and in manuscripts from Gubbio (Cor.C f.76v.) (fig.95) and Florence (Cor.E, f.151v.), (fig.105), the latter type appears in two manuscripts from Perugia (Bib. Aug. MS.2797 (I), f.235r. and MS.2795 (A), f.46v.). (figs.108,97)

The Gubbio books include two scenes which are not shown anywhere else: the raising of a child (other than Napoleone Orsini) by St. Dominic and the incident in which, during a journey, the saint drove back torrential rain by making the sign of the cross⁽⁷²⁾ (Gubbio, Arch. Com. Cor.D, f.153v.). (fig.96)

Surprisingly, representations of St. Dominic preaching to the laity occur only twice, once in a choir book from Perugia (Bib. Aug. MS.2797 (I), f.237r.) (fig.109) (the haloed Dominican must be Dominic, since the initial begins part of the office for his feast) and once in a choir book from Lucca (Biblioteca Statale, MS.2654, p.127). (fig.110)

A survey of the illustrations of Dominic's life found in choir books made for his Order shows that the subject matter available rarely fired an artist's imagination. The impact of the Arca group of scenes on the development of Dominican iconography was evidently slight, although its echoes can sometimes be detected. It never assumed the role of a canonical text for depictions of the life of Dominic as the Upper Church Assisi cycle was to do, in many respects, for representations of Francis.

As already mentioned, two panel paintings illustrating scenes from Dominic's legend exist. Each work indicates, in a different way, why this type of painting did not flourish. The Bologna panels of the Miracle of the Loaves⁽⁷³⁾ (fig.111) are painted so crudely that it is impossible to date them with any precision. The commission was evidently an unusual one - the only obvious parallel is the panel of the Last Supper in Chambéry attributed to the shop of the Magdalen Master.⁽⁷⁴⁾ However, the artist chosen was of such a low standard that he failed to produce a work which might have inspired other convents to follow Bologna's lead and commission a similar work, perhaps to hang in their refectory.

Examining the Andrea Gallerani reliquary shutters⁽⁷⁵⁾ we return to a situation already encountered in the Arca: the Dominican tendency to emphasise the Order rather than its leader. The Gallerani shutters also make explicit the contrast between representations of the legends of Dominic and of Francis.

When closed, the outer surfaces of the two shutters combine to show a scene from the life of Gallerani, receiving poor men and

pilgrims. (fig.112) When open the shutters reveal four more scenes. (fig.113) On the lower half of each panel is an incident from Gallerani's life: on the left he prays before a crucifix and on the right he distributes alms. On the upper part of the left shutter, a scene from the life of Dominic is shown: in response to the prayers of the saint, the blessed Reginald of Orleans, on his sick-bed, receives a vision of the Virgin offering him the Dominican habit. This scene is balanced by one from the life of Francis - the Stigmatisation, an image which was to become very popular on devotional panels and is central to the Franciscan Order. It represents the confirmation of Francis' nearness to Christ and provides the foundation for his veneration as Alter Christus.

The difference is clear: while Francis is seen as the main-spring of his Order, Dominic - as on the Arca - is shown only as the instrument of the one which he founded. The chosen scene stresses the importance of persuading a scholar such as Reginald to join the Order; the miracle which occurs is accomplished by the Virgin herself, with only the indirect intervention of Dominic; divine approval of the Order's habit is given greater emphasis than the qualities of the founder.

Non-narrative Representations of St. Dominic.

It is not always easy to make the distinction between representations of Dominic which are 'narrative' and those whose significance is not purely illustrative. Some of the episodes related in his legend, for example his ascent of the two ladders to heaven, clearly have a symbolical meaning and yet belong most appropriately with illustrations of his life. Other representations, not derived from written accounts concerning Dominic and presumably made to the particular requirements of the patron (or adapted from the artist's repertoire of suitable images), tend to have a non-narrative, static quality. Such images only occur in choir book illuminations, during the period under consideration.

In the simplest type Dominic, hands joined in prayer, is shown kneeling before Christ, who holds out His hand in blessing, while looking directly at the saint (Bologna, Museo Civico, Cor.522, f.234r. (fig.114), Cor.524, f.300v.). In both cases the text is 'Euge serve

bone et fidelis' (Matt.XXV, 21,23). This emphasises Dominic's nearness to Christ through prayer, his humility and Christ's favour for the saint. A variant of this type occurs in a badly flaked Fabrian miniature (Perugia, Biblioteca Augusta, MS.2797 (I), f.165r.), which accompanies the opening of the office for the translation of Dominic. (fig.115) In the upper half of the initial, half-length figures of Christ and Dominic stand side by side. Christ gestures towards Dominic and appears to be showing him the wound in His side. In the lower half of the initial is a pot from which issue two branches (a reference to the tree of life?). In a Bolognese initial (Bologna, S. Domenico, Cor.5, f.124r.) (fig.116) for the eve of Pentecost - Veni Sancte Spiritus - Dominic is seen raising his arms in supplication towards the top right-hand corner of the initial, from which faint rays appear.

A Bolognese miniature in a Gubbio choir book (Gubbio, Arch. Com. Cor.3, f.136r.) (fig.117), shows the relationship between Dominic and Christ in a different manner. In the lower half of the initial Dominic is shown among a group of saints, perhaps apostles, who gesture towards him, while above the Virgin, depicted as Avvocata, intercedes with Christ, presumably for his favour to Dominic. Another Bolognese Gubbio initial (Gubbio, Arch. Com., Cor. C, f.103v.) shows a similar composition with less emphatic gestures.

A further scene of intercession (Gubbio, Arch. Com., Cor.D, f.151r.), (fig.118) although in fact included in versions of Dominic's legend following its introduction by Gerard of Frachet,⁽⁷⁶⁾ deserves mention here for its symbolical qualities. Christ threatens to hurl down three spears - which came to represent plague - onto sinful mankind, represented below. The Virgin intercedes, asking Christ to be merciful and presenting to Him her servant Dominic, who will help to show those in error the right path. The Gubbio miniature is an early example of this scene and apparently the only one made for a Dominican commission in Italy during the period. The miniature is also unusual in showing Dominic alone, since the texts generally relate that the Virgin presented Francis to Christ after she had presented Dominic. Most representations of the Three Spears, for example in illustrations to the Speculum Humanae Salvationis, include both saints.⁽⁷⁷⁾ This striking image eventually achieved some popularity, but it was the Franciscans rather than the Dominicans who adopted this representation of their two founders. Despite its

origin in a Dominican text, I know of only one other Dominican instance of its use within the period: an English Dominican Psalter in the British Library (BL Harley MS.2356, f.7r.) includes a version of the scene in which the Virgin seeks protection particularly for Dominicans (as well as for the rest of mankind).⁽⁷⁸⁾ (fig.119) A somewhat later illumination in which the scene is specifically linked with Dominic is found in the Angevin Legendarium in the Vatican (Vat. Lat.8541, f.90r.) made just before the middle of the 14th century. (fig.120) Four scenes from Dominic's legend are represented (there were probably at least four more scenes, which are now lost): Dominic's mother receives the vision of the dog and flaming torch, the infant Dominic has a star on his forehead, as a young man Dominic refuses to sleep in his bed and distributes his belongings among the poor, Dominic (and, behind him, Francis) are presented by the Virgin to Christ, who carries the three spears. As in the case of the Dream of Innocent III, the Franciscans made fuller use of an impressive image than the Dominicans.

On two occasions Dominic is shown in the company of a much earlier saint, presumably to provide a commentary on the more recently canonised man. In a Florentine initial for the feast of St. Augustine (S. Maria Novella, Cor.F (invent. no.1355), f.62r.) (fig.121) that particular saint, regarded as head of a religious Order and also author of the Rule which the Dominicans followed, is paired with Dominic. A choir book in Lucca (Biblioteca Statale MS.2654, p.1) (fig.122) uses an initial to the vigil of the feast of St. John the Baptist (Ingresso Zacharia templum Domini apparuit ...) to link Dominic with an officiating priest, Zacharias, drawing attention to Dominic's devotion to the mass. In one of the Gubbio choir books (Arch. Com. Cor.G. f.59v.) (fig.123) Dominic and Peter Martyr share an initial with a canonised pope and bishop, perhaps a comment on their respect for the church hierarchy and their deserved place among the blessed.

Three biblical scenes in choir books from S. Maria Novella are linked with St. Dominic. A representation of the Annunciation appears in the upper part of an initial (S. Maria Novella, Cor.A (invent. no.1350), f.2r.) (fig.124) while below two prophets and two apostles (comparison with Cor.B (invent. no.1351) f.4r, where the scrolls are still intact, shows that two of the figures are David and Paul) and, at the centre, the kneeling figures of Dominic and

Peter Martyr, hold scrolls and gesture towards or look up at the scene above. Although the inscriptions formerly given on the scrolls have flaked off, part of the meaning of the initial can still be understood. All the participants take their share in relating the story of the Incarnation. The prophets foretell it; the apostles record it; Gabriel, special symbol and patron of the Friars Preacher since the Virgin received the good news from God through his mouth,⁽⁷⁹⁾ announces it; the Dominican saints take up the charge and continue to spread the teaching. In another miniature by the same hand (Cor.B, (invent.no.1351) f.237r.) (fig.125) the Presentation in the Temple is watched by two supplicant figures: Dominic and Peter Martyr. In the same book (f.90r.) (fig.126) a scene of a Dominican saint, probably Dominic, preaching to the laity is accompanied, in the upper half of the initial, by illustrations of Christ's temptation by the devil. The inscription on the preaching friar's scroll is lost, but the anxious way in which one of his audience looks up at the scene above shows that the type of verbal picture often drawn by a preacher is here presented visually by the artist. Appropriately, the text is for the first Sunday in Lent.

Two miniatures show a particular inventiveness. A Bolognese choir book accompanies a text from the office for Dominic's feast, Mundum vocans ad agni nuptias hora cene pater familias ... (Bologna, Museo Civico, Cor.523, f.152r.) (fig.127) with a sort of Dominic Misericordia. The saint, arms outstretched, guards the diminutive kneeling friars and nuns in his care. An Umbrian antiphonary (Perugia, Biblioteca Augusta MS.2785 (A), f.44v.) (fig.128) treats the same text in a quite different and more appropriate manner. Christ is seated at the end of the table of the Last Supper, making a gesture of speech and apparently of welcome. Behind the table, beyond Christ's left shoulder, stands Dominic, also making a gesture of invitation. Both he and Christ look at the group of laity, some perplexed, some fearful, standing at the far end of the table. Christ, and His trusted helper Dominic, invite the laity to share the bread and wine of the Last Supper; if the faithful attend the mass in a Dominican church, they are also answering the invitation of Christ. (The composition seems to owe something to the Byzantine iconography of the Communion of the Apostles. See, for example, the Riha Pater in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection.⁽⁸⁰⁾)

The Perugia manuscript may belong to the second quarter of the 14th century. Another manuscript which definitely falls outside our period, but which deserves mention, is Vatican Codex Rossianus 3, a 14th century manuscript, probably made in Spain, (81) which is the earliest known illustrated version of a 13th century, possibly Bolognese, text, describing the nine ways in which St. Dominic prayed. (82) The work was evidently less popular material for painters than the story of St. Francis praying before the cross at S. Damiano. In the various scenes Dominic prays, contemplates and studies before the cross. (e.g. ff. 9r, 10r., figs. 129, 130) Each mode of prayer is indicated by a separate gesture as described in the text. As in many of the illuminations mentioned in this section, these images are too complex, too private and not sufficiently arresting to have been copied. Even the inventive vein stimulated by Dominican patronage in these manuscripts was not calculated to meet with popular favour.

Representations of St. Peter Martyr.

After the middle of the 13th century the Dominican Order possessed a saint who fitted more comfortably into familiar iconography, in the person of Peter Martyr. His death could be shown in a composition adapted from the Stoning of St. Stephen. This is apparent in a 13th century Netherlandish Psalter in the British Library (BL. MS. Add. 28784B, f. 2r.) (fig. 131) in which a full-page illustration of the Annunciation and Nativity is framed by six roundels containing pictures of saints. Four out of the six are shown suffering martyrdom. Peter Martyr is placed diagonally opposite Stephen, both saints kneeling, heads wounded and hands joined in prayer, beside oppressors who wield their weapons. (83) In contrast, the roundel showing Dominic has so little impact that it is not even clear whether the saint is shown performing a miraculous cure or simply preaching to the laity.

Early Italian representations of Peter Martyr's death only seem to appear in Dominican choir books. All repeat the formula already described, with either one or two assassins and with Peter alone, or accompanied by a Dominican socius (companion). In a Gubbio choir book (Arch. Com., Cor. C, f. 43r.) (fig. 132) the martyr's soul is seen being carried to heaven by two angels. In a badly

flaked example from Perugia (Bib. Augusta MS.2797 (I), f.140v.) (fig.133) the placing of the saint between two executioners, in an architectural setting is as reminiscent of the assassination of Thomas à Becket as of the Stoning of Stephen.⁽⁸⁴⁾ The two miniatures just mentioned, and two others, one from Perugia (Bib. Aug. MS.2801 (B), f.1r.), the other from Bologna (S. Domenico, Cor.26, f.73v.) all accompany passages from the office for the feast of St. Peter Martyr. One other Bolognese example (S. Domenico, Cor.14, f.28r) (fig.134) appears in a bas-de-page roundel beneath a larger illumination of the sentencing and beheading of an unidentified apostle martyr, (the text is from the office for a single apostle). As has already been noted for St. Dominic, an attempt seems to have been made here to enhance the importance of the Dominican saint by making a parallel with an earlier man. (Similarly, earlier in the same book (f.21r.) a bas-de-page roundel with the saint is sited below an initial containing the four evangelist symbols) (fig.139).

The iconography in which the dying Peter Martyr used the blood from his wounds to write with his finger in the dust 'Credo in Deum ...' does not seem to have been developed during this period. A fresco of this type, now preserved above the doorway from the Chiostro Verde to the Chiostro Grande of S. Maria Novella, has been claimed by some to have been mentioned in a miracle described in the mid 13th century. But this tradition cannot be traced back before the 16th century, as Orlandi has shown, and the style of the fresco, which is in very poor condition, indicates a date in the second half of the 14th century.⁽⁸⁵⁾ Although no further representations of the Martyr's death survive, the miracle just referred to, described by Gerard of Frachet,⁽⁸⁶⁾ shows that at least one venerated image of the event existed in Florence in the 13th century.

Three other scenes concerning St. Peter Martyr were illustrated during the period. In a book in Gubbio (Arch. Com., Cor.I, f.209v.) (fig.135) the office for the saint's feast is illustrated by a miracle in which prayers addressed to Peter Martyr were answered with a vision of the saint and a ship was saved from sinking.⁽⁸⁷⁾ A detached leaf from a Perugia choir book, now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Montreal, shows St. Peter Martyr lying in state, surrounded by prelates, Dominicans and laymen.⁽⁸⁸⁾ (fig.136) A damaged miniature

in a Perugia choir book (Bib. Aug. MS.2797 (I), f.137v.) (fig.137), presumably represents the saint preaching to the laity, although the identity of the haloed Dominican would not be apparent, were the illustration not placed within the office for his feast. The crowded scenes of Peter Martyr preaching, for example in the Spanish Chapel, S. Maria Novella or on the façade of the Bigallo,⁽⁸⁹⁾ are not prefigured in earlier Italian art made for Dominicans.

Single representations of the saint appear in only four manuscripts, three from Bologna and one from Lucca (Bologna, Museo Civico, Cor.524, f.252v; (fig.138) Bologna, S. Domenico, Cor.14, f.21r. (fig.139) and Cor.24-1, f.38r; Lucca, Biblioteca Statale, MS.2648, p.367 (fig.140)). As in the case of Dominic, there is no indication that a specific representation of Peter Martyr is being copied in these illuminations. The saint is always shown with the wound in his head, holding a martyr's palm; sometimes a knife is shown beside him, or embedded in his shoulder or side. The example in the Museo Civico, Bologna shows the saint full-length, the other three examples are half-length. Interest in full-length representations seems to have increased slightly in the second half of the 14th century. S. Maria Maggiore, Narni and S. Domenico, Perugia both contain frescoes of Peter Martyr dating from this period, and Perugia, the house in which the saint was canonised, also has a chapel partly frescoed with scenes from his life and miracles.⁽⁹⁰⁾ There are also two panels of the full-length, standing saint, both gabled rectangles, which date from the later 14th century: a panel from S. Stefano e Cecilia, Florence, sometimes attributed to Pacino da Bonaguida⁽⁹¹⁾ (fig.141) and a painting by an Umbrian master in S. Domenico, Spoleto, which shows the saint being crowned by two angels and includes a small kneeling Dominican suppliant. (fig.142) These two works are cast in the mould of 13th century representations of an individual saint, but do not provide sufficient evidence for postulating lost earlier models. The presence of a flagellant confraternity dedicated to St. Peter Martyr in S. Domenico, Spoleto⁽⁹²⁾ explains the occurrence of two late 14th century Umbrian frescoes of the standing saint in the cappella maggiore there, in addition to the panel just mentioned.

Peter Martyr's earliest appearances in panel paintings are in the company of Dominic, on the right wing of the Yale triptych⁽⁹³⁾ (fig.182) and on the frame of the Rucellai Madonna,⁽⁹⁴⁾ (fig.190)

but the saint also formed part of another pair. Displaying the wounds of his martyrdom, he was sometimes considered a more suitable saint to show with St. Francis, bearing the stigmata, than the founding saint of his own Order. An early Italian example is the panel, now in the Rhode Island School of Design, Providence, (fig. 274) which shows, below the main image of the Virgin and Child, standing figures of St. Peter Martyr and Francis.⁽⁹⁵⁾ In a north European example, an English Psalter of the 13th century (BL. Add. MS. 21926, f. 14r.) (fig. 143) the lower part of the page shows St. Francis preaching to the birds and showing his stigmata, while above this we see the martyrdom of the Dominican saint (paralleled on the adjacent folio (13v.) by the martyrdom of St. Thomas Becket).⁽⁹⁶⁾

In a panel of the Virgin and Child attributed to the Varlungo Master, formerly in the Jonas Collection, New York,⁽⁹⁷⁾ (fig. 144) a full-length figure of St. Peter Martyr which hovers to the right of the Virgin's throne is balanced by a figure of St. Bartholomew on the left. The instrument of both saints' martyrdom was the knife. The connection between the two saints is made again on Simone Martini's S. Caterina polyptych⁽⁹⁸⁾ and Peter Martyr is apparently replaced by Bartholomew on a triptych by Lippo Vanni from SS. Domenico e Sisto, Rome.⁽⁹⁹⁾

The life, death and miracles of St. Peter Martyr were much more likely to catch the imagination than the legend of St. Dominic. These events offered an artist very promising subject matter, but it was not until 1339, in S. Eustorgio, Milan, outside the area and period covered by this thesis, that the legend of St. Peter Martyr was first represented fully, in Giovanni di Balduccio's Arca di S. Pietro Martire.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾

Representations of the Character and Activities of the Dominican Order.

Examination of the representations of St. Dominic has shown that propaganda for the founder of the Order of Preachers was neither widespread nor generally successful. The early Friars Preacher also showed little interest in art as propaganda intended to express and explain the special characteristics and activities of their Order.

This was partly due to the nature of the Order itself. For example, the poverty of the Dominican Order was, as discussed above, an instrument of policy rather than an end in itself, with the result that it never became a theme of art produced for the Dominicans as it did for the Franciscans. There are no representations of Dominic renouncing his possessions or wedded to Lady Poverty, as there are of Francis. The special public activities of the Dominicans - preaching and begging for alms - are occasionally represented, but they do not provide particularly attractive images and were themes generally reserved for choir books - to be seen by members of the Order itself rather than by the laity.

The quest for alms is represented in a choir book in Perugia (Bib. Augusta, MS.2797 (I), f.220v.) (fig.145) in an initial accompanying the office for the feast of St. Mary Magdalen. In the upper half of the initial the kneeling Magdalen is depicted wiping Christ's feet with her hair as He blesses her. Directly below her is shown a woman, bowing as she gives alms to a Dominican friar who is placed below the Christ of the upper scene. Thus the gift of alms to a friar and the spiritual benefits which the act brings are compared with the Magdalen's humility and virtue in washing Christ's feet.

This interest in representations which provide commentary as well as illustration has already been noted in other miniatures which show the Order's activities: Christ and Dominic welcoming the faithful to the commemoration of the Last Supper (Perugia, Biblioteca Augusta, MS.2785 (A), f.44v.) (fig.128) and Dominic preaching about temptation (Florence, S. Maria Novella, Cor.B, (invent. no.1351), f.90r.).⁽¹⁹¹⁾ (fig.126) It was this type of non-narrative representation which the Dominicans eventually found most satisfactory for illustrating the character of their Order. This development really occurred after the first hundred years of the Order, but its roots lie in the works just mentioned, in the frame of Duccio's Rucellai Madonna and in the programme of Simone Martini's S. Caterina polyptych, to be discussed below.

Besides individual activities, there were representations concerning the Order as a whole. The Approbation of the Rule, a convenient expression of the corporate character of the Dominicans, was

not repeated outside the Arca, (fig.77) but other methods were found.⁽¹⁰²⁾ In the chapter house frescoes of S. Nicolô, Treviso the whole Order is expressed by depicting its organisation. Tomaso da Modena's decoration of 1352⁽¹⁰³⁾ forms an illustrated version of a Dominican obituary list. These texts listed all the famous men of the Order, as well as the deceased friars of the house in question. The upper part of the fresco (fig.147) shows these important men, Dominican saints and cardinals, each seated in his study cubicle, framed by an explanatory text. Below, inscribed in a network of cusped and foiled figures, are the names of the provinces into which the Order was divided, houses of the Lower Lombardy province, to which Treviso belonged, listed in order of foundation, which was also the seating order for priors in a provincial chapter⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ and, on the lowest row, the names and brief biographies of all previous Dominican master generals. The decoration was originally completed by a fictive marble revetment.

The numerous texts, the ranks of scholars in their studies and the impression of an orderly organisation in which there is a complete chain of communication between the highest and lowest elements, all help to explain the character of the Order in the middle of the 14th century. On the other hand, as discussed above, this administrative proficiency had been a feature of the Dominican Order since its inception and the Lower Lombardy province may have thought of representing itself schematically before Tomaso da Modena's time. In fact Tomaso's work is the second stage of decoration in the chapter house. A fresco of the Crucifixion with the Virgin and St. John, originally flanked by Sts. Peter and Paul⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ (fig.148) which occupies the east wall of the chapter house, can be attributed to a late 13th or early 14th century hand. Below the 1352 frescoes on the other walls of the building are fragments of earlier work which presumably belong to the same campaign as the crucifixion fresco. (figs.149-51) The edges of some foiled figures containing inscriptions, interspersed with foliate decoration and some remnants of very bold fictive revetment, are all that remains of this fresco programme, but this is sufficient to show that the lower zone of Tomaso's scheme is simply an updating of an earlier design. During the late 13th and early 14th centuries the Lower Lombardy province acquired at least four new convents and this may have helped prompt the repainting.⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ The foiled figures of the earlier layer are

larger than those of the layer above, presumably reduced in size to accommodate the additional number needed for the names of the new houses and master generals. A possible date for the earlier layer would be 1303, the year in which the original Provincia Lombardia was divided into Lombardia Inferiore and Lombardia Superiore.⁽¹⁰⁷⁾

Another piece of painting in the chapter house, the decoration of the wooden roof, may also be considered as part of the early scheme. Above the crucifixion fresco on the east wall, the rectangular panels between the beams are painted with figures.⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ These are in rather poor condition, but enough of the paint surface remains to suggest that they were painted at the same time as the frescoes, and to permit identification of some of those represented. The half-length figures all have haloes and most look or gesture towards a representation of the head of the Redeemer painted on the centre panel, directly above the frescoed crucified Christ. (figs. 152, 153) Flanking the Redeemer are four angels, perhaps holding the instruments of the passion. Next come two prophets with scrolls (illegible), then, possibly, after some lost figures, St. John and the Virgin Orans, (fig. 154) and beyond these various saints, male saints to the left and female saints to the right, - beside the Virgin Orans - on the women's (south) side of the building. On the left at least one, possibly two Dominican saints can be distinguished, and beside one of them a figure which appears to be St. Francis. (fig. 155)

The chapter house was a particularly suitable location for a scheme showing the extent and organisation of the Order, the place of its saints within the heavenly hierarchy and the paramount importance of the Crucifixion. Humbert of Romans recommended it as the first place to take important visitors when they came to the convent.⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ The best known example of propaganda for the Dominican Order through chapter house decoration is, of course, the so-called Spanish Chapel in S. Maria Novella. The chapter house of S. Nicolò, Treviso is in certain respects a forerunner of the scheme which was developed there. Within the Provincia Romana the chapter house of S. Domenico, Pistoia also makes a contribution, admittedly more modest, to this development.

The frescoed decoration, already in a poor condition, (fig. 156) was further damaged as a result of bombing during the war. As at Treviso, the east wall shows the Crucifixion. (This fresco will be

discussed further in chapter 6). On either side, occupying the remainder of the wall, two arches enclose standing saints.⁽¹¹⁰⁾

(figs.157,158) Almost the entire surface of the figures has been lost, but small portions of black and white vestment, short enough to reveal the feet of the figures, encourages the speculation that the two saints flanking the Crucifixion are Dominic and Peter Martyr, while the second figure to the right, holding a crozier, might be St. Augustine (whose Rule the Dominicans followed) who makes several other appearances in a Dominican context during the period. Perhaps here, as at Treviso, members of the Order are linked with the central scene of Christian art in a decoration calculated to impress both chapter members and guests.

St. Dominic and Francis Represented Together.

One other circumstance of the Order was sometimes expressed in art produced for it before the Council of Lyons. Until the Dominican and Franciscan Orders were confirmed by the Council acts, the future of the two strongest mendicant Orders was in doubt. Despite their popularity they were a constant prey to the attacks of their detractors, especially the secular clergy. The Council of Lyons could not put an end to such attacks, but it marked a new period of security in the history of both Orders. In paintings made for members of the Order in the period preceding the Council, Dominic tends to be accompanied by Francis, for example in the Yale triptych (fig.182) and the Andrea Gallerani reliquary shutters, (fig.113) indicating the unity which was felt, and felt to be necessary, between the two main mendicant Orders. In the half-century following the Council, Francis is virtually never included on Dominican Provincia Romana paintings. At this time the Dominicans were apparently pursuing the strengthening of their own Order, which came increasingly to resemble the more established non-mendicant religious Orders.⁽¹¹¹⁾ The difficulties which the Franciscans encountered with heretical activities in their own Order, encouraged the Dominicans to dissociate themselves from their former allies. On occasions they were even called on by the pope to help destroy heretical sections of it.⁽¹¹²⁾ Later still, following the stabilising of the Franciscan Order and reform of the Dominicans, painters were again required to express the friendship between the two Orders. The legend of the Three Spears and the

Dream of Innocent III were used to this end in, for example, Benozzo Gozzoli's frescoes in S. Francesco, Montefalco⁽¹¹³⁾ and in the predella of the S. Domenico, Cortona altarpiece of the Virgin and Child Enthroned, attributed to Fra Angelico.⁽¹¹⁴⁾

NOTES TO CHAPTER 5

1. See below, pp.186-8, for a discussion of dating.
2. Gómez-Moreno et al., 'St. Dominic', assume that this is so without arguing the case.
3. Gómez-Moreno, p.363, says that in 1919 it came to Durlacher Brothers from the collection of the Marchese Peruzzi of Florence; Stubblebine, p.85, says the panel came to the Fogg from the collection of F.M. Perkins at Lastra a Signa.
4. See Gómez-Moreno, p.363.
5. See M.S. Frinta, 'Note on the punched decoration of two early painted panels at the Fogg Art Museum: St. Dominic and the Crucifixion, AB, 53 (1971), pp.306-9.
6. A further indication is the apparent copy of the Fogg St. Dominic's pose - anachronistic by the 14th century - made in the Ducciesque diptych wing now in the Art Institute Chicago (fig.253).
7. See e.g. Garrison, Index, nos.51,54,55,56,57,58, pp.50-51. See note 58 below.
8. See above, pp.93,95.
9. See below, pp.236,287, note 16.
10. See Meersseman, 'Études', pp.46-7.
11. Ibid. and Id., 'Études', I, pp.39-41.
12. See the Catalogue, appendix 1.
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid.
15. Ibid.
16. See below, chapter 7 (a), pp.239-40, notes 30,33.
17. Bacci, Dipinti Inediti, pp.5-6; De D. Andrea de Galleranis senis in Etruria, AASS, March, 3, pp.49-57.
18. Bacci, pp.18-20.
19. An examination of confraternity archives now in the Archivio di Stato, Siena has proved fruitless.
20. Reproduced in Gómez-Moreno, 'St. Dominic', figs.5,7; shown diagrammatically fig.1.
21. Stubblebine, Guido, p.87.

22. Stubblebine, p.85.
23. Garrison, Index, p.78.
24. See appendix 1.
25. BOP, 1, p.296.
26. Unfortunately the text of the bull does not state the dedication of the church.
27. See appendix 1.
28. See Gómez-Moreno, p.364. Unfortunately I have not seen the panel; all remarks concerning condition are based on Gómez-Moreno's article.
29. See Gómez-Moreno, fig.2, for reconstruction drawing.
30. See Gómez-Moreno, p.365, n.20.
31. See below, p.191.
32. See Gómez-Moreno, p.365.
33. For panels of this construction (but with inscribed arches, not gables) see Garrison, Index, pp.74-7.
34. See Garrison, No.206, p.85.
35. Pineschi, Memorie Istoriche, p.xxviii.
Paatz suggested the painting may have stood in the second chapel to the North of the capella maggiore, possibly originally dedicated to St. Dominic (Vol.III, pp.743,711-12)
36. E.g. the Yale/Jarves triptych, the Bardi St. Francis panel.
37. See Gómez-Moreno, p.364.
38. MOPH, 20, p.16.
39. V. Perrotta, Descrizione Storica della chiesa e del monastero di San Domenico Maggiore di Napoli, (Naples, 1830), pp.68-9.
40. Dimensions: 1900 x 630 mm.
See F. Bologna, I Pittori alla Corte Angioina di Napoli, 1266-1414, (Rome, 1969), pp.58-9, who gives a summary of previous opinions and himself attributes the panel to a Neapolitan master, c.1290.
The use of gilded glass panels in the halo, and formerly also in the frame, may provide a clue to the origins of the panel. See C. Bertelli, 'Vetri, e altre cose della Napoli Angioina', Paragone, 263 (1972), pp.98-9, fig.47. Bertelli attributes the work to a Neapolitan hand of the late 13th century.

41. The church of S. Michele Arcangelo, conceded to Tommaso Agni in 1231, was rededicated to S. Maria Maddalena; see S. Forte OP, 'Le Province Domenicane in Italia nel 1650, Conventi e Religiosi', AFP, 39 (1969), p.453. The foundation stone for a new church was laid 6 January 1283; see A. Venditti, 'Urbanistica e architettura angioina', Storia di Napoli, III (Naples, 1969), p.861, note 1. It was probably with this rebuilding that the church was rededicated to St. Dominic, since a document of 31 July 1297 refers to the prior of the convent of S. Domenico, Naples; see T. Kaeppli OP, 'Dalle pergamene di S. Domenico di Napoli ...', AFP, 32 (1962), p.287. Stubblebine, Guido, pp.40-41, suggests similar motives for the 1221 date given to the Palazzo Pubblico Madonna.
42. See Kaeppli, 'Napoli', p.285.
43. 1570 x 610 mm.
See Bologna, Corte Angioina, pp.59-60, for a summary of previous opinions. He attributes the work to Giovanni da Taranto(?), c.1305.
'Una tradizione orale, non controllabile, afferma la tavola proveniente dal monastero dei domenicani a Gaeta', O. Morisani, Pittura del Trecento in Napoli, (Naples, 1947), p.115, n.10.
44. The crucifix, apparently unpublished, is now displayed in the Museo di Capodimonte, Naples.
45. See below, p.230, note 27.
46. Confirmed verbally, 1976.
47. See Perrotta, San Domenico Maggiore, pp.68-9; Morisani, Napoli, p.114, n.6.
48. Bologna, S. Domenico, Cor.12, f.1r; Cor.24-1, f.75r; Cor.25, f.1r; Cor.27, f.109v; Museo Civico, Cor.524, f.281r.
For bibliography for these Bolognese choir books see appendix 4.
49. E.g. St. Dominic Panel, Capodimonte Museum, Naples: Euntes in mundum universum predicate (Mark XVI, 15); Bologna, S. Domenico, Cor.25, f.1r: Nos predicamus Christum crucifixum (1 Cor. 1, 23 adapted); Simone Martini S. Caterina Polyptych: Venite filii audite me timorem Domini docebo vos (Psalms, XXXIII, 12).
50. Cecilia Cesarini, Miracula, pp.325-6.
51. See below, pp.260-61.
52. See below, pp.195-6 and note 68.
53. E.g. Bologna, Museo Civico, Cor.524, f.281r; S. Domenico, Cor.27, f.55r.; St. Dominic Panel, Capodimonte Museum, Naples.

54. E.g. Assisi, S. Francesco, Upper Church, ill. G. Previtali, Giotto e la sua bottega, (Milan, 1967), p.296, fig.252; Prato, Ospedale, ill. G. Marchini, 'Affreschi inediti del Dugento a Prato', Rivista d'Arte, 19 (1937), pp.164-5, figs.1,2; Florence, Baptistery, Last Judgement mosaic, ill. A. de Witt, I Mosaici del Battistero di Firenze, III, (Florence, 1956), plates 3,6,12,15; Venice, S. Marco, mosaic below atrium cupola with stories of Jacob and Joseph, Alinari photograph no.32386.
55. See Jedin, Latourette and Martin, Atlas, pp.42-3, and see above, chapter 1, note 160.
56. E.g. in Umbria the Maestro di S. Francesco, who seems, with his shop, to have worked almost exclusively for the Franciscans - in the Lower Church, Assisi and on panels such as Garrison, Index, nos.52,424,425,426,427,428,429,441,442,443,533,542, 680; pp.50,161-6,170,205,207,239.
57. E.g. the Upper Church of S. Francesco, Assisi.
58. M. Franceschini, Francescani e società: Problemi di Linguaggio Figurativo come comunicazione di contenuti ideologici nel XIII e XIV secolo, typescript thesis for Università degli Studi di Roma, Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia (1974-75), investigates the acquisition of panels of St. Francis and concludes that artists may have made such panels for stock. See also note 7, above.
59. See above, chapter 4, p.170 and note 10.
60. I have been unable to detect a suture, either in situ or from photographs.
61. The eastern part of the church was definitely completed by 1290 and probably built in the third quarter of the 13th century. See appendix 1.
62. See R. Longhi, 'La pittura umbra della prima metà del Trecento', ed. M. Gregori, Paragone, 282-3 (1973), p.29, figs.86,87.
63. For a list of central Italian Dominican choir books, with brief bibliography, see appendix 4.
Individual references, dating and attribution will not be supplied for the miniatures discussed in this chapter.
64. Vicaire, Documents, p.65.
65. Vicaire, p.31.
66. E.g. used respectively in Francesco Traini's St. Dominic altarpiece, Pisa, Museo Nazionale di S. Matteo; Angevin Legendarium, Vat. Lat. 8541, f.90r. (fig.120).
67. Jordan, Libellus, p.30.
68. Ferrandus, Legenda, p.212.

69. Jordan, Libellus, pp.27-8.
70. Vicaire, p.93.
71. E.g. 11th century Sacramentary from Regensburg, Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Clm.4456, f.11r.
72. Vicaire, pp.95-6.
73. See above, chapter 4, note 50.
74. See M. Laclotte and É. Moggetti, Peinture Italienne, Avignon-Musée du Petit Palais, Inventaire des Collections Publiques Françaises, 21, 2nd Ed. (Paris, 1977), p.138 and fig.138.
75. See above, chapter 4, note 45.
76. Gerard of Frachet, Vitae Fratrum Ordinis Praedicatorum, ed. B.M. Reichert OP, MOPH, 1, (Louvain, 1896), p.10, cap.1. A later example is Theodoric of Appoldia, Libellus de Vita et Obitu et Miraculis S. Dominici et de Ordine quem instituit in AASS, August, 1, p.576, pars.65-6.
77. The Speculum Humanae Salvationis is generally thought to have been composed by a Dominican, around the first quarter of the 14th century. See J. Lutz and P. Perdrizet, Speculum Humanae Salvationis, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1907/9), esp. vol.II, plate 73.
78. See A.G. Little (ed.), Franciscan History and Legend in English Mediaeval Art, British Society of Franciscan Studies, 19 (Manchester, 1937), pp.43-4, 56.
79. See Meersseman, Études, III, p.75.
80. H.C. Ross, Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Medieval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection, I. (Metalwork, Ceramics, Glass, Glyptics, Painting), (Washington DC, 1962, cat. no.10, pp.12-15, plates 11-13.
81. H. Tietze, Die Illuinierten Handschriften der Rossiana, in Wien-Linz, (Leipzig, 1911) incorrectly calls the MS. mid 15th century Provençal. A manuscript catalogue of the Rossi collection made by C. Da Silva Tarouca (available Vatican Library) suggests that mentions of Valencia and Cartoxa serve to localise the MS. as Spanish (possibly from the Carthusian house of Porta Coeli in Valencia.) I am grateful to Bruce Barker-Benfield for confirming that the text appears to be written in a Spanish hand.
82. De Novem Modis Orandi S. Dominici. The text is given (incorrectly) as the last chapter of Theodoric of Appoldia's Libellus, AASS, August, 1, pp.629-32. Another edition by I. Taurisano OP, in ASOP, 15 (Rome, 1922), pp.95-106, lists and describes the four known illustrated versions of the text. (A 15th century Italian MS. of the text, Vat. Lat.1218 was apparently intended to have illustrations, although these were never executed.) For the history of the text see also Vicaire, Documents, p.200.

83. Compare also the stoning of St. Stephen in Perugia, Biblioteca Augusta, MS.2788 (G), f.163v. with the single leaf of the Death of St. Peter Martyr, formerly in the same book, now in the Cini Collection. (See appendix 4 for further references.)
84. E.g. see the Carrow Psalter, formerly Yates Thompson Collection, ill. T. Borenius, St. Thomas Becket in Art, (London, 1932), plate 37.
85. Orlandi, MD, 64 (1947), pp.33-5, fig.4.
86. Footnote omitted.
87. AASS, April, III, p.719.
88. See appendix 4.
89. See H. Kiel, Il Museo del Bigallo a Firenze, (Florence, 1977), pp.121-2, figs.53,53a.
90. See M. Salmi, 'Gli affreschi ricordati dal Vasari in S. Domenico Perugia', BA, NS 1, (1921/2), pp.403-26.
91. Unpublished(?) (Alinari photograph 45540).
92. See appendix 1.
93. See above, chapter 4, note 47.
94. See below, p.241.
95. See below, pp.276-7.
96. See Little, Franciscan History, p.57.
97. Garrison, Index, no.3, p.40.
98. See below, p.256.
99. See below, p.284.
100. Commissioned 1335, signed and dated 1339.
For a summary of the history of the Arca and the relevant bibliography see Cipriani, dell'Acqua, Russoli, La Cappella Portinari, pp.53-6, with numerous plates (i-xliv). Four scenes from the saint's life: the miraculous appearance of a cloud to hide the sun, two healing miracles and his martyrdom, are shown on f.59r of the Angevin Legendarium, Vat. Lat. 8541, a Bolognese work of c.1340-50.
101. See above, p.201.
102. A fragmentary detached 14th century fresco (attributed to a Pistoiese master influenced by Cristiani) now displayed in the refectory of S. Domenico, Pistoia (fig.146) is outside the period under consideration, but deserves

mention in this context because of the way it represents the nature of the Order as a whole, by describing the Order's mission. The fresco illustrates the pastoral activities of the Order which, as described above, superseded the fight against heresy as the main task of the Dominicans, towards the end of the 13th century. Four Dominicans, three with haloes and all with a titulus bearing a more or less legible inscription, are set within a landscape. At the left, the friar without a halo, in cathedra, has just heard confession and grants absolution (asolvo te in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti). To his right, a standing Dominican (Peter Martyr?) guides the faithful towards his brother. Only the tops of their heads are visible, but since these are crowned with garlands and the figures appear to be unusually short, they may represent souls rather than corporeal beings. (Per multas tribulationes oportet intrare in regnum dei ...) (Acts, XIV, 21.) The two remaining Dominicans, Dominic, with a star above his halo, and another figure who may represent Thomas Aquinas, look to their left, presumably towards a part of the fresco, now lost, which showed a group of the faithful. The inscriptions which accompany them are very damaged. Above these figures, in a more distant part of the landscape, there is the lower part of what appears to be a representation of the souls of the blessed entering heaven. This allegorical composition is related to that on the south wall of the Spanish Chapel, but the considerable differences between the two show the number of ideas which the Dominicans were able to bring to this type of painting.

103. Signed and dated. See J.J. Berthier OP, Le Chapitre de San Nicolò de Trévisé, (Rome, 1912); L. Coletti, Tomaso da Modena, (Venice, 1963), pp.18-25, 120, plates 3-41.
104. See QE, I, p.vii, where Bernard Gui's list of 1303 is printed.
105. See Berthier, Le Chapitre, pp.6-7. Only the figure of Peter survives.
106. See QE, I, p.vii.
107. Ibid.
108. Purely ornamental painting on a chapter house roof is found at S. Romano, Lucca.
109. Humbert, Opera, II, p.277.
110. The fantasy architecture which surmounts them is similar in type, but not in detail, to that used at Treviso.
111. See above, pp.34-6.
112. E.g. see Lambert, Franciscan Poverty, pp.217ff., 241.
113. See A. Padua Rizzo, Benozzo Gozzoli, Pittore Fiorentino, (Florence, 1972), pp.115-6, figs.60, 61.

114. Ill. J. Pope-Hennessy, Fra Angelico, 2nd. ed., (London, 1974), fig.239.

CHAPTER 6:

DOMINICAN CRUCIFIXES AND CRUCIFIXIONS.

During the course of the 13th century, the number of large and finely painted crucifixes which were produced apparently increased.⁽¹⁾ Several innovations distinguish these crucifixes from the work of the preceding period: the replacement of the Christus Triumphans type by the Christus Patiens, as popularised by Giunta Pisano, who presumably copied the motif from Byzantine models;⁽²⁾ the abandoning of scenes or figures on cross aprons, in favour of a simpler, patterned apron, also popularised by Giunta Pisano; the inclusion of a small-scale figure, generally a saint but sometimes a donor, at the foot of the cross, especially favoured in the works of the Maestro di S. Francesco;⁽³⁾ the introduction of the three-nail cross and various associated changes in the depiction of the body of Christ, probably deriving from north European types and possibly popularised by way of a crucifix which may have existed in S. Francesco, Assisi,⁽⁴⁾ (reconstructed on the basis of the crucifix represented in the fresco of the Verification of the Stigmata in the Upper Church, S. Francesco, Assisi and some early 14th century Umbrian crucifixes).

Each of these innovations, in its separate way, stresses the emotional involvement of the spectator with the sufferings of the crucified Christ. The use of the Patiens instead of the Triumphans type manifests the human rather than the divine nature of Christ. The removal of scenes and figures from the cross apron focuses the spectator's attention on the all-important figure of Christ. The removal of small-scale scenes also facilitates the artist's attempt at naturalism, and the clearing of the apron permits the ever-increasing sway of the dead and slumping body of Christ. The retention of Mary and John, now shown on the cross-terminals, provides a link between spectator and event: the grief displayed by the holy figures serves as a guide and example for what the spectator's emotional reaction may be, while the practice of showing the two accompanying figures looking out towards the spectator, rather than at Christ, further compels the onlooker's attention and participation. The inclusion of St. Francis at the foot of the cross, favoured by his Order, formed an additional emotional link and underlined the contact between a near-contemporary figure and the holy events of

the Bible - an intimation to the spectator that the huge distance in space and time could be bridged. The adoption of the three-nail cross further enhanced the three-dimensional, realistic quality of the painting.

This new emphasis on the emotional qualities of the crucifixion suited both of the main mendicant Orders. Both sought to bring the events of the Bible closer to the laity and to enliven the message of the church, especially through the directly emotional appeal of the sermon. Moreover, the Dominicans were particularly committed to stressing the orthodox view of holy events, so that the suffering of Christ in order to redeem mankind with his blood, as re-enacted at every mass, was a central point of their teaching. The importance of the crucifixion and its commemoration had to be defended against the heretics, who rejected the adoration of the cross and held that the consecrated bread and wine were not the body and blood of Christ, but merely corruptible.⁽⁵⁾ Thus a realistic and emotionally moving depiction of the suffering Christ, fixed to the rood above the altar, fitted exactly the point which the Dominicans wished to make, since a clear visual and mental connection could be made by the spectator between, on the one hand, the actual body of Christ and the blood dripping down to the foot of the cross, and on the other, the consecrated wine and bread on the altar below. Meanwhile, the crucifixion had a special importance for the Franciscans because of the devotion of St. Francis for the naked and crucified Christ, culminating in the appearance of the stigmata.⁽⁶⁾

It was the Franciscans who introduced each new development in cross design, or, if not, swiftly adopted it. The Franciscan association with artists who could either devise, adapt or repeat new iconographic types stretches from Frate Elia's commissioning of a cross (now lost) from Giunta Pisano in 1236,⁽⁷⁾ through the almost exclusively Franciscan production of the Maestro di S. Francesco⁽⁸⁾ and the major advances, often made for Franciscan patrons, of Cimabue,⁽⁹⁾ to the conjectured early three-nail crucifix at S. Francesco, Assisi.⁽¹⁰⁾

The Dominicans, on the other hand, were not active in inventing or in bringing about the invention of new types for the crucifixion. Nor did the Dominicans match the Franciscans in the number of crucifixes owned by their houses: numerous central Italian Franciscan

houses acquired crucifixes, especially during the last third of the 13th century.⁽¹¹⁾ However, the few Dominican crucifixes which survive in the area (listed in appendix 5) clearly demonstrate that while the Dominicans were not the initiators of new types, they were often willing to adopt the innovations which the Franciscans had introduced, and they had their own distinctive role to play, by favouring certain new designs and aiding their dissemination.

Of the few Dominican crucifixes which survive, three are of outstanding quality: the Giunta Pisano cross in S. Domenico, Bologna, the Cimabue cross in S. Domenico, Arezzo and the cross, often attributed to Giotto, in S. Maria Novella. These works will be examined in some detail for indications of the Dominican role in the development of the 13th century crucifix.

Giunta Pisano's S. Domenico, Bologna Crucifix.

The signed Giunta Pisano cross in Bologna (fig.159) is the only generally accepted extant example of the artist's later style.⁽¹²⁾ The simplified cross-design, with its restrained yet decisive emphasis on emotion, is perfectly handled. The Bolognese Dominicans sent as far away as Pisa for this work, and the choice may have been prompted not only by admiration of the artist concerned but also by a desire to emulate the Franciscans: a Giunta crucifix hung in the church where St. Francis was buried⁽¹³⁾ and one was now also provided for the church which contained St. Dominic's tomb.⁽¹⁴⁾ The Dominicans seem to have been a little slow in following their fellow Mendicants. This may have been through lack of interest, lack of money, disapproval of large and lavish paintings or initial caution in approving a new and potentially controversial crucifix type. Once the crucifix had been installed, it caused considerable reverberations within Bolognese painting. Half-a-dozen reflections of the style and design can be seen in Bologna and the surrounding area, and more, no doubt, existed.⁽¹⁵⁾

Cimabue's S. Domenico, Arezzo Crucifix.

The acceptance of new crucifix types in central Italy was by no means immediate or ubiquitous. Other patrons continued to ask for,

or be supplied with, crucifixes adhering to the earlier designs. The fact that the S. Domenico, Arezzo crucifix (figs. 160, 163, 165) repeats the Giunta Pisano design is surprising. Cimabue, to whom the cross is generally attributed, is thought to have trained in the shop of Coppo di Marcovaldo, where he would have been familiar with the older type of historiated crucifix apron. As late as 1274, when Cimabue must already have left Coppo's workshop, ⁽¹⁶⁾ crucifixes of this type were still being produced. ⁽¹⁷⁾

In fact, Giunta Pisano's simplified cross design had not been generally adopted in Florence and other parts of Tuscany. During the third quarter of the century Giunta's innovation was only really popular in Umbria, almost exclusively through the work of the Maestro di S. Francesco and his shop, and in and around Bologna. ⁽¹⁸⁾ Even in Giunta's native town the crucifixes produced by, for example, Enrico di Tedice, show that acceptance of the new type was not universal. ⁽¹⁹⁾ Yet the Dominicans, perhaps mindful of the Umbrian activity of the Maestro di S. Francesco or of their own Giunta crucifix in Bologna, acquired a painting of the newer type by an important master from another town. ⁽²⁰⁾

It is not possible to say whether Cimabue offered to paint this type of crucifix for the Dominicans or whether they specifically asked him to paint this type for them, perhaps even for the first time in his career. But it is possible to say that the Arezzo crucifix is closer to Giunta than to the works of any other master and that Cimabue must in some way, either through training or a more distant contact, have come under his influence. ⁽²¹⁾ It has been suggested that the source of this influence was Giunta's lost crucifix of 1236 from S. Francesco, Assisi, ⁽²²⁾ but Brandi's proposed reconstruction of this work, based mainly on the evidence of the Maestro di S. Francesco's 1272 crucifix (fig. 161) and the signed Giunta crucifix from S. Ranierino, Pisa shows a more emphatically disjointed, tapering body than that of Cimabue's Arezzo crucifix, the abdomen divided into only two sections; the cross apron patterned with polygons instead of rectangles. ⁽²³⁾ Meanwhile, Giunta's surviving Assisi cross, in S. Maria degli Angeli, ⁽²⁴⁾ also differs from the Arezzo cross: Christ's perizoma is white rather than red with gold striations; the narrow cross apron is gold instead of patterned; the body of Christ curves only slightly; the locks of hair hang over one instead of both shoulders. The closest comparable

Giunta crucifix is that in S. Domenico, Bologna. (fig.159) It is usual to place the two Assisi crosses (and the S. Ranierino cross) together, in the early part of Giunta's career and to place the Bologna cross fairly late,⁽²⁵⁾ so it appears that Cimabue was influenced by one of Giunta's later works when painting the Arezzo cross - not by the 1236 Assisi work. Although the nearest comparison is indeed with the Bologna cross, any suggestion of a deliberate, Dominican-encouraged link between the two works can be no more than speculation.

Yet at the very least it can be said that the Dominicans took the trouble to patronise an artist who could supply them with a specific type of cross, which differed from the types available in much of the surrounding area. A comparison with the work of the Maestro di S. Francesco, who was also strongly influenced by Giunta, may help to clarify the nature of this specific type. Comparing the Arezzo painting with the cross in the Galleria Nazionale, Perugia⁽²⁶⁾ (fig.161) we see that the terminal figures are busts rather than full-length, the Virgin Orans flanked by two angels - a reference to the Ascension - is omitted, in favour of the titulus, giving a closer approximation to the actual appearance of the original cross, and there is no kneeling figure at the base of the cross. In other words here, as in the majority of Dominican crucifixes, the simplest possible type with the greatest possible emphasis on the principal elements of the event, is favoured.

The Dominicans were selective in what they adopted, and although making use of Franciscan innovations, they took only those elements which served the Order's needs. They were not afraid to make use of new ideas - the Christus Patiens and, as we shall see, the three-nail cross - which had clear implications concerning dogma, but they generally rejected other features of an unorthodox nature, such as the depiction of a saint embracing the feet of Christ.⁽²⁷⁾ These preferences parallel the character of the Order itself: prepared to use new methods which involved the laity more closely, through instruction and through an appeal to their emotions, but only to impart orthodox ideas, with care taken never to court heresy.

The S. Maria Novella Crucifix.

There is a striking change of emotional character between the Arezzo painting and the third major Dominican crucifix, which was made for S. Maria Novella, Florence.⁽²⁸⁾ (figs. 162, 164, 166) Both crucifixes, adhering to the simple, uncluttered design favoured by the Dominicans, contain the same basic elements, but the type of appeal they make to the feelings of the spectator clearly diverge.

The Arezzo cross brings the emotional qualities implicit in Giunta's work to a climax, increasing the sway of the heavy, sagging dead body of Christ and distorting the faces of the Virgin (fig. 163) and St. John, who look directly at the spectator, so that their grief can be 'read', even at a distance. In contrast the S. Maria Novella cross is restrained. Christ's face, (fig. 166) masked by shadow, has an expression of sad, calm acceptance - almost of sleep - rather than of exhaustion, distress and pain (fig. 165). The two onlooking figures (fig. 164) have identical gestures of quiet sorrow, perhaps chosen to suggest the period of meditation after the crucifixion described in the Meditations on the Life of Christ,⁽²⁹⁾ and although their faces express sadness and regret as they gaze thoughtfully at Christ, they have nothing of the sharply down-turned mouths and puckered eyebrows of the Arezzo figures. The greatest change is in the pose of the crucified Christ. (figs. 160, 162) The emphatic curve of the body to the right has been replaced by a turn to the left and the figure now bends backwards at the hips, instead of swaying forward and to the side. Moreover, there are now three nails instead of four.

The spectator is still deeply involved in the event depicted, but in a rather different way. The Arezzo cross makes a forceful and direct appeal to the emotions, primarily by providing an example, in its purest, most powerful state, of the emotion to be experienced: by showing the very essence of grief and suffering it teaches the onlooker what his response must be. Meanwhile, the accompanying figures also demand the attention of the spectator. On the other hand, the S. Maria Novella cross concentrates on the actual event of the Crucifixion rather than the emotions connected with it. Again the two onlooking figures act as guides to the spectator's response. Their mood of quiet meditation encourages the faithful to a contemplation of the actual body of Christ crucified, made as

realistic as possible so that, in conjunction with the angle at which the cross must have been suspended, it appears as though the real body were hanging down from the cross into the space below.⁽³⁰⁾ The angle of Christ's head and the shadows obscuring his eyes combine to give the effect that he is looking downwards at the people gathered near the altar, instead of having the closed eyes of a dead man. The only harsh note (attributed by some to repainting⁽³¹⁾) is the detail of Christ's blood running down his arms to his elbows and in a small stream from the wound in his side, under the perizoma, to emerge again above the knee. These details, rarely used,⁽³²⁾ again heighten the veracity of the effect. Emotionalism is here replaced by illusionism as an instrument of religious instruction.

The S. Maria Novella crucifix is an early example of the three-nail type which also includes considerable changes in the pose of Christ's body. As mentioned above,⁽³³⁾ the introduction of this north European iconography and design into central Italian painting (long after its establishment in the North) may have been made in a lost crucifix from S. Francesco, Assisi, which has been reconstructed by Oertel as a work similar to the Dominican crucifix.⁽³⁴⁾

The S. Maria Novella crucifix is often said to be by Giotto,⁽³⁵⁾ and the donation of oil for a lamp to burn before a large crucifix painted by Giotto, made in Riccuccio di Fuccio's will of 1312 (discussed in chapter 3 (c)⁽³⁶⁾), indicates that a crucifix by that artist did hang in S. Maria Novella. Riccuccio certainly knew Giotto's work - he presented a (lost) painting by the artist to S. Domenico, Prato, which is also mentioned in his will.⁽³⁷⁾ However, Offner has convincingly rejected the attribution of the existing crucifix to Giotto on stylistic grounds and proposes instead that there were two crucifixes painted for S. Maria Novella in the early 14th century: the one which still exists in the church, and another, painted by Giotto, (possibly in 1312, as indicated in a lost document recorded by Pineschi) whose present location is not known.⁽³⁸⁾ There is no difficulty in proposing the existence of two crosses, close to each other in date, in the same church. S. Francesco, Assisi had two frescoed crucifixion scenes on the transept walls of the upper and lower churches in addition to two, probably more, crucifixes,⁽³⁹⁾ while Coppo di Marcovaldo was commissioned to paint two crosses for the Pistoia Duomo - one for the high altar and the

other for the altar of St. Michael Archangel.⁽⁴⁰⁾ Riccuccio may have found it necessary to identify the crucifix before which his lamp was to burn as being that painted by Giotto, precisely because there were other crucifixes extant in the church at the time.

The relation of the S. Maria Novella crucifix to the works of Giotto, to Assisi and to the introduction of a new type of crucifix - which achieved rapid popularity and of which it is now the earliest representative - are all problematical. There is no room to pursue these questions further here. Similarly, reasons for the use of the three-nail cross - first in north Europe and, considerably later, in Italy - and the possible links of the innovation with the liturgy, relics, the Turin shroud, 'paraliturgical' literature and purely artistic considerations, are subjects too complex to be raised in a short space.⁽⁴¹⁾

Other Dominican Crucifixes and Crucifixion Scenes.⁽⁴²⁾

Changes to the iconography of crucifixes and of the Crucifixion in late 13th and early 14th century Italy were not limited to the number of nails shown or the direction in which Christ's body seemed to sway. The cross itself could be shown as a Y shape, or made of rough-hewn wood, the body of Christ could be represented bearing the wounds received at the flagellation, figures might be included, seated meditating at the foot of the cross.

The iconography of the rough-hewn and/or Y-shaped cross, and of the tormented body of Christ, used principally in large-scale wood sculpture, has been discussed at length in de Francovich's article on the crocifisso gotico doloroso. De Francovich believes that the type, particularly favoured in Germany, was probably popularised in Italy by the mendicant Orders.⁽⁴³⁾ In the period covered by this thesis there are only two, or possibly three, Dominican examples of the type in central Italy: the wooden crucifix from S. Domenico, Orvieto, which de Francovich dates to c.1285-95;⁽⁴⁴⁾ (fig.167) the 1285 seal of Master General Munio de Zamora⁽⁴⁵⁾ (fig.168); possibly also the wooden crucifix in SS. Domenico e Giacomo, Bevagna, reputedly bought by Beato Giacomo Bianconi,⁽⁴⁶⁾ which de Francovich does not include in his study.

Matthiae has suggested that the depiction of St. John, and generally also the Virgin, seated at the foot of the cross (described in a passage in the Meditations on the Life of Christ) is also an iconography of north European origin.⁽⁴⁷⁾ This meditative image, perhaps more in tune with the crucifixes and crucifixion scenes generally favoured by the Dominicans than the urgent, dramatic image of the croce gotico doloroso, makes two of its earliest known appearances in works produced for members of the Order. One example is the chalice, now in the Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria, Perugia, said to have belonged to Benedict XI, who died in 1304.⁽⁴⁸⁾ (fig.169) John meditates, hands clasped, while the Virgin reaches up with both hands towards the crucified Christ (an early example of the three-nail, backward-swaying type). The other example is a fresco from the former Dominican church in Tivoli, (now displayed in their church of S. Biagio, Tivoli) (fig.170) probably painted by a follower of Cavallini in the first quarter of the 14th century.⁽⁴⁹⁾ The crucifixion takes place outside the walls of Jerusalem. John looks up at the crucifix while the Virgin gazes at the ground in sorrow. The scene is flanked by standing figures of a bishop and of St. Dominic, holding a book in his left hand, his right hand raised, palm facing outwards (as in the early panels representing Dominic, discussed in chapter 5).

The restrained mood of the scene, and the sober stillness of the side figures, are features which recur in a Cavallini school (or Cavallini?) fresco of the Crucifixion (of much higher quality) in the 'Brancacci' chapel, S. Domenico Maggiore, Naples (strictly speaking outside the area under discussion) painted during the first quarter of the 14th century.⁽⁵⁰⁾ (fig.171) The detachment of the side figures, in this case St. Dominic and St. Peter Martyr, is emphasised by setting them before two city gates. The main image is presented very simply.

The crucifixion fresco from the chapter house of S. Domenico, Pistoia, probably painted towards the end of the 13th century by a Pistoiese master influenced by Coppo di Marcovaldo (and possibly also Cimabue),⁽⁵¹⁾ (figs.156,172) also concentrates on the essential elements of the scene. Nothing distracts from the image of the crucified Christ; the Virgin acts directly as a link between the spectator and the event. The two accompanying Dominican saints stand discreetly to the side, under separate arches (figs.156-8)

In contrast the near-contemporary fresco of the Crucifixion by Cimabue in the upper church of S. Francesco, Assisi (fig.173) is filled with movement, incident and detail. Francis is at the very centre of the scene, touching the cross. In this case we can be confident that the painting which the Dominicans obtained - a devotional image rather than a narrative scene - was precisely the painting they required. The sinopia for the fresco survives, (figs.174,175) revealing that the artist's original composition grouped the Virgin and St. John together to the left of the cross, communicating with each other rather than with the spectator (as at Assisi), and placed the Centurion on the right of the cross, to act as intermediary between onlooker and image. The Dominicans of Pistoia, wishing to have only the most orthodox and direct version of the scene depicted in their chapter house, had the composition altered in the final version.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 6

1. See Garrison, Index, pp.174-221.
2. See O. Demus, Byzantine Art and the West, (London, 1970), pp.222-4.
3. E.g. Garrison, Nos.533,563,565,571, pp.205,212,213.
4. See R. Oertel, 'Giotto-Ausstellung in Florenz', Zkg, 6 (1937), pp.227-31.
5. See Bernard Gui, Manuel de l'Inquisiteur, ed. and trans. G. Mollat, (Paris, 1926), vol.I, pp.12,24,42; Leff, Heresy, II, pp.451-2; Orlandi, MD, 63 (1946), p.60.
6. See Lambert, Franciscan Poverty, p.62.
7. See P. Bacci, ' "Junctus Pisanus Pictor", Note e documenti editi e inediti (1229-1254)', BA, n.s.2 (1922-23), pp.158-60.
8. See above, chapter 5, note 56.
9. E.g. the frescoes in the Upper Church of S. Francesco, Assisi; the S. Croce crucifix.
10. See above, note 4.
11. See below, chapter 7, note 7.
12. 3160 x 2850 mm.
See C. Brandi, 'Il crocifisso di Giunta Pisano in S. Domenico a Bologna', L'Arte, 39 (1936), pp.71-91, esp. pp.71,80. D. Campini, Giunta Pisano e le croci dipinti Romaniche, (Milan, 1966), p.60, says (without giving evidence) that the crucifix was suspended from a pontile dividing the church and suggests the crucifix was installed shortly after Innocent IV consecrated S. Domenico, Bologna, in 1251.
13. See above, note 7.
14. The choice of a Pisan crucifix may later have had some bearing on the choice of a Pisan atelier to carve Dominic's third tomb.
15. See Garrison, Index, Nos.545,547,548,549,559,582, pp.208,209, 211,216.
16. Cimabue is documented in Rome in 1272; see E. Battisti, Cimabue (London, 1967), p.91.
For a summary of attributions and of theories concerning Cimabue's training see E. Sindona, L'Opera Completa di Cimabue e il momento figurativo pregiottesco, (Milan, 1975), p.86. Garrison, Index, No.540, p.207, attributes the crucifix to Coppo's shop or school, with assistance of the young Cimabue. (Dimensions: 3360 x 2670 mm.)

17. For the Duomo of Pistoia: See G. Coor-Achenbach, 'A visual basis for the documents relating to Coppo di Marcovaldo and his son Salerno', AB, 28 (1946), pp.238-44, fig.2.
18. See above, chapter 5, note 56; this chapter, note 15.
19. See e.g. Garrison, Index, No.524, p.202.
20. There is no other extant work by Cimabue in the area.
21. This could have happened in Rome. Giunta is documented there in 1239, Cimabue in 1272. See C. Verani, 'Giunta Pisano ha soggiornato a Roma?', L'Arte, n.s.23 (1958), pp.3-4; note 16, above.
22. See Sindona, Cimabue, p.86.
23. Brandi, 'Giunta Pisano', p.84. For an illustration of the S. Ranierino crucifix see Campini, Giunta, colour plate 9.
24. Ill. Mostra Giottesca, p.48.
25. See Brandi, 'Giunta Pisano', pp.71,80,84.
26. Garrison, Index, no.533, p.205.
27. The only exception is the crucifix in S. Domenico, Spoleto, painted by an Umbrian master c.1330 (see Gordon, Art in Umbria, p.260) in which the head of a figure of a haloed Dominican, presumably Dominic, survives at the foot of the cross, kissing Christ's feet.
The only examples of Dominican donor figures on central Italian crucifixes, in no case touching Christ's body, are the two friars and two nuns (presumably the prior, sub-prior, prioress and sub-prioress of S. Sisto Vecchio, Rome) on the crucifix now in SS. Domenico e Sisto, Rome (2050 x 1680 mm.) (figs.176,177) (Garrison, No.488, p.190); the Dominican friar pendant to a Franciscan on the crucifix in the Pinacoteca Comunale, Spoleto, attributed to the Cesi Master (Garrison, No.494, p.191); possibly the figure on the 13th century crucifix in the Todi Duomo (Garrison, No.585, p.216) although his habit does not definitely appear Dominican. (Brandi, 'Giunta Pisano', p.80, note 2, points out the similarities between this work and Giunta's S. Domenico, Bologna crucifix which, 'non possono certo ritenersi casuali'.)
A panel of the Crucifixion in S. Domenico Maggiore, Naples (outside the area covered by this thesis) includes two supplicant Dominicans, one on either side of the base of the crucifix, possibly representing the prior and sub-prior of the house. (fig.175) (1200 x 800 mm.) (Garrison, No.611, p.224).
28. 5780 x 4060 mm.
Often identified with the crucifix painted by Giotto for S. Maria Novella, mentioned in Riccuccio di Puccio's will of 1312. See Oertel, 'Giotto-Ausstellung', pp.224-33, who evaluates the documentary evidence and considers the crucifix in the context of Giotto's pre-Paduan style. For further discussion of attribution, see below, pp.255-6.

29. Composed by a Franciscan living in Tuscany, in the second half of the 13th century. See Meditations on the Life of Christ, trans. and ed. I. Ragusa and R. Green, (Princeton, 1961), p.340.
This particular gesture is given to both the Virgin and St. John in one earlier Florentine crucifix, a late 12th century work now in the Uffizi (Garrison, Index, No.515, p.200).
30. A further contribution to realism may be the introduction on the crucifix titulus of the hebrew and greek inscriptions, in addition to the latin text.
31. See e.g. Offner, Cornus, III, vi, p.9.
32. Probable reflections of the S. Maria Novella crucifix, e.g. the Deodato Orlandi crucifix for S. Chiara, S. Miniato al Tedesco (ill. Mostra Giottesca, p.30), do not have this feature. The only Italian example I have so far found is in the Speculum Humanae Salvationis manuscript in the Corsini Library, Rome, MS.K.2(2617), f.34v.
33. p.219 and note 4.
34. See Certel, 'Giotto-Ausstellung', pp.227-31.
35. See G. Vigorelli and E. Baccheschi, L'Opera Completa di Giotto, (Milan, 1966), pp.95-6, for a summary of attributions.
36. See above, chapter 3, p.146 and note 200.
37. Ibid.
38. Offner, Cornus, III, vi, pp.9-12.
39. See above, note 4, below, chapter 7, note 7.
40. See Coor-Achenbach, 'Documents', p.238.
41. For a summary of theories - notably the typescript thesis by K.A. Wirth, Die Entstehung des Drei-Nagel Crucifixus, (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1953) - and of early north European examples, see G. Gemes, 'Recherches sur les origines du crucifix à trois clous', Cahiers Archéologiques, 16 (1966), pp.185-202.
42. There are very few representations of the Crucifixion or of the cross in Dominican choir books. Those which exist tend to show a somewhat symbolical approach:
A miniature from one of the choir books from S. Domenico, Perugia (Bib. Augusta MS.2797 (I), f.150v.) (fig.179) apparently represents Christ crucified between the Tomb and the Temple, (a late 13th century diptych wing, now in Budapest, appears to have similar iconography, see M. Boskovits, Early Italian Paintings in Hungarian Museums, (Budapest, 1966), plate 1).
A choir book from Lucca (Bib. Statale, MS.2654, p.269) (fig.180) shows the instruments of the Passion, with the sun and the moon above the cross. Only three nails are

included, but on p.318 of the same book a representation of the Trinity - the dove issuing from God the Father's mouth as He supports the crucifix - shows the four nail type of crucifixion. (Cames, 'Trois clous', p.188, lists northern examples of variation between the number of nails shown in the Crucifixion and the Arma Christi, within the same work.)

A miniature from one of the S. Maria Novella choir books (Cor.F, invent. no.1355, f.101r.) which may date from as early as c.1270, shows the crown of thorns hanging on the cross, with the three nails lodged in the suppedaneum.

43. De Francovich, 'Crocifisso', pp.243-4.
44. De Francovich, p.178.
45. De Francovich, pp.243-4.
46. See above, pp.117,150.
Outside the period there are examples in S. Maria Novella, S. Domenico, Siena and S. Agnese, Montepulciano, (de Francovich, pp.208-10).
47. G. Matthiae, 'Lavori della Soprintendenza ai Monumenti del Lazio, Affreschi di S. Maria di Vescovio', BA, 28, ser.III, 2 (1934), p.96, note 9.
48. See above, 128 - 9, and below, appendix 3.
For the use of this iconography in Siena, its connection with Sienese goldsmiths and mention of some of the earliest examples see I. Hueck, 'Una Crocifissione su marmo del primo Trecento e alcuni smalti senesi', Antichità Viva, 8 (1969), pp.22-34, esp. p.22 and note 2.
49. As far as I am aware, this fresco is not published.
Another early example, that in S. Maria di Vescovio, may also be by a follower of Cavallini (see G. Matthiae, Pittura Romana del Medioevo, (Rome, 1966), vol.II, pp.236-7) but is certainly not by the same hand as the S. Biagio fresco.
50. See Bologna, Corte Angioina, pp.115-6,120-4, who dates the the chapel to 1308 on the evidence of patronage deduced (incorrectly, in my opinion) from heraldry in the chapel decoration. For a recent rejection of Bologna's early dating see B. Degenhart and A. Schmitt, 'Marino Sanudo und Paolino Veneto: Zwei Literaten des 14. Jahrhunderts in ihrer Wirkung auf Buchillustrierung und Kartographie in Venedig, Avignon und Neapel', Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte, 14 (1973), pp.98-101.
51. See A. Conti, 'Appunti Pistoiesi', Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, ser.III, I, i (1971), pp.119-20, for a summary of attributions. For the decoration of the chapter house see also above, chapter 5, pp.208-9.

CHAPTER 7:

THE DOMINICANS, SIENESE PAINTERS AND THE DEPICTION OF

THE VIRGIN AND CHILD.

Art produced for the early Dominicans failed to promote the cult of the founder, while the obvious external characteristics of the Order - poverty, preaching, study, prayer - did not easily lend themselves to simple striking images. This was partly accident, as has been shown, but also partly design. The Dominicans were more interested in propaganda for the beliefs which the Order promoted than in propaganda for its members. All their activities were a means to an end. The immutable core was a single aim, the zeal for souls, which were to be saved by the dissemination of sound doctrine. The souls in question might be those of cathar heretics or of urban Italian laity, the doctrine might be applied through sermons, services or private talk, but it was of paramount importance that the souls were saved and that the doctrine was sound and orthodox.

Two images were crucial to the doctrine which the Dominicans taught - the two subjects which had been permitted, even encouraged, in the cells of the friars, from the very beginning of the Order.⁽¹⁾ One was the Crucifixion, discussed in the preceding chapter. The other was that of the Virgin and Child.

The Virgin was considered to have played a special role in the foundation and protection of the Dominican Order. She marked her approval of the Dominican habit by showing it to the Blessed Reginald of Orleans in a vision⁽²⁾ and obtained a reprieve for mankind by recommending her servant Dominic to Christ.⁽³⁾ The heretics denied the divine nature of Mary⁽⁴⁾ but the Dominicans hailed her each day as their protectress - Advocata Nostra - during the Salve Regina procession, a ceremony popular with the laity.⁽⁵⁾ The Order was also quick to promote lay confraternities dedicated to the Virgin; the earliest Franciscan examples are considerably later.⁽⁶⁾

In the Andrea Gallerani reliquary shutters (fig.113) the recognition of St. Francis is accomplished by the winged crucifix, while the recognition of the Dominican habit, in the pendant scene, is made by the Virgin. This division is typical of the roles of the two Orders in contemporary painting. Dominicans tended to patronise

new representations of the Virgin, while the Franciscans were especially interested in crucifixes (and in representations of St. Francis). With the help of the Garrison Index of Romanesque Panel Painting it is possible to trace thirty-one central Italian Franciscan houses which contained one or more panel paintings before c.1300.

Of these houses, twenty-seven possessed either a crucifix, or a representation of St. Francis, or both, but only eight definitely or probably owned representations of the Virgin, or Virgin and Child.⁽⁷⁾

Of these eight works, three may derive from paintings belonging to the Dominicans: the Madonna Avvocata in S. Maria in Aracoeli is probably a conscious imitation of the S. Sisto Madonna Avvocata,⁽⁸⁾ while the Cimabuesque Maestà from S. Francesco, Pisa, now in the Louvre,⁽⁹⁾ and the Maestà probably from S. Croce, now in the National Gallery, London,⁽¹⁰⁾ owe a debt to the Rucellai Madonna.

Dominicans learned from Franciscan developments in crucifix design, but in the case of paintings of the Virgin and Child it may have been the Franciscans who learned from the Dominicans.

(a) The 13th Century.Representations of the Virgin and Child.

The majority of surviving Dominican panel paintings represent the Virgin and Child⁽¹¹⁾ and the oldest panel in Dominican possession, traditionally approved of by St. Dominic himself, is the Madonna Avvocata from S. Sisto Vecchio (fig.181).⁽¹²⁾ The continued veneration of this image forms a link between the Dominicans and earlier devotional paintings. Paintings of the Virgin, and of the Virgin and Child, from before the 13th century, tended to be of simple design. The holy persons were shown alone or, occasionally, attended by angels or a supplicant figure, in a limited number of formal poses. These panels had an 'iconic' quality: often they enjoyed a special religious status by which the work itself came to be regarded as a venerable object, rather than simply as a representation of a holy person worthy of veneration.

During the 13th century there were several changes in the treatment of this subject. One of the main developments was a new emphasis on the depiction of the human qualities of the two protagonists. They were shown in more relaxed and varied poses, an affectionate relationship between mother and child was depicted and the Virgin's role as intercessor between her son and the spectator was underlined. At the same time there was an increase in the actual size of paintings. The Servite Order helped to encourage these changes by commissioning large paintings from Coppo di Marcovaldo for their Siena and Orvieto houses.⁽¹³⁾

Some artists were also interested in the introduction of figures and scenes accompanying the main representation, which provided amplification and commentary for the image. Scenes from the Nativity or the Passion and individual standing saints and prophets were placed below or beside the Virgin or on separate wings. In these paintings, the prophets foretell the role of the Virgin, the saints locate her within the celestial hierarchy, the scenes explain her activities on earth and indicate the sufferings and joys which she experienced.⁽¹⁴⁾

Initially these two interests - more tender, human representations and the addition of extra subject matter - developed separately. The Dominicans showed some interest in both these developments. They also

became interested in works which combined the two. Paintings produced for a Dominican milieu were among the earliest to combine tender and more immediate images of the Virgin and Child with greater instructive content, and the Order later played a part in the further combination of these two interests, achieved in the development of the polyptych form, as discussed in chapter 7(b).

The Yale Triptych and Guido da Siena's Palazzo Pubblico Madonna.

Two 13th century panel paintings connected with the Dominicans may be considered as representatives of the two new interests just described.

The triptych from the Jarves Collection, now in Yale, generally attributed to the 'Magdalen Master',⁽¹⁵⁾ (fig.182) is an example of the addition of scenes and figures to the central image of the Virgin and Child. To judge by the inclusion of St. Dominic on the Virgin's right side, and St. Peter Martyr on the left wing of the triptych, the painting was made for a Dominican. The work serves admirably as a compendium of essential religious themes: the central image is enriched by the inclusion of the Crucifixion (on the right wing) and by references to the Last Judgement (St. Michael, on the left wing), to the mendicant Orders (St. Francis is shown on the Virgin's left) and to the place of the founders of these Orders among the earlier saints (Peter Martyr is paired with a female saint, probably Catherine of Alexandria). The crowded programme is barely squeezed into the available space.

On the other hand, in Guido da Siena's Palazzo Pubblico Madonna, which comes from S. Domenico, Siena,⁽¹⁶⁾ (fig.183) the enthroned Virgin and Child are accompanied by nothing more than six diminutive spandrel angels.⁽¹⁷⁾ The achievement of the work lies elsewhere: nothing is allowed to distract from the imposing presence of the central image. The frame is specially designed so that the angels are separated from the main picture space. Guido is nevertheless able to link them harmoniously with the main panel, by subtle repetitions and counterpoint of the colours used there. The shape of the frame also complements the design of the Virgin and Child by echoing the shape of their haloes. Surface pattern, decoration and beauty of colour are all present. At the same time important steps are taken in the accurate representation of the visible world: the throne is set obliquely with a receding side, the Virgin sits convincingly upon it,

the folds and texture of cloth are recorded and an attempt is made to describe the fall of light on, for example, the Virgin's hand. Guido also gives a natural, human interpretation to the relationship between mother and child: the Christ-child reclines, legs crossed, in a relaxed position as He looks up at His mother. The Virgin looks out from the panel while pointing towards her son with her hand, inviting the spectator's attention.

Duccio's Rucellai Madonna.

During the late 13th and early 14th centuries Sienese painters learned how to combine these two particular interests in panel paintings of the Virgin and Child. Duccio's Madonna for the Laudesi confraternity of S. Maria Novella, (figs.184,185) painted only a few years after the Palazzo Pubblico Madonna, is the first major work in this development.⁽¹⁸⁾ Guido's achievements are taken a stage further: the panel size is increased; the oblique setting of the throne and the Virgin's position upon it are more confidently handled; lines drawn on the surface of the throne steps simulate recession; the Child's left leg is clearly foreshortened and His right one pushes firmly against the Virgin's knee. Great delight is taken in the variation of surface textures and the depiction of drapery covering and revealing form, colour is used with a new level of refinement,⁽¹⁹⁾ patterning and surface decoration are increased, with Guido's echoing of haloes in the cusping of the frame taken further by the echo between haloes and curving throne-top in Duccio's panel. The fall of light is described, especially in the drapery of the angels and in the formalised gold striations of the throne, and it is shown illuminating, more softly than in Guido's work, the face of the Virgin.⁽²⁰⁾ The Child does not look at His mother but the affectionate contact between them is indicated by the convincing representation of the Virgin's left hand emerging from beneath the Child's arm to encircle His body. For her right hand Duccio rejects the emphatic Hodegetria gesture used by Guido, instead the Virgin gently touches the Child's leg. Variations in the poses and reactions of the angels, already used by Guido, give a more tender and informal effect here, as a result of a more realistic treatment of anatomy.

Duccio's Madonna owes much to Guido's and is in many ways a continuation along the same path, but it differs from it and from all

other previous works in two important respects: the Virgin's throne is flanked by six kneeling angels and the frame has a programme of twenty-nine saints and prophets in roundels, which expands the subject-matter of the painting.

The Rucellai Madonna Angels.

The inclusion of angels in large-scale paintings of the Virgin and Child presents a compositional difficulty. The angels can be shown as small-scale figures hovering above the Virgin's throne, as in Coppo's Siena Servite panel⁽²¹⁾ or as small half-length figures placed in roundels above the throne, as in the so-called S. Bernardino Madonna attributed to Guido or his circle,⁽²²⁾ but these solutions seemed unsatisfactory to artists experimenting in the accurate description of the visible world. In the Palazzo Pubblico Madonna Guido produced one solution, by moving the angels to the space above the main frame. In his Orvieto Servite panel⁽²³⁾ Coppo increased the scale of the angels and, instead of leaving them to hover in undefined space, placed them directly behind the throne-back, with their hands actually touching the top of the throne. The angels now occupied the same stage as the Virgin and Child, and by masking the lower part of their bodies with the throne-back Coppo avoided diverting too much attention from main image to side figures.

In the Sta. Trinita Madonna and at Assisi, Cimabue treated the attendant angels boldly.⁽²⁴⁾ Full-length angels, on a scale close to the main figures, flank the sides of the throne, touching it and partly hidden by it so as to indicate their position in relation to it. Four, or as many as eight angels are shown. The front pair of angels mask those behind them so that only the heads and shoulders of the remaining angels are shown. Cimabue's solution was adopted by many artists, especially in Siena. In the Rucellai Madonna Duccio took a different course.

The novel inclusion of six kneeling angels⁽²⁵⁾ enhances the composition of Duccio's painting in several ways. Each angel is completely visible. Unlike compositions with standing angels, the relation of each angel to the side of the throne is made clear and the crush of standing angels down each side of the throne is avoided. The individual side figures maintain interest throughout the height of an unusually tall painting, yet the repetition of

their poses does not take too much attention away from the central image; on the other hand the counterpoint of the colours of their clothing prevents monotony. Each angel is positioned so that it can gaze directly at the Child, drawing the spectator's eye in the same direction. Duccio is confident of describing convincingly the weight of a kneeling figure, held by gravity on the ground, so he is able to indulge in the conceit of showing angels firmly kneeling on thin air.

The angels are chosen for reasons of content as well as composition. They mirror the action of the spectator, encourage his participation and emphasize the divine majesty of the Virgin and Child.

The Rucellai Madonna and the Belle Verrière at Chartres.

De Wald has compared this composition with that of the Belle Verrière at Chartres. (fig.186)⁽²⁶⁾ The Rucellai Madonna is much closer to the Belle Verrière than to any other surviving composition of the Virgin and Child enthroned with angels, in this respect. The Belle Verrière is a tall and rather narrow piece of glass which was re-set in a wider window opening which required horizontal metal supports down each side of the window.⁽²⁷⁾ The solution of flanking the central image with smaller kneeling figures was most satisfactory.

The Rucellai could be seen as an adaptation of this composition, evolved originally to meet a specific requirement. Duccio was certainly open to influences from the North, as the tracery details on the Rucellai throne and the drapery style of his later works demonstrate. The composition of the Belle Verrière could have been repeated in a model book or in some portable object which came to Duccio's notice.⁽²⁸⁾ Duccio would have had good reason to emulate the Belle Verrière. The image was the centre of a cult and services were held in front of it.⁽²⁹⁾ The Rucellai Madonna was intended to form the focal point of the devotions and processions of a major Marial confraternity.⁽³⁰⁾

But while it is an attractive hypothesis, there is nothing to prove that Duccio was influenced by the design of the Chartres window. There are important differences between the two. The angels in the stained glass window hold censers or candlesticks and are taking part in a service of adoration within the window which mirrors the service which actually took place in front of it. In the Rucellai

the angels hold the throne with both hands, the angel at the lower left supporting it from beneath. This may be more than the simple gesture of touching the throne used by Coppo di Marcovaldo to establish the relative positions of figures in space. The Rucellai angels almost seem to carry the throne, and ~~this~~ apparent function has led to a particular interpretation of the painting.

The Rucellai Madonna and the Assumption.

Orlandi has argued that the painting was originally placed on the high altar of the church and that since that altar was dedicated to the Assunta the altarpiece appropriately represents the Virgin being carried to heaven. However, Orlandi's identification of the Rucellai as the high altarpiece of S. Maria Novella is not entirely convincing⁽³¹⁾ and in any case, altarpieces do not necessarily reflect the specific aspect of the Virgin to which an altar was dedicated.⁽³²⁾

It is true that the Laudesi confraternity which commissioned Duccio's panel did honour the Assumption in another work, now lost. From at least 1314 onwards they celebrated the feast of the Assumption by making a waxwork of the Virgin which was apparently hauled up towards the vaults by means of ropes and pulleys, in imitation of the holy event.⁽³³⁾ But the Rucellai panel does not have the iconography of the Assumption.

The painting may be compared with the earliest surviving Sienese depiction of the Assumption, probably designed by Duccio himself, about three years after he painted the Laudesi panel. It occurs in the stained glass oculus of Siena Cathedral.⁽³⁴⁾ (fig. 187) The iconography derives from northern European traditions, both in the linking of the scenes of the Dormition, Assumption and Coronation and in the treatment of the Virgin of the Assumption.⁽³⁵⁾ The Virgin appears alone, sitting on a rainbow, in a mandorla carried by flying angels (in northern examples she often stands). In the Rucellai the Virgin is shown with her son, whereas in the Siena oculus, and in all northern examples, the Virgin is never represented holding the Child;⁽³⁶⁾ the Rucellai Virgin is seated on a throne, rather than sitting on a rainbow or standing, and the angels supporting the throne are statio - they kneel and do not fly.⁽³⁷⁾

The Programme of the Frame of the Rucellai Madonna.

The roundel figures on the frame of Duccio's painting form a

carefully planned programme. This has never been fully appreciated because no thorough attempt has been made to identify the figures.⁽³⁸⁾

The roundel figures fall into four groups. The five bottom roundels form a group of post-biblical saints: two bishops, two Dominicans and a female martyr. The two Dominican saints must be Dominic and Peter Martyr, the only members of the Order canonised by 1285, the date when the painting was commissioned. Dominic, first left of centre, (fig.189) is identified by the lily he holds, while Peter Martyr, second right of centre, (fig.190) is distinguished by the wound on his head. The crowned female martyr who balances Peter Martyr on the left is likely to be St. Catherine of Alexandria. (fig.191) St. Catherine is often represented in Dominican paintings, generally as a pendant to Peter Martyr who, like her, suffered death as a result of preaching to heretics.⁽³⁹⁾ The roundel figure wears a crown which is how Catherine is generally depicted, since she was a princess. For the identification of the bishop in the central roundel (fig.192) Stubblebine has proposed St. Augustine, on the grounds that the Dominicans lived by his Rule.⁽⁴⁰⁾ This is a reasonable suggestion: Augustine also appears with Dominic in Siena Pinacoteca polyptych no.28⁽⁴¹⁾ (fig.200) and f.62r. of S. Maria Novella Choir Book F.⁽⁴²⁾ (fig.121) Stubblebine identifies the other bishop, (fig.193) pendant to Dominic, as St. Zenobius, a patron saint of Florence, because of the Florentine lily decorating his crozier.⁽⁴³⁾ This is also a plausible suggestion although there is no firm evidence for it. The saints on the bottom part of the frame, nearest to the spectators and members of the Laudesi confraternity, indicate the importance of the Dominican Order and its Rule, the place of its saints among previous martyrs, preachers, doctors and shepherds of the faithful and the connection between the Order, the confraternity, the established church and the city.

Excluding the top roundel, there are twelve figures down each side of the frame. Weigelt has tentatively identified seven apostles as occupants of roundels on both sides of the panel⁽⁴⁴⁾ but he is incorrect in identifying figures on the right side of the frame as apostles: the division into two lines of twelve roundels makes it clear that one group comprises the twelve apostles, while the other group are probably prophets. Looking more closely at the roundels, it is clear that several figures hold objects in their hands. On the left side, four figures hold books, and two hold rolled scrolls; (e.g. fig.195) these must be the apostles, some of whom hold codices

or rolls of their writings. On the right side, two figures hold rolled scrolls and three hold open scrolls inscribed with a pseudo-kufio script; (e.g. fig.196) these represent prophets whose writings were in the unfamiliar hebrew script. The identification is made more secure by studying another figure on this side, holding a book and wearing a crown: King David holding the psalms.(fig.194) So above the group of post-biblical saints there are representatives of the Old and New Testaments; the apostles are placed on the Virgin's right, the side of favour, towards which the Christ Child turns in blessing; the precursors, who foretold the glory of the Virgin and her son, are on the left. At the apex of the panel, God the Father is shown: the source from which all prophets and saints stem and to which they aspire.

Some of the figures can be more precisely identified, with varying degrees of certainty, by comparison with other representations of prophets and saints, even though they carry no inscriptions or excerpts from their writings. These other representations, in which the figures are identified, are the Scarsella of Florence Cathedral baptistery - the only surviving extensive programme of prophets and apostles which can be dated earlier than the Rucellai Madonna in Florence,⁽⁴⁵⁾ and three works from Duccio's own hand or shop: the polyptych no.47 in Siena Pinacoteca⁽⁴⁶⁾(fig.211) and the triptych in the National Gallery London⁽⁴⁷⁾(fig.251) which include various prophets, and the Siena Duomo Maestà which shows apostles and, between the front predella scenes, prophets.⁽⁴⁸⁾

The representation of facial types is the main clue to identification. Figures represented more frequently, such as Peter, Andrew, Bartholomew, John the Baptist or Daniel, have more standardised appearances than, for example, Thaddeus or Malachi. Colour of vestments is only reliable as a guide in a few cases, such as Peter or David; even within Duccio's workshop, the colours used for the garments of less frequently represented figures vary to suit the requirements of individual compositions.

Following Weigelt's numbering (which proceeds anti-clockwise around the frame, from 1 to 30, starting at the bottom left-hand corner) (see fig.188): number 20 is St. Peter; number 25 Philip; 26 Bartholomew; (fig.195) 27 Matthew; and 29 Simon; with numbers 21 and 22 less securely Thomas and Andrew. On the right number 18 is John the Baptist; 12 Daniel; (fig.196), 9 David (fig.194) and possibly 17, 16, 13 and 11 (fig.197) are Abraham, Isaiah, Moses and Jacob.

Since St. Paul seems to be missing from the left side, it is probable that the apostles represented there are those traditionally credited with the composition of the articles of faith, among whom Paul - and Mark and Luke - are not included.⁽⁴⁹⁾ In the canon of the mass these saints are always mentioned in the same order, so if the apostles on the Rucellai frame appeared in that order, it would be easy to identify the figures who are otherwise hard to recognise. Philip, Bartholomew and Matthew appear together as in the Creed, but Simon is not next to Matthew, and there is also another figure between Peter and Andrew, so that the order is not the same.⁽⁵⁰⁾

Supplying missing figures for the right side is more difficult, since choice of prophets naturally varies depending on the main figure or event on which their prophecies are intended to comment. Judging by other representations of the Virgin and Child with prophets⁽⁵¹⁾ the figures certain to be included are John the Baptist, Isaiah, David, Daniel, Jeremiah, Abraham, Jacob, probably also Isaac and Moses, and perhaps Malachi, Ezekiel and Hosea. No fixed order for groups of prophets existed, and there is apparently no significance in the horizontal pairing of prophets and saints - for example Daniel and Bartholomew, David and Simon - which would help in identifying figures.

Ranks of prophets and apostles had often flanked French cathedral portals but precise programmes linking large numbers of these Old and New Testament figures had not yet been developed in painting. The frame of the Rucellai may be seen as the first step in a development towards complex illustrations and charts, systematically joining the two groups, in, for example, the De Lisle Psalter (BL Arundel 83),⁽⁵²⁾ (fig. 198) and the Belleville Breviary (Paris Bib. Nat. Lat. 10483-84). Indeed, the complicated calendar programme of the Belleville Breviary is thought to have been devised by a Dominican, and to depend on the work of Aquinas.⁽⁵³⁾ *The Dominicans participated* in that encyclopaedic view of knowledge and its systematic, symmetrical arrangement, which pervaded university thinking of the time. They were also interested in translating that view into visual form, and with the help of outstanding artists such as Duccio and Pucelle, succeeded in this translation.⁽⁵⁴⁾

The inclusion of many small figures surrounding the large central image of the Rucellai is reminiscent of a French cathedral

portal, its main tympanum or trumeau figure flanked by numerous small voussoir figures. Duccio achieved the addition of this extra material, without distracting from the main image or disrupting the design of the painting, by expanding framing elements which had previously been purely decorative. As De Wald points out⁽⁵⁵⁾ the S. Croce Bardi St. Francis panel had already inserted figures in frame roundels. But whereas the Franciscan panel uses the extra space to represent a single act of devotion, in the form of seventeen similar suppliant Franciscans (presumably the members of the S. Croce convent), the panel from the Dominican church presents a varied and instructive programme.⁽⁵⁶⁾

Duccio would have had the opportunity in Florence to study not only the S. Croce panel but also the Cathedral Baptistery Scarsella and the frame of the S. Maria Maggiore Virgin and Child, but the roots of his design lie further east, in Byzantine and Crusader panels, Byzantine metalwork and, ultimately, in Byzantine monumental art.⁽⁵⁷⁾

(b) The Dominicans and the Development of Polyptych Design in Siena.

The range of content found in Duccio's Laudesi confraternity Madonna was not immediately repeated in large-scale painting. Not until complex polyptych designs had been developed was a more satisfactory method available for combining the new naturalistic style with a comprehensive programme on large altarpieces. (58) Paintings executed for Dominican patrons are among the key works in this development.

Duccio and Dominican Polyptych Design.

Siena Pinacoteca Polyptych No.28

Half-length figures of the Virgin and Child flanked by saints were initially combined on horizontal panels - now known as dossals - placed on top of the altar. (59) This type was probably developed by Guido da Siena in the 1270s. (60) The dossal from S. Caterina, Pisa, (fig.199) now in the Museo Nazionale di S. Matteo, Pisa, signed by Deodato Orlandi and dated 1301, is the only surviving example from a Dominican church. (61) The Virgin and Child are flanked, to the right, by Sts. James Major and Dominic, and to the left, by Sts. Peter and Paul. The dossal is composed of horizontal planks, and the dividing arches which separate the figures are formed by mouldings applied to the surface of the panel.

Around 1300 (62) Duccio developed a panel type in which the independent status of the side saints was recognised by painting each of them on a clearly separated panel. Gables and pinnacles emphasised the vertical axis and the importance of each panel. (63) The earliest surviving example of this type from the hand of Duccio and his shop, shorn of its finials, is the polyptych which is now no.28 in the Siena Pinacoteca. (fig.200)

The choice of lateral saints indicates that it was made for a Dominican church. Flanking the Virgin and Child are Sts. Peter and Paul. (64) On the outside, in the more humble position, is Dominic and balancing him, as on the frame of the 1285 Duccio panel for the Florence Laudesi, is St. Augustine, whose Rule the Dominicans followed. The polyptych is generally attributed in large part to Duccio himself. (65) It must have been an expensive item which only a large and flourishing Dominican house could afford.

I suggest that the Sienese convent, or one of its members,

was responsible for the commission.⁽⁶⁶⁾ Since the polyptych is a work of the Sienese school and is now in the Pinacoteca in Siena, it seems likely that it was made for a church in the area. At the beginning of the 14th century there was no other Dominican house of reasonable size within a 50 km. radius of the Siena convent. Financially, the Sienese house was in a good position at the start of the century. Building work, on ever more ambitious projects, was making good progress and in 1306 the comune of Siena undertook to make annual contributions to the building materials used by the Dominicans.⁽⁶⁷⁾

On stylistic grounds the polyptych should be dated to the period preceding Duccio's Siena Duomo Maestà of 1308-11. The closest comparison is with the Virgin and Child attributed to Duccio now in the Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria, Perugia, (fig.203) which belongs to a later stage in Duccio's development of panel design, but which, chiefly on stylistic grounds, should probably also be dated before the Maestà.⁽⁶⁸⁾ The Siena polyptych must date from appreciably after the 1280s - the decade in which Duccio's Madonna for the S. Maria Novella Laudesi and Vigoroso da Siena's Perugian panel, half-way between dossal and polyptych, were produced.⁽⁶⁹⁾ The parallel but discrete development of a polyptych design with individual panels and pinnacles occurred in Florence at the very beginning of the 14th century, witness the Badia polyptych,⁽⁷⁰⁾ while the Cimabue polyptych for S. Chiara, Pisa was commissioned, although not definitely executed, in 1301.⁽⁷¹⁾ Taken together, these considerations indicate that the Siena polyptych dates from the early years of the 14th century.

The polyptych is very likely to have been on an altar (presumably the high altar) of S. Domenico, Siena by 1306, the year in which the Siena house played host to the provincial chapter meeting of the Provincia Romana.⁽⁷²⁾ There it would have been seen by all those attending the chapter: all preachers general of the province, the prior and an elected socius from each convent in the province and, judging by repeated prohibitions in the chapter acts, other friars, hoping to make their voices heard, who had no official right to be there.⁽⁷³⁾

Two groups of visitors were particularly impressed by what they saw. A partial copy of the work, ordered from one of Duccio's assistants,⁽⁷⁴⁾ now hangs in the museum at Montalcino. (fig.201)

The Virgin and Child are accompanied by St. Dominic and a bishop saint, identified by an inscription as St. Nicholas, but similar in appearance to the St. Augustine of Siena polyptych no.28.⁽⁷⁵⁾ In the gables are the Redeemer and two angels. Holes for fixing pegs in the sides of the panels (fig.202) could be taken as evidence that the painting was originally a pentaptych rather than a triptych, but the marks may in fact be related to the attachment of the original frame,⁽⁷⁶⁾ in which case the Montalcino work should be seen as a less expensive reduction, in triptych form, of the Siena painting.

There was no Dominican house in Montalcino at the period in which the polyptych must have been painted.⁽⁷⁷⁾ The nearest Dominican foundation was the monastery of S. Maria Nuova, founded in 1306 by Agnese Segni in neighbouring Montepulciano.⁽⁷⁸⁾ It is probable that the altarpiece was commissioned for that church, at some time shortly after its foundation, and moved to Montalcino after it had for some reason been discarded by the Montepulciano monastery.

Duccio's Perugia Polyptych.

The Montalcino polyptych is a modest reminiscence of Siena Pinacoteca no.28. The Perugia delegation to the 1306 chapter, coming from a richer house, apparently decided on something more than mere repetition. A Ducciesque polyptych, generally agreed to be from the hand of the master himself, was installed in their church (presumably the church dedicated to St. Dominic, completed in 1260, rather than the new S. Domenico, under construction from c.1304 onwards).⁽⁷⁹⁾ The remaining centre panel of the Virgin and Child with spandrel angels, is now in the Galleria Nazionale, Perugia.⁽⁸⁰⁾ (fig.203)

The back of the panel (which I have not been able to examine) is said to show the marks of a horizontal beam which once joined it to other panels. The original form of the polyptych can to some extent be reconstructed by reference to other works from the milieu of Siena in the later part of Duccio's career. But before making the attempt, it must be pointed out that in Siena at the time a single workshop did not consistently favour a single type of polyptych design. From a pool of ideas different painters took motifs for different occasions so that motifs and figures from one

work were imitated in another, without the general construction of the polyptych being repeated.⁽⁸¹⁾

Although Santi's catalogue entry suggests that the framing elements are substantially original, Brandi's reading of the 1947 restoration report indicates that the frame has been subject to considerable alteration.⁽⁸²⁾ This is clear to the naked eye. There is a collision between the vertical mouldings of the frame and the springing of the arch which shows that the framing arch without capitals, which would be unique in Siena at this date, is in fact a reconstruction. Originally the arch probably sprang from capitals, below which the vertical mouldings were in the form of colonettes, offset slightly to the outside of the present panel, as in the Siena no.28 and Montalcino polyptychs. (The added vertical mouldings may hide the traces of the capitals which are generally visible after removal, on the gold ground of the panel.)⁽⁸³⁾ Below the panel was a wide framing band on which the artist's name was presumably written and towards which the Virgin still points, as in the Meo da Siena polyptych in the Galleria Nazionale, Perugia, (fig.212) which still bears Meo's name.

The area above the framing arch is filled by six spandrel angels, an idea possibly derived from the spandrel angels, also six in number, and also looking with concentration at the figures below, above Guido da Siena's Virgin and Child from S. Domenico, Siena. These are the earliest surviving examples of spandrel angels in a polyptych; in previous works the angels are restricted to the gables crowing the panels. Filling the spandrels above the main panel with angels instead of decorative motifs may have left space for a more varied choice of figures in the gables. This is the case in two other polyptychs with similar panel shape and spandrel angels: the heptptych attributed to Ugolino di Nerio, now in the Clark collection Williamstown; (fig.206) and a triptych attributed to Meo da Siena, from S. Lorenzo, Perugia, (fig.205) in which the gables are filled, respectively, with prophets and apostles.

The inclusion of prophets, apostles and saints in polyptych gables seems to have been introduced at some time after the completion of Siena Pinacoteca no.28. Apart from the two works just mentioned, at least four other works by artists of Duccio's circle, similar in design to Siena no.28 but with the newer, more extensive, gable programme, have survived.⁽⁸⁴⁾ It seems likely that the original antecedent of all these designs is a lost Duccio

polyptych, similar in general design to Siena no.28, but with a more adventurous programme of figures.⁽⁸⁵⁾

The new type of gable programme must have been introduced before the more complex (post-Maestà) type of many-storeyed polyptych, whose earliest representative, from the shop of Duccio, is Siena Pinacoteca polyptych no.47. (fig.211) Here, pairs of prophets are included between the main figures and the gables, in an arrangement derived from the conjunction of apostles in arcades and angel gables on the front of Duccio's Maestà.⁽⁸⁶⁾

The question of how many storeys appeared above and below the Perugia Virgin and Child cannot be resolved.⁽⁸⁷⁾ However, I am inclined to think that it looked rather more like the type developed from Siena no.28 which I have proposed - something like the Williamstown heptptych attributed to Ugolino (fig.206) or Meo da Siena's S. Lorenzo triptych (fig.205) - than like the many-storeyed design of polyptych no.47. It seems reasonable to place that particular development after Duccio's Maestà, and to fit a less radical change in polyptych design into the short space of time between the painting of Siena no.28 and of the Maestà to which I assign the Perugia altarpiece.

As for the number of panels which flanked the central representation at Perugia, there is even less evidence available. The majority of polyptychs with similar panel shapes are pentptychs and the altarpiece from S. Domenico may well belong to this group.

A few guesses can be made concerning the inhabitants of the panel. St. Dominic would have been included, balanced perhaps by St. Peter Martyr, who seems to have enjoyed considerable popularity in Perugia and whose canonisation was proclaimed there in 1253.⁽⁸⁸⁾ Sts. Peter and Paul would have been suitable candidates for an altarpiece in a town with such strong papal connections, in which a Dominican pope resided in 1304.⁽⁸⁹⁾

Simone Martini and Dominican Polyptych Design.

The Perugia polyptych was almost certainly in situ by the time of the provincial chapter meetings held in Perugia in 1308 and 1316.⁽⁹⁰⁾ It was most probably instrumental in persuading members of the Pisa convent attending the chapters to acquire a Sienese polyptych for their own high altar.

The Pisa house probably already owned the Deodato Orlandi dossal, mentioned above, but this must have appeared terribly old-fashioned in comparison with the works owned by the Siena and Perugia convents. The Pisan Dominicans may well have hoped to commission Duccio himself, as these two had done, but by 1319 this was evidently not possible since Duccio was dead,⁽⁹¹⁾ and they arranged for Simone Martini, one of Duccio's greatest followers, to execute the work.⁽⁹²⁾

Indeed, with the death of Duccio in 1318 or '19 the way was clear for other Sienese artists who had worked in his bottega, or at least in his shadow, to expand their businesses. Different Orders took their patronage to different followers: the Benedictines to Segna di Bonaventura and, in Umbria, to Meo da Siena; the Franciscans and to some extent the Dominicans, to Ugolino da Siena; the same Orders to Simone Martini; the Carmelites, later, to Pietro Lorenzetti.⁽⁹³⁾

Simone Martini was especially skilled in providing work to suit the precise requirements of his patrons. The conjunction of sophisticated artist, discerning patron and fruitful phase in polyptych development, produced an outstandingly successful altarpiece.

The Polyptych from S. Caterina, Pisa.

Design of the Pisa Polyptych.

Simone's achievement lies in the combination and elaboration of existing elements to fit an unusually demanding programme, rather than in innovation. The number of polyptychs of the period which have disappeared prevents us from describing a work as innovatory unless there is very strong evidence for such an opinion. The Pisa polyptych (fig.213) is certainly among the earliest examples of a polyptych with an arched predella and, in common with the polyptych in Williamstown attributed to Ugolino,⁽⁹⁴⁾ (fig.206) it is one of the earliest known heptptychs. But although Simone evidently welcomed the additional panel space which the heptptych and predella forms provided and was particularly successful in creating an extensive yet coherent programme on a many-storeyed polyptych, the elements which he employed could have been derived from the work of others. It has been suggested by several students of the period that polyptych no.47 in the Siena Pinacoteca originally

had a predella,⁽⁹⁵⁾ and the inclusion of an arcaded predella with half-length figures in Meo da Siena's Montelabate pentaptych, (fig.212) dated in the recent literature to c.1319,⁽⁹⁶⁾ confirms that the combination of predella and polyptych must have been current in Sienese circles by this date, to have been adopted by a derivative artist such as Meo. As for the use of the heptaptych, the Williamstown panel attributed to Ugolino may well date before Simone's work, as Pope-Hennessy has convincingly shown.⁽⁹⁷⁾ Other features - paired figures in a row between main panel and gable, prophets with scrolls, figures other than angels in the gables - can all be found in the work of Duccio and his school.

There are only three elements in the design which may well have been introduced by Simone at Pisa. First, the acknowledgement of gothic design in the elongation of the panels and the inclusion of cusping under the (still) rounded arches. Trefoil-headed arches had already been used in panel frames by Guido da Siena and his shop but all Sienese polyptychs which can be dated before Simone's work retain the simple round-headed arch. Simone's interest in gothic forms is clear in his earlier work in Naples and Siena. The idea of including cusping may have been triggered by the painting which Simone's work replaced: Deodato Orlandi's dossal of 1301, which has trefoil cusping under the arches. (fig.199)

The second innovation is the use of wide framing elements on the predella, which, though mainly now lost, are still visible, for example, on the panel with Sts. Stephen and Apollonia. (fig.214) These elements stress the relation of each pair of predella figures and their link with the main panel directly above. The predella of Meo's pentaptych shows that a less articulated arcade design was also in use among Sienese artists. The precision of the programme in the Pisa altarpiece may have occasioned the new framing design.

The third innovation is the use of pastiglia work in the spandrel areas of the polyptych, giving a rich ornamental effect without interrupting the general design of the panel as the traditional dark spandrels with trefoil patterns would have done. (figs.215,216) This is the first example of the use of the technique on a polyptych, and was not immediately imitated in other works. (The pentaptych from Casciana Alta, attributed to Lippo Memmi⁽⁹⁸⁾ uses a punched version of similar patterns (figs.242-4).) The same technique appears on Simone's painting of St. Louis of

Toulouse, (fig.225) in the border of Louis' cope. The heart-shaped motif with five-petalled fleuron used there⁽⁹⁹⁾ is a simpler version of the spandrel motif of the Pisa Polyptych predella. (fig.215)

Pastiglia work is used on some of the frames, haloes and backgrounds of a group of Crusader icons discussed by Weitzmann⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ and is likely to derive from similar patterns found on silver icon frames.⁽¹⁰¹⁾ Some of the designs used by Simone are similar to those of the Crusader icons. Compare, for example, the heart-shaped motif on the halo of the Virgin from a diptych in the Art Institute, Chicago⁽¹⁰²⁾ (fig.217) with similar motifs from the St. Louis panel⁽¹⁰³⁾ and the Pisa predella; (fig.215) the spiral foliate motif on a Sinai triptych with the Virgin and Child and four scenes,⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ with the spandrels of the main Pisa panels. (fig.216) Simone's work differs from the Crusader examples in a more flowing use of the medium, the use of small and large ring punches covering the surface between the raised areas of gesso, to make the main pattern stand out⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ and the restriction of this ornament to the flat spandrel areas of the panel.⁽¹⁰⁶⁾

It is easy to see why Simone adopted this technique, which would appeal to his interest in surface texture, evident in the gesso decoration of his Maestà fresco in the Palazzo Pubblico, Siena. It is harder to know precisely what model he used, but the suggestion that he was aware of Crusader, Byzantine-influenced work is supported by the novel inclusion of the Man of Sorrows (fig.218) - a subject which has been shown to have developed in Byzantium earlier than in the West⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ - in the Pisa polyptych predella.

The work which may have influenced Simone may have been produced in, or for, Venice. The Chicago diptych of the Virgin and Child and Crucifixion, mentioned above, has been associated with Venice by Garrison,⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ and Weitzmann suggested that one group of Crusader artists were Venetian.⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ The Pisa Man of Sorrows is flanked, exceptionally, by St. Mark, patron saint of Venice, instead of St. John the Evangelist. Moreover, we can be sure that the friars of the Pisa house were interested in obtaining Venetian objects. Fra Pietro, the Pisa sacristan who organised the commissioning of the Simone Martini polyptych, died in Bologna, on his way to Venice to commission a crystal cross for S. Caterina.⁽¹¹⁰⁾

Arrangement of the Pisa Polyptych

The Pisa polyptych is now split into fourteen pieces. Examination of the backs and sides of the seven large panels, each representing one large-scale saint and a prophet, indicates that each of these pieces always formed an independent unit.⁽¹¹¹⁾ (figs.219,220) The predella, painted in the traditional manner on a horizontal plank, was later sawn into seven parts.

When the panels retained in Sta. Caterina (all the main panels except for St. John the Baptist) were re-united with those displayed in the Pisa museum (St. John the Baptist and the predella) in 1949, the altarpiece was arranged within a modern frame on which were painted the names, sometimes incorrect, of the saints and prophets depicted. Subsequently the panels were removed from the anachronous frame and hung in a different order. Recently Caleca has proposed a third arrangement of the altarpiece.⁽¹¹²⁾

The original arrangement of the panels is still uncertain. There is no conclusive answer to be gained from any of the standard methods of polyptych reconstruction: examination of the physical evidence of signs of attachment or damage on the panels; hierarchical ordering of figures according to 'seniority'; comparison with contemporary altarpieces; analysis of the pose of individual figures as a reflection of their position within the altarpiece.

The arrangement of the main figures favoured until recently by the Pisa museum (fig.213) seems to me the most satisfactory. Catherine, to whom the church is dedicated, is nearest to the centre, balanced by St. Mary Magdalen, to whom an altar in the church was dedicated.⁽¹¹³⁾ The Dominican saints, in keeping with the reticence shown by Dominicans when representing their Order saints, are furthest from the centre. The Dominicans are pulled to the outer edges of their respective panels, providing an emphatic vertical conclusion to each end of the altarpiece, while the inclined heads of the two female saints (and the positioning of the attributes which they hold) form a suitable prelude to the centre panel. The left hand of each of the six main saints is carefully placed so that together they form points on two ascending lines rising from each side of the altarpiece to lead the eye to the centre panel.⁽¹¹⁴⁾

The organisation of the predella in this reconstruction is clearly incorrect, since the balancing of the figure pairs around the central axis has been lost. If the two panels at the left end

change places (as reconstructed in fig.213), symmetry is restored - the outer pairs are both deacon saints and female martyrs, the middle pairs doctors of the church and male saints, the pairs at the centre of the polyptych doctors of the church and female martyrs. This reconstruction of the predella cannot be proved (a more detailed examination and measuring of the individual panels might be fruitful⁽¹¹⁵⁾) but the front of the panels shows nothing to contradict this arrangement.⁽¹¹⁶⁾

Programme of the Pisa Polyptych

The polyptych is concerned with various themes crucial to the Dominican Order and its saints: the hierarchy of the transmission of sound doctrine; preaching; penance; the sanctity of martyrdom.

The first theme refers to St. Dominic and, as will be shown, to Thomas Aquinas. Numerous figures in the altarpiece hold books, often painted in saturated reds or greens, or scrolls. Many of these display, or displayed, genuine texts, instead of being shut or showing the meaningless squiggles or pseudo-kufic often used.⁽¹¹⁷⁾ Unusually, Dominic is holding an open book, in which he appears to write with the end of his lily. (fig.221) The text describes teaching and preaching, 'Venite filii audite me timorem domini docebo vos' (Psalms XXXIII, 12).⁽¹¹⁸⁾

At the apex of the composition is God the Father, shown for the first time in a polyptych holding an open book. The text displayed, 'Ego sum A et Ω principium et finis' (Apoc. I, 8) explains that He is not only the beginning but also the end of the eternal chain of truth and instruction represented in the altarpiece. Directly below Him are His two chief messengers, the archangels Gabriel and Michael, who transmit His word to mankind. Gabriel is the messenger of the beginning, that is, of the Incarnation, while Michael will herald the end, the Last Judgement, and appropriately carries the martyr's palm.⁽¹¹⁹⁾

Next in the hierarchy of teaching come the Old Testament prophets.⁽¹²⁰⁾ Below them are the apostles, some of whom helped to write the New Testament. In the main panel are St. John the Baptist, the last of the Old Testament prophets and the precursor of the New Testament and St. John the Evangelist who, it was believed, wrote both Gospel and Revelation. In the predella are two further Evangelists, Luke

and Mark (for whom there was no room in the twelve spaces above the main panels, used to accommodate the apostles listed in the Creed⁽¹²¹⁾), and next in the line of doctrinal development, the four doctors of the church.⁽¹²²⁾

Also included in the predella, bringing the chain of teaching and doctrinal development to the present day, is Thomas Aquinas. (fig.222) The polyptych emphasises his importance and his teaching. He is placed next to one of the four doctors of the church, among the company of saints. Thomas appears to be looking upwards. Above him is St. Paul⁽¹²³⁾ (fig.223) whose teaching Aquinas is said to have revered more than any other writer of the New Testament.⁽¹²⁴⁾

Attention to textual detail had led the artist to depict with precision the individual packets of letters St. Paul holds, with Ad Romanos shown at the front.⁽¹²⁵⁾ Above St. Paul is Moses, for the first time shown in a Sienese painting holding the tablets of the law instead of a scroll. (fig.224) Aquinas, whose open book is a compositional echo of Moses' tablets, laid particular emphasis on the ten commandments, which are all listed here in abbreviated form.⁽¹²⁶⁾

This is Aquinas' first appearance in a panel painting, probably his first in any form of art, and comes four years before his canonisation in 1323. Despite this, Aquinas is depicted as a saint with halo, not as a beatus with rayed nimbus, as became customary in such cases. The position which Thomas was granted in the altarpiece is not fortuitous. 1319, the year in which the polyptych was painted, was an important moment in the campaign for his canonisation. This had originally been pressed (very belatedly since he died in 1274) by the Sicilian province of the Dominican Order in 1317.⁽¹²⁷⁾ The first canonisation process took place in Naples in 1319. By that date the Dominicans would have been sufficiently confident of his impending canonisation to permit his representation as a saint, and sufficiently eager to stress his rightful place in the hierarchy of church teaching to include him in the Pisa polyptych. The altarpiece is a visual expression of John XXII's encomium concerning Thomas, expressed first in consistory in 1318 and again during the service of canonisation in 1323, '... iste gloriosus doctor post Apostolos et Doctores primos plus illuminavit Ecclesiam Dei'.⁽¹²⁸⁾

The radiant book which Thomas holds illustrates this illumination (and is a visual reminder of the rayed halo generally accorded a beatus). The inscription it bears, 'Veritatem meditabitur

guttur meum et labia mea detestabuntur impium' (Prov. VIII, 7), is the opening text of his Contra Gentiles. The celebration of this aspect of Aquinas' teaching - the defence of church doctrine against heretic and heathen - fits both the altarpiece and the house for which it was made. Pisa was a noted centre of studies, housing the studium artium of the Roman Province⁽¹²⁹⁾ and producing several famous preachers. Giordano of Pisa, Bartolomeo of S. Concordio, Jacopo Passavanti, and Domenico Cavalca all studied or taught in S. Caterina.⁽¹³⁰⁾ These men were concerned with the popularising of Thomist teaching and its dissemination through sermons in Latin and the vernacular.⁽¹³¹⁾ Aquinas may have been responsible for the initial organisation of the Pisa studium artium (founded at the same time as the studium theologiae which he set up in Naples) and is traditionally said to have taught in S. Caterina, where a Cathedra of St. Thomas is still displayed.⁽¹³²⁾ The contents of the S. Caterina library, reconstructed by Pelster, certainly bear the stamp of his thought.⁽¹³³⁾ Thus interest in Thomas' canonisation would have been strong at Pisa, a house which possessed members capable of devising the crowded programme of Simone's polyptych.

The theme of penance is indicated by the inclusion of St. Mary Magdalen.⁽¹³⁴⁾ She also represents the humility of the friar and his devotion to Christ.⁽¹³⁵⁾ Moreover, her remains were said to be buried in a Dominican church, S. Maximin in Provence, and an altar in S. Caterina was dedicated to her.⁽¹³⁶⁾

The themes of preaching and martyrdom relate particularly to St. Peter Martyr. John the Baptist is shown in his role as preacher: rather than holding a scroll, or pointing directly at the Virgin, his right hand is raised in a gesture of speech.⁽¹³⁷⁾ John the Baptist and Catherine of Alexandria both suffered death for preaching to unbelievers and the predella shows several other martyr saints: Stephen and Lawrence, Apollonia, Agnes, Ursula and Lucy.⁽¹³⁸⁾ Above Peter Martyr appears St. Bartholomew, who also suffered martyrdom by the knife.⁽¹³⁹⁾

At the centre of the predella, placed above the altar which can symbolize a tomb, is a Man of Sorrows (fig.218) - the first surviving example in Sienese painting.⁽¹⁴⁰⁾ The twin themes of God the Father as teacher and Christ in suffering are linked on the vertical axis of the polyptych. This reinforces two main themes of the altarpiece. Between Them on this vertical axis is the Virgin, around whom much Dominican worship centred.⁽¹⁴¹⁾

Character of the Pisa Polyptych

Comparison with two near-contemporary works casts some light on the particular character of the Pisa polyptych.

Both Simone's painting and Meo da Siena's Montelabate pentaptych (figs.212,213) were executed for churches used by the regular clergy and owe much to the Ducciesque polyptych design represented by Siena no.47, (fig.211) yet while Simone deliberately combines the elements at his disposal to present a complex programme, Meo says little with the form which he adopts. The number of figures to be included in the Pisa polyptych was so great that no room was available for angels - a traditional ingredient in polyptychs; Meo includes angels of two different scales, perhaps derived from two different models, in the spandrels and gables of his work. In contrast with the Pisa polyptych, the Montelabate painting has no ordered progression from biblical to post biblical figures, repeats a figure from the main panel in the predella and provides the two prophets above the Virgin and Child with scrolls bearing meaningless patterns instead of words.

In addition to representing Thomas Aquinas for the first time, Simone was also commissioned to represent the new Franciscan saint connected with the Kingdom of Sicily, St. Louis of Toulouse, whose canonisation in 1317 may have spurred the Sicilian Dominican Province to press for Thomas' canonisation.⁽¹⁴²⁾ The Angevin Franciscan is the only saint shown in the painting; apart from God the Father in the (lost) apex of the painting and the kneeling Robert of Anjou, he is the sole focus of attention. The painting shows his importance by means of narrative: both the main altarpiece and the predella show him engaged in activity. In complete contrast Aquinas is shown at Pisa as a diminutive figure, part of a team. There is no narrative in the predella or the main panels; even the Annunciation and Last Judgement are indicated in shorthand, by the inclusion of the two archangels. In the St. Louis panel explanation is explicit, at Pisa implicit. The commentary lies purely in the organisation and choice of figures and texts.

Comparison with the Montelabate polyptych emphasises the care and deliberation with which the Pisa polyptych was constructed. The contrast between the two works can be attributed in part to a difference of patron and in part to a difference of artist. Comparison with the St. Louis panel shows that an artist of Simone's

calibre could create quite distinct works for different patrons. So the methods he used at Pisa can safely be interpreted as a reflection of the patrons' own outlook and preferences: use of a non-narrative programme which is original but not unorthodox, clear but not simple.⁽¹⁴³⁾

The Polyptych from S. Domenico, Orvieto.

In the year after S. Caterina acquired its spectacular new altarpiece, it was host to the provincial chapter of 1320,⁽¹⁴⁴⁾ during which members of the other Romana convents would have been able to admire and envy it. Just as Duccio's work for the Dominican church in Siena seems to have brought him a further Dominican commission in Perugia, so too Simone's achievement in Pisa may have influenced Trasmondo Monaldeschi in his choice of artist for the high altarpiece which he commissioned for S. Domenico, Orvieto.⁽¹⁴⁵⁾

Design of the Orvieto Polyptych

Simone again produced a heptptych, of which two panels are now missing.⁽¹⁴⁶⁾ (fig.226) The Orvieto altarpiece differs from the Pisa one in shape. The arches of the panels are pointed instead of rounded and were originally surmounted by steep-sided gables ornamented with finials - judging by the remaining frame of the central panel and the shape of the polyptych now in the Isabella Stewart Gardner museum in Boston (fig.227) which is also attributed to Simone's Orvieto production.⁽¹⁴⁷⁾

The Orvieto work obviously had a less extensive programme than the Pisa polyptych. At Orvieto, the gables grow directly above the framing arches, instead of being separated from them by one or more horizontal bands, as at Pisa or in Siena Pinacoteca polyptych no.28. The two polyptych types developed side by side. Examples related to the Orvieto type are Vigoroso da Siena's altarpiece in the Galleria Nazionale, Perugia,⁽¹⁴⁸⁾ the side saints of a polyptych attributed to the Maestro di Città di Castello, now Siena Pinacoteca nos.29-32⁽¹⁴⁹⁾ (fig.228) and the pentptych now in the Ricasoli Collection, Brolio, attributed to Ugolino da Siena.⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ (fig.229) Simone adapted the type to make an even more elongated, gothic panel shape than at Pisa.

The Orvieto polyptych is simpler than the Pisa altarpiece in ornament as well as programme. There is no pastiglia work and the framing cusps are decorated with rather uninventive punched patterns. On the other hand, the haloes contain a considerable variety of punching, including at least one complex shape presumably not in use in Simone's workshop when the Pisa polyptych was painted.⁽¹⁵¹⁾ An innovation is the use of texts in the decoration of the haloes of the Virgin and Child.

Attribution of the Orvieto Polyptych.

The Pisa and Orvieto polyptychs were both signed by Simone Martini, although the authorship of the altarpieces is not given in either of the 14th century Dominican obituary lists which mentions them.⁽¹⁵²⁾ Presumably the artist wished to guarantee and to advertise that the work came from his own shop, while the matter was not considered crucial by the Dominican chroniclers, principally concerned with the deeds of the patrons and procurators. Examination of the style of the two works contributes to the debate concerning the significance of signatures on early 14th century Italian paintings.

Comparisons between the two works are hampered because the Pisa panels have suffered serious fire damage in places, especially in the representation of the Virgin and Child. But the main differences are clear in a comparison of the two Sts. Mary Magdalen.⁽¹⁵³⁾ (figs. 230, 231) In the Orvieto polyptych surfaces are painted more crisply, with a greater number of fine brushstrokes, a wider range of colours and a considerable use of white highlights to impart a hard sheen. In comparison the Pisa panel has a softer, looser style, with less clearly differentiated brushstrokes and not as much use of cross-hatching. Compare, for example, the white veils of the two Magdalens and the difference in treatment of cheeks, lips, chin and nose. The drawing of the Orvieto panel also indicates firmer, more solid forms. The Orvieto Magdalen has an emphatically rounded head set on a columnar neck, with features applied to the surface, while the Pisa Magdalen is closer to Duccio's conception of a relatively flat face, in which the side beyond the nose is pulled out and flattened to indicate the continuation of the surface. Even small details of drawing, such as the shape of eyes, differs.

Is this difference to be attributed to Simone's rapid stylistic development? This is certainly a plausible explanation. The Pisa

St. Catherine of Alexandria (fig.232) is already a step in the direction away from the Pisa Magdalen towards her Orvieto counterpart. On the other hand, comparison with other works grouped within Simone's Orvieto activity - the Boston polyptych, the Virgin and Child in the Orvieto Opera del Duomo and the Fitzwilliam panels⁽¹⁵⁴⁾ - shows that different stylistic aspects of the Pisa polyptych were soon being followed up by individual members of Simone's circle. A comparison of the S. Domenico, Orvieto St. Paul with his Boston counterpart suffices to show the variations which occurred within the framework of the workshop. (see figs.234,235) Even the saint's attributes vary (perhaps because of the preferences of the patrons): in Boston he holds the traditional book, while at S. Domenico he holds his individual letters, starting with Ad Romanos, as on the Pisa polyptych. Yet the frame shapes are very similar, which indicates that Simone retained overall control of design in his workshop, even when entrusting the details to able assistants.

The differences in style between the polyptych from S. Domenico, Orvieto and that from S. Caterina, Pisa might well result either from Simone's personal development, or from the intervention of other hands. In fact, both explanations are probably correct. To Simone himself I would attribute a large share in the execution of the S. Domenico, Orvieto St. Peter. (fig.236) Superficially close to the other two male figures, it is distinguished by a more thorough-going sense of anatomy and a more supple effect. In quality it is comparable to the painting of Beato Agostino Novello from S. Agostino, Siena, unanimously attributed to Simone and generally dated to either the third or the early fourth decade of the century,⁽¹⁵⁵⁾ and in facial type may be placed with the bishop St. Martin, eyes closed in meditation, on the left wall of the Assisi chapel⁽¹⁵⁶⁾ or with the St. Joseph of Simone's signed and dated Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool, Holy Family, of 1342.⁽¹⁵⁷⁾ The forerunner of the Orvieto St. Peter is to be seen in the St. Jerome of the Pisa polyptych predella. (fig.237)

There is another dominant artistic personality to be distinguished in the S. Domenico, Orvieto altarpiece, which I would tentatively identify with Lippo Memmi.⁽¹⁵⁸⁾ His contribution accounts for much of the sharpness and rigidity which tend to separate this polyptych from the one in S. Caterina. A comparison of the three Dominican saints shown in the two paintings may be helpful here.

The lack of a fixed facial type for Dominic in the figurative arts has already been discussed in chapter 5. This is clearly

demonstrated by the re-use of the type which appears as St. Peter Martyr at Pisa (fig.238) for St. Dominic at Orvieto. (fig.240) Both figures have dark brown hair, a gap in the tonsure above the eye, a short dark beard and an ascetic face with stern expression. In contrast the Pisa St. Dominic (fig.239) is beardless, has a complete tonsure of light, reddish hair and a sweet and serene expression. The Pisa Peter Martyr and Orvieto Dominic are close in type, but they are not sufficiently close stylistically to be attributed to the same artist. (Moreover it seems strange that the same artist would paint Dominic in one panel as he had painted Peter Martyr in another.) On the other hand, the Orvieto St. Dominic is extremely close, in reversed form, (apart from minor adjustments of type, such as the filling of the gap in the tonsure) to the panel of St. Francis in the Siena Pinacoteca no.48, generally attributed to Lippo Memmi.⁽¹⁵⁹⁾ (fig.241) Details of brushstroke, even the folds at the corner of the eyes, suggest that the same artist - probably Lippo Memmi - was at work in both cases. The use of a six-petalled punch, the centre and each petal filled with a dot, in both haloes, adds strength to the comparison, but is not in itself conclusive, since punches could easily be borrowed by different members of the same workshop.⁽¹⁶⁰⁾

This artist probably worked on the Pisa altarpiece too, and was certainly influenced by its design. The Orvieto St. Paul (fig.235) and Pisa Jeremiah (fig.233) have similarly flattened, elongated bald heads and comparable configuration of hair, ear, beard and shape of eye. The general lay-out of the S. Caterina polyptych is repeated in a reconstructed heptptych attributed to Lippo Memmi, which Mallory believes was painted in about 1330 for S. Francesco, Colle di Val d'Elsa.⁽¹⁶¹⁾ (The shape of the main panels was probably similar to those of the Orvieto polyptych.⁽¹⁶²⁾) Stronger influence of the Pisa painting is evident in another, smaller scale, polyptych attributed to Memmi, the pentptych now in S. Niccolò, Casciana Alta, near Pisa (discussed immediately below). The panel shape, inclusion of prophets in gables and type and pose of the majority of the figures at Casciana Alta (fig.242) appear to derive from Pisa.

It is evident that the inscriptions on the Pisa and Orvieto polyptychs - Simon de Senis me pinxit - present the truth, but not the whole truth. Simone presumably supervised the shape and general

design of the polyptychs, while taking a greater or lesser part in the painting of individual figures - at Orvieto, greater in the case of St. Peter, lesser in the case of the others. The size of the Pisa polyptych demanded a considerable number of assistants, trained in painting in Simone's manner. In subsequent work their individual artistic personalities become more apparent⁽¹⁶³⁾ but, as can be seen in the works attributed to Lippo Memmi, the experience of working on the Pisa polyptych was an important influence on their artistic development.

The Casciana Alta Pentaptych

The pentaptych now in Casciana Alta, (figs.242-4) displayed in the Pisa Mostra del Restauro of 1971 following a thorough restoration, has with good reason been attributed to Lippo Memmi by Caleca, Mallory and De Benedictis.⁽¹⁶⁴⁾ It is composed of five main panels, each with a gable, representing (reading left to right) John the Evangelist, with Isaiah(?); an apostle⁽¹⁶⁵⁾ presenting a lay donor, with St. Paul; the Virgin and Child, with the Redeemer; St. Stephen(?),⁽¹⁶⁶⁾ with St. Peter; St. Thomas Aquinas, with Jeremiah.

Before being transferred to the church of S. Niccolò, Casciana Alta (near Pisa) the painting was in the Pieve of S. Stefano a Vivaia⁽¹⁶⁷⁾ but since Vivaia, in the diocese of Lucca, is mentioned in the Rationes Decimarum of 1274-80 merely as Chiesa (in a 15th century addition to the list)⁽¹⁶⁸⁾ and is not mentioned at all in the 1295-1304 Rationes, the altarpiece was presumably originally painted for another, so far unidentified, destination.⁽¹⁶⁹⁾

The donor is clearly a layman, either a noble or an important dignitary, to judge by his fur-trimmed gown, but the altarpiece also has strong Dominican associations. If the Pisa polyptych provides the first representation of Aquinas, the Casciana Alta painting is the earliest surviving example of his depiction on one of the main panels of an altarpiece. (fig.244) This Aquinas has the same facial type and pose, and displays the same text, as his predecessor at Pisa; indeed the whole work owes much to Pisa, as has already been pointed out.

The inclusion of Aquinas might suggest a terminus post quem of 1323, the date of his canonisation, for the painting, but the Pisa polyptych shows that he was represented as a saint (in a predella) before that date. A date around 1320, the year in which the Dominican

general chapter announced that there was 'good hope' of his canonisation⁽¹⁷⁰⁾ seems the earliest likely moment for his inclusion in the main panel of a polyptych.

The Casciana Alta painting clearly follows the Pisa polyptych, which gives a terminus post quem of 1319, but its dating in relation to the S. Domenico, Orvieto heptptych is more difficult to ascertain. The date of the Orvieto altarpiece itself is not definite. The inscription now reads MCCCXX but an area of damage obscures the lower part of the numerals and a space to the right of the inscription could have accommodated an extra numeral. (fig.245) However, when examining the painting I was unable to see any trace of a continuation of the inscription and almost all students of the period place the painting in, or shortly after, 1320.⁽¹⁷¹⁾

Since the panel shape and the treatment of the Virgin and Child in Casciana Alta (fig.243) are closer to Pisa (fig.246) than to Orvieto, (fig.247) the Casciana Alta painting may date between the two. But two small details of punching could show that Casciana Alta is later than Orvieto. At Casciana Alta all the haloes have a fringe of trefoil-shaped punch marks around the outer rim. This practice continues in later works attributed to Memmi, such as the polyptych thought to have come from S. Francesco, Colle di Val d'Elsa.⁽¹⁷²⁾ At Orvieto only the haloes of the Virgin and Child have this particular ornament. (figs.226,247) This suggests that the practice of applying this decoration to every halo had not yet been adopted in Simone's circle, when the S. Domenico, Orvieto altarpiece was painted. A fringe of similar punch marks edges the cusping of the Orvieto and Casciana Alta frames, but is not in use at Pisa. Casciana Alta derives much from Pisa, but decorative differences between the two panels could be explained by a knowledge of developments in the Orvieto heptptych. A further feature of the Orvieto painting which is repeated at Casciana Alta is the inclusion of a small donor figure being presented by one of the side saints to the Virgin and Child of the central panel - a most unusual motif for a polyptych.

If the Casciana Alta painting does follow the Orvieto altarpiece, it may help in the reconstruction of the latter and solve a small puzzle: why was it decided to give the Orvieto Dominic the Pisa Peter Martyr's facial type? Perhaps this 'type' was available because Peter Martyr did not appear in the Orvieto polyptych. The saint had no special connection with Orvieto; Thomas Aquinas, on

the other hand, did. He stayed in Orvieto for some time, reputedly arranging the office for Corpus Christi there ⁽¹⁷³⁾ and in Orvieto, as at Pisa, a Cathedra of St. Thomas is preserved. Moreover, Trasmondo Monaldeschi, patron of the altarpiece, was a scholar familiar with Aquinas's teaching. He had studied at Paris and one of his many offices had been lector at Orvieto. He left the house a collection of theological books worth 1000 lire, which included a copy of Aquinas' Summa. ⁽¹⁷⁴⁾ So perhaps it was Thomas who originally balanced St. Dominic in the Orvieto heptptych, looking much as he does in the Casciana Alta pentptych.

The S. Maria Novella Altarpiece and Ugolino da Siena

The S. Domenico, Orvieto heptptych was almost certainly completed by the time of the provincial chapter meeting held at the Orvieto house in 1322. ⁽¹⁷⁵⁾ Meanwhile another Dominican house, S. Maria Novella, was engaging the services of another of Duccio's successors, Ugolino da Siena, in order to obtain their own Sienese polyptych.

The S. Maria Novella obituary list records that Fra Baro Sassetti, twice sub-prior of the house, confessor magnus et predicator, arranged to have an altarpiece painted for the church - ... tabulam altaris sua procuracione fieri fecit. This gives the work a terminus ante quem of 24 July 1324, the date of Sassetti's death. ⁽¹⁷⁶⁾ Fra Vincenzo Borghigiani says in his chronicle of the convent, written in the 18th century, that the painting was placed on the high altar in 1320 and that the Sassetti arms were represented on its base. ⁽¹⁷⁷⁾

Later History of the S. Maria Novella Altarpiece.

Vasari says that an altarpiece in the Spanish Chapel, painted by Ugolino da Siena, had formerly been the high altarpiece of S. Maria Novella ⁽¹⁷⁸⁾ and Fra Modesto Biliotti, in his chronicle of the convent written in 1586, also links the painting in the Spanish Chapel with the high altar of the church. ⁽¹⁷⁹⁾ By the beginning of the 17th century a member of the Sassetti family, Francesco di Giambatista, had already made the connection between the painting in the Spanish Chapel, attributed by Vasari to Ugolino, and the one commissioned by Baro Sassetti for the high altar, and removed from there at the end

of the 15th century (to make way for a new work by Ghirlandaio).⁽¹⁸⁰⁾

Anxious to demonstrate the Sassetti family's former patronage rights to the high altar and to the painting which had adorned it, Francesco Sassetti points out that the Sassetti arms appeared extensively on the base of the altarpiece (thus further confirming Borghigiani's description), '... chè in vero è una bella memoria della nostra antichità e nobiltà, essendovi nella basa di detta tavola da ogni canto l'arme de' Sassetti, la quale dimostra il nostro patronato ...'.⁽¹⁸¹⁾ Francesco di Giambatista complains that in about 1591 the painting was removed to the convent and that the friars have since refused to divulge its location.⁽¹⁸²⁾ Fineschi, writing in 1790, reports that a painting formerly on the high altar, painted by Guido Pittor Sanese (presumably an error for Ugolino) was at that date kept in the under-dormitory on the Chiostro Grande⁽¹⁸³⁾ but by the time of Giulini's revision of Fineschi's book in 1836, the work seems to have been lost.⁽¹⁸⁴⁾ It has never reappeared.⁽¹⁸⁵⁾

Attribution of the S. Maria Novella Altarpiece

The ascription of the lost altarpiece to Ugolino rests on Vasari's word.⁽¹⁸⁶⁾ The painting may perhaps have borne a signature in Vasari's day, but since Francesco Sassetti appeals to Vasari's evidence concerning the artist responsible,⁽¹⁸⁷⁾ there was clearly no such information available by his time.

Vasari's attribution may have been based on style rather than signature. Although often unreliable for early 14th century attributions, Vasari's evidence must be given considerable weight in this case: he had comparative material to hand in the form of the signed Ugolino altarpiece of S. Croce; he knew both S. Croce and S. Maria Novella well since he had carried out redecoration and removal of the tramezzo in both of them;⁽¹⁸⁸⁾ his whole account of Ugolino's career seems generally plausible. Moreover Petrei, writing in the later 15th century, also saw a painting in the Spanish Chapel which he said was by Ugolino da Siena⁽¹⁸⁹⁾ and Ugolino's work for the Franciscans at S. Croce makes the S. Maria Novella commission all the more credible.

Appearance of the S. Maria Novella Altarpiece

The appearance and subject matter of Ugolino's work for the

Dominicans of S. Maria Novella can to some degree be pieced together. Vasari is laconic, saying only that the S. Maria Novella painting was della medesima maniera as the S. Croce one.⁽¹⁹⁰⁾ Fra Modesto Biliotti, writing later in the same century, describes the painting as follows,

'... auream tabulam in qua beatissime Marie semper virginis puerum Jesu sinu gestantis, et quorundam angelorum et utriusque testamenti patrum figure multe ordinate disposite conspiciuntur'.⁽¹⁹¹⁾

Francesco di Giambatista Sassetti, who claims to have seen the work several times (la quale io Francesco scrittore veddi più volte, mentre stava nel Capitolo⁽¹⁹²⁾) says the altarpiece represented the Virgin and Child between two saints (whose identity he has forgotten), perhaps included some angels and some other figures (after so many years he says he cannot remember queste minuzie particolari) and, most important of all for him, two Sassetti coats of arms on the base.⁽¹⁹³⁾

Ugolino's painting was evidently a polyptych. Francesco Sassetti's comments suggest it was a triptych, but he is rather vague in his description and Biliotti says that many figures were represented, which would indicate a pentaptych - more suitable for the high altar of a large church. It could even have been a heptaptych - the Dominicans had already commissioned one in Pisa - but since Vasari mentions the S. Maria Novella altarpiece very clearly in second place, after his description of Ugolino's heptaptych for S. Croce, (fig.248) in his life of the artist, it was probably less impressive and also smaller than the Franciscan painting. (Its maximum possible width can probably be gauged by the dimensions of the mid 14th century paliotto from the high altar of S. Maria Novella, at present displayed in the Bargello, which measures 1000 x 4280 mm.⁽¹⁹⁴⁾ The estimated width of the S. Croce heptaptych is 4500 mm.⁽¹⁹⁵⁾)

Borghigiani and Sassetti both mention the coats of arms displayed on the basa of the altarpiece,⁽¹⁹⁶⁾ indicating that the polyptych had a predella. Three types of predella design are known to have been used by Ugolino: rectangular panels containing scenes, at S. Croce;⁽¹⁹⁷⁾ an arcaded predella with individual figures (as in Simone Martini's S. Caterina polyptych), in a fragmentary panel now Lucca Pinacoteca no.300;⁽¹⁹⁸⁾ a design in which individual

figures are set in cusped frames, the intervening spaces filled with geometric patterns, in the predella with the Crucifixion, the Virgin and St. John, in the Pesançon museum, attributed to Ugolino.⁽¹⁹⁹⁾
(fig.249) This last type would have provided suitable spaces for the prominent display of the Sassetti coat of arms.

The centre panel of the S. Maria Novella altarpiece represented the Virgin and Child and was flanked by panels with saints, presumably including Dominic - and Peter Martyr, who had preached, with great effect, outside S. Maria Novella. In addition to spandrel or pinnacle angels, there was an extensive programme of prophets and saints - utriusque testamenti patrum figure multe ordinate disposite conspiciuntur⁽²⁰⁰⁾ - on the lines of the Pisa polyptych. Such a design was eminently suitable for a panel, commissioned by a Dominican who was noted as a preacher,⁽²⁰¹⁾ which could have been intended to emulate the Pisa altarpiece; suitable also for a house which was, by 1311, a studium generale.⁽²⁰²⁾

Ugolino da Siena, S. Croce and S. Maria Novella.

The question remains, who called the Sienese artist to Florence at a time when Florentine painting was itself flourishing? The Franciscans would seem likely candidates since, as Vasari says, Ugolino worked for them many times.⁽²⁰³⁾ At least seven polyptychs by Ugolino and his circle appear, by their choice of saints, to be Franciscan commissions.⁽²⁰⁴⁾ However, the evidence of dating suggests that it could have been the Dominicans who, anticipating the Franciscans, gave Ugolino a commission to paint an altarpiece for a Florentine church.

The date of the S. Croce heptptych is not known, but it is generally dated to c.1325.⁽²⁰⁵⁾ This dating results principally from setting the heptptych in the context of the development of Sienese polyptych design. It is impossible to imagine the complex frame and panel shape of this painting preceding Simone's S. Caterina polyptych of 1319 and it seems unlikely to be earlier than Pietro Lorenzetti's polyptych for the Pieve of Arezzo, completed by 1 January 1324,⁽²⁰⁶⁾ because the design of the S. Croce heptptych (fig.248) appears to be a development of that used by Lorenzetti in his pentptych. (fig.250) Since the date of 1320 which Borghigiani gives for the S. Maria Novella altarpiece may well

be reliable⁽²⁰⁷⁾ and the altarpiece at all events has a terminus ante quem of 24 July 1324 - the date of Fra Baro Sasseti's death - it is possible that it was actually painted before the Franciscan S. Croce altarpiece.⁽²⁰⁸⁾ If this proves to be the case, there is a possibility that it was the Dominicans who summoned Ugolino to Florence.⁽²⁰⁹⁾

The new altarpiece was probably visible during the provincial chapter meeting of 1321, held in S. Maria Novella.⁽²¹⁰⁾

The Dominicans and the Development of the Polyptych in Siena.

Dominican patronage made a significant contribution to the development of the polyptych in Siena. Major artists were given the opportunity to execute large commissions and were encouraged by the requirements of their patrons to experiment with both design and programme.

This series of high altarpieces in Dominican churches, which expressed both the majesty of the Virgin and the place of Dominican saints among the established hierarchy, seems unlikely to have been the result of deliberate Order policy. There is no evidence for such a hypothesis, and the official attitude of the Order to art, as described in this thesis, does not support it. But the commissioning of this series of important works may still be more than mere coincidence. Five of the polyptychs can be dated, with a greater or lesser degree of certainty, to shortly before a provincial chapter meeting in the house concerned. A splendid new high altarpiece would have been a fitting decoration for the host church⁽²¹¹⁾ and one which impressed visitors from other houses, so that they in turn may have decided to embellish their own houses in a similar manner in time for the next provincial chapter, rivalling or surpassing their brothers with the aptness and novelty of the work they commissioned.

(c) Small-scale Works: Devotional Panels, Diptychs and Triptychs.

A large polyptych reflected the corporate ethos of a Dominican convent. At the same time the emphasis on personal prayer and individual salvation fostered by the mendicant Orders⁽²¹²⁾ was also mirrored in paintings executed for people within or sympathetic to the Dominican Order. Patrons were depicted on the paintings they had commissioned for display on church altars, or acquired small portable panels - diptychs or triptychs - for use in conventual cells or private chapels, at home or on journeys.

One aspect of this personal devotion, the occurrence of donor figures, is mentioned elsewhere in this thesis.⁽²¹³⁾ The other aspect - the development of small-scale panels - is treated here.

A late thirteenth century example is the Florentine triptych from the Jarves collection, (fig.182) discussed in section (a) of this chapter. All the other examples with Dominican links, dating from the first half of the fourteenth century, were made by Sienese artists - evidently particularly skilled in producing these small-scale individual works. Friars, nuns, cardinals and princes were among the purchasers: The Virgin and Child with Saints in the Gardner Museum, Boston (attributed to Lippo Memmi) (fig.259)⁽²¹⁴⁾ has a Dominican nun as donor; the Virgin and Child with Saints in the Chicago Art Institute (attributed to the School of Duccio)⁽²¹⁵⁾ (fig.253), Christ Carrying the Cross in the Frick Collection (attributed to Barna and to the Master of the Straus Madonna)⁽²¹⁶⁾ (fig.255), and the Annunciation with Saints in the Berlin-Dahlem Museum (attributed, among others, to Barna)⁽²¹⁷⁾ (fig.256) have Dominican donor friars. Dominican saints predominate in Siena Pinacoteca triptych no.35 (attributed to the school of Duccio)⁽²¹⁸⁾ (fig.257) which has a crowned donor, and are present in the triptych with the Virgin and Child with Prophets and Saints in the National Gallery, London (attributed to Duccio)⁽²¹⁹⁾ (fig.251) and in the panels of the Virgin and Child Enthroned formerly in the Reinach Collection, Paris (attributed to a Duccio follower, the Goodhart Master)⁽²²⁰⁾ (fig.258) and in the Volterra Collection, Florence (also attributed to the Goodhart Master).⁽²²¹⁾ (fig.254) Cardinal Niccolò da Prato's three panels from his private chapel (... tres

tabulas pictas, quae ponuntur super altare ...) willed to S. Domenico, Prato,⁽²²²⁾ were presumably also small devotional paintings.

Two of the paintings listed above are triptychs, and the design of the panel from the Reinach Collection, very similar to the centre panel of Siena triptych no.35, indicates that it too formed part of a triptych. None of the museum catalogue entries for the remaining six panels mention the presence of hinge-marks,⁽²²³⁾ but it seems likely that these all originally formed leaves of diptychs, probably paired with representations of the Crucifixion or the Man of Sorrows;⁽²²⁴⁾ Offner, Vertova and Caleca have each identified one of them as such,⁽²²⁵⁾ and the gilding, punching and moulding on the back of the Boston panel⁽²²⁶⁾ show that it was once part of an object which sometimes remained shut.

No two panels have quite the same subject matter, but six out of eight include a representation of the Virgin and Child, depicted in affectionate, playful poses, the Child generally holding the Virgin's veil. Behind this similarity may lie a generally tender contemporary approach to the veneration of the Virgin and Child but also, more specifically, two models: the National Gallery triptych (and the Chicago panel, which in this respect follows it) learn from French sculptures and ivories such as the late 13th or early 14th century ivory polyptych in the British Museum (Koechlin no.134) (fig.252) in which the diminutive Child, held high, looks into His mother's eyes and plays with her veil; and a further development, Duccio's Maestà of 1302 (as reconstructed by Stubblebine⁽²²⁷⁾) stands behind the two Goodhart Master panels and Siena Pinacoteca no.35. (A large scale reflection of the 1302 Maestà is the Città di Castello Virgin and Child, (fig.266) purchased by a Dominican and perhaps setting a fashion in the design of smaller objects in the Order.)

The scope of polyptych programmes is to some extent echoed in these smaller works. Four of the paintings include rows of half-length saints or prophets, reminiscent of the Rucellai Madonna frame (Siena Pinacoteca no.35), of polyptych pinnacles (National Gallery triptych) or of arcaded predellas (the Reinach and Boston panels).

The use of the arcaded predella in small-scale devotional paintings, occurs in a small group of works, all made for a Mendicant

context. The earliest example is the Reinach panel (fig.258) whose 'predella' contains (left to right) Peter Martyr, Mary Magdalen(?), a female saint, Elizabeth and Dominic. The Boston panel, (fig.259) in which the design of the arcade is more elaborate, includes Helena, Paul, Dominic, Stephen(?) and a suppliant Dominican nun. A triptych of the Virgin and Child with Saints with scenes of the Passion on the wings, related to Siena triptych no.35, now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (attributed to the Monte Oliveto Master)⁽²²⁸⁾ (fig.260) has an arcaded predella with (left to right) Augustine(?), Francis, Dominic and Catherine of Alexandria(?). A panel of the Virgin and Child from the Griggs Collection, now also in the Metropolitan Museum (attributed to Barna and, more recently, to Lippo Memmi)⁽²²⁹⁾ (fig.261) has small-scale full-length figures of John the Baptist and Francis flanking the main image, while within an arcaded 'predella', delineated by punch marks rather than gesso or wood mouldings, are shown a female saint (Cecilia?), Clare, Lawrence, Peter, Louis of Toulouse, and two female martyr saints (Catherine(?) and Agnes or Lucy?). A panel of the Crucifixion in the Vatican (attributed to the school of Lippo Memmi)⁽²³⁰⁾ (fig.262) has a predella with John the Baptist(?), John the Evangelist(?), Francis, Louis of Toulouse, Catherine of Alexandria and Dorothy(?).

A later, larger-scale, Florentine version of this design, the Crucifixion with Saints from the Museo Bandini, Piesole, at present displayed in the Uffizi (attributed to Nardo di Cione)⁽²³¹⁾ (fig.263) also has a Mendicant saint in the predella arcade, which contains Jerome, James Minor(?), Paul, James Major and Peter Martyr.

Apart from two paintings represented in photographs in the Fototeca Berenson which have since disappeared from view and are clearly post-medieval pastiches⁽²³²⁾ no other central Italian examples of devotional panels with arcaded predellas have so far come to light.⁽²³³⁾ For some reason the design had a specific appeal for those in sympathy with Mendicant piety. Perhaps the source of the design was a single work commissioned by Mendicants, such as a Maestà similar to Stubblebine's reconstruction of Duccio's 1302 painting - but with half-length figures in the predella rather than the scenes which Stubblebine proposes in his reconstruction.⁽²³⁴⁾ The portion of a large-scale predella in the Villa Guinigi, Lucca, attributed to Ugolino da Siena,⁽²³⁵⁾ indicates that at least one

arcaded predella with half-length saints existed in a Mendicant church. However, the main images of this group of devotional paintings, and the design and number of figures in the predellas vary too much for a common model to be probable.

Whatever its precise origins, the design clearly developed in a Mendicant milieu. This was probably Dominican rather than Franciscan, not only because Dominican saints predominate in earlier examples of the type but also because the design is in accord with the character of other paintings connected with the Order. Siena Pinacoteca no.35, (fig.257) in which eight half-length saints occupy a strip at the base of the centre panel, is a forerunner of the type and it in turn recalls the frame of the Rucellai Madonna. (One other, later, devotional work with Dominican saints echoes the Rucellai frame: a Virgin and Child Eleusa now in S. Maria Maggiore, Florence⁽²³⁶⁾ (fig.264) has a frame with twenty half-length figures including Sts. Dominic, Peter Martyr and Thomas Aquinas (and, probably, the twelve apostles.)) The desire to amplify the orthodox main image, almost invariably the Virgin and Child, by the addition of prophets and saints, is visible in the Rucellai Madonna, the Pisa polyptych, the arcaded predella design just discussed and even in the most modest devotional panel, such as that in the Volterra Collection, (fig.254) in which the angels flanking the Virgin's throne, ubiquitous in both large and small-scale work, are replaced by a selection of saints on which the spectator may meditate.

In small-scale Dominican works, as in the larger ones, narrative painting is hardly ever used. The area above the centre panel of a Ducciesque devotional triptych is often decorated with the Annunciation but, uniquely, the National Gallery triptych has prophets, and the Reinach panel saints. The Nativity and scenes from the Passion are, admittedly, shown on the wings of Siena Pinacoteca no.35 but this may be the choice of the lay donor in question and, as Stubblebine points out,⁽²³⁷⁾ the narrative is pared down to a minimum and almost all background omitted, so that meditational images, rather than stories, are presented.⁽²³⁸⁾ This tendency is carried further in the Frick panel of Christ Carrying the Cross (fig.255) in which the single image of Christ is isolated from its narrative surroundings, while in the Berlin-Dahlem Annunciation panel (fig.256) the 'predella' area for the accompanying saints has enlarged to occupy a third of

the panel and the Dominican donor, placed at the centre of the Annunciation with his back to Gabriel and echoing the angel's pose, is shown venerating the Virgin of the Annunciation rather than the whole event which is taking place.

Two other devotional images with Dominican connections are mentioned in an excursus at the end of this section. ⁽²³⁹⁾

All these devotional paintings, apart from the Jarves triptych, are the work of Sienese painters, but they vary considerably in quality. The Siena and London triptychs are particularly fine works, presumably executed specifically for individual donors. ⁽²⁴⁰⁾ (fig.265) Both panels include a saint (Ambrogio Sansedoni, and Aurea) whose cult was not widespread and must have been chosen by the particular patron. Lesser artists, such as the Goodhart and Monte Oliveto Masters, probably found it worth their while producing similar works for stock, substituting more widely venerated saints. An example is the panel attributed to the Goodhart Master in the Volterra Collection, in which the Virgin and Child enthroned are accompanied by two angels and Saints John the Baptist, Peter, Catherine of Alexandria and Dominic. (fig.254)

In Città di Castello the artist whose name derives from this commission painted a large Maestà acquired by a Dominican donor. ⁽²⁴¹⁾ (fig.266) Flaking of the paint surface (fig.267) reveals that the diminutive figure (perhaps representing the prior of the convent) was added after the painting had been completed, and the presence of pin-holes following the contour of the figure (fig.268) indicates that a cartoon was pricked through when transferring the figure to the panel, perhaps as part of a routine procedure for turning a painting of the Virgin and Child into a more personal object. ⁽²⁴²⁾

Sometimes painters copied extensively but not carefully. The triptych in the Metropolitan Museum attributed to the Monte Oliveto Master (fig.260) shares several features with the earlier Siena Pinacoteca no.35 (fig.257) ⁽²⁴³⁾ It was from that panel or a similar one that the painter copied the blessing Christ Child, arm extended, turning to His left, but there is no kneeling donor figure to be blessed so that the Christ Child looks, somewhat incongruously, straight at John the Baptist, and blesses him instead.

Uncertainty over the identity and oeuvre of Barna ⁽²⁴⁴⁾ makes it unclear whether the works discussed above which have been attributed

to him, belong to a pre or post- Black Death Siena or whether, as some critics believe ⁽²⁴⁵⁾ some belong in the circle of Simone Martini. Thus it is a fine point whether these works and the Boston panel attributed to the later career of Lippo Memmi (particularly those with predella zones) constitute continuity or revival of the early 14th century devotional panels connected with the Dominicans. What is certain is that demand was sufficient for at least five Sienese workshops - Duccio, the Goodhart and Monte Oliveto Masters, Lippo Memmi and 'Barna' - to produce such objects.

Excursus: Two Devotional Images: the Man of Sorrows and the Madonna of Humility.

Two devotional images which achieved particular popularity during the 14th century and were extensively reproduced on small-scale panels, the Man of Sorrows and the Madonna of Humility, have at different times been linked with the Dominican Order.

The S. Caterina polyptych provides the earliest example of the Man of Sorrows (with two flanking figures) on an Italian predella. (fig.218) In a recent article, Van Os published another Man of Sorrows commissioned by a Dominican: a triptych from the Kleinweg de Zwaan collection in the Hague, on temporary loan to the Simon van Gijn Museum, Dordrecht, which depicts the Man of Sorrows with the Virgin and St. John and, on the reverse, one Dominican kneeling before another, probably representing the consecration of a friar by a prior.⁽²⁴⁶⁾ (figs.269,270) Van Os tentatively attributes the work to a Dalmatian atelier of the early 14th century and, on the basis of this triptych, the S. Caterina predella and the considerable Dominican presence in Dalmatia, implies that this image of the Man of Sorrows may have originated in a Dominican context.⁽²⁴⁷⁾

Van Os is correct to point out that Dominicans played a part in the development of new devotional themes and types:⁽²⁴⁸⁾ the small-scale panel with saints in a predella, polyptych programmes, the three-nail crucifix and large-scale paintings of the Virgin and Child are all cases in point - as this thesis argues. However, surviving unquestionably Dominican examples of the Man of Sorrows, especially from the late 13th century - the apparent date of its introduction in Italy⁽²⁴⁹⁾ - are lacking.

Indeed, only a handful of panels which include the subject and appear to come from a Dominican milieu can be dated to before 1400. The predella of Lippo Vanni's altarpiece of 1358, now in SS. Domenico e Sisto, Rome,⁽²⁵⁰⁾ (fig.280) a large-scale work interestingly modelled on a small-scale triptych form, confirms the Sienese Dominican connections of this image. The Adriatic links demonstrated by the Kleinweg de Zwaan triptych are reinforced by the existence of two panels, one in the Springfield Massachusetts Museum of Art,⁽²⁵¹⁾ (fig.271) the other in the Yale Art Gallery,⁽²⁵²⁾ (fig.272) assigned by Garrison to his Adriatic Group I, probably Dalmatian, and to the early 14th century, in which the Madonna Lactans (and of Humility?)

is framed by saints including Dominic and, apparently, a Dominican nun, with a Man of Sorrows, flanked by the Virgin and St. John, above the main image.

Outside our period, but of considerable interest, is a polyptych now in the church of All Saints, Korčula (Croatia) attributed to the 15th century Croatian artist Blaž Trogiranin, (fig.273) which has a Man of Sorrows standing in the tomb, accompanied by the Virgin and St. John and adored by several diminutive suppliant confraternity members, as its central representation.⁽²⁵³⁾ On either side of the main panel are full-length figures of Dominic and Peter Martyr. The arcaded predella represents the Redeemer flanked by twelve saints (presumably the apostles) while the upper level includes four male post-biblical saints, and, above the Man of Sorrows, a half-length Madonna Lactans (flanked on her right by St. Francis). It can be seen that the Korčula polyptych presents a curiously scrambled version of the S. Caterina polyptych programme.

Two Florentine panels with Dominican connections can be cited. One is the predella showing the Man of Sorrows flanked by the Virgin, the Magdalen, St. Dominic and St. Catherine of Alexandria, now in the Museo dell'Opera di S. Croce (attributed to a follower of Orcagna) which bears an inscription in which Christ exhorts the spectator to meditate on His suffering.⁽²⁵⁴⁾ The other, a double-sided panel setting out the privileges enjoyed by the Florentine Bigallo confraternity (attributed generally to the circle of Orcagna)⁽²⁵⁵⁾ is not strictly speaking Dominican but belongs to that environment in that the confraternity recognised St. Peter Martyr as its founder. The panel is a gabled rectangle. On one side, the main field contains a long inscription,⁽²⁵⁶⁾ while the gable shows the Man of Sorrows, standing in the tomb, before the cross. On the other side, the main field represents Peter Martyr consigning the confraternity banner to its members, while the gable has a standing Virgin and Child with, on the left, St. Dominic and, on the right, St. Francis.

Another gabled rectangular panel, now in the possession of the Rhode Island School of Design, Providence (attributed to a Pisan follower of Duccio or, more recently, to the Maestro di S. Torpè)⁽²⁵⁷⁾ (fig.274) also places a representation of the Man of Sorrows in the gable, and has the Virgin and Child as the main image, with a large 'predella' area below, in which St. Francis (to the left) and St. Peter Martyr (to the right) stand beneath painted arches. Perhaps

this panel too was made for a confraternity. Its allegiances are to both the principal mendicant Orders.

There do not seem to be any examples of the Man of Sorrows in illuminated manuscripts of the period from Dominican houses. On the other hand, two securely dated early Italian examples of the image appear in a collection of prayers with Franciscan affiliations, Laurenziana Plut. 25.3, made between 1293 and 1300.⁽²⁵⁸⁾ Absence of early Dominican examples and presence of early dated work from other milieu⁽²⁵⁹⁾ suggests that in this case the Dominicans were content to adopt and develop ideas which others (perhaps in this instance the Franciscans⁽²⁶⁰⁾) had originated.

It may also be of some significance that in all but one of the pre-1400 examples assembled above, the image of the Man of Sorrows is accompanied by, or acts as accompaniment to a representation of the Virgin and Child, in some cases the especially tender Madonna Lactans type, and that the dead Christ is generally attended by His mother, so that particular emphasis is given to the sorrows of the Virgin and to the contrast between the mother caring for her newly-born child and for her dead son. The Dominican preference for representations of the Virgin and Child and relatively restricted patronage of large crucifixes, in contrast with the Franciscans, has already been discussed.⁽²⁶¹⁾ Perhaps the image of the Man of Sorrows - which, like the crucifix, emphasised the suffering body of Christ - also found rather modest acceptance in Dominican circles, unless flanked by the Virgin and St. John, or linked with a representation of the Virgin and Child.

In his study of the Madonna of Humility, Meiss concluded that 'the image was fostered especially by the Preaching Friars' and postulated a lost model of the type, executed by Simone Martini.⁽²⁶²⁾ More recently Van Os, in his study of devotional images of the Virgin in Sienese art, tacitly differed, placing more emphasis on Simone's Notre-Dame-des-Doms Avignon fresco itself as a possible prototype and stressing the painter's own role in developing iconography, viewed in the context of contemporary piety and veneration of the Virgin.⁽²⁶³⁾ (The Dominicans are not mentioned in this connection by Van Os.)

Since the development of the image is generally thought to have begun in the 1340s,⁽²⁶⁴⁾ it falls outside the actual limits of this thesis and will not be discussed further here, except to remark that the particular approach to devotional and non-narrative images, and favour for representations of the Virgin, shown, in the course of this thesis, to be particular characteristics of art patronised by the Dominicans, accord well with the reception, encouragement and diffusion of such an image by the Dominican Order.

(d) The Dominicans and Sienese Painters

The Dominican Order maintained and repeated a fruitful contact with the Sienese school of painters. The first links were apparently established at S. Domenico, Siena, perhaps with the painting of the Fogg St. Dominic in the second quarter of the 13th century and its two subsequent repaintings,⁽²⁶⁵⁾ the second of which, attributed to Guido da Siena, may well have coincided with the painting of the Palazzo Pubblico Madonna for the same church. The Andrea Gallerani reliquary shutters were also made in Guido's shop for the Siena Dominicans.⁽²⁶⁶⁾ When the Palazzo Pubblico Madonna was in its turn repainted, a Ducciesque artist was employed.⁽²⁶⁷⁾

Sienese Artists outside Siena.

Duccio's work for Dominican circles has been described at some length above. The artist may have been called to Florence specifically to paint the Rucellai Madonna for the Dominicans, possibly his first connection with the Order.⁽²⁶⁸⁾ One of the reasons that he received this important commission may have been because the Sienese Dominicans, satisfied with their own large Sienese painting of the Virgin and Child, promoted the commissioning of Guido's natural successor by their Florentine brothers. The Sienese were certainly better equipped than any other school of painters to provide a monumental yet tender image of the Virgin and Child.

During his probable stay in Florence, Duccio seems to have studied the work of local artists.⁽²⁶⁹⁾ At the same time Florence felt the influence of the Sienese master. While Cimabue's S. Trinita Madonna may or may not owe a debt to Duccio - the relationship between these two paintings is still not clear - the Cimabue school Maestà from S. Francesco, Pisa, now in the Louvre, certainly learned from the Maestà in the Dominican church.⁽²⁷⁰⁾ Another Franciscan church, S. Croce in Florence, possibly followed the example of S. Maria Novella in obtaining a Sienese Maestà - the large, truncated panel now hanging in the National Gallery, London.⁽²⁷¹⁾

Another probable Florentine visit by a Sienese painter - Ugolino's arrival in the 1320s - has also been discussed above. The Dominican share in this event cannot be determined with certainty but it is interesting to note that again a link with S. Domenico,

Siena may exist: Frinca has identified the retooling of the Fogg St. Dominic (whose provenance in the Sienese church is postulated in chapter 5) as a work executed with one of Ugolino's punches.⁽²⁷²⁾

S. Maria Novella's connections with Sienese artists continued into the next decade. In 1333 Fra Matteo conversus and Fra Migliore of the Florentine house went to Siena to collect a new altarpiece (now apparently lost) painted for the Cappella di S. Niccolò, which the convent was building with the help of Dardano Acciaiuoli.⁽²⁷³⁾ In this case the Sienese artist (whose identity is not known) did not need to leave home, but there is one further example in S. Maria Novella of a Sienese artist coming to work in Florence at the behest of the Dominicans:

A fresco of the Virgin and Child over a blocked-up door in the Cloister Verde (which Orlandi believes was the original convent entrance), although much repainted, is manifestly a Sienese work of the first quarter of the 14th century.⁽²⁷⁴⁾ (fig.275) Although Sienese skill in panel-painting may have been so pre-eminent that their work was preferred to the products of Florentine workshops, it is surprising to see a Sienese artist employed in painting a fresco - a medium for which the town was not particularly noted at the start of the 14th century - in Florence, where painters proficient in fresco had their establishments. Perhaps the artist in question had come to S. Maria Novella to paint a panel and was then asked to make a fresco as well. The commission had a certain importance, since the painting seems to have been considered miraculous and an altar was later set up beneath it.⁽²⁷⁵⁾

Dominican commissions took Sienese painters to other centres beyond their native town. High up on the nave wall of S. Domenico, Arezzo is a fragmentary Ducciesque painting of the Virgin and Child accompanied by a female saint,⁽²⁷⁶⁾ (fig.276) an iconography more commonly used in panel than fresco. It is not so surprising that a Sienese artist should be called to Arezzo - there was no flourishing local school and Siena was a closer centre than Florence to choose. In Città di Castello, the Sienese artist whose name derives from this commission painted his large Maestà for a Dominican donor. (fig.266) The practice of painting had not prospered in the town before this date.⁽²⁷⁷⁾ Further afield and perhaps outside our period, is a panel painting described in a 17th century source as having stood in the Dominican church in Carpentras. It

apparently represented the Madonna della Misericordia 'in Campo d'oro' and was signed 'con lettere Gotthice scritto' IOHES DUCII DE SENIS ME PINKIT. (278)

Duccio's work for S. Domenico, Perugia and its possible repercussions on local art, Simone's stay in Pisa which may have influenced the course of painting in that town (279) and his time in Orvieto, have all been mentioned already. One further example of a Sienese painting outside Siena, which falls outside the period covered by this thesis, is the polyptych painted by Luca di Tommè for S. Domenico, Rieti, now in the Museo Civico of that town. (280) (fig.277) Lippo Vanni's work for the Dominicans in Perugia and Rome will be mentioned below.

Sienese Artists and the Two Main Mendicant Orders.

Several Sienese artists were employed more than once by one or both of the two main mendicant Orders: Ugolino, as mentioned above, (281) worked often for the Franciscans but was also commissioned by the Dominicans and may have been brought by them to Florence. Lippo Memmi, who has at different times been credited with the painting of two Dominican devotional panels, and probably executed the Casciana Alta polyptych, worked on the S. Caterina polyptych and painted a fresco of the Virgin and Child enthroned with St. Paul and an angel in the cloister of S. Domenico, Siena, (282) (fig.278) renewing links between that house and the Sienese school, also worked at least twice for Franciscans. (283) On the other hand, there is only one surviving link between the Lorenzetti brothers and the Dominican Order: a fresco of the Virgin and Child with supplicant knight, also in S. Domenico, Siena, attributed to Pietro Lorenzetti or his school. (284) (fig.279)

Did certain Sienese artists have a particular affinity with either or both of the two main mendicant Orders? Van Os has tried to characterise the distinction between the work of Pietro Lorenzetti and Simone Martini as the distinction between an artist working for the Franciscans and an artist working for the Dominicans - one formed artistically in the atmosphere of Franciscan spirituality -

'[es] steht eine aktive, auf Tatsachen gerichtete Tendenz im Vordergrund' - the other in accord with Dominican piety - '(es) herrscht eine passive, meditative Tendenz vor'.⁽²⁸⁵⁾

The comparison is an appealing one, but somewhat faulty: recent revisions of dating by Maginnis and Simon have shown Pietro Lorenzetti's 'life-long' connections with the Franciscans of Assisi - Van Os's main basis for the identity between artist and Order - to be a misconception: the works were probably executed in a single campaign, early in his career.⁽²⁸⁶⁾ Van Os discounts Simone's important early connection with Franciscan art through the St. Louis of Toulouse altarpiece, and his work in the St. Martin chapel Assisi, by making a distinction between Order patronage and works for important private donors, whatever their religious affiliations, who came from the 'Welt des Hofes und der Politik'. Yet Pietro Lorenzetti's work in Assisi was in part, perhaps entirely, commissioned by a member of the Orsini family,⁽²⁸⁷⁾ while Simone's S. Domenico, Orvieto polyptych, cited by Van Os as an example of his Dominican art, was painted for the powerful bishop Trasmondo Monaldeschi.

An attempt has been made to demonstrate in this thesis that works executed for a Dominican milieu might be expected to reflect that milieu, whether the work was for Order, convent, powerful or humble individual or lay donor. Van Os's identification of a specific höfisch patronage, which among other things cuts the St. Louis of Toulouse panel out of the discussion of Franciscan painting, does not seem valid in this context.

Van Os attributes the fundamental difference between Pietro's Arezzo Pieve polyptych and Simone's S. Caterina, Pisa polyptych to a difference in artistic formation. As mentioned above, I prefer to attribute the 'Dominican-ness' of the Pisa polyptych to the carefully considered requirements of the patrons, to which the artist so admirably responded, rather than to the strong personal initiative of the artist himself. I would agree with Van Os that Simone was peculiarly suited to Dominican commissions: his artistic development was no doubt stimulated, and to some extent moulded, by the important commission he received from them. But he also provided excellent, apposite work for Cathedrals, Town Councils, Franciscans, Augustinians and Cardinals.

The artistic expression of a trecento painter should not

necessarily be expected to reflect his personal piety. Nevertheless it is interesting to note Simone's private connection with the Dominican Order. Simone's brother Donato and several other relatives were buried in and around S. Domenico, Siena.⁽²⁸⁸⁾ Simone himself died in Avignon, but a commemorative service was held for him in S. Domenico, Siena.⁽²⁸⁹⁾ In his will he left nineteen gold florins to the convent and in 1346 his widow, Donna Giovanna, presented the Siena Dominicans with a chalice and a missal, for herself, her relatives, and for the soul of her late husband.⁽²⁹⁰⁾

Excursus: Lippo Vanni and the Dominicans.

Lippo Vanni's career falls outside the period treated in this thesis,⁽²⁹¹⁾ but his repeated connection with the Dominican Order deserves mention. Vanni's only signed and dated work, the large-scale triptych of 1358 showing the Virgin and Child enthroned with Sts. Dominic and Aurea and scenes from the life of Aurea, is now in SS. Domenico e Sisto, Rome. (fig.280)

Berenson long ago established a further connection between Lippo Vanni, St. Aurea and the Dominicans when he attributed to that artist a reliquary triptych in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, with the Virgin and Child enthroned flanked by Sts. Aurea and John the Baptist, with Sts. Dominic, Ansanus(?), Jerome(?) and another apostle on the wings.⁽²⁹²⁾ (fig.281) Berenson also credited Vanni with another reliquary triptych, decorated with full-length figures of Sts. Dominic, Peter Martyr and Thomas Aquinas, now displayed (in a modern frame) in the Vatican Pinacoteca,⁽²⁹³⁾ (fig.282) and agreed with the Lippo Vanni attribution of a fragmentary panel of the half-length Virgin and Child, possibly originally part of a triptych or polyptych, which came from S. Domenico, Perugia and is now in the Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria.⁽²⁹⁴⁾ (fig.283)

Another link between this artist, Perugia and the Dominicans has recently been suggested. A large-scale triptych in the Kress Collection, at present on display in Coral Gables, Florida, represents one male and one female noble lay donor being presented to the Virgin and Child, with Sts. Dominic and Elizabeth of Hungary shown on the wings.⁽²⁹⁵⁾ (fig.284) Suida identified the donors as Queen Elizabeth of Hungary, wife of Charles Robert of Anjou, and her son Andrew, and suggested that the panel was executed in 1343, during Elizabeth's visit to Italy in that year, which preceded Andrew's death in 1345.⁽²⁹⁶⁾ Suida connected the painting with Elizabeth's stay in Naples, and saw a link between the presence of St. Dominic on the panel and the Dominican monastery founded between the Castel Nuovo and the Castel dell'Uovo, Naples, by Queen Mary of Hungary, Elizabeth's mother-in-law, in about 1300. However, Gordon has pointed out that Elizabeth visited Perugia in 1344 and cites a fresco in the church of the Monteluca, Perugia, which apparently commemorates this event. Lippo Vanni worked for the Dominicans in Perugia on one other occasion, and Elizabeth may well have commissioned the large-scale triptych representing herself and her

namesake, canonised in the Dominican church in Perugia, from Vanni, for S. Domenico, Perugia.⁽²⁹⁷⁾ Moreover, another representation of St. Elizabeth of Hungary is known to have existed in that church: the Dominican obituary list records that Fra Taddeo di messer Giacomo dei Giacomini commissioned an image of the saint, with himself represented as suppliant, which was displayed in a prominent place outside S. Domenico.⁽²⁹⁸⁾

Vanni also worked for the Dominicans of his home town. In the cloister of S. Domenico, Siena was a fresco of the Annunciation (now virtually destroyed) which bore the date 1372 and was signed by the artist.⁽²⁹⁹⁾ He, or one of his followers, is also thought to have painted the miniatures of Sts. Dominic (and the Annunciation), (fig.285) Peter Martyr (fig.286), Thomas Aquinas (fig.287) and Ambrogio Sansedoni (fig.288) on fols. 4r, 5r, 9r and 18r respectively of the 1344 statute book of the Sienese confraternity of S. Domenico (Siena Archivio di Stato, Patrimonio dei Resti 682).⁽³⁰⁰⁾ This commission perhaps represents his first connection with the Order, from which the later ones resulted. Vanni is mentioned in a document of 1344 as miniature and may only have turned to panel and larger-scale painting later in his career.⁽³⁰¹⁾

The career of Lippo Vanni shows that a Sienese painter could have continuing links with the Dominican Order over a considerable period of years, working in different media and on different scales for them and for lay donors connected with the Order. Vanni may even have travelled - to Rome and Perugia - because of commissions given to him by the Dominicans or at least, while outside his native town, received commissions from different houses of the same Order.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 7

1. See Gerard of Frachet, Vitae, p.149.
2. See Vicaire, Documents, p.69.
3. See Gerard of Frachet, p.10.
4. See Bernard Gui, Manuel, p.14; Leff, Heresy, II, p.451; Meersseman, Études, I, p.58, III; p.16.
5. See W.A. Hinnebusch OP, The Early English Friars Preachers, Institutum Historicum PP. Praedicatorum Romae ad S. Sabiniae, Dissertationes Historicae, 14 (Rome, 1951), pp.220-21; Humbert, Opera, II, pp.136-7.
6. See Meersseman, Études, III, p.61.
7. The Franciscan houses are listed here in alphabetical order. Each item is followed by its Garrison number. Works of less certain provenance are listed in brackets. (Crux = crucifix; V&C = Virgin and Child; SF = St. Francis.) (NB. this is a summary list, based principally on information available in the Garrison Index.)

Analfi, S. Antonio: SF with scenes (394).

Arezzo, S. Francesco: Crux (541); (SF (168)).

Assisi, S. Chiara: Crux (459); Crux (542); V&C (5); V&C with scenes (325); St. Clare with scenes (393).

Assisi, S. Francesco: Crux (lost, see above, chapter 6, note 7); Crux (461); SF with scenes (361).

Assisi, S. Maria degli Angeli: Crux (543); SF (52); SF (53).

Bologna, S. Francesco: Crux (547); Crux (548).

Castiglione Fiorentino, S. Francesco: Crux (552); SF (54).

Colle di Val d'Elsa, S. Francesco: SF with scenes (411); SF with saints (dossal) (430).

near Cortona, S. Francesco ai Capuccini: V&C (180); tabernacle (wrecked) (328).

Florence, S. Croce: Crux (560); SF with scenes (405); V&C (see below, note 10).

Ganghereto, S. Francesco: SF (55).

Grosseto, S. Francesco: Crux (564).

Gualdo Tadino, S. Francesco: Crux (565).

Longiano, S. Francesco: Crux (566).

Mercatello, S. Francesco: V&C (186).

Montepulciano, S. Francesco: SF (56) (?)).

Nocera Umbra, S. Francesco: Crux (571).)

Perugia, S. Francesco al Prato: Crux (533); Altarpiece with scenes and saints (see Gordon, Art in Umbria, pp.36-47 for discussion of provenance); (V&C with scenes (348)); (Tabernacle shutters (344)).

near Perugia, Convento dei Frati Minori del Farneto: Crux (601); V&C with scenes (422).

Pescia, S. Francesco: SF (402).

Pisa, Ospedale S. Chiara: Crux (575).

Pisa, S. Francesco: Crux (506); SF with scenes (408); V&C (195).

Pistoia, S. Francesco: SF with scenes (409).
Rome, S. Francesco a Ripa: SF (58).
Rome, S. Maria in Aracoeli: BVM (Avvocata) (143).
S. Miniato al Tedesco, S. Francesco: SF with scenes (410).
S. Miniato al Tedesco, S. Chiara: Crux (535).
Siena, Clarisse: Crux (527); BVM and Christ enthroned (161).
(Siena, S. Francesco: SF (60); Crucifixion scene (265) (?).)
Vallo di Nera, S. Francesco: Crux (496).
Villa Verucchio, S. Francesco: Crux (589).

8. See Bertelli, 'L'immagine', pp.95-102.
9. See Sindona, Cimabue, pp.115-6, fig.46.
10. See M. Davies, The Earlier Italian Schools, National Gallery Catalogue, 2nd. ed., (London, 1961), pp.176-7.
11. Panel paintings definitely, probably and possibly connected with the Dominican Order up to c.1320 are listed in appendix 5.
12. See above pp.146-7 and chapter 4, note 43.
13. See E.G. Miller, The Thirteenth Century Coronation of the Virgin in the Courtauld Institute Gallery, typescript M.A. report for Courtauld Institute of Art, (London 1972), esp. pp.54-5.
14. Important schools in this development were the circles of the Berlinghieri and of the 'Magdalen Master' (see G. Coor, 'A rare representation of Informal Dugento Painting', AQ, 10 (1947), pp.278-82), Margaritone d'Arezzo and Guido da Siena.
 Several panel shapes and types were used:
 Dossals, showing a central figure with scenes, e.g. Garrison, Index, no.358, p.140, were favoured in Siena, Florence, Arezzo and 'Assisi-Perugia' (see Garrison, p.139).
 Diptychs, e.g. the Uffizi diptych, Garrison no.243, p.97, were mainly used by the Lucchese; Tabernacles, e.g. the Jarves tabernacle, by the Florentines; panels of the enthroned Virgin and Child with standing figurine saints, e.g. Garrison no.184, p.81, by Margaritone and by the 'Magdalen Master' and other Florentines.
15. See above, chapter 4, note 47.
16. 2830 x 1940 mm.
 For the evidence concerning provenance and a summary of previous bibliography see Stubblebine, Guido, pp.30-42. The date of 1221, suggested for the painting by the inscription it bears, is convincingly refuted by R. Offner, 'Guido da Siena and A.D.1221', Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 6 per., 37 (1950), pp.61-90, who proposes a date of c.1281, on stylistic and typological grounds. A completely satisfactory explanation of the inscription has yet to be given. The most recent consideration of the problem is by J. Gardner, 'Guido da Siena, 1221 and Tommaso da Modena', BM, 911 (1979), pp.107-8, who, like Stubblebine (Guido, pp.40-41) - but buttressing his argument with further references to the state of the Order and to an inscription

in the chapter house of S. Nicolò, Treviso - suggests that the date reflects a year of great importance for the Order, rather than the year of the painting's execution.

17. A reconstruction including the gable now hung with the main panel, the 'Badia Ardegnà' panels and some hypothetical lost narrative panels, has been proposed by Stubblebine in 'An altarpiece by Guido da Siena', AB, 41 (1959), pp.260-68.

The gable is unlikely to have formed part of the original altarpiece. The combination of cusped arch, broad horizontal moulding and separately framed gable at the top of a panel would be unique and is implausibly elaborate. Garrison, who made a detailed study of panel-shapes, doubts that the gable originally belonged with the main panel (p.116). In the early 19th century the two elements were not hung together - a list of paintings in the church of S. Domenico made in 1806 (Arch. della Comunità di Siena, filza di relazioni e lettere di n.101-233, printed by 'A.P.' in 'Un Inventario dei dipinti della chiesa di S. Domenico in Siena', BSSP, 16 (1909), pp.346-7) includes: 'No.1 Quadro in tavola con cornice dorata, di Guido da Siena' and much further down the list, 'No.30 Altro (i.e. tavola) do triangolare con il Salvatore e due Angioli di antichi autori'. The vertical crack common to both panels could have occurred as a result of the two works being hung together at some time in the 19th century (Ramboux's watercolour, Kupferstich Kabinet, Düsseldorf, inv. nr.233, shows the two united.) John White points out that in Duccio's Maestà panels which were at one time contiguous, but never continuous, developed cracks running directly from one panel to another. (Article cited note 58 below, pp.567-8.) C. Brandi, 'Relazione sul Restauro della Madonna di Guido da Siena del 1221', BA, 36 (1951), p.255, also considered the gable an addition. Stubblebine himself says, '... the Madonna and the pediment together are unsatisfactory for the very simple reason that they do not constitute an aesthetic whole. After all, with the one-piece gabled panel in common use for representations of the Madonna Enthroned, why should the artist have invented this rather top-heavy and inorganic two-piece form? And why should he represent the Redeemer and angels (an Ascensional theme) above the Madonna, a feature unparalleled in the painting of the thirteenth century ...?' ('An altarpiece', p.267.)

R. Oertel, Frühe Italienische Malerei in Altenburg, (Berlin, 1961), pp.57-67, refutes Stubblebine's proposed addition of wings to the main panel and provides a far more convincing alternative in which the panels form part of a quite independent single retable.

(One further possible point against Stubblebine's case is his willingness to include the Badia Ardegnà panel of 'Christ Mounting the Cross' in his proposed Dominican altarpiece, despite Coor's contention ('Coppo di Marcovaldo, his art in relation to the art of his time', Marsyas, 5 (1949), p.6 and n.21) that this unusual iconography was specifically Franciscan in origin.)

18. The painting of the Virgin and Child, with other unspecified figures (... aliarum figurarum ad voluntatem et piacimentum dictum locatorum ...) commissioned from Duccio by the Laudesi confraternity based in S. Maria Novella for 150 libras florenorum in 1285, is generally agreed to be identical with the panel at present displayed in the Uffizi, known as the Rucellai Madonna. (4500 x 2900 mm.) For a summary of condition, location and attributions and of bibliography up to 1956 see L. Marcucci, Gallerie Nazionali di Firenze: I Dipinti Toscani del secolo XIII, (Rome, 1958), pp.64-8. A discussion of the Duccio bibliography up to 1975 is given in H. Maginnis, 'The Literature of Sienese Trecento Painting 1945-1975', ZKq, 40 (1977), pp.277-81.
The commission document, Florence Archivio di Stato, Pergamene di S. Maria Novella, 15 April 1285, is printed in full in G. Milanesi, Documenti per la Storia dell'Arte Senese, (Siena, 1854), I, pp.158-60.
19. The delicate colouring, with repeated use of pink, pale green, lilac and light blue at the sides, red and very dark blue at the centre, is only paralleled in Sienese 13th century painting in the St. Peter panel, Siena Pinacoteca no.15, attributed to a follower of Guido da Siena, (one scene reproduced in colour: E. Carli, Guide to the Pinacoteca of Siena, (Milan, 1967), plate I.) Duccio's palette may have derived from this master.
20. Compare fig.185 with the face of the Virgin in Guido's signed dossal, Siena Pinacoteca no.7, dated in the 1270s, ill. Stubblebine, Guido, fig.9.
21. Ill. Stubblebine, fig.80.
22. Ill. Stubblebine, fig.31.
23. Ill. Stubblebine, fig.81.
24. Ill. E. Sindona, L'Opera Completa di Cimabue, (Milan, 1975), plates IX, XXXIII.
25. A Florentine precedent for kneeling angels flanking a central seated figure is the miniature with the Redeemer and four angels on f.86r of a sacramentary, Pierpont Morgan MS.737, attributed by Garrison to Florence, in the third quarter of the 12th century. See E.B. Garrison, Studies in the History of Mediaeval Italian Painting, I (1953-5), p.198, fig.279.
26. E.T. de Wald, Italian Painting 1200-1600, (New York, 1961), p.106.
27. Y. Delaporte and É. Houvet, Les Vitraux de la Cathédrale de Chartres, (Chartres, 1926), I, pp.216-22, ill. plates v.I, XLI.
28. Professor Julian Gardner has kindly pointed out to me that in a recent lecture Stubblebine suggested that Duccio actually visited Chartres.

29. See Delaporte, Chartres, pp.219,220. In 1324 authorisation was given for an altar to be erected antre (sic) vitrinam beate marie.
30. See Meersseman, Études, III, pp.34-8; Orlandi, MD, 64 (1947), pp.115-16. (A lamp burned constantly in front of the painting.)
31. S. Orlandi OP, 'La Madonna di Duccio di Boninsegna e il suo culto in S. Maria Novella', MD, 74 (1957), pp.205-17. Apart from arguments mentioned in the text above, Orlandi also uses various payments for oil for lamps for the altare maggiore and tavola della donna to demonstrate that the Rucellai Madonna stood on the high altar. I interpret these payments differently, see below, note 177. Among other scholars contributing to the debate, Oertel, 'Giotto-Ausstellung', p.221, deduces from the 1324 payment for oil specified for lamps in front of both the altare maggiore and tavola della donna that Duccio's Madonna was distinct from the high altarpiece and never occupied the high altar. (See below, note 177, for further comment on Oertel's argument.) M. Cämmerer-George, Die Rahmung der Toskanischen Altarbilder im Trecento, Zur Kunstgeschichte des Auslands, 139 (Strasbourg, 1966), pp.45-9, who summarises previous ideas on the subject, dismisses Oertel's thesis and believes that the Rucellai Madonna was probably the high altarpiece (in view of its size and the fact that no other altarpiece is recorded for the high altar of S. Maria Novella in the first forty years of its existence). More recently Stubblebine, 'Cimabue and Duccio', pp.15-16, assumes that the Rucellai Madonna was painted specifically for the Cappella di S. Gregorio used by the Laudesi, using only the presence on the frame of the panel of St. Peter Martyr, founder of the confraternity, as proof.
32. E.g. Orlandi, Necrologio, I, p.XXIII, n.19, mentions a miraculous fresco of the Virgin and Child in the Chiostro Verde (fig.275) under which was specially built an altar dedicated to the Visitation. Clearly, in this case, altar and image do not coincide.
33. Orlandi, MD, 64 (1947), pp.114,179-80. From at least 1316 onwards the confraternity used the Cappella di S. Gregorio (furthest right of the chapels flanking the cappella maggiore) for its services, Orlandi, MD, 64 (1947), p.115.
34. See E. Carli, Una Vetrata Duccesca, (Siena, 1946), passim.
35. E.g. in stained glass, see Delaporte, Chartres, plates vol.I, no.XXIV; in ivory, 14th century French Ivory Triptych, Amiens, Bibliothèque de la Ville, R. Koechlin, Les Ivoires Gothiques Français, (Paris, 1924), v.II, p.90 and plate LIII.
36. A window at Canterbury Cathedral depicts a (standing) Virgin holding a child, with kneeling angels merging into crowds at the sides, but this is probably a coincidence. For ill. see B. Rackham, The Ancient Glass of Canterbury Cathedral, (London, 1949), pl.26 (6).

37. Orlandi, 'La Madonna di Duccio', p.207, is surely mistaken in thinking that they are represented in motion.
38. De Wald, Italian Painting, p.104, says that the frame medallions include Christ, John the Baptist, Abraham, ten prophets and the twelve apostles, but he gives no evidence for this, does not say how they are distributed on the frame and draws no conclusions. (As sources for the frame design he cites Byzantine Mosaics and the Bardi St. Francis panel.) And see below, note 54.
39. See e.g. the Jarves triptych and Simone Martini's S. Caterina, Pisa polyptych.
40. Stubblebine, 'Cimabue and Duccio', p.15.
41. See below, pp.245-6.
42. See Orlandi, 'libri corali', pp.45-50.
43. Stubblebine, 'Cimabue and Duccio', pp.15-16.
44. Weigelt bases himself on a comparison with the colours used in Duccio's Maestà. He identifies the following figures (numbering according to fig.188): 1) Thomas or Philip, 8) James Major, 10) or 29) Simon, 20) Peter, 21) John the Evangelist, 26) Bartholomew, 27) Matthew. C. Weigelt, Duccio di Boninsegna, (Leipzig, 1911), pp.134-6.
45. De Witt, Mosaici, vol.V, plates 15-27, 34-44.
46. C. Brandi, La Regia Pinacoteca di Siena, (Rome, 1933), pp.66-8.
47. Davies, Earlier Italian Schools, pp.171-3.
48. E. Baccheschi, L'Opera Completa di Duccio, (Milan, 1972), p.92. The Virgin and Child panel from S. Maria Maggiore, Florence (Coor, 'Coppo di Marcovaldo', pp.8-10, figs.9,10), the panel from S. Felice di Giano now in the Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria, Perugia (Ill., Santi, Galleria Nazionale, fig.4) and Simone Martini's Pisa polyptych, were also consulted, but less weight put on their evidence: the first because Coor's identification of the frame apostles is not absolutely secure; the second because it was painted in a different area of Italy; the third because it was painted thirty-five years later than the Rucellai Madonna and because it repeats, with Simone's personal variations, the facial types of Duccio's Maestà. (Dr. Robin Cormack informs me that in Byzantine art, prophets and saints do not observe a fixed system of garment colours or order of appearance.)
49. i.e. Peter, Andrew, James Major, John, Thomas, James Minor, Philip, Bartholomew, Matthew, Simon, Thaddeus, Matthias. Coor indicates this selection for the S. Maria Maggiore, Florence, panel, (Coor, 'Coppo di Marcovaldo', p.9, p.19 n.37). E. Mâle, Religious Art in France: XIII Century, 3rd. ed., trans., (London/New York, 1913), p.311, gives a table of 13th and 14th century French examples.

50. Nor is the order the same as in Duccio's Maestà or Simone's Pisa polyptych (which both use Creed apostles in the zone below gable level).
51. E.g. those mentioned on p.242, and in note 48, above.
52. On f.12r (fig.198) a chart lists the apostles (without Paul) in the order of the canon of the mass, balanced by a complementary list of prophets and, between each pair of prophets and apostles, the title of one of the articles of faith.
53. F.C. Godwin, 'An illustration to the de sacramentis of Thomas Aquinas', Speculum, 26 (1951), pp.609-14; E. Panofsky, Early Netherlandish Painting, (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), p.33. On each page of the calendar an Old Testament prophecy is transformed by an Apostle into an article of faith.
54. Since this section was written, some further remarks on the frame roundels have appeared in Wilkins, 'Santa Maria Novella', note 71, pp.171-2. He accepts Weigelt's identifications of the Baptist (18) and Peter (20) and Stubblebine's suggestions for the bottom row of figures, apart from Augustine (4), for whom he substitutes Gregory, and Zenobius (5) which he finds unconvincing. He proposes that the four figures with books (1,24,25,30) may be the Evangelists. This is an attractive suggestion, but since it seems likely that the figures on the left side are the apostles of the Creed (see above, p.243, and note 49) it is not likely that Mark and Luke - two of the four Evangelists, but not among the apostles of the Creed - appear on the frame. Like Weigelt, Wilkins fails to notice a division between prophets and apostles on the right and left sides; he identifies prophets on both sides of the frame (7,8,10,12-17,22,26,29) and says that no.9 on the right side cannot be a prophet, since he holds a book. I identify no.9 as David, wearing a crown and holding a book of the psalms, as he does in the apex of the triptych in the National Gallery, London, attributed to Duccio (see fig.251). Wilkins says that '... most figures cannot be specifically identified and no overall program is apparent ...'. I hope to have proved otherwise.
55. De Wald, Italian Painting, p.104.
56. Only one 13th century painting - a panel from a Franciscan church - the Louvre Virgin and Child from S. Francesco, Pisa, attributed to Cimabue and his shop (see Sindona, Cimabue, pp.115-6, fig.46), shows a reflection of the Rucellai frame roundels, but it is a pale imitation, made without full understanding of the Rucellai programme. Judging, as far as is possible, by the severely damaged and repainted roundels, the apex roundel contained the Redeemer; the sloping gable frame roundels contained angels; the twelve roundels in the vertical sides contained saints (apostles?) - three(?) holding books and one(?) a rolled scroll; the corner roundels showed figures with scrolls and the five remaining roundels of the horizontal

base of the frame, particularly heavily repainted, showed a Franciscan saint and other unidentifiable figures.

57. The tradition of accompanying the Virgin with prophets holding scrolls or attributes was well established in Byzantine art. A surviving painter's manual, probably of the 12th century, recommends suitable texts for the scrolls. See S. der Nersessian, 'Program and Iconography of the Frescoes of the Parecclesion', The Kariye Djami, IV, ed. Paul Underwood, (Princeton, 1975), pp.313,333; G. and M. Soteriou, Ikônes du Mont Sinai, I, (Athens, 1956), figs. 54-6, and II (Athens, 1958), pp.73-5.
A metalwork example in the West is the silver-gilt and enamel icon of St. Michael in S. Marco, Venice. See A. Grabar, Les Revêtements des Ikônes Byzantines, (Venice, 1975), pp.21-2, pl.I.
An early 14th century Byzantine example of the Virgin and Child surrounded by a frame with figures is in the Skopje Museum (Grabar, p.37, pl.XX).
A crusader example is the Sinai diptych of St. Procopius and the Virgin and Child, K. Weitzmann, 'Icon painting in the Crusader Kingdom', DOP, 20 (1966), pp.66-9 and figs.33-40, (attributed by Weitzmann to a Venetian atelier).

58. Useful discussions of the development of Sienese polyptych design are found in the following: Cämmerer-George, Rahmung, esp. pp.137-53; G. Coor-Achenbach, 'Contributions to the study of Ugolino di Nerio's Art', AB, 37 (1955), pp.153-65; H. Hager, Die Anfänge des italienischen Altarbildes, Römische Forschungen der Bibliotheca Hertziana, 17 (Munich, 1962), pp.108-117; H.W. van Os, Marias Demut und Verherrlichung in der Sienesischen Malerei 1300-1450, Kunsthistorische Studien van het Nederlands Historisch Instituut te Rome, 1 (The Hague, 1969), pp.1-33; J. Pope-Hennessy, Heptantych: Ugolino da Siena, Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, (Williamstown, Mass., 1962); A. Preiser, Die Entstehung und die Entwicklung der Predella in der Italienischen Malerei, Studien zur Kunstgeschichte, 2 (Hildesheim/New York, 1973), pp.87-115; J. Stubblebine, 'The Angel Pinnacles on Duccio's Maestà', AQ, 32 (1969), pp.131-52, esp. pp.145-6; J. White, 'Measurement, Design and Carpentry in Duccio's Maestà', AB, 55 (1973), pp.334-66, 547-69, esp. pp.548-55.
I do not necessarily agree with all their findings.

59. See Garrison, Index, p.165.

60. See Cämmerer-George, Rahmung, pp.139-40.

61. The provenance of the panel is not recorded but its presence in the Pisa Museum and the inclusion of St. Dominic make it almost certain to have come from S. Caterina. See Mostra Giottesca, p.33.

62. See below, p. 246 , for reasons for this dating.

63. Vigoroso da Siena's altarpiece now in the Galleria Nazionale, Perugia, dated by an inscription to the 1280s, represents the intermediate stage of development in which the individual panels are emphasised by the gables above them, but the planks are still laid horizontally. Vigoroso's painting is presumably a copy of a form developed some time around 1280 by a more adventurous master, perhaps Duccio himself. See Cämmerer-George, Rahmung, pp.140-41; White, 'Measurement', pp.548-9, 552-3; Stubblebine, 'Pinnacles', p.145.
64. Sts. Peter and Paul appeared to St. Dominic giving him the book and the staff with which to guide the Order and are thus eminently suitable for inclusion in a Dominican polyptych. However, the widespread use of the princes of the apostles on polyptychs, in Benedictine houses and many other places, means that they do not by themselves indicate a Dominican provenance for the painting.
65. For a summary of attributions and dating see Baccheschi, Duccio, p.88.
66. The only provenance ever suggested for the work was an attempt to identify it with a panel of the Virgin and four saints (unspecified) seen by Alessandro Chigi in the Abbazia of S. Donato near Siena in 1625, which had the inscription Duccius Boninsegnae de Senis 1310 on its frame. (See Brandi, Duccio, pp.138-41.) Since S. Donato was a Vallombrosan foundation, originally dedicated to St. Michael (who does not appear on Siena no.28) our panel is most unlikely to have been painted for this church.
67. For the early history of the Siena house see appendix 1.
68. See below, pp. 248-9.
69. See above, note 63.
70. See U. Procaacci, 'La tavola di Ciotto dell'Altare Maggiore della Chiesa della Badia Fiorentina', in Scritti di Storia dell'Arte in Onore di Mario Salmi, (1961), II, pp.9-45, esp. pp.27,35-6; Cämmerer-George, Rahmung, pp.50-65; White, 'Measurement', p.549.
71. Nager, Anfänge, pp.113,116. For a summary of earlier theories and criticism of Nager see Preiser, Predella, pp.200-204.
72. MOPH, 20, p.161.
73. See above, p.75.
74. Variouslly identified as Segna di Bonaventura (Berenson), Ugolino di Nerio (Coor), Maestro della Madonna Tadini Boninsegni (Brandi), Maestro della Grotta or Close to Maestro di Città di Castello (Carli). See E. Carli, Montalcino: Museo Civico, Museo d'Arte Sacra, Musei d'Italia, Meraviglie d'Italia, 3 (Bologna, 1972), p.8.

75. The inclusion of St. Nicholas has a particular significance in a Dominican context: one of the earliest Dominican houses was established at S. Nicolò, Bologna and, as Humbert of Romans reports, friars from Bologna sometimes referred to themselves as frate S. Nicolò. Humbert, Opera, II, p.39.
76. Probably a 'wrap-around' frame of the type described by White, 'Measurement', passim.
77. The polyptych entered the museum from the Conservatorio di S. Caterina, Montalcino, originally a Dominican monastery, founded some time after 1542. V. Lusini, 'Catalogo dei Dipinti (della Mostra delle pitture di Duccio di Buoninsegna e della sua scuola)', Rassegna d'Arte Senese, 8 (1912), pp.126-7.
78. DBI, s.v. Agnese Segni da Montepulciano. (d.1317) The monastery was not initially a Dominican foundation, but was soon handed over to the Order. (See LTK, s.v. Agnese Segni).
79. See appendix 1.
80. Before entering the gallery the painting was in S. Domenico, Perugia. See Santi, Galleria Nazionale, pp.43-4, who discusses the condition, provenance and attribution of the painting and gives a bibliography. (Dimensions: 970 x 630 mm.)
81. See, for example, two polyptychs in the Siena Pinacoteca, both attributed to the Maestro di Città di Castello, (figs. 207,228) which are of quite different general design. The one from S. Cecilia a Crevole (fig.207) uses figures of Sts. Peter, Paul and Augustine similar to Siena no.28 but a general design quite distant from it. Meanwhile, the pentaptych from S. Polo in Chianti, now in the Ricasoli Collection, Brolio, attributed to Ugolino di Nerio, (fig.229) has a Virgin and Child similar in several ways to that of the Perugia Duccio panel, but a panel shape quite dissimilar from it, even before the addition of modern framing elements.
82. Brandi, Duccio, p.142, n.24.
83. This reconstruction of the framing is confirmed by study of the remaining framing of the Virgin and Child panel, on loan to the Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen, attributed to the Maestro di Città di Castello, (fig.204) which is very close to the Duccio panel both in the pose of the Virgin and Child and in the inclusion of the spandrel angels. Sherwood Fehn has proposed a reconstruction for a polyptych including this panel and panels of Sts. John the Baptist and Peter(?) in the Yale University Art Gallery. Unfortunately the reconstruction does not help in an attempted reconstruction of the Duccio Perugia polyptych: no further framing elements, spandrel decoration or gables exist from the Copenhagen/Yale work.

See S.A. Pehm and C. Seymour, 'Studies in two Sienese altarpieces: the Master of Città di Castello and Ambrogio Lorenzetti', Yale University Art Gallery Bulletin, 31 (1967), pp.14-39.

84. Pentaptych, Siena Pinacoteca no.33, attributed to the Maestro di Città di Castello; (fig.207) Pentaptych, Cleveland Museum of Art, attributed to Ugolino da Siena; (fig.210) Triptych in S. Pietro Olona, attributed to the shop of Ugolino; (fig.209) Pentaptych in S. Lorenzo, Monterongriffoli, attributed either to the circle of Ugolino or, more specifically, to the Goodhart Ducciesque Master. (fig.208)

85. The only pinnacle with prophet figure which can be attributed to Duccio's immediate circle is the Jeremiah panel in the Christian Museum Esztergom. The panel is in the shape of a pointed arch, not a triangular gable, and is not therefore compatible with the design indicated by all the polyptychs mentioned above. Pointed-arch shaped gables apparently appeared on the polyptych by the Maestro di Città di Castello previously in the Ramboux collection, the angel pinnacles of Duccio's Maestà, (if Stubblebine's reconstruction is correct (Stubblebine, 'Pinnacles', passim)) and on two panels of a Sienese polyptych now in the Galleria Pittorica, Volterra.

86. See White, 'Measurement', figs.70,73a.

87. It would be convenient to turn to Meo da Siena's pentaptych in the Galleria Nazionale, Perugia (fig.212) for information on the original appearance of Duccio's painting: the polyptych was in situ by the time Meo came to the Perugia Contado to paint his polyptych for Montelabate. Admittedly the panels have common features: round-headed framing arches, spandrel angels (now lost in Meo's centre panel) and an inscription towards which the Madonna points. Meo was a derivative artist and it could be postulated that certain features in Meo's polyptych - notably the arcaded predella with half-length figures and the row of saints beneath the angel pinnacles - derive from Duccio's Perugia work. However, since the Montelabate polyptych was probably painted around 1319 (see note 96, below) some ten years after the date I have proposed for the Perugia panel, Meo is more likely to have used a more up to date work by Duccio as his source of inspiration. Meo's pentaptych certainly has much in common with the post-Maestà type of Duccio polyptych, as represented by Siena no.47. (fig.211) Both works have round-headed framing arches, a pointing Madonna and an extra row of figures between main panels and pinnacles. It has also been suggested that polyptych 47 originally had a predella (see below, note 95). The suggestion that a lost Duccio polyptych influenced Meo's heptaptych was first made by Boskovits. See M. Boskovits, Pittura Umbra e Marchigiana fra Medioevo e Rinascimento, (Florence, 1973), pp.13-14; 35-6, notes 60-62, where a summary of previous theories concerning the design and dating of the heptaptych is given.

88. AASS, April, III, pp.700-1.
89. LTK, s.v. Benedikt XI. See also appendix 1.
A pentaptych attributed to Meo da Siena, now in the Galleria Nazionale, Perugia, is said to have come from S. Domenico, Perugia. If this were the case, the painting might help in reconstructing Duccio's work for the same church, but since the pentaptych includes no Dominican saints, and shows no reflection of Duccio's Virgin and Child, it seems likely that the supposed provenance is incorrect. See Gordon, Art in Umbria, pp.76-8.
90. MOPH, 20, pp.168, 198.
91. See Brandi, Duccio, pp.87-8.
92. For summaries of recent bibliography see M.C. Gozzoli, L'Opera Completa di Simone Martini (Milan, 1970), pp.87-8; Maginnis, 'Literature', pp.307-8.
The polyptych is mentioned in the 14th century obituary list of S. Caterina:
'Frater Petrus, conversus, sacrista super-excellens, multa sacristiae nostrae paramenta paravit. Tabulam praetiosam procuravit fieri majoris altaris.'
Bonaini, p.500.
The polyptych is signed in an inscription below the figure of the Virgin: 'SYMON DE SENIS ME PINXIT'.
The date is supplied, and authorship, provenance and patronage confirmed, by the following passages from the mid 16th century Annales of S. Caterina, cited by Bonaini,
'La tavola dell'altar maggiore della quale parla il Cronista, fu dipinta nel 1320 (Pisan calendar; = 1319, Gregorian Calendar), conforme io dimostro, da Simone de Martino, detto volgarmente il Memmi', Bonaini, pp.500-501.
'... proximus in prioratu fuit Frater Thomas Pratensis qui ab anno 1320 usque ad 1324 (Pisan calendar) praefuit ... Tempore suo statuit tabulam in majori ara, quae tunc pulcherrima censebatur necdum renata pictura, manu Symonis Senesis qui inter suae tempestatis pictores primas tenuit, de quo Franciscus Petrarca: Quando venne a Simon l'alto concetto',
'Frater Petrus conversus in sacrario nostro cui ministrabat multas sacras vestes fieri procuravit. Ipso etiam urgente et instante tabula quae nunc est in ara majori ibi posita fuit anno 1320',
F. Bonaini, 'Di una tavola attribuita a Simone e Lippo Memmi', Memorie inedite intorno alla vita e ai dipinti di Francesco Traini, (Pisa, 1846), pp.38-9.
For further discussion of the patronage of the painting see above, pp.147-8.

93. For a discussion of Segna and Meo's connection with Benedictine patrons see Gordon, Art in Umbria, pp.76,80-91. For Ugolino's Franciscan works see below, n.204, and for Simone's Mendicant commissions see below, n.154.
94. See Pope-Hennessy, Heptptych, p.13.
95. E.g. Preiser, Predella, pp.95-6.
96. See Gordon, pp.74-5.
97. Pope-Hennessy, Heptptych, pp.10-13.
98. See below, pp. 262-4.
99. For ill. see J. Gardner, 'St. Louis of Toulouse, Robert of Anjou and Simone Martini', ZKg, 39 (1976), p.16, fig.5.
100. K. Weitzmann, 'Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons on Mount Sinai', AB, 45 (1963), pp.179-203; id. 'Icon Painting', passim.
101. See Grabar, Revêtements, e.g. triptych from Hahul in museum at Tblisi (1125-54), figs.19,20.
102. Garrison, Index, p.97, no.241.
103. Ill. Gardner, 'Louis of Toulouse', p.16, fig.5.
104. Ill. Weitzmann, 'Crusader Icons', figs.7,9-12.
105. In the Sinai triptych, mentioned above, small regular dots of gesso are used to similar effect.
106. More work needs to be done on pastiglia decoration, a subject which may shed some further light on the relationship between Byzantine and Italian work in the late 13th and early 14th centuries. Weitzmann's characterisation of this decoration as 'typically Western' is not an adequate explanation of the genesis of the technique. (Weitzmann, 'Icon Painting', p.59.)
I should like to thank Caroline Ogilvie for her help on this question.
107. See C. Ogilvie, The Iconography of the Man of Sorrows, typescript M.A. report for Courtauld Institute of Art (London, 1970), esp. pp.52-3. Ogilvie convincingly challenges Stubblebine's view that the image was of Western origin. (J. Stubblebine, 'Segna di Bonaventura and the Image of the Man of Sorrows', Gesta, 8 (1969), pp.3-13.
108. Garrison, Index, p.97, no.241.
109. Weitzmann, 'Icon Painting', pp.61-9.
110. 'Transivit Bononiae de hac vita, vadens Venetias, ut fieri faceret crucem magnam de lapide cristallino', Bonaini, p.500. See also above, chapter 3, note 77.

111. See figs.219,220.
112. For brief comments on the vicissitudes of the panels see Gozzoli, Simone Martini, pp.87-8.
The first arrangement is shown in an old Alinari photograph, reproduced as Van Os, Marias Demut, plate 2; the second arrangement is shown in Gozzoli, Simone Martini, plates 8 and 9; the third arrangement is discussed in A. Caleca, 'Tre polittici di Lippo Memmi, un ipotesi sul Barna e la Bottega di Simone e Lippo', Critica d'Arte, 41 (1976), pp.49-59; 42 (1977), pp.55-80; esp. pp.62-6.
113. From at least the late 13th century. Bonaini, p.467.
114. Ugolino uses this device, less subtly, in his Williamstown heptptych. (fig.206) The main difficulty with this reconstruction is the arrangement of prophets and apostles which results. There is no fixed formula of persons included or order of inclusion, in polyptychs of the period, but Moses and David, Peter and Paul, generally come near the centre, Thaddeus and Matthias furthest away. (E.g. in Duccio's Maestà and Siena Pinacoteca polyptych no.47, Ugolino's Williamstown heptptych.) In our polyptych this would give the arrangement, centre to sides: two Sts. John, two Dominicans, two female saints. This seems unlikely: St. Catherine as patron saint, should not be on the outside, and the Dominicans are unlikely to be anywhere except the outside - as in the Simone Orvieto polyptych of the following year. Ugolino's Williamstown heptptych, dated by Pope-Hennessy to just before the Pisa polyptych, has the Franciscans (less reticent than the Dominicans about grouping their saints with more 'senior' figures) in the outside position. The Boston pentptych from Simone's shop (Gozzoli, Simone Martini, p.89) has female saints at the centre, with two major male saints - Paul and John the Baptist - in the secondary positions.
115. I have not been able to measure or examine the back of the predella panels.
116. In fact there is some positive evidence: damage at capital level at the right of the central panel, and to the left of St. Agnes, indicate a particularly rough removal of the frame. The remaining punched decoration on the frame pilaster to the right of St. Augustine and the left of St. Ursula probably form a complete punched decoration between them (to judge by eye - I have not measured them). The capital to the right of St. Luke has been entirely planed off - perhaps part of the same damage.
117. The inscriptions on the scrolls are now very damaged and difficult to read. Old Alinari and Anderson photographs, and the readings published by Can. Pasquale Stefani in I. Taurisano et.al., Per la riapertura della Chiesa monumentale di S. Caterina in Pisa, (Pisa, 1927), p.22, establish the following inscriptions:
God the Father: Ego sum A et Ω principium et finis.(Apoc.I,8)
Gabriel: Angelus Domini nuntiavit.
Michael: Michael princeps magnus.

Daniel:	Lapis abscisus est de monte sine manibus. (Daniel, II, 34, 45, adapted.)
Ezekiel:	Vidi portam in domo Domini clausam et vir ... (Ezekiel, XLIV, 1,2, adapted.)
Isaiah:	Ecce virgo concipiet et pariet filium et vocabitur n ... (Isaiah, VII, 14.)
Jeremiah:	Novum creabit Dominus super terram femina circumdabit. (Jeremiah, XXXI, 22, adapted.)
Moses:	Abbreviated version of ten commandments.
Dominic:	Venite filii audite me timorem domini docebo vos. (Psalms, XXXIII, 12.)
Aquinas:	Veritatem meditabitur guttur meum et labia mea detestabuntur ... (Prov. VIII, 7, and the opening of Aquinas' <u>Summa Contra Gentiles</u> .)
I have not succeeded in transcribing the inscription on St. Luke's book.	

118. This text also appears on Dominic's book in the Francesco Traini panel from S. Caterina. (Apart from the part he took in drafting Dominican legislation, no texts written by Dominic exist.)
Texts used on St. Dominic's book vary, but all refer to the Dominican mission. See above, chapter 5, note 49.
119. Van Os, Marias Demut, pp.23-6, after close study of the particular branches which the angels carry, prefers to stress the relation of both angels to the Annunciation, but the inscription on the Redeemer's open book immediately above Gabriel and Michael encourages their identification with, respectively, the Incarnation and Last Judgement. (The two archangels parallel St. Dominic and St. Peter Martyr in the attributes they hold and the angle at which these are held. This echo helps draw together the design of the polyptych.)
120. Isaiah, David, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Moses, Daniel.
121. With the exception of John the Evangelist, who appears in a main panel and whose place is taken by St. Paul.
(see above, note 49)
122. The identity of Augustine, Ambrose and Gregory is generally agreed, but the fourth bishop saint is often called St. Nicholas, presumably because he is thus identified on the post-medieval frame. This figure, paired with St. Lucy, does not carry the attributes of St. Nicholas and seems certain to be St. Jerome, the fourth of the church doctors, even though he does not wear the large Cardinal's hat which he generally has in later representations. (Jerome is shown without hat, as a priest, in the border of Simone's Siena Palazzo Pubblico Maestà of 1315 and the members of the Curia in the predella of Simone's St. Louis of Toulouse panel do not wear the large red hat either.)
The four doctors appear together in an earlier Dominican context: the Arca di S. Domenico.
123. Aquinas is placed below the panel with St. Paul, in the reconstruction which I have proposed and also in Caleca's, mentioned above.

124. Reported in a sermon by Giordano da Pisa, who also held St. Paul's epistles in the highest regard. See Bonaini, p.462. Aquinas probably commented twice on St. Paul's epistles. See J.A. Weisheipl OP, Friar Thomas d'Aquino, (Oxford, 1975), pp.372-3.
125. Ad Romanos may be shown at the front here, and in Simone's Orvieto polyptych, because it is the epistle to the Western Church or simply because in the Vulgate it appears as the first of Paul's epistles.
126. For a general discussion of Dominican attitudes to the Old Testament see B. Smalley, The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages, (Oxford, 1941), chap.VI. Concerning Aquinas specifically see B. Smalley, 'William of Auvergne, John of La Rochelle and St. Thomas Aquinas on the Old Law', in St. Thomas Aquinas 1274-1974: Commemorative Studies, (Toronto, 1974), vol.II, pp.11-71.
A sermon, Collationes de decem praeceptis, is attributed to Aquinas. See Weisheipl, Friar Thomas, pp.402-3.
A further possible acknowledgement of Thomist teaching is the absence of St. Augustine from the main panel - where he appears in Duccio's Siena no.28 polyptych. By the date of the Pisa polyptych severe controversies between Thomists and Augustinians may have ensured his relegation to the predella. See e.g. D.A. Callus, The Condemnation of St. Thomas at Oxford, Aquinas Paper, 5 (Oxford, 1946). F. Pelster, 'Die Bibliothek von Santa Caterina zu Pisa, eine Büchersammlung aus den Zeiten des Hl. Thomas von Aquin', p.16 (reprinted separately from Xenia Thomastica (Rome, 1925), vol.III) points out that only one work of Augustine is known to have been in the library of S. Caterina at this time.
On the other hand, the placing of Augustine and Aquinas next to one another may have been intended to imply their parity of importance for the Order: one for having written the Rule which the Order adopted, the other for providing the main contribution to theological studies in the Order.
127. Aquinas's remains were in the possession of the Cistercians of Fossanova; the Dominicans may have been less eager to press for canonisation since the remains did not belong to a Dominican convent. For the circumstances surrounding the canonisation process see F. Mandonnet OP, 'La Canonisation de Saint Thomas d'Aquin, 1317-23', Mélanges Thomistes, Bibliothèque Thomiste, 3 (Paris, 1934), pp.1-48, esp. p.19. Mandonnet considers the newly founded separate Dominican province of the Kingdom of Sicily to have been the prime mover in the campaign for canonisation. See also A. Walz OP, 'Papst Johannes XXII und Thomas von Aquin: zur Geschichte der Heiligsprechung des Aquinaten', St. Thomas Aquinas 1274-1974: Commemorative Studies, (Toronto, 1974), vol.I, pp.29-47.
128. Mandonnet, 'Canonisation', pp.26,36.
129. NOFH, 20, p.39.

130. Giordano of Pisa, b.1260 near Pisa, buried Pisa; Bartolomeo da S. Concordio, b. Pisa c.1262, d. Pisa, 1347; Domenico Cavalca, b. Vico Pisano c.1270, d. Pisa, 1342; Jacopo Passavanti, b. Florence c.1300, studied Paris, taught Pisa, Siena, Rome. For a brief summary of their work see G. Petrocchi, 'La letteratura Religiosa', in Storia della Letteratura Italiana, vol.II, (Milan, 1965), pp.647-69.
131. E.g. Giordano da Pisa, who reputedly knew the second part of Thomas's Summa Theologica by heart, referred to Aquinas' teachings in his sermons, while Giordano's nephew, Raniero Giordano da Rivalto, wrote a book in three volumes, 'ubi valde diffuse loquitur et probat sua dicta per allegata sancti Thome et aliorum doctorum ...'. See Bonaini, pp.451,462,543. For Giordano see Delcorno, Giordano, passim.
132. I. Taurisano, 'I Domenicani a Pisa', MD, 44 (1927), pp.191-2; Delcorno, Giordano, p.7.
133. Pelster, 'Bibliothek', passim. Pelster shows that the late 13th and early 14th century library of S. Caterina was an extensive one, reflecting Thomist changes to study organisation and geared to the transmission of Thomist teaching. (See esp. p.19.)
134. An earlier painting, the Magdalen Master's eponymous work now in the Accademia, Florence, shows clearly that the Magdalen's appearance in paintings does indicate penance. In this 13th century panel her scroll bears the inscription, 'Ne desperetis vos qui peccare soletis exemplo meo vos reparate Deo'.
135. The parallel between the Magdalen and a Dominican friar is illustrated in a miniature in Perugia Biblioteca Augusta, Ms.2797, f.220v. See above, p.206.
136. Bonaini, p.467.
137. Humbert of Romans, Opera, I, p.90, wrote that John the Baptist was a preacher whose dislike of luxury was to be admired.
138. The female saint on the left side of the predella, wearing a crown and holding a vase, has been identified as St. Mary Magdalen, in agreement with the inscription on the post-medieval frame. It seems unlikely that such a carefully-planned altarpiece would have repeated a saint in the main panels and predella. The figure is much more likely to be the martyr saint Lucy, who is represented with similar clothing and attributes in the Simone workshop pentaptych now in Boston (Gozzoli, Simone Martini, p.89) and in a panel in the Berenson Collection, I Tatti, which has been attributed to Simone (Gozzoli, p.104). See also G. Kaftal, Iconography of the Saints in Tuscan Painting, (Florence, 1952), col.646, fig.740.

139. The link between the two saints also occurs in a painting of the Virgin and Child attributed to the Varlungo Master, formerly in the Jonas Collection, New York (fig.144) (Garrison, Index, no.3) in which the central representation is flanked by these two saints. In the predella of Lippo Vanni's S. Aurea panel of 1358, now in SS. Domenico e Sisto, Rome, St. Dominic appears in the main panel, while Bartholomew, rather than Peter Martyr, balances Thomas Aquinas in the predella. (fig.280)
140. The inclusion of the Man of Sorrows may possibly be a further link with Thomist thought. The image has an obvious eucharistic meaning - emphasising the body of Christ. Aquinas was credited with the composition of the office for Corpus Christi, a feast which the Dominican general chapter of 1318 decreed should be observed throughout the Order. See Weisheipl, Friar Thomas, pp.176-85. For the Man of Sorrows see also above, note 107, and below, chapter 7(c), excursus.
141. See Van Os, Marias Demut, p.23. Van Os's interpretation is principally concerned with the celebration of the Virgin in the polyptych and the relation of the side panels to this central theme.
142. The St. Louis was an Angevin commission. (For a discussion of the patronage background of the panel see Gardner, 'Louis of Toulouse', pp.22-3,33.) Robert of Anjou, architect of Louis of Toulouse's canonisation, also supported Aquinas's cause. With his wife he attended the canonisation ceremony in Avignon, where he preached one of the sermons. (Mandonnet, 'Canonisation', pp.36,40-41.) The St. Louis panel is generally dated before the S. Caterina polyptych, soon after Louis' canonisation. For a summary of the evidence for dating see Gardner, 'Louis of Toulouse', pp.20-23, 28-33. (Since the publication of this article Caleca, 'Tre Polittici', p.66, has joined those arguing against dating the St. Louis panel before the S. Caterina polyptych.)
143. For a convincing interpretation of the Pisa polyptych as an aid to meditative prayer see Van Os, Marias Demut, pp.17-19. Van Os stresses the deliberate choice of a 'non-narrative' predella and the abbreviation of all narrative elements in the altarpiece, but attributes these characteristics to artist rather than patron. Van Os (p.21) uses a comparison between the work of Pietro Lorenzetti and Simone Martini to characterise the differences between Franciscan and Dominican piety as expressed in painting - the Dominicans representing the more passive, meditative approach. His choice of paintings for comparison seems to me mistaken. See below, pp.281-2.
144. MOPH, 20, p.219.
145. The polyptych bears the fragmentary inscription, '... N DE SRNIS ME PINXIT AD MCCCXX' below the Virgin and Child. It is mentioned in the entry for Bishop Trasmondo

Monaldeschi OP in the 14th century obituary list of S. Domenico, Orvieto, '... tabulam etiam pingi fecit pro altari maioris cappelle, expendens in ipsam flor. C ...', Caccia, pp.107-9. For further mention of Monaldeschi as patron see above, pp.130,147 and below, appendix 3.

146. The direction in which the figures turn show that they should be rearranged (as in fig.213) with St. Dominic on the left side and St. Paul balancing St. Peter, forming parts of a heptptych with (reading from centre to sides) St. Mary Magdalen presenting Monaldeschi, balanced by a missing female saint (St. Catherine of Alexandria, as at Pisa?); St. Peter balancing St. Paul; St. Dominic probably balancing a missing Dominican saint, (see below, pp.263-4, for a discussion of his possible identity). (The inclusion of Sts. Peter and Paul may partly be attributed to the Monaldeschi's strong support of the Guelph cause.)
147. I have not been able to examine the top of the Orvieto panels for saw marks. (For Simone's 'Orvieto period' see below, note 154.)
148. For this work, see above, note 63.
149. Brandi, Pinacoteca, pp.171-2.
150. Coor-Achenbach, 'Ugolino di Nerio', fig.9.
151. A six-petalled punch, the centre and each petal filled with a dot, which appears in Peter and Dominic's haloes. (figs. 236,240) The trefoil arch stamp decorating the borders and cusps of the framing arches does not appear at Pisa either.
152. See above, notes, 92, 145.
153. For large, generally excellent, colour reproductions see E. Carli, I Pittori Senesi, (Siena, 1971), p.79, plate 43 for Pisa (rather too green); W. Swaan, The Gothic Cathedral, (London, 1969), p.53, plate 41 for Orvieto (too cool).
154. C. De Benedictis, 'Sull'attività Orvietana di Simone Martini e del suo seguito', Antichità Viva, 7 (1968), iii, pp.3-9, identifies four polyptychs as the products of a stay in Orvieto by Simone in the third decade of the century: the S. Domenico polyptych; the polyptych now in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston ('from an unknown church'); a polyptych formed of panels in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Cologne and an Italian private collection ('from S. Agostino'); a polyptych composed of the Madonna and Child in the Orvieto Opera del Duomo and panels in the Berenson collection, I Tatti, and from Ottawa ('from S. Francesco'). No evidence is provided in the article for the provenance of the panels, apart from the statement that 'Almeno quattro sono i polittici martiniani documentati come esistenti 'ab antiquo' ad Orvieto', (De Benedictis, p.3).
J. Pope-Hennessy, 'Three panels by Simone Martini', BM, 91

- (1949), pp.195-6, suggests that the polyptych to which the Fitzwilliam panels belong may have come from S. Agostino, Orvieto, but points out that there is no evidence to prove this. Gozzoli, Simone Martini, p.89, says the Boston panels come from S. Francesco, Orvieto.
155. Gozzoli, pp.96-7; G. Paccagnini, Simone Martini, (London, 1957), p.138, fig.54; J. White, Art and Architecture in Italy: 1250-1400 (Harmondsworth, 1966), p.241.
 156. Gozzoli, plate 35.
 157. Gozzoli, plate 61 and p.101.
The three examples selected for comparison may not be methodologically ideal in terms of facial type, medium, scale and date but are valuable in representing a constant of quality, brushwork and description of form throughout Simone's oeuvre.
 158. The S. Domenico polyptych was attributed to Lippo Memmi by Van Marle and the suggestion has been sporadically repeated since then. See Gozzoli, p.89.
 159. See M. Mallory, 'An altarpiece by Lippo Memmi reconsidered', Metropolitan Museum Journal, 9 (1974), p.191 and fig.7.
 160. The same punch is used on the polyptych from Casciana Alta, attributed to Lippo Memmi, discussed below. (fig.243)
 161. Mallory, 'Lippo Memmi', pp.187-194, 201-2.
 162. Mallory, p.187.
 163. Talented assistants of great masters were apparently able to submerge their own artistic personalities when working on a painting commissioned from the master. The best example of this is Taddeo Gaddi.
 164. A. Caleca in Mostra del Restauro di Opere delle Provincie di Pisa e Livorno, Soprintendenza ai Monumenti e Gallerie di Pisa, (Pisa, 1971), pp.22-5; Id., 'Tre Polittici', pp.49-52; Mallory, 'Lippo Memmi', pp.193, n.9; C. De Benedictis, 'A proposito di un libro su Buffalmacco', Antichità Viva, 13 (1974), ii, pp.8,10. L. Bellosi, Buffalmacco e il Trionfo della Morte, (Turin, 1974), p.94, attributes the altarpiece to Barna - an opinion which De Benedictis and Caleca have rightly rejected.
 165. Caleca, 'Tre Polittici', p.55, identifies this apostle as Bartholomew, without giving any reasons.
 166. Caleca, Mostra del Restauro, p.22, calls this figure Lawrence but, judging from photographs, blood is shown dripping down his head, which would identify him as the other deacon martyr, Stephen.
 167. Caleca, Mostra del Restauro, p.22.

168. Rationes Decimarum Italiae nei secoli XIII e XIV: Tuscia, ed. P. Guidi and M. Giusti, Studi e Testi, 58, I (1274-1280), (Rome, 1932), p.269.
169. Despite the fact that St. Stephen is - apparently appropriately - represented in the altarpiece.
170. MOPH, 3, p.123. Each provincial was urged to send as many florins as there were priories in the province to the general chapter, to help defray the anticipated expenses.
171. See e.g. P. Bacci, Fonti e Commenti per la storia dell'arte Senese, (Siena, 1944), pp.119-20: 'L'anno MCCCXX o XXI è poco leggibile'; Mallory, 'Lippo Memmi', p.192: 1320; Caleca, 'Tre Polittici', p.70: 'non molto oltre (un anno o due) il 1320; Gozzoli, Simone Martini, p.89: 1321?; De Benedictis, 'Attività Orvietana', p.3: 1320; Paccagnini, Simone Martini, p.121: 1320; K. Steinweg, 'Beiträge zu Simone Martini und seiner Werkstatt', MKIF, 8 (1959), p.165: 1320(?).
172. Mallory, 'Lippo Memmi', p.193, figs.9,10; Caleca, 'Tre Polittici', p.56, fig.13.
173. See Weisheipl, Friar Thomas, ch.4.
174. Caccia, pp.107-9.
175. MOPH, 20, p.222.
176. Orlandi, Necrologio, I, p.40; and see above, p.129, for further mention of Baro Sassetti's patronage.
177. V. Borghigiani OP, Cronaca Annalistica del Convento di S. Maria Novella, 3 vols., unpublished, cited by Orlandi, Necrologio, I, p.326, from 18th century MS. version in the archive of S. Maria Novella, I, p.298.
The date which Borghigiani supplies for the completion of the altarpiece is probably reliable. It is supported by evidence concerning the date of the rearrangement of the high altar, culled from contemporary records of payments for oil in lamps in the church. In 1312 Riccuccio di Fuccio left money in his will for oil to keep the lamps burning before a large crucifix painted by Giotto, and the large painting of the Madonna - presumably the Madonna Rucellai. (See above, p.146) The grant was administered by the laudesi confraternity. Generally the destination of the oil - presumably replenished quite often - is not specified in the accounts, but on a few occasions the particular lamp for which the oil was supplied is named. Orlandi has printed all such mentions found in the surviving laudesi account books. ('La Madonna di Duccio', p.213) He interprets the oil payments as indicating that the Giotto crucifix and the Duccio Virgin and Child were placed on the high altar together and assumes that all references to oil for the lampara del altare maggiore refer in fact to the illumination of Giotto's crucifix. (pp.212-4) As mentioned above (p.240) I think it unlikely that the Rucellai Madonna ever stood

on the high altar of S. Maria Novella and I think it even less likely that Giotto's large crucifix stood on the high altar rather than being suspended, in some manner, somewhere in the church; the suggestion that both works occupied the high altar together seems to me particularly unlikely. On the other hand, the oil payments printed by Orlandi may bear a different interpretation. I reproduce them here, in abbreviated form:

(NB. the Florentine year ran from 25 March (the Incarnation), corresponding to the modern year from 25 March to 31 December, and running behind it from 1 January to 24 March. (See A. Cappelli, Cronologia, Cronografia e Calendario Perpetuo, 3rd ed. (Milan, 1969), pp.9-11.) In this list, the modern year is supplied, with the Florentine year added in brackets, where this differs.)

1314	<u>Crocifixo grande</u>	
1323 (1322)	<u>dinanci all'</u> <u>altare maggiore</u>	
1324 (1323)		<u>lampana della</u> <u>Donna</u>
1324	<u>altare maggiore</u> (crossed out: <u>del crocifis.</u>)	<u>tavola della</u> <u>Donna</u>
1329	<u>altare maggiore</u>	
1332	<u>altare maggiore</u> (twice)	<u>tavola della</u> <u>Donna</u> (twice)

The first specific recorded provision is in 1314: ... per un orcio d'olio ch'elli de' mettere ne la lampana del Crocifixo grande che fece Giotto per lo lascio di Richuccio Pucci Presumably the lamp hanging in front of the Rucellai Madonna was well supplied at the time, since no mention is made of it. - Records of oil for the Rucellai lamp - the tavola della Donna - occur twice in 1324 and twice in 1332, but there are no further mentions of oil for the lamp in front of the crucifix in the 14th century, apart from an entry of 1324 where the words del crocifis are crossed out and replaced with del altare maggiore. The supply of oil for the lamp of the altare maggiore is also mentioned in 1329 and twice in 1332 and makes one earlier appearance, in 1323: ... per uno orcio d'olio per dare a' frati per la lampana ch'è dinanci all'altare maggiore This evidence suggests that at some time between 1314 and 1323 the high altar of S. Maria Novella was rearranged, so that the lamp and grant of oil which had previously served to illuminate the large crucifix by Giotto were now required to burn before the high altar instead. Most probably it was the new altarpiece commissioned by Fra Baro Sassetti which required this extra illumination. In 1324 the scribe made the error of recording the purchase of oil for the crucifix lamp, as had previously been the case, and then crossed out the entry, correcting it with the words altare maggiore. Thus Borghigiani's statement that Sassetti's altarpiece was intended for the high altar and placed there in 1320 appears correct. (Oertel, 'Giotto-Ausstellung', p.221, also concludes that

the altarpiece commissioned by Baro Sassetti was placed on the high altar, but mentions only the 1324 oil payment, which he uses to establish that the Rucellai Madonna - la tavola della Donna - did not occupy the high altar. He refers to the Sassetti painting as the first high altarpiece without supporting the statement, and treats the 1314 payment for oil for the crucifix as a quite separate matter. (Oertel, p.224)

178. Vasari, Barocchi, II, p.139.
179. M. Biliotti OP, Cronica pulcherrime Aedis S. Maria Novellae de Florentia, unpublished, cited by Orlandi, Necrologio, I, p.326, from a 16th century MS. in the archive of S. Maria Novella, f.24r.
180. '... la quale tavola [that commissioned by Baro Sassetti] si conservò a detto altare sino agli anni di Cristo 1485, o vel circa: ché quelli frati ... la levarono e la possono all' altare del loro Capitolo, dove si raguna e sottera la nazione Spagnoli', '... e avvenga che il detto Giorgio [Vasari] non dica averla [the Ugolino altarpiece in the Spanish Chapel] fatte fare li Sassetti, nientedimeno da segnali che vi pone d'essere stata molt'anni all' altare maggiore, e poi levata e messa nel capitolo delli Spagnoli ...'.
F. Sassetti, Notizie dell'origine e nobiltà della famiglia de' Sassetti, ed. E. Maroucci, in Lettere edite e inedite di Filippo Sassetti, (Florence, 1855), pp.XXIX-XXX.
181. Sassetti, Notizie, p.xxx.
182. '... e quivi [Spanish Chapel] se ne stette sino all'anno 1591, o vel circa, che avendo li Spagnoli fatta di nuovo una tavola a detto altare a loro fantasia fu levata quella, e da quelli frati è stata trafugata per il convento, nè mai hanno voluto dire dove se l'abbino messi ...'.
Sassetti, Notizie, p.xxix.
183. 'Nell'uscire da questo Dormitorio [= Dormitorio terreno, i.e. under dormitory] dirimpetto alla scala a mano sinistra vedesi un'antica Tavola, che era quella dell'Altar maggiore di nostra Chiesa, la quale fu dipinta da Guido Pittor Sanese', V. Fineschi OP, Il Forestiero Istrutto in S. Maria Novella di Firenze, (Florence, 1790), p.82.
184. V. Fineschi OP, Il Forestiero Istrutto in S. Maria Novella di Firenze, rev. G. Giuliani, (Florence, 1836), p.76.
The paragraph concerning the painting is omitted.
185. Unconvincing attempts have been made to identify the Sassetti altarpiece with two existing works. Some writers, most recently Orlandi, have identified it with the Coronation of the Virgin now Florence Accademia no.3449, attributed to a follower of Bernardo Daddi. Neither style nor subject matter fit descriptions of the Sassetti commission. (See Orlandi, Necrologio, I, pp.326-7, plate 16; Paatz, III, p.831, n.431.) De Nicola identified it with two

panels of Sts. Peter and Francis from a dismembered polyptych, now in the Dominican-founded church of the Misericordia, S. Casciano in Val di Pesa but, as both Paatz and Coor-Achenbach have pointed out, the inclusion of St. Francis and omission of St. Dominic make this most improbable. (Paatz, p.831, n.431; Coor-Achenbach, 'Ugolino di Nerio', p.160, n.31.)

186. Vasari, Barrochi, II, p.139.
187. '... la dette tavola, per quanto si ritrae da quello ne scrive Giorgio Vasari nella prima parte delle vite de pittori, fu dipinta alla maniera antica greca da Ugolino pittore sanese ...', Sassetti, Notizie, p.xxx.
188. For Vasari's work in these churches see Hall, 'Ponte', passim; Id., 'S. Croce', passim.
189. Memoriale di curiosità artistiche in Firenze, fatto dal Canonico Antonio Petrei in Il Libro di Antonio Billi, ed. K. Frey, (Berlin, 1892), p.57, 'Santa Maria Novella ... Una tavola nel Capitolo: Ugolino da Siena.' (For the date of this work see Frey, p.vi.)
190. Vasari, Barrochi, II, p.139.
191. Biliotti, Cronica, f.24r, cited by Orlandi, Necrologio, I, p.326.
192. Sassetti, Notizie, p.xxx.
193. Ibid. '... vi è dentro una Madonna vestita alla greca, con il figliolo in braccio, messa in mezzo da due santi, che non mi sovviene per chi sieno fatti, e nella base, come di sopra è detto, sono due arme de' Sassetti: e vi può essere qualche angioli o qualch'altra figura di più ...'.
194. See C. Piacenti Aschengreen, Il Museo degli Argenti a Firenze, (Milan, 1967), p.175.
195. See H. Loyrette, 'Une source pour la reconstruction du polyptyque d'Ugolino da Siena à Santa Croce', Paragone, 343 (1978), p.16.
196. See above, pp. 264-5.
197. Ill. in a recent reconstruction by Loyrette, 'Reconstruction', fig.1, p.18; plates 21-3.
198. See Museo Nazionale Villa Guinigi, Lucca (Catalogue), (Lucca, 1968), pp.140-41.
199. Ill. M. Laclotte, De Giotto à Bellini, (Catalogue of exhibition held at the Orangerie), (Paris, 1956), pp.23-4, plate xiv, fig.34.
200. Biliotti, f.24r.
201. 'Fra Baro de parentela Sasetorum. Confessor magnus et predicator ...', Orlandi, Necrologio, I, p.40.

202. MOPH, 20, p.181.
203. Vasari, Barrochi, II, p.139.
204. Williamstown, Clark heptptych: St. Francis, St. Louis of Toulouse (fig.206)
Cleveland, Museum of Art, pentptych from Leonard C. Hanna Jr. Bequest: St. Francis (fig.210).
Siena Pinacoteca, pentptych no.39: St. Francis, St. Clare (ill. Coor-Achenbach, 'Ugolino di Nerio', fig.11)
S. Casciano in Val di Pesa, Misericordia, two panels from a polyptych: St. Francis (ill. G. de Nicola, 'Ugolino e Simone a San Casciano, Val di Pesa', L'Arte, 19 (1916), p.15, figs.2,3.)
Birmingham, Barber Institute, panel from a polyptych: St. Francis (ill. Coor-Achenbach, fig.13).
Ex Florence, S. Croce, heptptych: (ill. Loyrette, plates 21-3).
Lucca, Museo Nazionale Villa Guinigi no.300, part of a predella: (See Villa Guinigi, pp.140-41).

This predella may belong to the same altarpiece as a pinnacle representing Isaiah, attributed to Ugolino, now in the National Gallery of Ireland, which was acquired in about 1870 by the Dowager Viscountess Galway in Lucca. (See Coor-Achenbach, 'Ugolino di Nerio', p.162, n.43.) Also possibly from the same work is a Virgin and Child, now in the Schiff-Giorgini collection, Rome, from S. Francesco, Lucca, attributed to a follower of Duccio. (Brandi, Duccio, plate 124.)

205. See Coor-Achenbach, p.161.
206. A. Mariotti, 'Modulo di Progettazione del Polittico di Arezzo di Pietro Lorenzetti', Critica d'Arte, 15 (1968), pp.35-6, prints the relevant documents.
207. As discussed above, note 177.
208. Coor-Achenbach, p.160, places the S. Maria Novella altarpiece earlier than that for S. Croce, without however giving substantial reasons, or considering the implications of this dating.
209. It is conceivable that Simone Martini would have been invited to paint a companion to his Pisa polyptych for S. Maria Novella, but was already engaged to work in Orvieto. Ugolino would have been an obvious alternative.
210. MOPH, 20, p.221.
211. See Gordon, Art in Umbria, p.164 for a possible example of a Franciscan house commissioning an altarpiece to coincide with a general chapter meeting in 1322.
212. Discussed in chapter 1(b).
213. See above, pp.44-5, 117-9, 112, below, appendix 4, part (d).

214. 335 x 253 mm. (This and all following measurements refer to the total size of panel including framing and are taken from the relevant museum catalogue.) Bought from Stefano Bardini, Florence, 6 October 1897. (In each case only the earliest known provenance is given.)
See P. Hendy, European and American paintings in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, (Boston, 1974), pp.162-4. For a summary of dating (c.1330-40) and attribution see Preiser, Predella, p.120.
215. 436 x 292 mm.
Bought from H. Goldschmidt Collection, Paris, 1898.
See Paintings in the Art Institute of Chicago: A Catalogue of the Picture Collection, (Chicago, 1961), p.413 (Segna, early 14th century); Martin A. Ryerson Loan Collection of Paintings and Sculpture, typescript catalogue, (Chicago, c.1926), pp.25-6 (School of Duccio, beginning of 14th century); Brandi, Duccio, p.155 (Maestro della Madonna Tadini-Boninsegni); Coor-Achenbach, 'Ugolino di Nerio', p.163, n.52 (possibly the young Ugolino).
216. 356 x 254 mm.
Bought by Sir Frederick Leighton near Pisa.
See The Frick Collection, An Illustrated Catalogue, II (New York, 1968), pp.189-92 (Barna, c.1350-60; previously attributed to Simone Martini and Lippo Memmi); Caleca, 'Tre Polittici', p.79 (Maestro della Madonna Straus (Tederigo Memmi?)).
Bonaini, p.461, suggests that a painting formerly in M. Supino's collection in Pisa, almost certainly identical with the Frick panel, may originally have been in the chapel of the Societas Salvatoris founded by Giordano da Pisa, attached to S. Caterina, Pisa.
217. 520 x 370 mm.
Acquired by the museum 1828/29.
See Staatliche Museen Berlin, Verzeichnis des Ausgestellten Gemälde des 13 bis 18 Jahrhunderts in Museum Dahlem, (Berlin, 1961), p.83 (Sienese Master, c.1360 (Bartolo di Fredi?)); C. Volpe, 'Precisazioni sul 'Barna' e sul 'Maestro di Palazzo Venezia', Arte Antica e Moderna, 10 (1960), p.153 (Barna); Van Os, Marias Demut, p.197 (Barna(?)); J. Pope-Hennessy, 'Barna, the pseudo-Barna and Giovanni d'Asciano', BM, 88 (1946), p.36 (Master of the Straus Madonna(?)).
218. Centre panel: 710 x 460 mm; Left Wing: 665 x 230 mm; Right Wing: 662 x 220 mm.
See Brandi, Pinacoteca, pp.70-71 (school of Duccio). For a summary of dating (ranging from c.1305 to c.1320) see Preiser, Predella, p.128.
219. Centre Panel: 615 x 390 mm; Left Wing: 450 x 180 mm; Right Wing: 450 x 205 mm.
Formerly in an unspecified private collection in Pisa.
Purchased by the National Gallery, London with the Lombardi-Baldi Collection, Florence, 1857.
See Davies, Earlier Italian Schools, pp.171-3.
A recent study of a particular aspect of this work is J.

White, 'Carpentry and design in Duccio's workshop: the London and Boston triptychs', *JWCI*, 36 (1973), pp.92-105.

220. Approximate dimensions: 420 x 250 mm, supplied by Stubblebine, given in Preiser, Predella, p.117.
The painting is only known through a photograph in the Fototeca Berenson, I Tatti, marked 'seen at Reinach, Paris, 1927'.
See J. Stubblebine, 'Duccio's Maestà of 1302 for the chapel of the Move', *AQ*, 35 (1972), p.241, for attribution; Preiser, Predella, pp.116-18, for dating (c.1310-20).
221. No measurements available. First published by Stubblebine, 'Duccio's Maestà of 1302', pp.240-41.
222. The will, formerly in the convent of S. Domenico, now lost, is printed in V. Fineschi OP, Supplemento alla Vita del Cardinale Niccolò da Prato, (Lucca, 1758), pp.47-54, p.50. A new edition by A. Paravicini Bagliani is in preparation.
223. I have not examined any of these panels. The Frick panel retains its original moulding beneath a modern frame (The Frick Collection, p.189.)
224. For the Man of Sorrows, see below, pp. 275-7.
See also the article by Van Os, cited in note 274 below, esp. pp.70-72; Ogilvie, Man of Sorrows, pp.48-50.
225. Offner, Corpus, III, v, p.154, n.3 says the Berlin-Dahlem panel is 'part of a diptych or tabernacle'; L. Vertova, 'Un Frammento Duccesco', Arte Illustrata, 2 (1969), p.41, captions the Chicago panel as 'Valva sinistra di dittico'; Calanca, 'Tre Polittici', pp.66,79, captions both the Boston and Frick panels as 'Elemento di dittico(?)'. None of these writers gives reasons for their opinions.
(Professor Julian Gardner has kindly informed me that the reverse of the Berlin-Dahlem panel has an authentic mock porphyry design, and two areas of damage which indicate the former existence of hinges.)
A painting at one time in the Ramboux Collection, clearly identical with the Chicago panel, is described in the 1862 catalogue of the collection as 'Rückwand einer Diptychons oder vielmehr Türchen eines Tabernakels'. See G. Coor, 'Trecento-Gemälde aus der Sammlung Ramboux', Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch, 18 (1956), pp.114-16.
226. Described by Hendy, Gardner Museum, p.164.
227. Stubblebine, 'Duccio's Maestà of 1302', fig.8 and passim.
Stubblebine's reconstruction of the main representation of the painting is convincing, but his suggestion that the predella contained scenes is not. The predellas of the Sienese devotional panels described below and the close relation between the design of the 1302 Maestà, as proposed by Stubblebine, and Cimabue's S. Trinita Madonna, make an arcaded predella (not rectangular, as in Stubblebine's reconstruction drawing) with half-length figures, a more probable solution.

228. Centre panel: 774 x 419 mm; Left Wing: 774 x 206 mm; Right Wing: 774 x 206 mm.
Purchased 1918 from R. Langton Douglas.
See H.B. Wehle, The Metropolitan Museum of Art: A Catalogue of Italian, Spanish, and Byzantine Paintings, (New York, 1940), pp.73-4 (follower of Segna); G. Coor, 'A new attribution to the Monte Oliveto Master and some observations concerning the chronology of his work', BM, 97 (1955), pp.203-7.
229. 670 x 330 mm.
Bought in Italy in 1849 by Mrs. Martin Tucker Smith, passed through various hands, entered the Griggs Collection in the late 1920s.
See M. Salinger, 'An early Sienese Panel in the Griggs Collection', Metropolitan Museum Bulletin, n.s. 2 (1943-4), pp.81-3.
For a summary of attributions see Preiser, Fredella, pp.118-9. He himself favours the Lippo Memmi attribution.
230. 590 x 280 mm.
See Preiser, pp.126-8 (Lippo Memmi, c.1340).
231. 1450 x 710 mm.
Provenance unknown. In Uffizi storerooms by 1842.
See L. Marcucci, Gallerie Nazionali di Firenze: I dipinti Toscani del secolo XIV, (Rome, 1965), pp.73-4.
232. Panel similar to central panel of Siena Pinacoteca no.35 (without donor figure) with saints, some from an identifiable Order, at the base. Note on back of photograph: 'attr. to Byz. school with Duccio School. N.26267. Ph. sent by Wildenstein, Oct. 31, 1949 (or 1947?)'.
Triptych - central panel as Siena no.35, including crowned donor figure, with saints flanking the throne and at base, changed. Left wing: Noli Me Tangere, Descent into Limbo, Road to Calvary; Right wing: Crucifixion, Deposition, Maries at the Tomb. Note on back of photograph: 'Duccio school. 2.H.94.A. Wildenstein, July 10th, 1952'.
Perhaps identical with a triptych mentioned in Catalogue of National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh, (Edinburgh, 1946), p.136: 'School of Duccio', centre as Siena Pinacoteca no. 35, including donor (saints not specified); Left wing: 'Crucifixion, Descent from Cross, Entombment'; Right wing: 'Empty Sepulchre, Three Maries at tomb, Christ and the Magdalen'. Centre: 27½ x 17½ ins; Wings: 25½ x 8½ ins.
Purchased from Mr. A. Weller, London, 1943. The painting was no.1983 of the collection. This number does not appear in the complete list of the permanent collection published by G. Thompson and H. Brigstocke (Edinburgh, 1970).
Another probable pastiche of a small-scale Dominican panel is Louvre no.1620:
340 x 220 mm.
From Campana Collection, entered Louvre 1863. Attributed to Duccio by Van Marle. See L. Hautecoeur, Musée National du Louvre, Catalogue des Peintures Exposées dans les Galeries, II, École Italienne et École Espagnole, (Paris, 1926), p.56. Photographed in 1928 by Photo Giraudon

(no.28223) and at that time attributed to 'School of Duccio, between 1282 and 1339'. The panel is gabled. The Virgin and Child are seated on a high throne flanked by a female saint, Paul, a male bearded saint, Dominic(?). There are two kneeling donors: a Dominican friar and a female figure presumably intended to represent a Dominican nun. The work apparently derives principally from the Chicago Art Institute panel.

233. Preiser (pp.116-23,125-8) mentions all these works but fails to consider them as a group. In his individual entries for the paintings he lists and describes but rarely comments or concludes.

234. See above, note 227.

235. See above, note 198.

236. Dimensions not available.

Weigelt, Duccio, p.182 and plate 55, wrongly attributes the painting to Meo da Siena. The Virgin and Child presumably copy an earlier, possibly Eastern, model. The frame figures may be compared to small-scale work by Pacino da Bonaguida, e.g. the double-sided cross with Dominic and other saints now in the Accademia Colombaria, Florence. (Offner, III, vi, pp.166-8.)

237. Stubblebine, 'Duccio's Maestà of 1302', pp.256-62.

238. Compare the similar approach taken in the Pisa polyptych. See above, esp. note 143.

239. One other type of small-scale panel painting which should be mentioned is the small, portable, double-sided cross produced in the early 14th century. Offner, (Corpus, III, vi, p.167) lists all the known examples and points out that, 'Almost all the saints represented belong to the two great mendicant Orders, Franciscans and Dominicans, for whom we may assume portable crosses were in most cases painted'. The two examples with Dominican saints are in the Accademia Colombaria, Florence and the Poldi-Pezzoli Museum, Milan.

240. Gardner, 'Louis of Toulouse', p.22, note 59, suggests that the crowned donor of Siena no.35 may be Peter of Anjou, Count of Eboli, brother of Robert of Anjou, who was in Tuscany in 1313 and visited Siena for six days in 1314. There are at least two other possible candidates: The emperor Henry VII had strong links with the Dominicans (including two Dominican confessors) and with Sienese artists (his imperial crown was made by Lando di Pietro, his tomb by Tino da Camaino and his wife's tomb by Giovanni Pisano). He was in Tuscany in 1313 and 1314 and was crowned in S. Giovanni in Laterano (dedicated to both the Evangelist and the Baptist) by three Cardinals, including Niccolò da Prato OP, on the feast of Sts. Peter and Paul. (The Evangelist and Baptist and Sts. Peter and Paul are the four main saints on the panel.) However, since the donor in question appears to be young, does not wear the pointed imperial crown, may be wearing the colours of Anjou, and is presented

to the Virgin and Child by St. Peter, he may be Peter II of Aragon, recognised by his father Frederick II as successor in 1314, vicar-general of Sicily in 1316 and co-ruler in 1320, when still only fifteen. (A representation of Peter in a mosaic in Messina cathedral shows considerable similarities of dress and apparent age with the Siena donor figure.)

Whoever the donor proves to be, he was apparently reasonably young, interested in the Dominican Order (particularly in Ambrogio Sansedoni, who played an important role in the Sienese house and its confraternity organisation), may have wished to stress the validity of his coronation by comparing it to that of the Virgin, and presumably commissioned his painting at a date when the royal and noble love of heraldry had not yet developed, since none appears on the panel.

The inclusion of St. Aurea of Ostia on the National Gallery triptych indicates that the commissioner had Roman and Sienese connections, because of the home town of the artist and because St. Aurea is only known to have been venerated in Ostia itself and in the monastery of St. Aurea in Castrum Senese, Rome. (See Davies, Earlier Italian Schools, pp.172-3; P. Pecchiai, La Chiesa dello Spirito Santo dei Napoletani, (Rome, 1953), pp.10-12.)

Cardinal Niccolò da Prato may be proposed, extremely tentatively, as a possible candidate. Da Prato is known to have owned devotional panels which he prized sufficiently to mention in his will, in which they were bequeathed to S. Domenico, Prato (see above, pp.204-70, and note 222). Since he was cardinal of Ostia, he would have spent much time in Rome and had good reason to venerate St. Aurea, who came from Ostia. The National Gallery triptych was acquired from a private collection in Pisa. (For further links between the Dominicans and the veneration of St. Aurea, see the excursus on Lippi Vanni, below.)

241. Dimensions not available. For this master see Brandi, Duccio, pp.148-50.
242. I should like to thank Dillian Gordon for sharing with me her observations concerning the addition of this figure and the significance of the pin-holes.
243. The similarities are described in Coor, 'Monte Oliveto Master', p.204; Stubblebine, 'Duccio's Maestà of 1302', pp.258-63.
244. For a summary of work on Barna up to 1975 see Maginnis, 'Literature', pp.287-90, 304. Subsequent studies include G. Moran, 'Is the name Barna an incorrect transcription of the name Bartolo?', Paragone, 311 (1976), pp.76-80.
245. See notes 216, 217 above.
246. 201 x 490 mm.
H.W. van Os, 'The discovery of an early Man of Sorrows on a Dominican Triptych', JWCI, 41 (1978), pp.65-75.

247. The theory is implied rather than stated, 'It has frequently been taken for granted that the Franciscans alone originated new devotional themes. It has also been assumed that the theme of the Man of Sorrows was a creation of Franciscan spirituality. The newly discovered triptych and Simone Martini's Man of Sorrows [i.e. S. Caterina polyptych], demonstrate that for once Franciscan exclusivity is not applicable.' (Van Os, p.75).
248. Van Os, pp.75-6.
249. See Ogilvie, Man of Sorrows, pp.52-3.
250. See below, excursus on Lipppo Vanni.
251. 440 x 290 mm.
Garrison, Index, no.164, p.73.
252. 490 x 290 mm.
Garrison, Index, no.163, p.73.
253. G. Gamulin, Madonna and Child in Old Art of Croatia, (Zagreb, 1971), pp.137-8, p.33, fig.40.
254. M. Meiss, Painting in Florence and Siena after the Black Death, (Princeton, 1951), pp.121-5, fig.121.
255. 800 x 450 mm.
See Kiel, Biscallo, pp.119-20, figs.36,37: 'Cerchia degli Orcagna'.
256. 'Al nome di dio Amen queste la compagnia maggiore fatta edificata per nobile S. Pietro Martire al onore e reverentia della nostra gloriosa madre vergine maria nell'anno MCCXLIIII il di dell'assunzione e fa dire ogni giovedi la messa della pace e chi e di questa compagnia tre an e CCCXX di di perdonanza e da perdonanza e da piede saranno tutte le perdonanze le quali sono concesse a la detta compagnia in prima e vescovi di firenze messer giovanni e messer gottifredi e messer francescho concedetono a la detta compagnia du anni e CCC di di perdono apresso venerabili frati generali e maggiori de l'ordine predicatori e minori e romitani e carmino e monaci e di tuti gli ordini concedetono che fosono participi tuti i beni che si facesse per tuto il mondo vivi e m.'
257. 780 x 410 mm.
See Preiser, Predella, pp.131-2. Previously in the Philip Lehman Collection, New York and the Cazin Collection, Pas-de-Calais. Attributed to the Maestro di S. Torpè by G. Previtali in 'Miniature di Memmo di Filippuccio', Paragone, 169 (1964), pp.3-4. (Where the Dominican saint is incorrectly identified as Dominic.)
258. See B. Degenhart and A. Schmitt, Cornus der Italienischen Zeichnungen, 1300-1450, (Berlin, 1968), 1, pp.7-16, 3, plate 18b.
The manuscript is the subject of a forthcoming thesis for the University of Pennsylvania at Philadelphia, by Amy McNeary.

259. See Ogilvie, Man of Sorrows, pp.11-12.
260. Van Os tacitly acknowledges the Franciscan part in the development of the image when he says that two Dominican examples of the Man of Sorrows, 'demonstrate that for once Franciscan exclusivity is not applicable', (Van Os, 'Dominican Triptych', p.75.)
261. See above, esp. pp. 233-4.
262. Meiss, Florence and Siena, pp.132-56, esp. pp.143-5.
263. Van Os, Marias Demut, pp.101-27.
264. But it may have occurred earlier. Professor Julian Gardner has kindly drawn my attention to mention of an ymaginem humilitatis at Naples in 1326. See C. Minieri-Riccio, Saggio di Codice Diplomatico. Supplemento: parte prima, (Naples, 1882), p.110.
265. See Gómez-Moreno et al., 'A Sienese St. Dominic', passim.
266. See above, p.185 and chapter 4, note 45.
267. Variousy identified as the Maestro di Città di Castello (Weigelt), Segna di Bonaventura (Bacci), Niccolò di Segna (Brandi), Maestro di Badia a Isola (Coor). See Coor, 'Coppo di Marcovaldo', p.15, n.3.
268. See above, p.244. In the commission document (cited n.18 above) he is described as Duccio de Senis with no Florentine 'address' given, which implies that he was not at the time settled in Florence.
A document, now lost, reputedly proved that Duccio lived in the parish of S. Maria Novella. (F. Baldinucci, La Veglia, dialogo di Sincero Veri, (Florence, 1690), p.10.) This proximity to the site for which the painting was intended also suggests that Duccio came to Florence specifically to execute the work.
269. See above, p.244.
270. See Sindona, Gimabue, pp.115-6.
271. See Davies, Earlier Italian Schools, pp.176-7.
272. Frinta, 'punched decoration', pp.306-9.
273. Orlandi, Necrologio, I, p.373.
274. See Orlandi, I, pp.xii-xxiii, n.19, p.616.
275. Ibid.
276. Attributed by Stubblebine to the 'Casole Master'. J.H. Stubblebine, 'Duccio and his Collaborators on the Cathedral Maestà', AB, 55 (1973), pp.185-204; pp.193-4.

277. For documentary references to painters in the 13th and 14th century and a description of the lack of a local school see G. Margherini-Graziani, L'Arte a Città di Castello, (Città di Castello, 1897).
278. Reported by Suarez in a letter to Cardinal Francesco Barberini, Vatican Cod. Barb. Lat. 3050. See G. De Nicola, 'L'Affresco di Simone Martini ad Avignone', L'Arte, 9 (1906), p.340. For this artist see also note 290 below.
279. See G. Coor, 'Two unknown paintings by the Master of the Glorification of St. Thomas and some closely related works', Pantheon, 19 (1961), pp.126-35; esp. p.128 and p.133, n.12, in which Lippo Memmi's Pisan pupil Giovanni and his possible identity with the Master of the Glorification of St. Thomas, are mentioned. Local imitations of the Pisa polyptych are discussed in C. Gardner Von Teuffel, 'Masaccio and the Pisa altarpiece: a new approach', Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen, 19 (1977), p.38.
280. The Virgin and Child with Sts. Peter, Paul, Dominic and Peter Martyr. Signed and dated 1370. L. Mortari, Museo Civico di Rieti, (Rome, 1960), pp.12-13.
281. See note 204.
282. Formerly signed. Carli, Pittori Senesi, (1971), p.93, fig.62.
283. The altarpiece, probably from S. Francesco, Colle di Val d'Elsa, discussed above p.261 and note 161, and the devotional panel of the Crucifixion mentioned above p.271 and note 230.
284. See E. Carli, 'Ricuperi e Restauri Senesi', Bollettino d'Arte, 50 (1965), pp.214-5, figs.67-9, who attributes the work to Pietro Lorenzetti.
285. Van Os, Marias Demut, p.21.
286. H. Maginnis, 'Assisi Revisited: Notes on Recent Observations', BM, 117 (1975), pp.511-17; Id., 'The Passion Cycle in the lower church of S. Francesco Assisi. The technical evidence', ZKq, 39 (1976), pp.193-208; R. Simon, 'Towards a Relative Chronology of the Frescoes in the Lower Church of San Francesco at Assisi', BM, 118 (1976), pp.361-6.
287. See Maginnis, 'Assisi Revisited', p.516; D.W. Schönau, De laatste sporen der Spiritualen in de italiaanse kunst, typescript doctoraal scriptie for the Kunsthistorisch Instituut, Utrecht, (1976), p.91.
288. See P. Bacci, Ponti e Commenti per la Storia dell'Arte Senese, (Siena, 1944), pp.190-91.
289. M.H. Laurent OP, I necrologi di S. Domenico in Camporegio, (Florence, 1937), p.67.
290. S. Borghesi and L. Banchi, Nuovi Documenti per la Storia dell'Arte Senese, (Siena, 1898), p.26.

Outside the period under consideration, Andrea Vanni is another Sienese painter with proven personal links with the Order: he was a friend and follower of Catherine of Siena (see Thieme-Becker, Künstler-Lexikon, s.v.) and his painting of the saint still exists in S. Domenico, Siena, (Carli, Pittori Senesi, (1971), p.140, fig.127).

Several painters were members of the Florentine S. Maria Novella Laudesi confraternity: e.g. Lippo di Maestro Duccio (mentioned 1316 and 1347) and Vanni di Duccio (mentioned 1320, 1323 and 1330, died 1339). See Orlandi, MD, 64 (1947), p.109.

Orlandi seems right to doubt any connection between these two men and the great Sienese artist, but the latter may conceivably be identical with the Giovanni di Duccio da Siena whose work appeared in the Dominican church in Carpentras, (see above, note 278).

Duccio himself lived in the quarter of Siena, Camporegio, occupied by the Dominican house (see Bacci, Ponti e Commenti, pp.13-16), but any personal link between artist and Order is mere speculation.

291. For a summary of the recent literature on Lippo Vanni see Maginnis, 'Literature', pp.294-6, 308.
292. B. Berenson, 'Due Nuovi Dipinti di Lippo Vanni', Rassegna d'Arte, 17 (1917), pp.97-100, ill. p.98. (He suggests (p.100, n.1) that it, like the 1358 triptych, was painted for S. Aurea in Via Giulia, Rome.)
More recently published by F. Zeri, Italian Paintings in the Walters Art Gallery, (Baltimore, 1976), I, pp.44-6, plate 22, from whom the identification of the saints and the following information is taken:
Dimensions: Centre: 224 x 192 mm; Left Wing: 467 x 103 mm; Right Wing: 477 x 115 mm.
Earliest known provenance: Marchese Filippo Marignoli, Rome and Spoleto (until 1898).
Date: 'Not far from 1358 or slightly earlier'.
Zeri says the unidentified coats of arms on the triptych may have been added later.
293. Berenson, 'Lippo Vanni', ill. p.99. (Dimensions not available.)
294. Berenson, ill. p.100.
Dimensions: 610 x 400 mm.
See Santi, Galleria Nazionale, pp.97-8, plate 77.
295. Centre: 1245 x 794 mm. Each wing: 985 x 515 mm.
Earliest known provenance: Torrini (dealer) Siena.
See F.R. Shapley, Paintings from the Samuel H. Kress Collection, Italian Schools XIII-XV century, (London, 1966), p.57, figs.147-9.
296. W.E. Suida, 'The Altarpiece of Elżbieta Łokietkówna', Gazette des Beaux Arts, 33 (90), (1948), pp.201-8.
297. Gordon, Art in Umbria, p.172.
298. See above, p.148, note 206.

299. R. Van Marle, The development of the Italian Schools of Painting, II, (The Hague, 1924), p.453.
300. Attrib. 'Lippo Vanni (Schule)' by Van Os, Marias Demut, fig.18.
For further mention of statutes see catalogue entry for
S. Domenico, Siena, appendix 1.
301. See H.W. van Os, 'A choir-book by Lippo Vanni', Simiolus, 2,
(1967-68), pp.117-133, esp. p.118, n.4.

CONCLUSION

At first the Dominicans did not show a great deal of interest in art and architecture, beyond the introduction of legislative measures designed to control the appearance and dimensions of buildings. On the other hand the Order was never entirely hostile to art, recognising that it had a distinctive, if minor, part to play in religious activity. Procedures for the financing of architecture and art existed from the foundation of the Order, in each individual convent, but it seems that initially, given the need for essentials and the uncertainty of daily income, all available funds went towards food, clothing, essential building work (probably not meriting the name of architecture) and books.

In the first twenty years of its existence the Order grew rapidly. By the 1240s the first Dominican cardinal had taken his place in the Curia, a series of papal bulls favouring the Order had been promulgated and individual friars were sometimes already in control of their own money (against the wishes of the Order's leaders). The Order as a whole was sufficiently financially buoyant for certain bishops to attempt to force convents to pay the tithe; earlier they had been beneficiaries of this tax rather than contributors to it. This growth was due in large part to a success with the laity, who preferred the Dominicans to the secular clergy in matters concerning confession, penitence, absolution and burial.

These new-found means were expressed in the construction of the Dominicans' own churches and convents, to replace those inherited from previous owners in the early days of the Order. Virtually nothing of these first projects survives, but they clearly increased the importance and prestige of the Order and its ability to accommodate and appeal to the laity. Meanwhile individual Dominicans - both prelates and the occasional ordinary friar - were also beginning to spend money on art, although the leaders of the Order considered it unsuitable and unwise to do so. In this early period Dominicans chiefly favoured metalwork, vestments and hangings.

As the fervour of the Hallelujah year (1233) and of the flagellant movement (esp. 1260) settled down into the regular, more formalised piety of the confraternities, the Dominican Order was becoming an integral part of the town and of the ecclesiastical

hierarchy. Upheavals with the secular clergy had shown the Order's leaders the wisdom of steering a prudent course. The Council of Lyons in 1274, while marking the Order's definite ability to survive, also killed an essential (although already dying) part of it, by forcing it to rely on revenues rather than begging. This period also marks a move away from daily dependence on the town population (especially those who could only make a modest contribution) to the need for, and acquisition of, large donations, or gifts of property with incomes.

From its inception the Order had been closely linked with the town in central Italy. It took much of its support and membership from those living within the town and the countryside immediately surrounding it. Although the Order's houses were generally situated near or outside the walls, so that physically they formed part of the sobborghi, through patronage links and the influence of some of its members it was figuratively at the heart of the town. The link between the growth of the mendicant Orders and that of the suburbs should not be given undue emphasis. Although the presence of a Dominican church no doubt helped growth in these areas, the art produced for the Dominicans cannot be represented as the art of the sobborgo.

The financial state of the Order, and of the individuals within it, was strengthening rapidly by the last quarter of the 13th century. This is noticeable both in the wills made by Dominican members of the higher clergy and in the gradual relaxation of regulations concerning the possession of private money throughout the Order. Conspicuous individual and conventual spending on a wider range of art and on more ambitious architecture was also underway.

Our view of Dominican art patronage can be guided by a knowledge of the general circumstances of the Order. Broadly speaking, the division of the general development of the Order into pre- and post-Lyons is valid for Dominican art and architecture as well.

A large part of the reason for the parallel is, not surprisingly, financial. As the financial security of the Dominicans grew, so too did their ability to spend money on 'non-essentials' such as art. But financial considerations alone do not provide a full explanation of the development of Dominican art patronage. Growing means did

not necessarily go hand in hand with the increase of art made for the Order. Some individual friars in the convents could afford to spend money on art from the 1240s onwards, but only a few of these appear to have done so. Moreover, there appears to have been a distinct pattern in the items favoured by the Dominicans at different periods (discussed at the end of chapter 3) which does not correlate neatly with their financial capacities. In the pre-Lyons period, notably from c.1240 onwards, spending was concentrated on the necessary, but expensive categories of building, metalwork and vestments. In the period after Lyons there was a shift of interest to tomb sculpture, illuminated choir books and panel paintings. These are all works whose decorative aspects are as striking as their practical function. They were often particularly effective in perpetuating the memory of an individual donor. But they did not necessarily cost more than items favoured in the pre-Lyons period.

The identification of the Order with the austerity of the first Dominicans was eroded gradually. The three tombs of St. Dominic, chosen in 1221, 1233 and 1265, aptly represent the changing mood of the Order, from zealous humility, through modest expenditure to the commissioning of a more splendid tomb, which consciously stressed the importance of the Order. Nevertheless, the leaders of the Order continued to wage the losing battle against lavish decorations within Dominican convents and churches. It was not until the very end of the 13th century that the general chapter, bowing to the pressure of events, modified the legislation concerning art and architecture which Humbert of Romans had introduced into the Constitutions in 1261. Meanwhile the tastes and habits of those Dominicans who had risen in the church hierarchy outside the Order began to match those of their non-Mendicant counterparts.

Paradoxically, the moment at which the Dominicans were both willing and able to patronise forms of art and architecture in which they could seek to express the character of their Order, was also the moment at which a part of that character was being jettisoned. When examining individual works made for the Dominicans, it is necessary to guard against searching for characteristics which were actually connected with an earlier phase in the Order's development. (An example is the trap of adducing large, powerful buildings such as S. Domenico, Pistoia, as architectural expressions of poverty and

humility.) It must be admitted that some of the essential qualities of the early Order absolutely militated against the development of an individual type of art. On the other hand, even after the submersion of some of these characteristics the Order still retained a specific, if altered, nature, which permeates much of the best art produced for it during the second half-century of its existence.

In the period before Lyons, when all the mendicant Orders, especially the two largest ones, were fighting for their survival, it is particularly pertinent to compare the artistic achievements of the Dominican Order with those of the Franciscans.

It was during this period that the two Orders stood out together as being something new and unusual. Battles concerning the survival of both Orders, especially against the secular clergy, were often fought together. Attacks were often made, indiscriminately, on both Orders, and on the other hand donations and favours were often given to the friars - as opposed to the seculars or to other groups of regular clergy - without too clear a distinction being made between the two main mendicant Orders. In the field of painting and manuscript illumination Dominic and Francis were shown together - a choice which hardly occurs at all in the fifty years after Lyons. An example is the Dominican bible, attributed to Padua, c.1260, which was lot 61 in the Dyson Perrins Sale at Sotheby's, 1 January 1959. On f.1r (fig.289) two bas-de-page roundels represent Dominic and Francis presenting the Constitutions and the Rule to their respective Orders. On f.224r (fig.290) separate choirs of friars from the two Orders stand before lecterns. Only the inclusion of the half-length figure of Christ, turned in blessing towards the Dominicans, indicates particular favour for that Order.

Of course this is an over-simplification. There were many fundamental differences, and differences of opinion, between the two Orders. No doubt there was often rivalry as well. But all this disagreement did not really rise to the surface until the later 13th century. Up to that point it was wise to maintain the appearance of harmony and of a common front.

All these similarities between the two Orders, both real and imposed, have made it interesting to examine why, given so much common ground, the art for which the two Orders were responsible differed so noticeably in this early period.

The Franciscans were particularly skilled in perpetuating the memory of their founder. If asked to think of typical examples of duecento or trecento art made for a Franciscan milieu, certain images immediately spring to mind: a standing figure of St. Francis surrounded by scenes from his life; or a single scene showing a touching episode from the life of the saint - the Preaching to the Birds or the Crib at Greccio; or the impressive and extremely popular image of the Stigmatisation, the pivot of the Franciscan view of Francis as alter Christus.

Art dealing with Dominican themes in the same period has no such appealing images. As we have seen, this was partly by accident, partly by design. Dominicans were not absolutely opposed to the production of paintings before 1274, but specifically Dominican iconographies which might appeal to the general purchaser were hardly developed. Either the scene was a complicated one with none of the immediate appeal of an image such as the Stigmatisation, as in the case of the Gallerani reliquary shutters (fig.113), or the artists employed to devise an original iconography lacked the ability to produce anything attractive - witness the long panel of St. Dominic's Miracle of the Loaves in Bologna. (fig.111) Individual lay patrons showed little interest in Dominican saints. The Yale triptych (fig.182) is the only surviving panel produced for private devotion during the period which includes both S. Dominic and St. Peter Martyr, and it was probably made for a Dominican rather than for a layman.

If the life and miracles of S. Dominic himself lacked appeal, the laity might have been attracted by the cult of local saints. Indeed, the reliquary shutters from the shrine of Beato Andrea Gallerani show that such commissions could call forth originality. But the Dominicans had only two saints and a few local beati during their first half-century. The ideal Dominican of the period, a man such as Peter Martyr, was primarily a mouthpiece for the beliefs the Order wished to teach. His purpose was to move the laity with words rather than images.

On the other hand, images did have a recognised role to play in providing part of the accepted decoration of a church, serving as an aid to prayer and explaining the hierarchy of the Catholic church and its saints. In the pre-Lyons period Dominicans were already showing some interest in new representations of orthodox subject matter and seem to have preferred their saints to be represented -

if at all - as junior members of a well-defined hierarchy, as in the Yale triptych.

The negative effect of the life and character of S. Dominic on the development of Dominican iconography has been considered at some length in this thesis. Dominic's personality was not so overtly crucial to the nature of the Order which he founded as the figure of St. Francis was to the Franciscans. Practical differences between the two Orders have also been proposed here, among the reasons for differences between the art connected with the two Orders in their first fifty years. Francis lived, died and had his burial place in an area in which the practice of large-scale painting was well established;⁽¹⁾ Dominic did not. The number of Dominican houses in central Italy was much smaller than that of Franciscan houses in the same area. This reduced considerably the number of potential active patrons. In the last quarter of the 13th century the intervention of papal patronage helped the Franciscans finance the extensive decoration of S. Francesco, Assisi. In these frescoes the Order possessed a collection of potent images, produced by some of the most inventive artists of the day, which provided an inexhaustible source of artistic inspiration. The Dominicans had no comparable canonical decorative scheme.

After Lyons the general situation of the two Orders began to change. Since their survival had been assured, they no longer needed to band together and present a united front. Both Orders, especially the Dominicans, increasingly came to resemble the older established Orders.

It is in this period that the Dominicans first seem to have shown an interest in obtaining panel paintings. Initially, the evidence points towards the importance of confraternities as commissioners of paintings for Dominican churches, in Florence and Siena, but around the turn of the century more individual Dominicans, and also convents as a whole, began to purchase altarpieces. Patronage was not restricted to those who had risen in the church hierarchy. For example, those commissioning polyptychs included a bishop; a sub-prior noted as a confessor and preacher, who apparently procured funds for the project from his relatives;⁽²⁾ and a lay-brother sacristan with a keen interest in art, acting on behalf of

his convent. Meanwhile, some Dominicans began to favour certain types of small-scale devotional panels and some manuscript illumination as well.

Although the type of patron varied, many of these works share common features. The majority were destined for a predominantly Dominican audience. Decorated choir books, altarpieces situated on altars east of a tall tramezzo, chapter house decoration and panels intended for private devotion, would most frequently have been seen by those within the Order. There seems to have been little favour for works directed specifically towards the laity. There are few surviving examples of wall paintings falling west of the tramezzo. Nor was there much enthusiasm for panels of St. Dominic or St. Peter Martyr, although, as the legislation shows, the leaders recognised such works as a means of stimulating lay devotion. This thesis has suggested that even the Arca di S. Domenico, intended as a pilgrimage shrine, saves its most interesting effects for the side generally seen by the friars.

Art was not a major form of communication between the Dominicans and the laity. The friars valued personal contacts with laymen, especially the hearing of confession and directing of penance. When they wished to expound their beliefs to a larger public, they used the sermon. This was their means for painting verbal pictures, using colourful exempla to catch the attention of the audience, or to outline the fundamental points of orthodox belief, or of the more complex systems of scholastic thought. The sermon was prized for its adaptability. It could provide an effective approach for every audience, on every occasion. Static visual art could not hope to rival it.

On the other hand, some sections of the laity clearly still considered images to be a more essential part of their religious life. Humbert of Romans, describing the behaviour of women in church says:

'Some are so undevout to God's word that when they are in a church where a sermon is being preached, now they talk, now they say their prayers, now they stay kneeling in front of images, now they cross themselves with holy water. They can scarcely be prevailed upon to come towards the preacher and leave their usual spots.' (3)

This behaviour was irritating to the preacher, but Humbert was prepared to admit that art also had a positive role to play within the church, by presenting in permanent form the images central to Christian belief. In listing the reasons for choosing to pray in a holy place he says that **there**

'... there are the images of the Crucifixion, the blessed Virgin, saints and angels. These introduce into the mind, by way of the senses, those memories which are most often useful in exciting devotion'. (4)

This thesis has tried to show that, as Humbert's words suggest, art played a recognised role, but not a major one, within a Dominican church. The Dominicans were restricted in their use of art as religious propaganda. They encouraged new, clear, interesting representations of the Virgin and Child and of the Crucifixion, and played an important part in the development of polyptych design and of one type of small-scale devotional panel, in Siena. But they scarcely participated in one of the major concerns of late 13th and early 14th century central Italian art - the development of narrative fresco cycles. This is in sharp contrast to the decoration of certain Franciscan churches, for example S. Francesco, Assisi and S. Croce, Florence.

Two of the reasons for this contrast have just been touched on. Narrative fresco cycles explained events from the gospels and the lives of saints to the spectators - presumably often the laity - as vividly as possible, through the use of anecdotal detail and forceful narrative. This is in the tradition, mentioned by Paulinus of Nola and so many other writers, of painting in churches as the bible of the unlettered. In the case of the Dominicans, the majority of commissions were primarily intended for a Dominican, not a lay audience. Moreover, for the Dominicans, the sermon replaced the painted image as the main means of instructing those who could not read.

The strengths of the two main mendicant Orders lay in different areas. By the 14th century the Dominicans were more skilled than their Franciscan confrères in explaining religious matters in popular writings. Petrocchi, summarising Dominican

literature of the trecento, points out the

'... fortissima carica inventiva che anima la letteratura domenicana rispetto a quella francescana, e il senso di più aperta popolarità nella divulgazione dei problemi dottrinari e nella capacità di rendere i fatti religiosi materia quotidiana d'esperienza e di vita ...'. (5)

This difference springs from a basic contrast between the two Orders. Every Dominican convent was also a school (studium) with a lector, and each friar was a priest, and therefore literate. The Franciscans, whose founder never rose above the rank of sub-deacon, did not require their recruits to become priests and offered them a lower general standard of education which did not guarantee the ability to read.

The differing attitude of the two Orders to the authority of the painted image is demonstrated in a passage from the Contra Aemulos Fratrum Praedicatorum written by Thomas of Sutton OP, shortly after 1293.⁽⁶⁾ The tract is a defence of the Dominican interpretation of the apostolic life against Franciscan attacks. The three Dominican activities which are defended are the wearing of shoes, the eating of meat and the handling of money. The majority of Thomas' arguments are based on biblical texts but he also refers to other sources of evidence when supporting the Dominican practice of wearing shoes. Apparently the Franciscans, making a characteristic appeal to the authority of visual representations, had pointed out that, 'ubique depingitur in ecclesiis Christus et apostoli sine calciamentis'. Thomas counters this argument in two ways. First he appeals to tangible evidence, 'In cronicis antiquis legitur quod Rome in ecclesia Lateranensi, ubi est sedes papalis, inter ceteras reliquias sancta habentur calciamenta salvatoris'. Secondly, he makes it quite clear that, for him, what is shown in paintings does not necessarily represent the truth. Reputedly basing himself on St. Augustine (although Pelster, the editor of the text, has been unable to trace the source) he says that it is an error to look for Christ and the Apostles in the paintings on church walls, instead of in holy books. Those who believe pictures must believe that Christ had golden hair and garments, since He is depicted in that way. In this example the Dominican attitude to art is quite

negative. Books and concrete evidence (Christ's shoes) are the real repositories of religious truth.

Some of the work produced for the Dominicans in the fifty years following the Council of Lyons was of a high and inventive standard, but it was not until the canonisation of Aquinas, in 1323, that Dominican iconography found its most suitable subject. The new saint provided subject matter which spurred the Dominicans to commission novel designs. (Aquinas' own pronouncements on art had contributed little that was new to the debate, although he set the seal of his authority on the views expressed by earlier writers.⁽⁷⁾) The complex Thomist systems of study and thought, which the Order sought to explain in simplified form to the laity, lent themselves to clear, diagrammatic representations.

In the panel painting of the Glorification of St. Thomas in S. Caterina, Pisa (fig.291) Thomas is shown receiving inspiration from God and from renowned predecessors from both the Old and New Testaments. To either side of him stand Aristotle and Plato. The heretical writings of Averroes lie at his feet. The volumes of his works which he holds irradiate the light of truth to the onlookers, mainly members of the clergy, who are gathered below. Coor-Achenbach and Mallory consider that the artist responsible for the panel, possibly Pisan-born, trained in either Simone Martini or Lippo Memmi's shop.⁽⁸⁾ He was no doubt well aware of Simone Martini's polyptych for the same church. In the earlier work Aquinas, not yet canonised, is the junior member in a large gathering, whereas in the somewhat later panel he is the dominant figure of both composition and subject matter. But themes of the later panel are already apparent in the earlier one. They share an emphasis on clearly written, carefully differentiated texts - the same text, the opening of the Contra Gentiles, is chosen for Aquinas' radiant book in both cases. The hierarchy and continuity of orthodox teaching, from God the Father, through the prophets and apostles, to Aquinas, is demonstrated. (In the later panel Aristotle and Plato, although important, are set lower down and to the side, outside the main progression.) Moses and St. Paul are again shown to have particular links with Aquinas' writings. When considering the Pisa Polyptych,

the learned audience for which the carefully planned programme was intended can only be seen in the mind's eye. In the St. Thomas panel it is actually represented, engaged in lively debates provoked by Aquinas' ideas.

The themes of the St. Thomas panel are treated more extensively on the (liturgical) north wall of the chapter house of S. Maria Novella, the so-called Spanish Chapel.⁽⁹⁾ (fig.292) The programme is widened to include the theological and cardinal virtues, the liberal and theological arts, the gifts of the Holy Spirit and a selection of historical figures. The composition is a distinctive expression of Dominican thought in visual terms. Its roots can be seen not only in the two panels just discussed, but also in the non-narrative, diagrammatic or symbolic nature of some Dominican choir book illumination, discussed in chapter 5.

Other aspects of the Spanish Chapel decoration are also pre-figured, if modestly, in earlier Dominican works. The east wall includes the Crucifixion, a recurrent choice in chapter house decorations,⁽¹⁰⁾ including those of S. Domenico, Pistoia and S. Nicolô, Treviso. The (liturgical) north, south and east walls are divided, roughly speaking, between the Order's three saints. On the south wall Dominic, characteristically, is shown at the centre of an Allegory of the Dominican Order, not by himself. (fig.297) The Order's pastoral and preaching activities, and the place of its members in the hierarchy of the church, both on earth and in heaven, all subjects touched on in earlier works, are handled more confidently and successfully here. On the west wall Peter Martyr is represented, as his active life demands, narratively. But this narrative is reserved for the least important wall, broken up by entrance doorway and windows. The least artistic attention is paid to the most traditional type of representation of a saint's life and achievements. As already remarked, the most interesting effects are prompted by the Order's most recent saint - Aquinas.

Apportioning the contribution of artist and of patron to the particular characteristics of a work of art is always a risky business, especially in the absence of documentary evidence. A consideration of the character of the Pisa polyptych and of Simone Martini's work for the two main mendicant Orders, made in chapters 7(b) and 7(d), pointed to the response which a highly skilled artist

can make to the specific demands of a patron. Both parties have a role to play. Fra Angelico is a rare example of an artist who, when executing works for Dominican churches and convents, was at one with his patrons. In his work, the particular characteristics which have been noted in the art discussed in this thesis, achieved fuller expression.

The Annunciation fresco in cell 3 of the dormitory at S. Marco, Florence, (fig.293)⁽¹¹⁾ is as simple and still as possible. Nothing is allowed to distract from the essential elements of the event. The praying figure of St. Peter Martyr, acting as a guide to the meditations of the friar in his cell, is placed discreetly to the side, obscured by the angel's wing and cut by the edge of the picture. The representation has at least two forerunners - both now lost - in the Provincia Romana. Niccolò da Prato commissioned a representation of the Annunciation, watched by the figures of Cardinal Giovanni Boccamazza and his procurator, the Dominican Fra Scambio, in the dormitory completed with the help of a bequest from Boccamazza in S. Maria in Gradi, Viterbo.⁽¹²⁾ In the later 14th century an Annunciation, with St. Dominic as onlooker, was painted in the cell of Beato Andrea Franchi, at S. Domenico, Pistoia (destroyed during the Second World War).⁽¹³⁾ More important, the meditative, non-narrative quality of the S. Marco fresco is one which has been shown to pervade much of the best work produced for the Provincia Romana Dominicans in the first hundred years of the Order. (The reticence with which the Dominican saint is included at the side of the scene, has also been shown to be a recurring feature.)

These qualities are also visible in the Mocking of Christ in cell 7 of the S. Marco dormitory. (fig.294)⁽¹⁴⁾ Dominic, seated on a step which provides an intermediate grade of reality between Christ and the spectator, meditates on an open book. Balancing him is the seated figure of the Virgin, who gazes thoughtfully before her. Her appearance is reminiscent of representations of the Virgin seated beneath the cross - an iconography for which the Dominicans showed early favour. The fresco also calls to mind two other devotional images with which the Dominicans were connected: the Madonna of Humility and the Man of Sorrows. In Dominican usage the representation of the suffering body of Christ was almost invariably coupled with a depiction of the Virgin, who was the most frequent subject of Dominican representations. This link is continued in the S. Marco fresco.

Fra Angelico's Crucifixion fresco in the chapter house of S. Marco, (fig.298)⁽¹⁵⁾ although depicting a dramatic event, presents both protagonists and onlookers frozen timelessly. The different zones of the programme are strictly divided. The prophets with their scrolls inhabit the framing band around the fresco; the characters from the gospel story, and early post-biblical saints, are placed to the left of the Crucifixion; the assembly of later figures, doctors of the church and monastic or conventual saints, are grouped together on the right. Beside the cross Dominic kneels, making a gesture of prayer and not touching the cross. Peter Martyr and Aquinas are placed furthest to the right, at the very edge of the composition. Below the main scene, the leaders of the Dominican Order are represented in roundels formed from intertwining branches which stem from Dominic himself, represented at the centre. As in the case of the S. Marco Annunciation, a specific forerunner can be cited. A late 14th century fresco of a tree of the Dominican Order, with the crucified Christ and St. Dominic at its trunk, and prophets, saints, Dominicans and representations of Dominican activities framed by roundels made of curling branches, was formerly visible in the Chiostro Verde of S. Maria Novella. (figs.295,296)⁽¹⁶⁾ (It was removed from the site for the purposes of conservation and is now in store.) But of more significance is the generic similarity to earlier works. In addition to its static qualities, the S. Marco Crucifixion is linked with these in its treatment of Dominic, and in its desire to amplify the orthodox main image by the addition of prophets, saints and other figures - a concern noted in the Arca di S. Domenico, the Rucellai Madonna, the devotional panel design with arcaded predella favoured in the Dominican milieu, and in the Pisa polyptych. The description of Simone Martini's Pisa painting given in chapter 7(b) (when comparing it with the same artist's painting of St. Louis of Toulouse) also fits Angelico's Crucifixion: use of a non-narrative programme which is original but not unorthodox, clear but not simple.

This thesis has tried to show that works executed for a Dominican milieu can sometimes be seen to reflect that milieu, whether the work was executed for Order, convent, powerful or humble individual or lay donor. Looking ahead, these characteristics persist in the art of the Provincia Romana, notably in representations

of St. Thomas Aquinas, and can be traced in the art of Fra Angelico. This continuity is not sufficient to justify the use of the term 'Dominican Art'. This thesis demonstrates that nothing as conscious as that existed. But this thesis also demonstrates that the phrase 'Dominican Patronage' should be considered a descriptive term, not merely a statement of fact.

NOTES TO CONCLUSION

1. See Gordon, Art in Umbria, esp. ch.1.
2. See Orlandi, Necrologio, I, p.326.
3. Quoted in the translation given by A. Murray, 'Religion among the poor in thirteenth century France', Traditio, 30 (1974), p.303.
4. Humbert, Opera, I, pp.174-5.
5. G. Petrocchi, 'La Letteratura Domenicana', La Letteratura Religiosa, Storia della Letteratura Italiana, 1 (Milan, 1965), vol.II, pp.647-8.
6. Ed. F. Pelster OP, in AFP, 3 (1933), pp.75-7.
7. See De Bruyne, Esthetique, III, esp. pp.316,336,346.
8. See Coor, 'Master of the Glorification of St. Thomas', esp. p.128 and p.133 note 12; Mallory, 'Lippo Memmi', p.196.
9. For a recent reconsideration of the sources of the chapter house fresco programme see J. Gardner, 'Andrea di Bonaiuto and the chapterhouse frescoes in Santa Maria Novella', Art History, 2 (1979), pp.107-38. (Gardner tends to minimize the link between the Pisa panel and the Florence fresco.)
10. See Gardner, p.116.
11. See Pope-Hennessy, Fra Angelico, pp.202-3, 206.
12. See above, chapter 3, p.149 and notes 213-5.
13. See Orlandi, Pistoia, p.12. Ill., J.J. Berthier OP, 'Il B. Andrea Franchi da Pistoia', MD, 13 (1896).
14. See Pope-Hennessy, pp.202-3, 207.
15. See Pope-Hennessy, pp.205-6.
16. See Paatz, III, p.720.

APPENDIX 1: CATALOGUE OF DOMINICAN CONVENTS OF THE PROVINCIA ROMANA
TO C.1320.

Introduction

This catalogue gathers together information and bibliography concerning the Provincia Romana convents considered in the main text of this thesis. It is not intended to be comprehensive. The categories of information listed are primarily those of interest to the art historian.

Each entry contains the following headings:

1. Bibliography - primary and secondary sources, manuscript and printed material.
2. Brief history of convent up to c.1320.
3. Studia up to 1320.
4. Burials in church up to c.1320.
5. Local Dominican saints and blessed up to c.1320.
6. Confraternities attached to church up to c.1350.
7. Dominican bishops of diocese up to c.1320.
8. Summary of later history.
9. Present state.

In the case of a well-documented or well-studied church, such as S. Maria Novella, Florence, references are generally limited to the major studies, whereas in the case of a small convent such as Sarzana, for which information is scarce, early articles in Memorie Domenicane and local guide books have been included in the bibliography. For the smaller, or less-studied convents, the intention is to provide all the available information under each of the headings considered. For larger or better-studied convents this is not always feasible.

In the notes to the historical summaries the chief, or most reliable source is generally cited first. I have not always been able to check the primary source on which a secondary source is based. (If such a secondary source seems unreliable, I have mentioned my doubts.) Where only a secondary source is quoted, the author gave no reference for his information. In the case of articles without footnotes from Memorie Domenicane, the author in

fact often based himself on the fondo Libri of the Archivum Generale Ordinis Praedicatorum. For the formation of this fondo, consisting largely of post-medieval copies of documents and chronicles, see T.J. Koudelka OP, 'Il fondo 'Libri' nell'Archivio generale dell'ordine domenicano', AFP, 33 (1968), pp.99-105.

Each entry is preceded by a plan showing the position of the Dominican convent in relation to the town walls, gates, major roads, principal streets, the cathedral, main seat of government and other mendicant foundations. A date is supplied for the earliest mention of each mendicant Order within the town. If two dates are supplied, the second refers to the construction of the present church. Sources used for each plan are referred to in abbreviated form beside the plan and cited in full in the relevant bibliography.

The following abbreviations, not given in the list at the beginning of the thesis, are used in the catalogue:

Archives

AGOP	Archivum Generale Ordinis Praedicatorum
ASV	Archivio Segreto Vaticano

Works

Fontana	V.M. Fontana OP, <u>De Romana Provincia Ordinis Praedicatorum</u> , (Rome, 1670).
Kaftal, <u>Tuscany</u>	G. Kaftal, <u>Iconography of the Saints in Tuscan Painting</u> , (Florence, 1952).
Potthast	<u>Regesta Pontificum Romanorum</u> , ed. A. Potthast, 2 vols., (Berlin, 1874, 1875).
SCPA	T. Kaeppli OP, <u>Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi</u> , vol. I, (Rome, 1970), vol.II, (Rome, 1975), (further vols. to appear).
Taurisano, <u>Catalogus</u>	I. Taurisano OP, <u>Catalogus hagiographicus Ordinis Praedicatorum</u> , (Rome, 1918).

Series

TCI guide	<u>Guida d'Italia del Touring Club Italiano.</u>
-----------	--

ANAGNI

SOURCES:

LAZIO

MARCHETTI-LONGHI,

'ANAGNI'

LOGLIO, FORMA ITALIA

1. S.

roads are mainly

3rd BC, with medieval
restoration and
modernization. (Restored by
Pius VI in 1564)

SCALE: 1:11,000

0 100 200
METRES (1cm=110m)



ANAGNI

S. Giacomo Maggiore

1. Bibliography

(a) Manuscript Material:

Primary Sources

So far no part of the conventual archive has been located. The only documents which have been found form ASV Fondo Domenicani II 19c, and are letters concerning building work in both church and convent between 1774 and 1793.

Secondary Sources

Anonymous 16th century chronicle referred to by Masetti. I have not been able to trace it. See Masetti, I, p.186.

Anonymous 18th century chronicle, Descrizione della fondazione e di tutto quello si è potuto raccogliere circa il convento di San Giacomo Apostolo Maggiore di Anagni dell'Ordine dei Predicatori.

MS: AGOP Lib.C pp.1078-89.

See Masetti, I, p.186, who seems to have used this source.

(b) Printed Material:

Secondary Sources

De Magistris, A., Istoria della Città e S. Basilica Cattedrale d'Anagni ..., (Rome, 1749), pp.98,100.

Marchetti-Longhi, G., 'Anagni di Bonifazio VIII, studio storico topografico', Bollettino dell'Istituto di Storia e di Arte del Lazio Meridionale, 3 (1965), pp.167-97.

Mazzolani, M., Anagnia, Forma Italiae, Regio 1, vol.6 (Rome, 1969).

Sibilia, S., Guida Storico-Artistica della Cattedrale di Anagni, (Anagni, 1936), pp.259-64.

2. Brief History up to c.1320

Papal residences in Anagni: 1222; 1223; 1227; 1230; 1232; 1233; 1238; 1239; 1243; 1254; 1255; 1256; 1258; 1259; 1260; 1295; 1296; 1299; 1300; 1301; 1302; 1303.
(See relevant years in Potthast.)

Initially Dominicans visited Anagni on preaching journeys and established a hospice there. Sibilia dates their arrival during the pontificate of Honorius III (1216-27), while Masetti places it c.1240. Sibilia says the hospice occupied a site within the city walls, near the Porta Cerere. De Magistris says Honorius III confirmed donation of a house to St. Dominic himself by the town, but assumes the house in question was on site occupied by SGM, outside the city walls. See Sibilia, Guida, p.260; Masetti, I, p.186; De Magistris, Istoria, p.100.

The papal confirmation mentioned by De Magistris does not appear in Potthast, Regesta or in BOP.

After 1234 Church built some time after canonization of St. Dominic.

See Sibilia, Guida, p.260.

1247 or 48 Convent built in one or other of these years.

Sibilia says during pontificate of Innocent IV (1243-54) original church of SGM built.

See Masetti, I, p.186; Sibilia, Guida, p.260.

Neither Masetti nor De Magistris nor Marchetti-Longhi says that Dominicans moved from a site inside city walls to one outside, or that they owned a church prior to SGM, but Sibilia, without giving any sources, indicates this is the case. The case is strengthened by the existence of the former church, and attendant parish, of S. Domenico al Colle di Cerere. Although nothing is known about the church, its name makes it likely that it was built by Dominicans, near a hospice they already owned inside the walls near Porta Cerere. The dedication shows it must have been built after 1234 (the date of St. Dominic's canonization). When the Dominicans obtained the S. Giacomo site, on a hill outside Porta Cerere, their former church was put at the head of a parish. (The choice of dedication to St. James Major rather than to St. Dominic, as was general in the Order after 1234, also suggests that a church dedicated to the new saint already existed at the time of the Dominican move outside the walls.)

See De Magistris, Istoria, p.98; Marchetti-Longhi, Anagni, pp.174-5, 178; Masetti, I, p.186; Sibilia, Guida, p.260.

1252 Provincial chapter held at Anagni, so building of new church and convent well advanced by this date.

See MOPH, 20, p.12.

1256 Aquinas stays in SGM and provincial chapter held there.
Further provincial chapters held 1265, 1270, 1285, 1293, 1317.
See Masetti, I, p.187; MOPH, 20, pp.31,36,62,110,201.

SGM evidently an important house at this time, especially when Curia in Anagni, but at beginning of 14th century, with fall of Anagni and move of Papacy to Avignon, soon declined.

See Masetti, I, p.187.

3. Studia up to 1320

Logica Vetera et Tractatus: 1291; Philosophia: 1299,1318.
See MOPH, 20, pp.102,132,209.

4. Burials in SGM up to c.1320

Henri de Villars, Archbishop of Lyons, d.1301.
See Sibilis, Guida, p.261.

5. Local Dominican Saints and Blessed up to c.1320: None recorded.

6. Confraternities up to c.1350: None recorded.

7. Dominican Bishops of Diocese up to 1320

Gerardus Pigolotti, 1289 (-1291?).
See Eubel, Hierarchia, p.86.

8. Later History

2nd half 18th century Present church built at expense of
Master General Tomaso de Boxadon, on site occupied by
previous church.
See ASV, Fondo Domenicani II 19c; Sibilis, Guida, p.261.

Late 18th century Suppressed.
See ASOP, I (1894), p.656.

1814 Re-opened.
See ASOP, I (1894), p.656.

1863 Suppressed again.
See ASOP, I (1894), p.656.

9. Present State

SGM site used for Collegio Regina Margherita, founded by
Ruggero Bonghi for the orphans of primary school teachers.
Only remnants of medieval house are tomb slab of Henri de
Villars and a cosmatesque aumbry, in the disused 18th century
church of SGM.

AREZZO

SOURCES:

TO, TOSCANA

PASQUI AND VIVIANI,

GUIDA

SALMI, SAN DOMENICO.

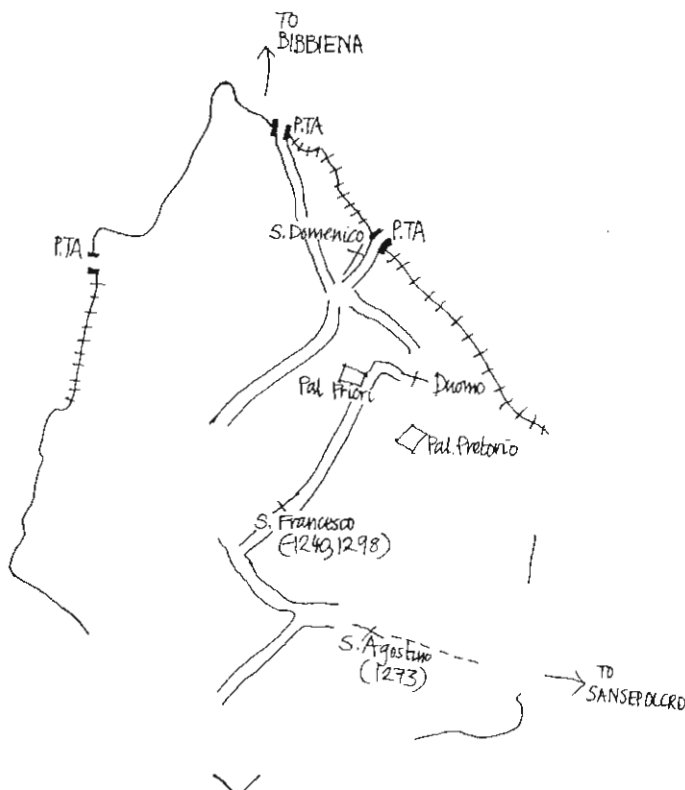
WALLS:

- 1. Wall with ten gates built.
- 2. Guido Tarlati built new, larger circuit (= +++) which enclosed site of S. Domenico.
- Wall shown on this map is dating 16th century circuit.

SCALE 1:15,000

1 100 200 300

• E • S



AREZZO

S. Domenico

1. Bibliography

(a) Manuscript Material:

Primary Sources

A part of conventual archive, including twenty-one documents from the first half of 14th century (the earliest being a 1301 copy of a will of 1277) now forms the fondo diplomatico S. Domenico, Arezzo in the Archivio di Stato, Florence. Only a part of the fondo has been published, but the material has recently (1974?) been used as the basis for an unpublished Tesi di Laurea on S. Domenico, Arezzo. A manuscript catalogue of the fondo is available. See Orlandi, Necrologio, II, pp.420-21.

(b) Printed Material:

Secondary Sources

Bigi, F., Arte Sacra nella diocesi Aretina, (Arezzo, 1934), pp.43-7.

Boccia, L.G. et al., Arte nel Aretino: recuperi e restauri dal 1968 al 1974, (Florence, 1974).

Donati, P.P., 'Per la pittura Aretina del Trecento', Paragone, Arte (1968), 215, pp.22-39, 221, pp.10-21.

Lazzeri, C., Guglielmo Ubertini, (Florence, 1920).

Pasqui, U. and Viviani, U., Guida Illustrata Storica, Artistica e Commerciale di Arezzo e Dintorni, (Arezzo, 1925).

42.
Salmi, M., San Domenico e San Francesco di Arezzo, (Rome, 1951).
Ground plan, p.5, reconstruction of west façade, p.8.

Sinibaldi, G. and Brunetti, G., Nostra Giottesca, (Florence, 1943), p.257.

del Vita, A., 'Gli affreschi scoperti in San Domenico di Arezzo', BA, n.s. 8, (1928-29), pp.385-98.

2. Brief History up to c.1320

Papal residence in Arezzo: 1276 (election).
See Potthast, p.1704.

It is not certain in which year the Dominicans arrived in Arezzo. Salmi gives the year 1236 while Fontana says the convent was founded in 1242. He also says the magistrates of the commune gave site for convent and church and generous donations towards building costs.

See Salmi, S. Domenico, p.4; Fontana, pp.115-6.

1247 March 5. Bull of Innocent IV appoints prior of Arezzo Dominicans as agent for payment of debts of Abbey of S. Flora; so convent founded by this date.
Ed: BOP, I, p.172.

1252 Convent in financial difficulties; in provincial chapter other houses called on to provide eleven tunics for Arezzo friars.
See MOPH, 20, p.13.

1277 Chapter house existed by this date, since will of Aldobrandino di Rodolfino drawn up there.
See 1301 copy of will, Florence, Archivio di Stato, Diplomatico Arezzo S. Domenico, lib. 45, 9 February 1277.

Presumably Dominicans at first used small church and conventual buildings, perhaps built with communal help, and then began constructing present church. The eastern part of the church was complete by 1290 (see below) and on stylistic grounds it seems reasonable to suppose it was built during the third quarter of the century, between the period of financial difficulty in the convent and the terminus ante quem of 1277 for the chapter house.

Vasari says church was built in 1275 at expense of Tarlati family.

See Vasari, Barrochi, text vol.II, pp.63,91.

A link did exist between the Tarlati family and S. Domenico: a Tarlati tomb slab was set in the pavement near the sacristy door, and one Tarlati was a follower and biographer of Ambrogio Sansedoni OP (d.1286). (The church contains the only existing medieval fresco of Sansedoni).

See Vasari, Barrochi, commentary vol.II, pp.244-6; Lazzeri, Ubertini, p.299.

However, there is no reason to connect the Tarlati patronage with the date Vasari gives, and the period of Tarlati dominance in Arezzo, 1319-37, may be a more likely time for building patronage. There is a clear pause in building campaign, half way down the nave of S. Domenico, where the spaces between the

windows increase appreciably, the form of the window heads changes slightly and the decorative banding painted on the walls comes to an end. The Tarlati may have been responsible for work undertaken after that pause.

An earlier building phase is connected with the patronage of the Ubertini family (presumably dating from the bishopric of Guglielmo Ubertini (1248-89)). A marble inscription in the choir of S. Domenico (now lost) recorded that in 1290 Ranieri Ubertini, bishop of Volterra (d. c.1296 or c.1300), embellished the choir con una grande opera, (a triple-light window?). Ranieri's tomb was placed on the north wall of the cappella maggiore; a position which suggests he was a major patron of the building. Enrico Ubertini, brother of Ranieri and canon of Arezzo, was also buried in S. Domenico. At least one family member, Guglielmo's brother Ugo, was a Dominican. See Pasqui, Viviani, Guida, pp.142-3; Orlandi, Necrologio, II, pp.420-21.

3. Studia up to 1320

Theologia: 1299; Artes Novae: 1299; Artes Novae et Veteres: 1307, 1308; Philosophia: 1305; Logica: 1307, 1308.
See MOPH, 20, pp.132, 133, 166, 170, 156, 166, 170.

4. Burials in S. Domenico up to c.1320

Bishop Ranieri Ubertini (d. c.1296 or c.1300); Enrico Ubertini, canon of Arezzo.
See Pasqui, Viviani, Guida, pp.142-3.

5. Local Dominican Saints and Blessed up to c.1320: none recorded.

6. Confraternities up to c.1350

Marial congregation accorded indulgence by Alexander IV, 9 December 1257. New statutes drawn up June 1262, approved by bishop Guglielmo of Arezzo, 2 April 1263.

MS: Arezzo, Biblioteca della Fraternità dei Laici, cod.74.

Ed: Meersseman, 'Études', III, doc.X, p.94; doc.XVIII, pp.98-110; doc.XIX, pp.110-12.

See Meersseman, pp.22-3.

7. Dominican Bishops of Diocese up to 1320: none recorded.

8. Later History

In late 16th century medieval altars removed, many frescoes whitewashed, interior of church given baroque decoration. Convent suppressed by Archduke Leopold in 1784. From 1914 onwards church restored, many post-medieval altars removed, frescoes re-discovered under whitewash. Between 1969 and 1972 further minor restorations to the fabric.

See Bigi, Arte, p.45, reporting a manuscript, now in Archivio della Curia Vescovile, Arezzo, describing 1583 apostolic

visitation; ASOP, I (1894), p.657; Salvi, S. Domenico, p.4; Bigi, Arte, pp.46-7; Boccia, Restauri, p.505.

9. Present State

Medieval Church, with various frescoes, still in use, and now occupied again by the Dominicans. Part of external structure of convent still medieval. De Vita (Guida di Arezzo), (Arezzo, 1923) reports that in the room above the sacristy there are some traces of 14th century wall decoration. Fresco decoration dating from before c.1320 comprises two strips of decorative banding; a fragmentary scene of Sts. Peter and Paul appearing to St. Dominic, on north nave wall; the Virgin and Child enthroned with female saint, Ambrogio Sansedoni preaching and a triple composition of the Nativity, Crucifixion and Entombment (slightly later than 1320?), on the south nave wall.

SOURCES:

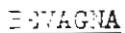
9. 2. 5:

SCALE ONLY APPROXIMATE

100 200

150

155



Dedication: Until 1387 church dedicated to S. Giorgio.
After this date, dedicated to SS. Domenico e
Giacomo.
See Carlo Pietrangeli, Guida di Bevagna,
(Bevagna, 1959), p.38.

(a) Manuscript Material:

So far no part of conventual archive has been located, but copies of two documents concerning the convent form AGOP Lib. GGG f.45r-v, and a document from the Bevagna communal archive, extant in the 17th century but no longer traceable, also gives information about the convent.

Secondary Sources

Memoriae conventus B. Iacobi de Mevania. (18th century)
Ms: AGOP Lib.C pp.1064-66.

(b) Printed Material:

Secondary Sources

Becchetti, F.A., Vita del Beato Giacomo Bianconi di Bevagna,
(Rome, 1785).

Boccolini, G., La Madonna e il Crocifisso di Bevagna. Sculture
Lignee Medioevale, (Urbino, 1968).

Iacobilli, L., Vita del B. Giacomo da Bevagna dell'Ordine de'
Predicatori, (Foligno, 1644).

Pietrangeli, C., Guida di Bevagna, (Bevagna, 1959), pp.37-8.

Pietrangeli, C., Mevania, Istituto di Studi Romani, Italia
Romana: Municipi e Colonie, Series 1, vol.13 (Rome, 1953).

Spetia, G., Studio su Bevagna, (Rome, 1972), pp.71-82.

2. Brief History up to c.1320

1236 As a young man Giacomo Bianconi, member of a noble
Bevagna family, is so impressed by the Lenten preaching
of two Dominicans visiting the town that he follows
them back to Spoleto (Iacobilli says Perugia) and joins
the Order.
See Iacobilli, Vita, pp.16-18; Becchetti, Beato Giacomo,
pp.2-3, 8-19; Spetia, Studio, p.75.

1253 Having studied in Cologne and been prior of several
houses, including Orvieto and Pisa, Bianconi chooses to
return to Bevagna, recently devastated on the orders of
Frederick II. With permission and encouragement of
Bartholomaeus Accorombani, Bishop of Spoleto, Bianconi
sets out to help repair material and spiritual damage
in Bevagna, combat heresy and found a Dominican convent
there. (Iacobilli gives 1270 as date of Bianconi's
return to Bevagna.)
See Spetia, Studio, pp.75-6; Becchetti, Beato Giacomo,
p.39; Iacobilli, Vita, p.28.

1253/1291 Bianconi establishes Dominican locus in Bevagna.
It is not clear whether a locus was founded immediately
on Bianconi's arrival or whether at first he only set
up an oratory and perhaps a hospice. Becchetti says
that initially Bianconi had only a small oratory in
which he administered sacraments to the faithful, and
lived at his mother's house; while Iacobilli says he
bought a small house near the main piazza with money
from his mother and relatives.
Masetti, who doubts the starting date of 1271 given by
Fontana, suggests a locus was set up in 1280 or later.
See Spetia, Studio, p.81; Becchetti, Beato Giacomo, p.43;
Iacobilli, Vita, p.28; Masetti, I, p.188; Fontana, p.139.

- 1291 September 10. Gift by Commune of Bevagna to Bianconi of small church of S. Giorgio and adjacent remains of Roman public baths is approved by Menante da Spello, vicar of Gerard Pigolotti OP, Bishop of Spoleto. Intention said to be to enlarge Dominican convent and build new church of S. Giorgio. Contributions come from the people of Bevagna and from Bianconi himself.
MS: Iacobilli, Vita, p.28 gives his source as Lib. ms. ant. in Cancell. Nevaniae fol.43. I have not yet succeeded in tracing it.
 See Spetia, Studio, p.81; Pietrangeli, Guida, pp.37-8; Fontana, p.139.
- 1301 April 8. Bianconi obtains letter from Alanus, prior of church of S. Angelo di Prefoglio and vicar general of Niccolò Bishop of Spoleto, granting free right of burial in Dominican church and cemetery in Bevagna.
 April 10. Bianconi obtains second letter granting indulgence (40 days) for those visiting church on feasts of the Virgin, S. Dominic and St. Peter Martyr.
MS: Iacobilli, Vita, pp.69-70 gives source as two letters in the archive of SS. Domenico e Giacomo, Bevagna.
- 1301 Death of Bianconi.
 See Spetia, Studio, p.82.
- 1302 Translation of Bianconi (buried in church of S. Giorgio).
 See Pietrangeli, Guida, p.37.
- 1310 Bevagna confirmed as full convent in provincial chapter.
 See MOPH, 20, p.177.

3. Studia up to 1320: None recorded.
4. Burials in S. Domenico up to c.1320
 B. Giacomo Bianconi da Bevagna OP, d.1301, trans. 1302.
5. Local Dominican Saints and Blessed up to c.1320
 B. Giacomo Bianconi da Bevagna.
6. Confraternities up to c.1350: None recorded.
7. Dominican Bishops of Diocese up to c.1320: Bevagna not a see at this date.
8. Later History
 1387 Church restored. From this date called SS. Domenico e Giacomo.
 See Pietrangeli, Guida, p.38.

1736 Church radically restored.
See Pietrangeli, Guida, p.38.

1867 Church suppressed.
ASOP, II (1895), p.57.

9. Present State

Church now under administration of local secular clergy.
Convent used as Orfanotrofio Torti. Basic structure of
Church still medieval, contains 1302 tomb of Bianconi and two
wooden sculptures, a crucifix and a Virgin and Child, reputedly
bought by him. The capella maggiore has mid 14th century
frescoes of the Annunciation and St. Dominic's miracles of the
loaves and of the books. Chapter house and refectory(?) are
medieval buildings.

CITTÀ DI CASTELLO

SOURCES

TCI UMBRIA

MAGHERINI-GRAZIANI, STORIA

ROSINI, CITTÀ DI CASTELLO

WALLS:

BY 1195 NEW WALLS BEING BUILT.
STATUTES OF 1261 AND 1267: VARIOUS
GATES MENTIONED.



Franciscans originally outside Porta S. Egidio

CITTÀ DI CASTELLO

S. Domenico

1. Bibliography

(a) Manuscript Material:

Primary Sources

No part of conventual archive located. Vitelli refers to some documents, or copies of medieval documents, which used to be in the conventual archive.

See Magherini-Graziani, Storia, II, p.220.

Pontana, p.131, says that much of conventual archive destroyed in two fires.

Some documents referring to S. Domenico to be found in Archivio Capitolare and Archivio Vescovile, Città di Castello.

Secondary Sources

1706 Domenico Maria Pepi OP, Notizie del Convento di Città di Castello, cavate dall'Archivio episcopale e dal libro della serie dei vescovi del Sig. Dott. Francesco Ignazio Lazzari e da al tre scritture autentiche ...
MS: AGOP. Lib. C, pp.1114-21. Not given in QE.

Francesco Decio Vitelli, Della Chiesa di S. Domenico dei Fratelli Predicatori.

MS: Formerly in Archivio Magherini-Graziani.

(b) Printed Material:

Secondary Sources

Ascani, A., Storia di un monumento. Chiesa di San Domenico a Città di Castello, (Città di Castello, 1963).

Magherini-Graziani, G., Storia di Città di Castello, 2 vols., (Città di Castello, 1890).

Magherini-Graziani, G., L'Arte a Città di Castello, (Città di Castello, 1897).

Muzi, G., Memorie Ecclesiastiche di Città di Castello, (Città di Castello, 1843), IV, pp.217-35.

Rosini, C., Città di Castello, (Città di Castello, 1961).

2. Brief History up to c.1320.

1254 July 13. Dominicans visiting Città di Castello by this date. Act of absolution from excommunication witnessed by Dominican, Fra Deodato. (He may well have been in town on preaching expedition rather than living there.)
MS: Città di Castello, Archivio Vescovile, Lib.IV, c.7.
See Ascani, S. Domenico, p.2.

1270 Locus officially placed in Città di Castello by provincial chapter.
See MOPH, 20, p.37.

1270 Vitelli, in his manuscript work on the convent, reports that pubbliche scritture from the convent archive show that in this year procurators for the commune of Città di Castello handed to the Dominicans a site with some small buildings, where the Dominicans might build their church.
See Magherini-Graziani, Storia, II, p.220, who prints the passage from Vitelli.

1270 At this date Dominicans living in house belonging to Alberto di Molino, in area called pareti, which was included in the above donation. Dominicans had made a small oratory there.
See Muzi, Memorie, IV, p.218.

1270 May 7. Bishop Niccolò discovers three Dominicans celebrating mass in house of Alberto di Molino, forbids them to do so again within his bishopric, without permission. Dominicans claim immunity from Episcopal jurisdiction. Later that day bishop physically attacked by members of commune and has to answer to charges of desecrating the holy sacrament in the Dominican house.
MS: Città di Castello. Archivio Vescovile, Lib.III, c.132.
See Ascani, S. Domenico, pp.4-5; Magherini-Graziani, Storia, II, pp.220-21; Muzi, Memorie, IV, p.218.

After this, supported by local faction who favoured them, Dominicans attempted to occupy church of S. Bartolommeo. Bishop took possession of the church to prevent further attempted occupations by Dominicans or Franciscans.
See Città di Castello, Archivio Vescovile, Lib.III; Muzi, Memorie, IV, p.219; Magherini-Graziani, Storia, II, pp.220-21.

1272 In this year Dominicans obtained Papal permission to cut twelve firs in the forest called delle Fontanelle, in the Massa Trabaria, for the roof of the new church they were building in Città di Castello.
 Muzi, Memorie, IV, p.219; Ascani, S. Domenico, p.8.
 Muzi, p.223, says church was built at the expense of the Comune.

1273 Convent officially founded by provincial chapter.
 See MOPH, 20, p.43.

(Masetti, I, p.186, is surprised that there are two mentions of foundation in Città di Castello, but it seems clear that the first refers to a locus and the second to full convent.)

1281 Abbot of Massa di Monte Nerone permits Dominicans to use church of S. Pietro di Massa while their church is being built. In same year bishop Giacomo grants Dominicans piece of land in area called Pareti, near church of S. Pietro di Massa, where they can build a church. This site now occupied by S. Caterina.
 See Città di Castello, Archivio Vescovile, Lib.V; Muzi, Memorie, IV, p.219.

1284 Litigation between bishop and chapter because bishop had approved grant of S. Pietro di Massa to Dominicans by Benedictines. Eventually case decided in favour of chapter.
 See C di C, Archivio della Cattedrale, Extraordinari, lib.II; Muzi, Memorie, IV, pp.218-9; Ascani, S. Domenico, p.12.

Dominicans have to leave church of S. Pietro di Massa, move to nearby church of Carità.
 See Muzi, Memorie, IV, p.220; Ascani, S. Domenico, p.13.

1424 Through lack of funds, church of S. Domenico not completed until this date.
 See Muzi, Memorie, IV, pp.223-4; Ascani, S. Domenico, p.23.

3. Studia up to c.1320

Naturae: 1288; Artes Novae: 1305; Artes: 1311; Logica: 1310, 1318.
 See MOPH, 20, pp.86, 157, 182, 178, 209.

4. Burials in S. Domenico up to c.1320: None recorded.

5. Local Dominican Saints and Blessed up to c.1320

B. Margherita of Città di Castello; Dominican Tertiary;
 b. Metola 1287; became tertiary 1301; d. Città di Castello 1320; buried in church of Carità, at that time occupied by Dominicans; remains later translated to S. Domenico, Città di Castello; beatified 1609.
 See Taurisano, Catalogus, p.27; Muzi, Memorie, IV, p.220.

6. Confraternities up to c.1350: None recorded.

7. Dominican Bishops of Diocese up to 1320: None recorded.

8. Later History

Convent was suppressed in 1810, reopened five years later,
and suppressed again in 1867.
See ASOP, I (1894), p.709.

9. Present State

Church used as Parish Church. Convent used by Istituto
Cieca della Metola. Medieval church and cloister survive.
Church decorated with frescoes dating from early 15th century
onwards.

CORTONA

SOURCES:

TO TOSCANA

MANCINI, CORTONA

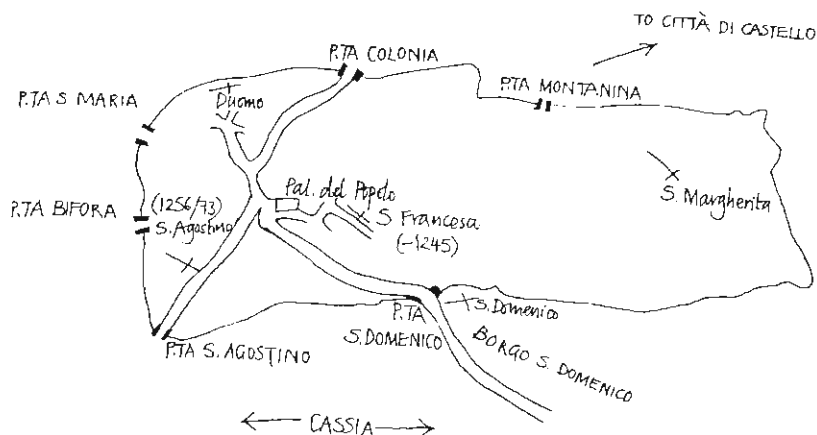
LEONE MODONA, CORTONA

PLACES:

MEDIEVAL WALLS FOR THE MOST PART FOLLOW ETRUSCAN CIRCUIT AND PARTLY USE ETRUSCAN FOUNDATIONS

AREA SURROUNDING S. MARGHERITA FIRST ENCLOSED IN WALL BUILT BY FENESSE IN FIRST 1/2 13th CENTURY, FOLLOWING PARTIAL DESTRUCTION OF WALLS BY AREZZO IN 1320.

2



SCALE 1:1000
0 100 200 300
METERS

PLACES:

S. Domenico

Bibliography

(E) Manuscript Material:

Primary Sources

A considerable part of conventual archive referring to the years 1219 to 1645 has survived and now forms codici 101-104 of the Biblioteca Comunale (Accademia Etrusca) of Cortona. The fondo is largely unpublished.

See Kappeli, 'Cortona', pp.107-8; G. Mancini, in Inventari dei Manoscritti delle Biblioteche d'Italia, (Florence, 1912), pp.48-9.

Fontana, p.139, says some of conventual archive destroyed in fire.

Secondary Sources

Notizie del convento di S. Domenico di Cortona.

MS: Cortona, Accademia Etrusca 423, no.XXIX, f.152.

Cronaca

MS: Quaderno II, quadernetti sciolti chiusi in busta gialla, Cortona, Archivio del Seminario.

See Birri, Vescovi, p.15.

(P) Printed Material:

Secondary Sources

Della Cella, A., Cortona Antica, (Cortona, 1900).

Käppeli, T. OP, 'Dalle pergamene di S. Domenico di Cortona',
AFP 35 (1965), pp.107-14.

Mancini, G., Cortona nel Medio Evo, (Florence, 1897).

Mirri, G., I vescovi di Cortona, (Cortona, 1972), (largely
written in 1911).

Neppi Modona, A., Cortona Etrusca e Romana, (Florence, 1925),
pp.47-56.

2. Brief History up to c.1320

1298 Officially founded by provincial chapter.

See LOPH, 20, p.129.

(Masetti, I, p.188, places unofficial foundation around 1290,
but gives no evidence.)

Della Cella, pp.166-7, without giving indications of sources,
gives the following information about the church:

1314 Building of small church completed.

1320 Convent enlarged.

c.1400 New site acquired near small church; new church begun.

c.1438 New church - the present structure - completed.
(Small church made into a refectory in 1724.)

1516 New church dedicated.

See Mirri, Vescovi, p.164.

3. Studia up to 1320: None recorded.

4. Burials in S. Domenico up to c.1320: None recorded.

5. Local Dominican Saints and Blessed up to c.1320: None recorded.

6. Confraternities up to c.1350: None recorded.

7. Dominican Bishops of Diocese up to 1320: None recorded.

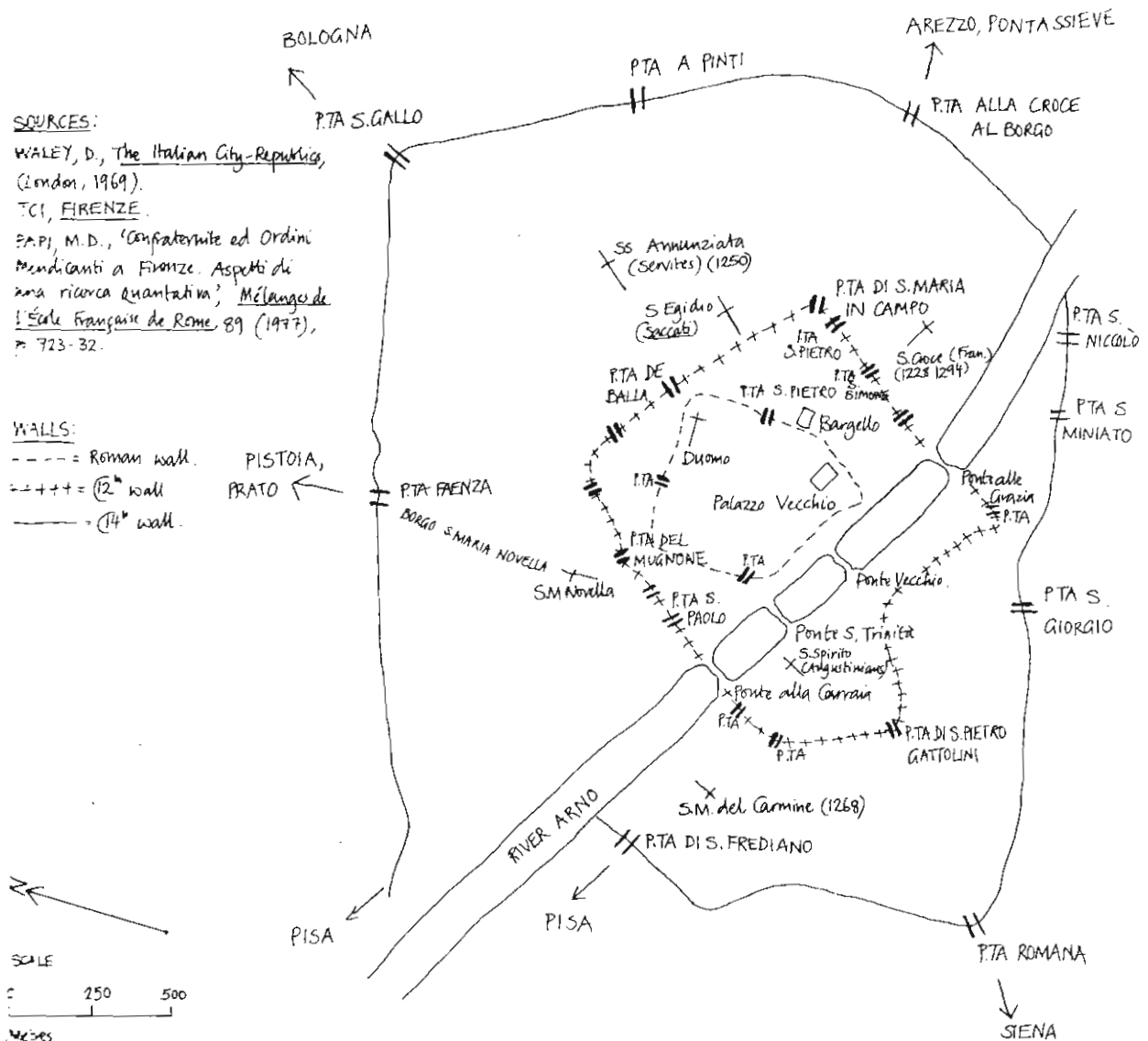
8. Later History

Suppressed by Archduke Leopold in 1786. In 1817 much of
convent of S. Domenico demolished to make way for road. In
1822 church becomes parish church.

See ASOP, I (1894), p.713; Mirri, Vescovi, p.484; della Cella,
Cortona, p.167.

9. Present State

Early 15th century church survives, is used as parish church.



FLORENCE

S. Maria Novella

Dedication: Assumption.

See Meersseman, 'Études', III, p.8.

1. Bibliography

(a) Manuscript Material:

Primary Sources

A considerable amount of material from the convent archives has survived. The majority is now deposited in the Archivio di Stato, Florence. Diplomatico di S. Maria Novella contains 2140 items, dating from 1094 to 1780. Archivio 102, S. Maria Novella, filze, contains 502 vols.. Various other fondi in the archive contain material relating to SMN, e.g. the Provvisioni

of the Consiglio Maggiore and the Repertorio Strozzi. Other archives, e.g. the Archivio della Curia Arcivescovile, Florence, also contain relevant documents, and the Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence, contains manuscript chronicles, service books and theological works from SMN. (An indication of the distribution of material may be gained from Orlandi's list of cited archives and manuscripts, Necrologio, II, pp.613-6. This list is by no means complete.) Various manuscript chronicles and copies of medieval documents, are still in the archive of SMN itself. Copies of medieval documents from SMN, made by Fineschi, are to be found in AGOP, Lib.00, pp.373-95; Lib.GGG, pp.444-611. Wood Brown, S. Maria Novella, pp.39-48, summarises 34 documents known to relate to the church of SMN from 983 to 1222.

Secondary Sources

Zenobius Guasconi OP, Liber Novus, (14th and 15th centuries).
MS: Florence, Arch.SMN.

Giovanni Caroli OP, Vitae non nullorum Fratrum Conventus S. Mariae Novellae, (15th century).
MS: Florence, Arch.SMN.

Modesto Biliotti OP (d.1586), Cronaca pulcherrimae Aedis magnae coenobii S. Mariae Novellae, (16th century).
MS: Florence, Arch.SMN.
See QE, II, p.276.

Giuseppe Lapi OP, Libro detto del P. Lapi. Memorie, (17th century),
Giuseppe Lapi OP and Francesco da Radda OP, continuation of the above.
MSS: Florence Arch. di SMN.

Niccolò Sermartelli OP(?), Libro delle Capelle e Sepolture della Chiesa di SMN, (17th century).
MS: Florence, Arch. SMN.

Vincenzo Borghigiani OP, Cronaca Annalistica del Convento di SMN dell'anno di sua fondazione fino all'anno 1556, 3 vols., (18th century).
MS: Florence Arch. SMN.

Vincenzo Borghigiani OP(?), Ricordanze del Convento di SMN dall'anno 1555 all'anno 1763.
MS: Florence, Archivio di Stato.

Domenico Forzini OP, Ricordi del Convento di SMN dall'anno 1763 fino alla soppressione Napoleonica.
MS: Florence, Arch. SMN.

Vincenzo Fineschi OP, Monumenti della Chiesa di S. Maria Novella illustrati, 2 vols., (18th century).
MSS: Vol.I, Florence, Arch. di SMN; vol.II, Florence, Bib. Naz., SMN 777, E.5.

Vincenzo Fineschi OP, Notizie sulle tombe di SMN (18th century).
MS: AGOP, Lib.00, pp.407-19.

Domenico Sandrini OP, Vite degli Uomini Illustri del Convento di SMN (18th century).

MS: Florence, Arch. SMN.

Fondazione ed origine del convento di SMN di Firenze (18th century).

MS: AGOP, Lib.C, pp.853-9.

Sunto di bolle, brevi, pontificii e altri privilegi concessi al convento di SMN.

MS: AGOP, Lib.C, pp.861-2.

(b) Printed Material:

Primary Sources

Orlandi, S. OP, (ed), Necrologio di S. Maria Novella, 2 vols., (Florence, 1955).
(Also contains much secondary material.)

Secondary Sources (in several cases containing a substantial amount of primary source material.)

Braunfels, W., SMN Florenz. Kirchen und Kloster, Kleine italienischer Kirchenführer, (Florence, 1938).

Davidsohn, R., Geschichte von Florenz, 4 vols., (Berlin, 1908).

Fineschi, V. OP, Memorie sopra il Cimitero antico della Chiesa di SMN di Firenze, (Florence, 1787). (Reprinted by Multigrafica Editore, Rome, 1977.)

Fineschi, V. OP, Il forestiere istruito in S. Maria Novella, (Florence, 1790).

Fineschi, V. OP, Il forestiere istruito in SMN, rev. G. Giuliani, (Florence, 1836). (Reprinted by Multigrafica Editore, Rome, 1977).

Fineschi, V. OP, Memorie istoriche degli Uomini illustri del Convento di SMN, vol.I, (Florence, 1790). (No further vols. published.)

MS. continuation is Florence, Bib. Naz., SMN 491 F.5.)

Gaye, G., Carteggio inedito d'artisti dei secoli 14-16, 3 vols., (Florence, 1839-40).

Hall, M.B., 'The Ponte in SMN: the Problem of the Rood Screen in Italy', JMCI, 37 (1974), pp.157-173.

Interno della Chiesa di SMN dopo i restauri fatti nel 1861, (Florence, 1861).

Kiesow, G., 'Die gotische Südfassade von SMN in Florenz', ZKq, 25 (1962), pp.1-12.

Orlandi, S. OP, 'Il VII Centenario della Predicazione di S. Pietro Martire a Firenze (1245-1945)', MD, 63 (1946), pp.26-41, 59-87; 64 (1947), pp.31-48, 109-36, 170-211.

Orlandi, S. OP, La Biblioteca di SMN in Firenze dal sec.XIV al sec.XIX, (Florence, 1952).

Orlandi, S. OP, SMN e i suoi Chiostri Monumentali, (Florence, 1966).

Paatz, W. and E., Die Kirchen von Florenz, vol.III, (Frankfurt, 1952), pp.663-845.

Richa, G. OSJ, Notizie Istoriche delle Chiese Fiorentine, (Florence, 1755), III,1.

Stubblebine, J.H., 'Cimabue and Duccio in SMN', Pantheon, 31 (1973), pp.15-21.

Wilkins, D., 'Early Florentine Frescoes in SMN', AQ, n.s.1 (1978), pp.141-74.

Wood Brown, J., The Dominican Church of SMN at Florence, (Edinburgh, 1902).

The number of printed works concerning SMN is large. The bibliography provided above is very select, providing only major works, works cited in the present catalogue entry and recent works. For further bibliography see Orlandi, Necrologio, II, pp.617-30 and Paatz, III, p.663 and notes, passim.

2. Brief History up to c.1320

1219 Dominican community established in Florence by late 1219. In canonisation process of St. Dominic, Fra Frugerio da Penne states that in that year he accompanied the saint from Bologna to Rome, and during the journey they passed through Florence, where they stayed in conventu florentino (perhaps actually a locus at that date?). Quétif-Échard and Vicaire agree in placing the Dominican arrival in Florence in early November of that year. Orlandi gives the month of Dominic's stay in Florence as late October or early November and says that the Dominicans had already established themselves in Florence by June of that year. See Acta Canonizationis, pp.164-5; Vicaire, Histoire, II, p.163; Orlandi, Necrologio, I, p.xviii, note 7.

When the group of Dominicans, led by Giovanni da Salerno, arrived in Florence in 1219 at the invitation of the bishop(?) they stayed at first in the Ospedale di S. Gallo. Soon they were given a house near the oratory of S. Jacopo in Pian di Ripoli (in Florentine contado). This church had passed into possession of bishop of Florence in 1214.

See Fineschi, Memorie Istoriche, p.4; Orlandi, Necrologio, I, pp.xvii-xviii; Wood Brown, SMN, p.53.

Pian di Ripoli site presumably inconveniently far outside town, so Dominicans apparently soon moved elsewhere. Obituary list entry for Fra Guido Conversus in SMN Obituuario says, '... hic fuit receptus ad ordinem a beato Dominico et ab eo indutus in hospitali sancti pancratii.

quia fratres non habentes adhuc locum, in dicto hospitali se receptabant'.

See Orlandi, Necrologio, p.7.

The Dominicans also occupied the church of S. Paolo at some time before transferring to SMN in November 1221. At S. Paolo they experienced difficulties with the secular clergy. Not clear whether they lived first at S. Paolo or at S. Pancrazio, or occupied both at once, or whether they lived in hospice of S. Pancrazio and used church of S. Paolo for their services.

See Fineschi, Memorie Istoriche, p.xxx; Orlandi, Necrologio, I, pp.212-3, 224; Davidsohn, Geschichte, II, i, p.138.

- 1221 June 14. Cardinal-legate Ugolino, cardinal bishop of Ostia, Venice. Church of S. Pietro in Scheraggio, Florence, to be ceded to Dominicans.

MS: Paris, Bib.Nat.Lat., n.5152A.

Ed: MOPH, 25, pp.174-5, (and elsewhere - see Orlandi, Necrologio, p.xix).

See Davidsohn, Geschichte, II, i, pp.138-9; Zucchi, MD, 49 (1932), pp.210-11.

Ugolino's letter was not obeyed.

- 1221 November 8. Forese, rector of church of SMN, in presence of Cardinal-legate Ugolino, gives up all rights to church of SMN.

MS: Florence, Arch. di Stato, Perg. SMN, 8 November 1221.

Ed: Fineschi, Memorie Istoriche, p.29.

- 1221 November 9. Ubaldino, procurator, receives from Cardinal-legate Ugolino, in presence of Bishop Giovanni di Velletri, the Provost and Archpriest of Cathedral, 'Ecclesiam et Cappellam S. Mariae Novelle in perpetuum ut in ea stent et morentur atque habitent et divina officia ibi celebrent ...'.

MS: Florence, AS, Perg. SMN, 9 November 1221.

Ed: Fineschi, Memorie Istoriche, I, pp.29-30; Richa, Notizie, III, i, pp.95-6.

- 1221 November 12. Document witnessed in choir of SMN confirms above donation. Giovanni da Salerno, on behalf of Dominican Order, also receives houses belonging to SMN, cemetery and 6 staia of land surrounding church for use as orchard.

MS: Florence, AS, Perg. SMN, 12 November 1221.

Ed: Fineschi, Memorie Istoriche, pp.30-31; Richa, Notizie, III, i, pp.96-7.

- 1221 November 20. Dominicans take possession of SMN.

MS: Florence, AS, Perg. SMN, 20 November 1221.

Ed: Fineschi, Memorie Istoriche, pp.31-2.

Previous History of the Church of SMN:

Florentine church of SMN in existence by 983. Mentioned in further documents from 998-1198, which confirm rights of cathedral canons over church. In 1094 old church probably

restored and larger one built to function as parish church, beside it.

See Wood Brown, pp.39-44; Fineschi, Memorie Istoriche, pp.10-11; Orlandi, Necrologio, p.xvii; Paatz, III, p.664.

10th century chapel may have stood on site now occupied by Spanish chapel.

See Paatz, III, p.672 and p.770, note 86 (basing himself on Richa, Marchese and Wood Brown).

11th century church occupied part of area of present transept, with orientation rotated through 90° so that high altar was located below site of west window of present sacristy and west wall of church fell approximately in line with central axis of present nave, overlooking present-day Piazza dell'Unità Italiana. Description of 11th century church by Giovanni Caroli indicates this arrangement, and inscription on monumental column on sacristy roof, Veter Ecclesie Signum esto 1479, C.P.I.F.H.S.I.L., confirms that this was site of former church. (Wood Brown suggests C.P.I.F.H.S.I.L. = curaverunt ponendum in futurae memoriae signum juxta locum.) Structure beneath present sacristy is probably remaining part of this church. (Church was situated just outside Porta del Baschiera.)

See Orlandi, Necrologio, p.xx, who prints the passage from Caroli; Richa, Notizie, III, i, p.27 who reports inscription on column; Wood Brown, pp.10,16,17; Paatz, III, p.673 and p.771, notes 88, 91.

(Paatz, loc. cit., suggests this church may have had raised high altar placed over crypt, and an atrium. Wood Brown, p.20, shows the church also had a campanile.)

1222 September 10. A property and houses of SMN, situated in area called Polverosa, sold to group of seven people by procurators, representatives of popolo of SMN (appointed November 1221 by Cardinal Ugolino to handle sale of property). Proceeds of sale used to pay Forese, former rector of SMN (here called cappellano predicte ecclesie), annual pension of 16 lira, and to enlarge and reconstruct buildings - ubi fratres predicatorum bene, et congrue morari possent.

MS: Florence, AS, Perg. SMN, 10 September 1221.

Ed: Fineschi, Memorie Istoriche, pp.31-5.

See Orlandi, Necrologio, p.xx, note 11.

1244 December 20. Signoria grant St. Peter Martyr and the friars of SMN permission to enlarge piazza in front of church (present day Piazza dell'Unità Italiana) so that more people can come to hear Dominican preaching.

MS: Florence, AS, Perg. SMN, 20 December 1244.

Ed: Orlandi, ED, 64 (1947), pp.123-4.

1246 April 13. Innocent IV, Lyons. Papal indulgence (40 days) for all those helping in any way with construction of church and conventual buildings - alia edificia suis usibus opportuna - already undertaken.

MS: Florence, AS, Perg. SMN, 13 April 1246.

Ed: Fineschi, Memorie Istoriche, pp.141-2.

(Not given in BOP or printed registers of Innocent IV.)

1250 July 10. Innocent IV, Lyons. Further papal indulgence (40 days) for those helping with building work.
MS: Florence, AS, Perg. SMN, 10 July 1250.
See Fineschi, Memorie Istoriche, p.142 (who gives the date as 1251). (Not mentioned in BOP, Potthast or printed registers of Innocent IV.)

Wood Brown proposed that the building undertaken in this campaign consisted of a 'Transept church', lying on a (liturgical) north-south axis, in large part incorporated into the present transept, with side chapels and with a cappella maggiore on the site now occupied by the Strozzi chapel. Paatz convincingly argues against Wood Brown's theory, pointing out that the ground-plan suggested for the 'Transept church' would be most unlikely in the mid 13th century. Instead, Paatz believes that the existing transepts and choir chapels were built at this time, (discounting later additions) as the first stage of a projected large-scale church which would have corresponded, in its main lines, to the present-day church which was actually built. He suggests that Aldobrandino Cavalcanti was probably the driving force behind the plan for a completely new building. Paatz also convincingly argues against the attribution of the original design of the present church of SMN to Fra Sisto, the mythical(?) Fra Ristoro and the later Fra Giovanni da Campi.
See Wood Brown, pp.56-9; Paatz, III, pp.664-5 and pp.759-60, notes 11,9 and 12.

Paatz proposes the following order of building: (1) first storey of transepts and choir, from left to right; (2) upper wall of transepts and cappella maggiore (by 1279, since Aldobrandino Cavalcanti was buried in the left transept in that year); (3) vaulting of cappella maggiore and transepts; construction of first part of nave arcade; addition of Strozzi chapel; demolition of Romanesque church, to south of new church, which had been used for services while earlier phases of construction in progress.
See Paatz, III, p.665.

1270 June 6. Commune of Florence makes grant of 1,200 lira towards cost of rebuilding and repairs at SMN. (Grants made at same time to S. Croce and Augustinian friars.)
MS: Florence, AS, Cons.Mag.Prov., reg.8, classe II, dist.2, f.69v.

I am grateful to Gino Corti for drawing my attention to this document.

1277 March 14. Cardinal Latino Malabranca, papal legate, authorises Fra Pasquale dell'Incisa OP to receive sums from repayments for usury, up to the sum of 300 Tournois pounds, to be used towards building costs for church and convent of SMN.
MS: Florence, AS, Perg. SMN, 14 March 1277.
Ed: Orlandi, Necrologio, pp.419-20.

1279 October 18 (or December 13). Foundation stone of 'new church' laid by Latino Malabranca OP, cardinal bishop of Ostia.
Reported by Villani and other sources; see Paatz, III, p.761, note 16.

Paatz considers this stone-laying marks start of building work on (liturgical) western part of nave, not beginning of work on whole of present-day church, as was previously thought.
See Paatz, III, p.665 and p.761, note 16.

1287 Commune arranges for site of new piazza in front of façade to be cleared of houses. Therefore full extent of nave, at least to the height of the plinth, probably complete by this date.

MS: Florence, AS, Perg. SMN, 1287.

Ed: Fineschi, Memorie Istoriche, p.164.

See Wood Brown, p.65; Paatz, III, p.666.

The construction of the nave was rather slow. Help came from the papacy, the bishop of Florence and the commune:

1281, 1285, 1286, 1290, papal indulgences (40 days) for all those helping with construction of church.

1281 bull in printed in Fineschi, Memorie Istoriche, p.184.

1286 bull (... ipsi Ecclesiam ibidem construere inceperint opere sumptuoso ...) is printed in BOP, II, p.12.

1285 and 1290 bulls are referred to by Wood Brown, p.65, but are not given in BOP, Potthast or the printed papal registers.

1286 Jacopo Castelbuono OP, bishop of Florence, issues indulgences (40 days) for all those helping with construction of church.

MS: Florence, AS, Dipl. SMN, 1286.

Ed: Fineschi, Memorie Istoriche, p.185.

1295, 1297 and 1298 Grants of 1,200 fiorini piccoli, 1,200 fiorini piccoli, and 500 fiorini respectively, provided by commune towards building work at church of SMN.

MSS: Florence, AS, Rif.Prov., filza 5, 23 September 1295; filza 8, 6 June 1297; filza 8, 1298.

Ed: Gaye, Carteggio, I, pp.429,434,439.

See Wood Brown, p.65.

On the basis of dated altars and graves Paatz establishes that the first and second bays of the nave, (liturgical) west of the crossing, were in use by 1298, the fourth bay by 1300/02, and the fifth bay (two from the façade) by 1305.

See Paatz, III, p.666 and p.762, note 21.

1298 Richa says the Minerbetti family contributed 300 florins to the construction of the right nave aisle in this year. (This is the year in which Ugolino Minerbetti entered the SMN convent.)

See Richa, Notizie, III, i, p.25; Wood Brown, p.115.

1300 Wood Brown, basing himself on donations and tomb inscriptions, says work on façade began in this year. Construction of nave presumably substantially complete by this year.

See Wood Brown, p.114; Paatz, p.666.

The Rucellai chapel was added to the right transept at some time between 1303 and 1325.

See Orlandi, Necrologio, II, pp.424-5; Wood Brown, pp.95-7,126.

For a summary of what is so far known about the early building history of the conventual buildings at SMN, see Paatz, III, pp.668-70.

3. Studia up to 1320

Theologia: 1281, 1288, 1291, 1293, 1299(?), 1309; Logica: 1318;
Stud. Generales: 1311.

See MOPH, 20, pp.56, 85, 100, 112, 132, 174, 209, 181.

4. Burials in SMN up to c.1320.

Aldobrandino Cavalcanti OP, bishop of Orvieto (former prior of SMN), d.1279.

See Paatz, p.705.

Jacopo da Castelbuono OP, bishop of Florence, d.1286 (marble tomb).

See Paatz, p.743.

Corrado della Penna OP, bishop of Fiesole, d.1312 or 1313 (wall tomb).

See Paatz, p.706.

B. Giovanni da Salerno OP, d.1242 (first leader of Florentine Dominicans).

See Paatz, pp.703, 731, 738.

Ruggiero Minerbetti, d.1280.

See Paatz, p.703.

Blaxia Cavalcanti, d.1300.

See Paatz, p.735.

Guido da Campi, d.1312 (tomb slab).

See Paatz, p.737.

Members of Rucellai, Rossi de'Strozzi, Minerbetti and Gaddi families.

See Paatz, pp.705-6, 712-3, 735.

Earliest dated avello is 1297.

See Wood Brown, p.101.

For a description of the SMN cemeteries see Wood Brown, pp.94-109.

5. Local Dominican Saints and Blessed up to c.1320

B. Chiaro of Florence, d.1235.

B. Giovanna of Florence, 14th century. Remains in SMN.

B. Remigio Chiaro of Florence, d.1319, remains in Gaddi chapel of SMN.

See Kaftal, Tuscany, pp.28, 537, 890. (None of the above are mentioned in Taurisano, Catalogus.)

6. Confraternities up to 1320

Marial Laudesi confraternity, probably founded by St. Peter Martyr on eve of Assumption, 1244.

By 1267 confraternity had split into two groups: Laudesi and Bigallo.

See Heersseman, 'Études', III, pp.6-9, 88-90, 112-3, 118, 124-5; Orlandi, MD, 63 (1946), pp.26-41, 59-87; 64 (1947), pp.31-48, 109-36, 170-211.

For a list of further confraternities at S.M., probably founded after the period in question, see Orlandi, Neurologio, I, p.xxx.

A forthcoming Ph.D. thesis by John Henderson for the University of London will consider in detail the membership of Florentine 13th and 14th century confraternities.

7. Dominican Bishops of Diocese up to 1320

Jacopo (Castelbuono) de Perugia, d.1286.
See Eubel, Hierarchia, I, p.250.

8. Later History

For later additions to the structure of the church and convent see Paatz, III, pp.666-72.

Early 18th century Suppressed.

1819 Re-opened.

1867 Suppressed again.

See ASOP, II (1895), p.46.

9. Present State

Church and part of convent again used by Dominicans. Other parts of conventual buildings now occupied by police and other organisations. Convent garden and lower cemetery destroyed when new railway station built. Medieval structure of church and convent remains in many places, often considerably restored. For a summary of existing and lost contents and decoration of church and convent see Paatz, III, pp.700-53, notes pp.782-845. For the medieval tramezzo and its removal in the 16th century see Hall, 'Ponte', passim. For a detailed discussion of the 13th and 14th century fresco decoration of the church see Wilkins, 'Santa Maria Novella', passim.

FOLIGNO

SOURCES:

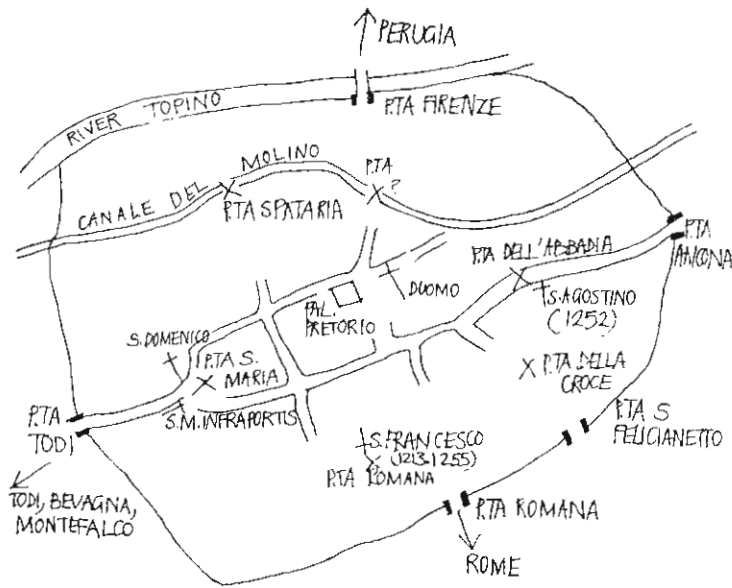
TCI, UMBRIA

IACOBELLI, DISCORSO

WALLS:

New walls built 1280-1291

X = Gates in old wall.



FOLIGNO

S. Domenico

1. Bibliography

(a) Manuscript Material:

Primary Sources

No part of conventual archive yet located.

Secondary Sources

Cronica della Fondazione del Convento di S. Domenico di Foligno
(18th century).

MS: AGOP Lib. PP, f. 158.

Notes on history of Foligno convent.

MS: AGOP Lib. A, f. 83.

(b) Printed Material

Primary Sources

Foligno statutes give some information about S. Domenico.

MS: Foligno, Archivio Storico del Comune, n. 1 bis, p. 119.

Ed: Statuta Communis Fulginei, ed. Angelo Messini, Feliciano Baldaccini et al., Deputazione di Storia Patria per l'Umbria, Fonti per la Storia dell' Umbria, 6, 2 vols., (Perugia, 1969).

Benvenuti, Bonaventura, Fragmenta Fulginatis Historiae (1198-1741),
ed. Petruccio de Uctis, in L. Muratori, Antiquitates
Italicae Medii Aevi, vol.IV, col.140.

Secondary Sources

Biebrach, K., Die Holzgedeckten Franziskaner und Dominikaner-
kirchen in Umbrien und Toskana, (Berlin, 1908), p.41,
gives ground-plan of church.

Iacobilli, L., Discorso della Città di Foligno, (Foligno, 1646).

Van Marle, R., The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting,
(The Hague, 1923 ff.)

2. Brief History up to c.1320

1260 Fontana says that about this year Perugia Dominicans
obtained an oratory and house outside the walls, which
they used as a hospice when preaching in Foligno.
See Fontana, p.133.
(Masetti, I, p.186, says Fontana may well be correct,
although no historical evidence survives to support his
statement.)

1285 Locus placed in Foligno by provincial chapter.
See MOPH, 20, p.71.

1285 July 13. Honorius IV, Tivoli. Papal confirmation of
letter of Bishop Paparone OP, of 20 April 1285, granting
site with orchard and houses to Dominicans, where they
may build church and other conventual buildings deemed
necessary.
Ed: Les Registres d'Honorius IV, ed. Maurice Prou,
(Paris, 1888), cols.119-21.

1285 Arrival of Dominicans in Foligno also mentioned in
Foligno Chronicle entry for 1285.
Ed: Antiquitates Italicae Medii Aevi, vol.IV, col.140.

Masetti says church was built inside walls but although
Paparone's letter declares intention of settling Dominicans in
eadem civitate Fulginati, detailed description given of
boundaries of site shows area outside the walls, extra muros
civitatis Fulginatis, near church, piazza and gate of S. Maria
Infraportas. The Dominican site was, however, included within
the new town walls, begun with bishop Paparone's encouragement
in 1280 and completed in 1291. Apparently in 1285 the new
gate had already been provided, although the new wall had not
yet been built, since Paparone's letter describes one of the
site boundaries as running '... juxta plateam Sancte Marie
ad portam veterem civitatis Fulginatis et ad portam novam
stantem in Carbonaria Nova dicte civitatis ...'.
See Masetti, I, p.186; Les Registres d'Honorius IV, ed. cit.,
cols.120-21; Iacobilli, Discorso, pp.19,34.

1307 Provincial chapter held in Foligno, so presumably building
work well advanced by this date.
See MOPH, 20, p.164.

1350 Statuto del Popolo of Poligno, finished in this year, indicates building work still continuing. Rubric 248 instructs chamberlain of Poligno commune to donate 100 small Perugia Libra to S. Domenico so that work on church may be completed.
See Statuta Communis Fulginei, ed. cit., vol.II, p.294.
(For dating see vol.I, p.xv.)

3. Studia up to 1320

Logica: 1318.

See KOPH, 20, p.210.

4. Burials in S. Domenico up to c.1320: None recorded.

5. Local Dominican Saints and Blessed up to c.1320: None recorded.

6. Confraternities up to c.1350: None recorded.

7. Dominican Bishops of Diocese up to 1320

Paparone Paparonis, 1265-85.

See Eubel, Hierarchia, I, p.256.

8. Later History

Late 18th century Suppressed by French.

1814 Church re-opened.

1867 Suppressed again.

See ASOP, II, (1895), p.50.

9. Present State

Medieval church still exists; used as communal store room/
rubbish tip for firewood and other matter. Conventual
buildings used as school(?). None of the medieval structure
seems to have survived.

Van Marle describes a fresco I was unable to see, '... above
the old entrance to S. Domenico, now within the precincts of
the confraternity del Crocifisso, there is to be found a
fresco of the Madonna, seated on a wide throne. The style of
the execution is purely Romanesque.'

See Van Marle, Development, vol.I, p.557.

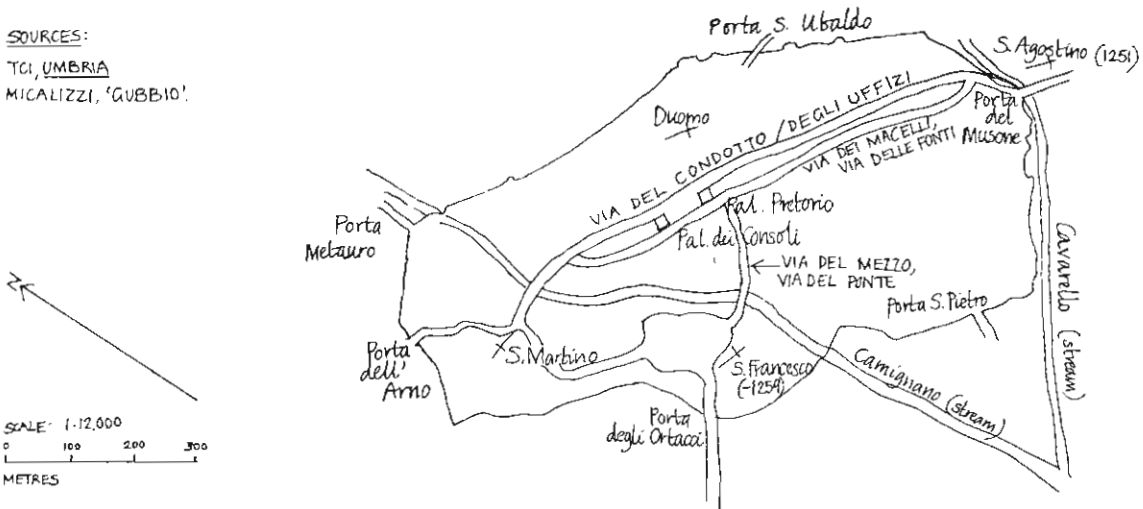
The interior of the church is decorated with various frescoes
and fragments of frescoes, dating from the mid 14th century
onwards.

GUBBIO

SOURCES:

TCI, UMBRIA

MICALIZZI, 'GUBBIO'.



GUBBIO

S. Martino (Now generally known as S. Domenico.)

1. Bibliography

(a) Manuscript Material:

Primary Sources

Majority of convent archive lost. A few documents relating to convent preserved in Archivio Vescovile Gubbio. Some manuscripts - apparently later chronicles - were still to be found in the sacristy of S. Martino in 1932. See Théry, 'Livres Choraux', pp.277-8.

Secondary Sources

Notes on Gubbio convent (1707).

MS: AGOP, Lib.M, pp.224-6.

Notes on history of Gubbio convent (18th century).

MS: AGOP, Lib.N, pp.1263-9.

Protocollo Ecclesiastico cioué de cose appartendi alla Chiesa. Memorie raccolti da Fra Domenico Pergonii da Crema ... a p.66 si hanno notizie dell'erezione del Convento, della Chiesa di S. Martino, della sua consecrazione e della concessione fatta ai frati Domenicani.

MS: Sacristy of S. Martino, Gubbio (?).

See Théry, 'Livres Choraux', pp.277-8.

Cantalmaggi, G.B., Chiese di Gubbio, MS. in Biblioteca Comunale, Gubbio.

(b) Printed Material:

Secondary Sources

- Lucarelli, O., Memorie e Guida Storica di Gubbio, (Città di Castello, 1888), p.600.
- Nicalizzi, P., 'Gubbio - Modelli politici e urbanistici dal comune guelfo alla signoria', in Città, Contado e Feudi nell'Urbanistica Medievale, ed. Enrico Guidoni, (Rome, 1974), vol.II, pp.101-25.
- Salmi, M., 'Le Chiese gotiche di Gubbio', L'Arte, 25 (1922), pp.220-31, esp. p.223.
- Schulze, R., Gubbio und seine mittelalterlichen Bauten, Beiträge zur Bauwissenschaft, 22 (Berlin, 1915), pp.60-63. Includes ground plan of church on p.63.
- Théry, P.G. OP, 'À Propos del Livres Choraux des Dominicains de Gubbio', AFP, 2 (1932), pp.252-83.

2. Brief History up to c.1320

- 1285 Dominicans arrive in Gubbio about this year; Franciscan bishop of Gubbio, Benvenutus (c.1276-c.1294) refuses permission to found house.
See Théry, 'Livres Choraux', p.278. (Without giving detailed individual references, Théry generally bases himself on an 18th century history of the convent, now AGOP Lib.N, pp.1263-9, which he considers a reliable and well-documented source. He was unable to find medieval documentary material in the Gubbio or Perugia archives.)
(Masetti, I, p.187, says created full convent by its province in 1270, but no reference to it appears in acta of that year.)
- 1286 Théry says in this year Fr. Angelo Tigniosi of Perugia made successful appeal to bishop of Chiusi against bishop of Gubbio's decision and founded Gubbio house, of which he was first prior.
Théry links Tigniosi's success with bull of Honorius IV, 19 January 1286, permitting Dominicans to establish houses in any town which they chose.
Tigniosi is mentioned in Perugia Obituari as founder of Gubbio house: he received the site (? = locus), which he himself requested from Gubbio commune.
See Théry, 'Livres Choraux', pp.278-9; BOP, II, p.10; Perugia, Biblioteca Augusta, MS.1141.
- 1287 Théry says convent founded in this year. (No reference to this appears in acta provincialium.) Situated close to and outside walls. Building of a small oratory begun in this year; foundation stone laid by Pietro, bishop of Chiusi. Oratory near to church of S. Martino but on other side of town walls (later demolished) and administratively separate. (Earlier writers have mistakenly linked the Dominicans and S. Martino at this date.)
See Théry, 'Livres Choraux', p.279.

1304 March 22, April 23, May 29. Letters of Cardinal Niccolò da Prato instructing Francesco, bishop of Gubbio, to cede church of S. Martino to Dominicans.

MS: Not located, but referred to by both Théry, p.281 and Lucarelli, Memorie, p.600 (basing himself on unpublished work by Cantalmaggi, Chiese di Gubbio, in Biblioteca Comunale, Gubbio.)

1304 Exchange negotiated by Fr. Giacomo Armanni OP and Pietro Accorinboni, rector of S. Martino.

See Théry, 'Livres Choraux', p.281.

S. Martino, founded in 11th century, was enlarged and restored from late 13th century onwards. The church was reconsecrated in 1287 but Salmi believes that the rebuilding of the nave began when the Dominicans took over the church, and proceeded very slowly.

See Lucarelli, Memorie, p.600; Salmi, Chiese, p.223.

3. Studia up to 1320

Artes Veteres: 1299; Logica: 1309, 1318.

See MOPH, 20, pp.133, 174, 210.

4. Burials in S. Martino up to c.1320: None recorded.

5. Local Dominican Saints and Blessed up to c.1320: None recorded.

6. Confraternities up to c.1350: None recorded.

7. Dominican Bishops of Diocese up to 1320

Giovanni Bervaldi (1306), 1313-25.

See Eubel, Hierarchia, I, p.242.

8. Later History

16th and 18th centuries Church altered.

See Schultze, Gubbio, p.63.

c.1798 Suppressed by French.

1825 Re-opened.

1867 Closed again.

See ASOP, I, (1894), pp.714-5.

9. Present State

Church survives, although altered, and is used as parish church. Interior decorated with various frescoes, from later 14th century onwards.

LUCCA

SOURCES:

TCI, TOSCANA
BELLI, LUCCA
BELLI, MUNA

WALLS:

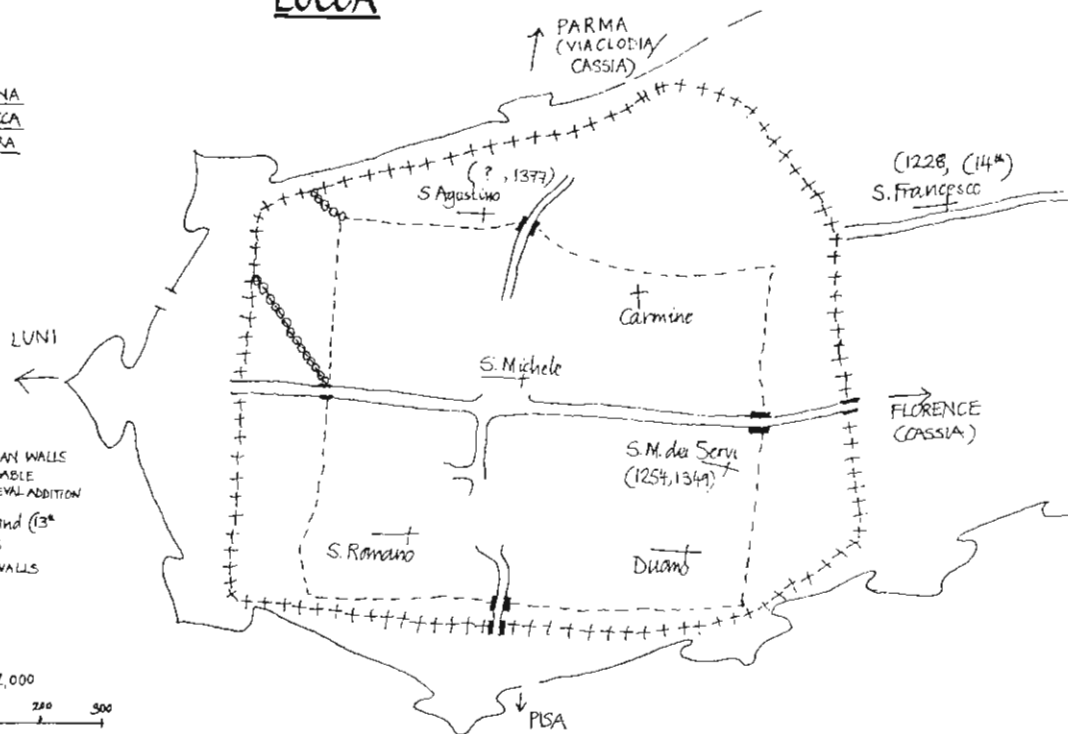
--- ROMAN WALLS
+---+ PROBABLE
MEDIÆVAL ADDITION

--- (12th and 13th
WALLS
--- (14th WALLS

SCALE 1:12,000

0 50 100 200 300
METERS

LUNI



LUCCA

S. Romano

1. Bibliography

(a) Manuscript Material:

Primary Sources

A considerable part of the conventual archive survives and now forms fondo diplomatico di S. Romano in the Archivio di Stato of Lucca. Bongi, Inventario, 1, pp.19-20, provides a brief printed guide to the fondo, and a hand-written catalogue of items dating from 1064-1399 is available in the archives (Notulus 35,36). Items after this date are generally numbered but not given descriptions, although some may appear in a card-catalogue index available in the archive. Some items from the fondo are published or have been used as a basis for studies on S. Romano (see Bongi, ibid.) but much of the material is not yet fully published. Other material from S. Romano exists in the Archivio già della Commissione Ecclesiastica, the Archivio Arcivescovile and in the Biblioteca Statale, Lucca, but most of this manuscript material is post-medieval. Various 18th century copies of documents from the S. Romano archive are found in AGOP: copies of bulls of Innocent IV, Alexander IV, Celestine V - Lib.C, pp.641-88; Copies of documents from 1236 to 1289 - Lib.00, pp.213-55; Catalogue of bulls from S. Romano - Lib.00, pp.285-316.

Secondary Sources

Ignazio Manandro OP, Chronica del Convento di S. Romano di Lucca, (1525) (completed by others, 1605).

MS: Lucca, Biblioteca Statale, 2572.

Annales Conventus S. Romani Praedicatorum (1649).

MS: Lucca, Bib.Stat., 2636.

Liber Chronicorum Conventus S. Romani di Lucca (1659).

MS: Lucca, Bib.Stat., 2623.

Giuseppe Trenta OP, Relazione della Chiesa di S. Romano di Lucca (1670).

MS: Lucca, Bib.Stat., 2512.

Notizie delle chiese di S. Romano ... (17th century).

MS: Lucca, Bib.Stat., 15.

Baroni, Chiese di Lucca, S. Romano (17th century(?)).

MS: Lucca, Bib.Stat., 896.

Memorie del Convento di S.R. dell'Ordine dei FF Predicatori in Lucca ... (c.1700).

MS: AGOP, Lib.C, pp.143-58.

Di Poggio, F.V., OP, Aneddoti ed altre memorie riguardanti la religione domenicana.

MS: Rome, S. Maria sopra Minerva.

(Three other titles of unpublished chronicles by di Poggio concerning S. Romano, Lucca are given by different sources. It is not clear whether or not all these works are the same chronicle appearing under different names. The titles given are: Chronicon Lucensis Coenobii OP; Memorie di molti religiosi Domenicani Lucchesi illustri, e commendabili; Memorie della religione nella Nazione Lucchese. These three (or one?) works are reported as being in the library of S. Romano, and may have been moved from there to the Biblioteca Statale, Lucca. Attempts to find a manuscript work by di Poggio in this library were, however, unsuccessful. Perhaps there is only one manuscript work by di Poggio, which was at some time transferred to the archive of the Minerva, Rome.)

(b) Printed Material:

Secondary Sources

Abbreccia, D., OP and Lera, G., Chiesa di S. Romano, (Lucca, 1966).

dall'Aglio, C. and Marangoni, E., 'Indagine sull'economia di un convento medioevale Lucchese: S. Romano nel sec.XIV', La Provincia di Lucca, 12, iv, (1972), pp.65-72.

Battaglia, Francesco et. al., 'Indagine urbanistica sul centro storico di Lucca: una fase della ricerca', La Provincia di Lucca, 12, iv, (1972), pp.15-23.

Belli, I, Le Mura di Lucca, (Lucca, 1954).

Belli, I, Guida di Lucca, 2nd ed. (Lucca. 1970), esp. pp.24-5.

Bongi, S., Inventario del R. Archivio di Stato in Lucca, 4 vols., (Lucca, 1872-1883).

Di Poggio, F.V., OP, Notizie della Libreria de' Padri
Domenicani di S. R. di Lucca, (Lucca, 1792).

Taurisano, I, OP, I Domenicani in Lucca, (Lucca, 1914).

2. Brief History up to c.1320

- 1236 July 20. Cistercians of S. Pantaleone, Lucca, cede to Dominicans churches of S. Bartolomeo and S. Giuliano with contents, conventual buildings and lands belonging to them within walls of Lucca. Abbot of S. Pantaleone reserves for himself all lands outside town walls.
MSS: Lucca, Archivio di Stato, Diplomatico di S. Romano, 20 July 1236; ibid., copy made on same day.
Ed: Taurisano, Domenicani, pp.219-21.

This donation presumably marks date of foundation of full convent, but Dominicans apparently settled in Lucca before this time. Eleven Dominicans are mentioned as witnesses to the document qui sunt de ordini supradicto Luce in Domo memorata superius commorantes; this suggests Dominicans had already established a locus, probably in hospice of S. Bartolomeo, before buildings officially ceded to them. (Presence of Fr. Orlandinus, Prior Pisanus, among those mentioned suggests locus was founded by Pisa Dominicans.)

See Taurisano, Domenicani, appendix I, pp.205-7.

- 1237 May 23. Benedictines of S. Ponziano cede to Dominicans church of S. Romano, campanile and lands ante domum inter ecclesiam veterem et novam fundatam et hedificatam infra veteres muros Lucane civitatis scilicet in porta S. Donati sicut undique per capita et latera designatur, and liturgical books and vessels contained in church. Annual rent of unum denarium lucane narve monete fixed. (This rent removed by Innocent IV, 8 February 1244, on suspicion of simony, but case in fact continued to be discussed. See BOP, I, p.133.) All holdings of S. Romano outside new Lucca town walls retained by S. Ponziano.
MS: Lucca, AS, Dipl. di SR, 23 May 1237.
Ed: Taurisano, Domenicani, pp.221-3.
(Taurisano, in text on p.2, incorrectly gives date of document as 1 June.)

- 1237 Dominicans also purchased from Benedictines some nearby houses for their conventual building, for 370 libbre.
See Fontana, pp.112-3; Taurisano, Domenicani, p.2.
(Fontana says S. Romano was a large church, situated near the smaller ones of S. Giuliano and S. Bartolomeo.)

- 1237 May 26. Gift by layman, Guido Caccio Lombardi, of an orchard near posterla di S.R.
MS: Lucca, AS, dip. SR, 26 May 1237.

- 1245 November 18. Gift of property to SR by Ardiccio and Orlando, laymen, with permission of Raniero Capocci, then apostolic legate in Tuscany.
MS: Lucca, AS, dip. SR, 18 November 1245.

- 1246 April 19. Innocent IV. Papal indulgence (40 days) for all those helping with construction of church and convent, already underway.
MS: Lucca, AS, dip. SR, 19 April 1246.
 Not given in BOP, or Berger, Registres d'Innocent IV.
 (See Taurisano, Domenicani, p.3 who says text is almost identical with bull of same date concerning S. Domenico, Orvieto - BOP, I, p.161.)
- 1246 May 12, 14. Dominicans buy land from two different laymen for 20 small lucchese denari and 18 lucchese libbre respectively.
MS: Lucca, AS, dip. SR, 12, 14 May 1246.
- 1247 August 29. Dominicans purchase site and house near walls from Bartolomeo d'Alessandro and the sons of the late Satirio Spreciaro.
MS: Arch. cit., 29 August 1247.
- 1249 June 12. Gerardo quondam Acerto donates property near walls to Dominicans.
MS: Arch. cit., 12 June 1249.
- 1249 From documents from conventual archive (not specified) Taurisano says that in 1249 the church was producta et aucta ad viam publicam.
 See Taurisano, Domenicani, p.3, note 4.
- 1255 August 9. Alexander IV. Papal indulgence for all those visiting SR during feasts and octaves of St. Dominic and St. Peter Martyr.
MS: Lucca, AS, dip. SR, 9 August 1255.
 Not given in BOP or de la Roncière, Registres d'Alexandre IV.
- 1255 At request of Dominicans boundaries of holdings of SR assessed by Judge and Assessor, (presumably in view of impending dispute).
MS: Lucca, AS, perg. della biblioteca, 1255.
 (Document includes detailed description of site boundaries.)
Ed: Taurisano, Domenicani, pp.223-5.
- 1262 September 10. Two laymen sell property near wall to Dominicans of SR.
MS: Lucca, AS, dip. SR, 10 September 1262.
- 1263 February 20. Dominicans obtain permission from commune to close one road, if new gate opened in walls.
MS: Lucca, AS, scritture di SR, n.2, p.1.
 See Taurisano, Domenicani, p.3, note 4.
- 1264 Inventory of contents of sacristy of S. Romano.
Ed: F.V. di Poggio OP, Miscellanea Stepheni Baluzii, ed. J.D. Mansi, (Lucca, 1764), vol.IV, pp.600-604.
- 1267 Provincial chapter held in SR.
 See MOPH, 20, pp.33-4.

- 1268 Menandro, Chronica, reports a bull of this year granting indulgences for help with building work.
See Taurisano, p.3, note 4.
- 1274 Will of Pietro Angiorelli includes donations to value of 1000 lucchese libra parvorum in metalwork, ad opus et utilitatem opere et laboratus ecclesia eorum hedificatione noviter incpte.
MS: Copy of part of will: Lucca, AS, dip. SR, 17 March 1274.
- 1281 New church inaugurated.
See Taurisano, Domenicani, pp.3-4 - but he does not give reasons for giving this date - in notes only refers to indulgence of Martin IV, 1284 (40 days), reported by Menandro on p.6 of his Chronica.
- 1313 March 13. Document connected with execution of Teodorico Borgognoni OP's will by nephew Ugo mentions: in reparatione et rehedificatione Ecclesie S. Romani de Lucha.
MS: Lucca, AS, dip. SR, 13 March 1313.
See Taurisano, p.4, note 1.
- 1315 July 27. Will of Caruccia Caccialupi includes mention of soldos XX de Luca parvorum operi Campanilis Ecclesie S. Romani.
MS: Lucca, AS, dip. SR, 27 July 1315.
See Taurisano, p.4, note 2.

A short description of the land holdings of the Lucca house, with accompanying maps, is given by Corinna dell'Aglio and Elisabetta Marangoni in La Provincia di Lucca, 12, iv, (1972), pp.65-72; the zenith of the convent's fortunes ran from the mid 13th century to the mid 14th century.

3. Studia up to 1320

Theologia: 1281, 1299(?); Naturae: 1291; Artes Novae: 1299; Philosophia: 1305, 1307, 1308, 1309, 1310, 1313; Biblia: 1311.
See MOPE, 20, pp.56,132,100,133,155,166,170,174,178,189,182.

4. Burials in SR up to c.1320

Cardinal Leonardo da Guarcino, d.1311. (Inlaid tomb slab still extant.)
Master General Stephen of Besançon, d.1294. (Buried under slab (lost) in middle of choir, where friars made inclination when entering choir.)
Contessa Capoana Donoratico, d.1307. (Inlaid tomb slab still extant.)
See Taurisano, Domenicani, pp.19,20,184-204.

Exterior Avelli: Belli, Lucca, p.101, says they belonged to the following families: Volpelli, Sergiusti, Burlanachi, Del Mancino.

5. Local Dominican Saints and Blessed up to c.1320: None recorded.

6. Confraternities up to c.1350

Letter of confraternity of 23 June 1272 from John of Vercelli, Dominican master general, to confraternity of Virgin, Lucca. (Confraternity admitted both men and women.)

MS: Copy - AGOP, Lib.00, pp.281-5.

Ed: Neersseman, 'Etudes', III, pp.115-6.

See di Poggio, in Misc. Baluzio, IV, p.602, note e.

7. Dominican Bishops of Diocese up to 1320

Pietro Angiorelli, 1272-74.

See Eubel, Hierarchia, I, p.313.

8. Later History

1373 Rebuilding of East End and East chapels with bricks from the demolished Augusta.

See Belli, Lucca, pp.100,101.

1661 Interior of Church given Baroque decoration.

See Belli, Lucca, p.101.

Convent suppressed in 1867, but in the late 19th century came under Dominican supervision again.

See ASOP, II (1895), p.54.

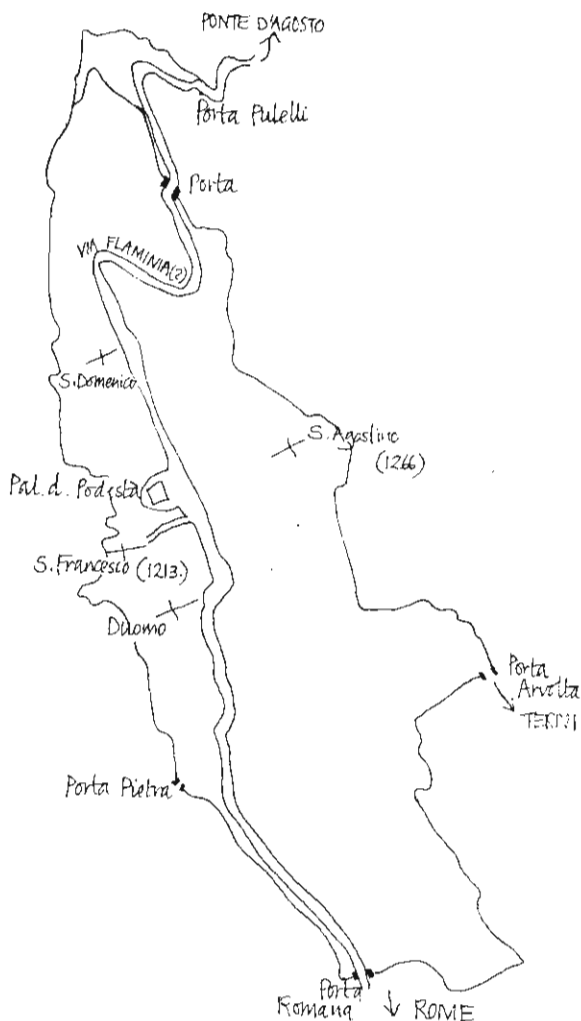
9. Present State

Dominicans have left convent again within the last decade, and church is at present closed. Former conventual buildings either unused or given over to secular uses including barracks and printing press. Exterior of church still consists of medieval structure, and one wing of cloister and chapter house entrance survive. Several medieval tombs from the church are at present stored in the remaining cloister wing. Unfinished excavations made some years ago in the cloister wing and chapter house are reported by M. Pasega, 'Un museo presso il convento Domenicano di S. Romano di Lucca', MD, 81 (1964), pp.76-84.

NARNI

SOURCES

TO UMBRIA
 L. SI, PORTE
 ETIA, CHIESE



S. Maria Maggiore (generally known as S. Domenico).

Bibliography

Manuscript Material:

Primary Sources

No part of conventual archive yet located.
 (A 17th century copy of indulgences for the Narni convent might contain copies of medieval material.
 AGOP, Lib.F, pp.460-61.)

Secondary Sources

Iroli mainly bases himself on a manuscript history of the convent formerly in the possession of the Dominicans of Narni. This work does not seem to have been transferred to the general archives of the Order, after the suppression of the Narni house.

Timoteo Bottonio, Alcune centurie dal principio dell'Ordine nostre ... (1575(?))

IS: Perugia, Biblioteca Augusta, MS.1150.

See Qd, II, p.304.

(b) Printed Material:

Secondary Sources

Bigotti, M.; Mansuelli, Guido A.; Prandi, Adriano: Narni,
(Rome, 1973).

Collosi, G., Le Porte di Narni Romana e Medioevale, (Narni,
1941).

Eroli, G., Descrizione delle Chiese di Narni e suoi Dintorni,
(Narni, 1898), pp.265-79.

Iacobilli, L., Vite dei Santi e Beati dell'Umbria, 3 vols.,
(Foligno, 1647).

2. Brief History up to c.1320

Iacobilli, basing himself on Bottonio and Razzi, says B. Martino of Perugia founded convent in 1252 and was the first prior. This is incorrect, since official foundation and first prior date from 1271, but Iacobilli may be giving correct date for foundation of locus in Narni.

See Iacobilli, Santi, vol.I, p.326; Bottonio, Centurie, An.1252. (Iacobilli's reference to Razzi is incorrect.)

Eroli, basing himself on a manuscript history formerly in S. Domenico, Narni, says first Dominican church was outside city walls.

See Eroli, Chiese, pp.278-9.

1270 Provincial chapter makes Fra Rodolphus de Rabattolis vicar in Narni, so locus by this date.
See MOPH, 20, p.37.

1271 Official foundation of convent.
See MOPH, 20, p.38.

1304 June 24. Benedict XI, Perugia. Papal confirmation of transfer to Dominicans of S.M. Maggiore, the old cathedral of Narni, with its possessions. Transfer negotiated with archpriest of S.M. Maggiore, and consent of cathedral canons, by Orlando bishop of Narni. Mass must be celebrated daily in church by Dominicans or by chaplain appointed by them. Bull shows Dominicans already occupying S.M. Maggiore by this date.
Ed: BOP, VII, pp.53-4.
(Masetti, I, p.185, mistakenly gives date as 1303.)

Because of status of church of S.M. Maggiore, prior of S. Domenico assumed title of archpriest and had right to sit in cathedral choir with bishop of Narni on important feasts.
See Eroli, Chiese, p.278.

3. Studia up to 1320

Artes Veteres et Tractatus: 1305; Logica: 1309, 1318; Artes: 1311.
See MOPH, 20, pp.157,174,209,182.

4. Burials in S.M. Maggiore up to c.1320: None recorded.
5. Local Dominican Saints and Blessed up to c.1320: None recorded.
6. Confraternities up to c.1350: None recorded.

7. Dominican Bishops of Diocese up to 1320

Florentinus, 1250.

See BOP, I, p.263. Not given in Eubel.

Orlandus de Civitella Champanie (no date given).

See Caccia, p.53. (Eubel gives an Orlandus O Er s A, c.1260-1303.)

8. Later History

Late 18th century Suppressed by French.

1814 Re-opened.

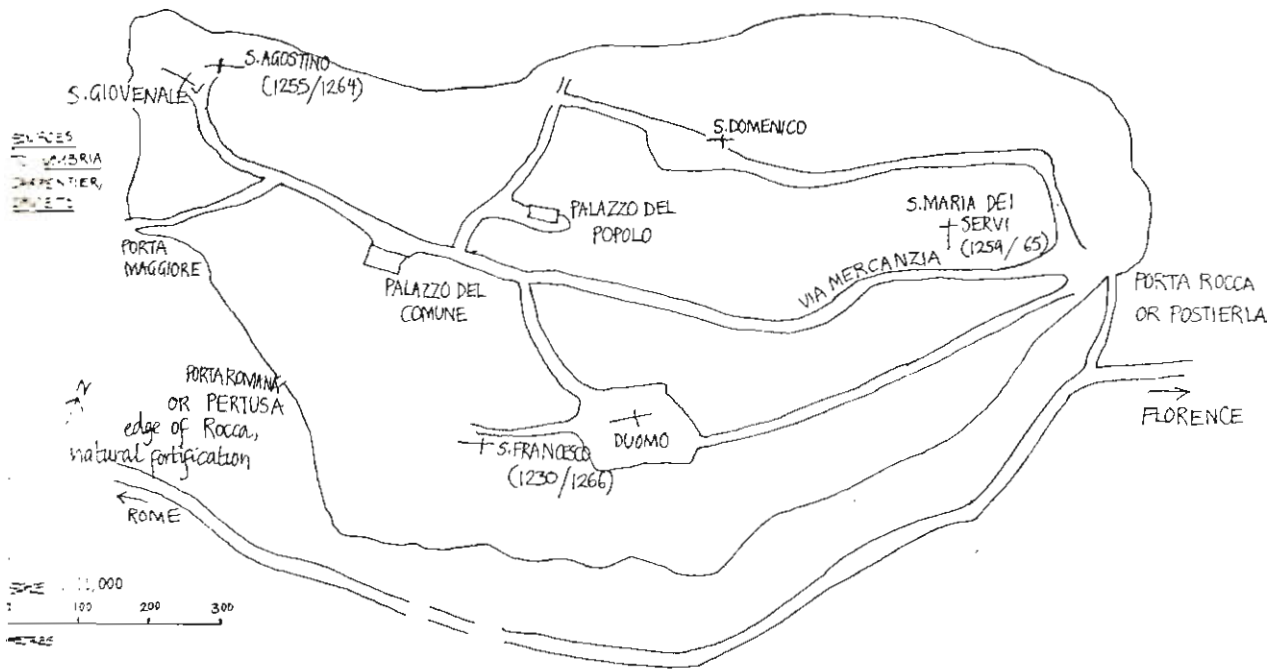
1867 Suppressed again.

See ASOP, II (1895), pp.60-61.

9. Present State

Church used as a museum, containing works from various churches in Narni. Structure of Church is that of former cathedral, preceding Dominican possession of building, but various votive frescoes, mostly of the late 14th and early 15th century, decorating interior of church, date from time of Dominican ownership.

ORVIETO



ORVIETO

S. Domenico

(Originally dedicated to S. Maria della Pace.
See Pardi, Catasto, p.272.)

1. Bibliography

(a) Manuscript Material:

Primary Sources

The conventual archive has been dispersed and no trace of it has so far been located in other Orvieto archives or elsewhere.

Namachi published a few documents, or copies of documents, from the conventual archive which in his time (18th century) were to be found in the general archives of the Order in Rome, but these have now apparently disappeared.

See Masetti, I, p.199, note 1; Namachi, Annalium, p.261 and appendix monumentorum, LXXXIII, cols. 152-3.

Secondary Sources

Giacinto de Nobili OP, Chronicon Conventus Urbevetani Ord. Praed., (early 17th century).

See Viel and Girardin, Caccia, p.ix, who say that this chronicle is lost; QE, II, p.408.

De antiquitate et nobilitate conventus Urbevetani OP provinciae Romanae (18th century).

MS: AGOP Lib.C, pp.1005-7.

Osservazione per l'istoria del convento di Orvieto all'anno
1233.

MS: AGOP Lib.00, unnumbered pages at beginning of
book.

(b) Printed Material:

Primary Sources

Chronica Potestatum (1161-1276).

Ed: Ephemerides Urbevetanae, ed. L. Fumi, in Rerum
Italicorum Scriptores, new series, vol.XV, part 5,
(Città di Castello, 1903-20), pp.141-8.

Chronica Antiqua (1161-1313).

Ed: Ed. cit., pp.125-36.

Chronica Potestatum (1233-60).

Ed: Ed. cit., pp.149-53.

Iohannes Matthaei Caccia OP, Chronica Conventus Urbevetani OP
(c.1340 onwards).

MS: AGOP, XIV, 28 (xiv); (18th century copy is AGOP,
Lib.00, pp.1-123.)

Ed: Jean Mactei Caccia, Chronique du Couvent des
Frêcheurs d'Orvieto, ed. A.M. Viel and P.M. Girardin,
(Rome Viterbo, 1907).

See SOPMA, vol.II, p.475.

Secondary Sources

Cronaca di Luca di Domenico Manenti (1174-1413).

Ed: L. Fumi, ed. cit., pp.269-414.

Adami, T.P., Guida Storico-Artistico della Città di Orvieto,
(Siena, 1883).

Bertini Calosso, A., 'La sorte più recente della Chiesa di S.
Domenico a Orvieto', Atti del V Convegno Nazionale di
Storia dell'Architettura, Perugia, 1948, (Florence, 1957),
pp.623-7.

Bonelli, R., 'La Chiesa di S. Domenico in Orvieto', Palladio, 7
(1943), pp.139-51.

Bonelli, R., Il Duomo di Orvieto e l'Architettura Italiana del
Duecento Trecento, (Rome, 1972), pp.76-7, 84 note 38.
Provides hypothetical reconstruction of plan, section and
elevation of 13th century church.

Carpentier, R., Une Ville Devant la Peste, Orvieto et la Peste
Noir de 1348, (Paris, 1962).

Donati, P.P., 'Inediti Orvistani del Trecento', Paragone, Arte,
229 (March 1969), pp.14-15 and figs.25-26.

Piocca, L., 'Monumento al Cardinale G. de Braye', Rassegna
d'Arte, 2 (1911), pp.116-20. Reconstruction report and
photographs.

de Francovich, G., 'L'Origine e la diffusione del crocifisso gotico doloroso', Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte, 2 (1938), p.178.

Malvenda, T., Annalium Sacri Ordinis Praedicatorum, (Naples, 1627).

Mamachi, T.M., Annalium Ordinis Praedicatorum, (Rome, 1756).

Marabottino, F., Catalogus Episcoporum Urbisveteris, (Orvieto, 1667), esp. pp.13-15.

Paoletti, M.R., 'Demolizione e restauro nella Chiesa di S. Domenico in Orvieto (1934-1939)', Bollettino dell'Istituto Storico Artistico Orvietano, 15 (1958), pp.40-50.

Pardi, G., 'Il Catasto d'Orvieto dell'anno 1292', Bollettino della Società Umbra di Storia Patria, 2 (1896), pp.225-320.

Redigonda, A.L., 'Annibaldo Annibaldi', DBI, vol.III, pp.342-4.

Romanini, A.M., Arnolfo di Cambio e lo 'stil novo' del Gotico Italiano, (Milan, 1969), pp.23-47, figs.1-35. Very thorough photographic coverage of de Braye tomb, including all pieces now in Orvieto Museo dell'Opera del Duomo.

Waley, D., Mediaeval Orvieto, (Cambridge, 1952).

2. Brief History up to c.1320

Papal residences in Orvieto: 1220;1262;1263;1264;1272;1273; 1281;1283;1284;1290;1291;1297.

(See the relevant years in Potthast.)

1220 Manenti, in his rather unreliable 15th century chronicle, traces the connection between the Dominican Order and the church of S. Maria della Pace to a visit supposedly made to the town by St. Dominic in this year.

See Manenti, Cronaca, ed. cit., p.290; for an assessment of Manenti's reliability see Waley, Orvieto, pp.160-1.

1230 Masetti says that vetusta documenta (unspecified) show that Dominicans had a hospice or small house in Orvieto from this date.

See Masetti, I, p.183.

1232 Caccia gives this date for foundation of locus in Orvieto. See Caccia, p.67.

1233 Dominicans given site for convent in Orvieto.

Different sources provide varying accounts of the agreement recorded in the town statutes (now lost(?)).

Masetti, basing himself on a 1308 notarial copy of a part of the statutes, formerly preserved in the S. Domenico, Orvieto archive, says Fr. Chiaro da Sesto received land from the town for the building of a convent on 31 October, 1233.

See Masetti, I, pp.183,198-9.

Marabottini, giving no references but possibly basing himself on a lost chronicle once in the S. Domenico archive (to which Malvenda refers; see below) says site was given to Dominicans by Trasmondo and Ronaldo Beltrami Petri Cittadini, both Monaldeschi. Both men were alive at that date so the report is plausible, although conflicting with sources which imply the commune itself donated the land. The Podestà and Council may merely have ratified the exchange of land privately held, while at the same time promising communal finance for the construction of a church and convent. (See Papal Bull, 11 June 1235, below.)

(By this date Monaldeschi and communal business were already becoming entwined; Ronaldo Beltrami Petri Cittadini was treasurer to the commune in 1238.)

See Marabottini, Catalogus, pp.13-14; Maley, Orvieto, p.153 and Monaldeschi family tree facing p.152.

A comment by Manenti raises the possibility that the Dominicans were given an existing church, with an adjoining site on which to build their convent, as was often the case. He says the church of S. Domenico was founded nella chiesa de Santa Pace (mistakenly giving the year as 1223 instead of 1233.) On the other hand Pardi (without giving references) says the church of S. Maria della Pace was built by the Dominicans in 1233.

See Manenti, Cronaca, ed. cit., p.291; Pardi, 'Catasto', p.272.

Even if Manenti is correct in saying that the Dominicans received an existing church it was presumably inadequate, since building work on both church and convent seem to have been undertaken almost immediately. The Orvieto Chronica Potestatum for 1161-1276 says that the major part of both church and convent was built, with the help of the commune, during 1233.

(An entry in the Chronica Potestatum for 1233-1260 indicates the church was built in 1232, but since the entry appears out of order, between the entries for 1243 and 1246, its reliability is rather doubtful, and it may in fact be a confused reference to two separate building campaigns.)

See Chronica Potestatum, (1161-1276), ed. cit., p.143; Chronica Potestatum (1233-60), ed. cit., p.149.

- 1235 Two Papal bulls issued in this year show that building work did not progress as swiftly as the Chronica Potestatum suggests:

February 6. Gregory IX, Perugia. Papal indulgence (40 days) for all those helping with construction of church and conventual buildings, which have already been started but remain unfinished through lack of money.

Ed: BOP, I, p.73.

June 11. Gregory IX, Perugia. Podestà and Council of Orvieto urged to write in their statutes, a second time, their promise of donation to help Dominicans build a house on suitable site, and to honour that promise.

Ed: BOP, I, p.76.

1240 Work on fabric of church completed before this date since document described as being drawn up, in this year, in domo S. Dominici posita intra portas eiusdem ecclesiae ...

KS: Will of Petrus de Fontana, formerly in archive of S. Domenico, Orvieto.

Ed: Mamachi, Annalium, appendix monumentorum, LXXIII, cols.152-3.

(Mamachi cites the document as being in the general archives of the Order but the reference given, Lib.II, p.85, refers to a book which no longer exists. (See Koudelka, p.105.))

1246 New building campaign apparently underway at this time:

April 19. Innocent IV, Lyons. Papal indulgence (100 days) for all those contributing to completion of church and conventual buildings.

Ed: BOP, I, p.161.

1254 April 16. Innocent IV, Lateran. Papal indulgence (40 days) for all those visiting church on feasts and octaves of Sts. Dominic and Peter Martyr.

Ed: BOP, I, p.245.

(This privilege may mark the end of a building campaign but is more likely connected with recent canonisation of St. Peter Martyr.)

Traditionally, the Orvieto house is the first to have been dedicated to St. Dominic. A definite date for this dedication would provide a terminus post quem for all other churches dedicated to the founder saint.

Malvenda cites a vetustissima chronicle in the convent archive (now lost; not the Caccia chronicle) which says the house was first in the world dedicated to St. Dominic. Pardi says the church, originally called S. Maria della Pace, was dedicated to St. Dominic at the time of his canonisation (1234). (No sources given.) The likelihood of a change of dedication soon after St. Dominic's canonisation is supported by a passage in the bull of 6 February 1235 (see above) which describes the church as being ad honorem Dei et Beati Dominici.

See Malvenda, Annalium Sacri, p.521; Pardi, 'Catasto', p.272; BOP, I, p.73.

1257 October 5. Alexander IV, Viterbo. Abbot of Santo Severo, Premonstratentian house in Orvieto, charged with ensuring that restriction on building under 200 Orvieto paces (passuum) away from Dominican church or conventual buildings is obeyed.

Ed: BOP, I, p.353.

1262(?) onwards Rebuilding of larger church and convent financed by Cardinal Annibaldo Annibaldi (della Molara) OP.

This act of patronage may partly have been carried out to mark Annibaldi's creation as Cardinal by Urban IV in Orvieto, probably in December 1262.

See A.L. Redigonda, DBI, III, p.343.

- 1264 May. New church consecrated by Urban IV.
(Rebuilding may not yet have been completed; choice of consecration date may reflect presence of Urban IV in Orvieto.)
See Halvenda, Annalium Sacri, p.521; Chronica Antiqua (1161-1313), ed. cit., p.129; Manenti, Cronaca, ed. cit., p.308.
- 1304 February 23. Benedict XI, Lateran. Abbot of Santo Severo to help conduct Dominican purchase of orchard adjoining dormitory of their convent, at present belonging to monastery of S. Croce (under joint jurisdiction of Abbey of Sasso Vivo and some Orvieto nobles), since the orchard is at present being used for unsuitable purposes.
Ed: BOP, II, p.91.
- 1311 September 25. Riformagioni contain report of fire in the campanile and sacristy which destroys campanile and many possessions (books, candles, liturgical vessels, etc.) and damages the roofs of the church and conventual buildings.
MS: Orvieto, Archivio Comunale, Riformagioni, 25 September 1311, lib.XI, p.158.
Ed: Fumi, in his notes to Manenti, Cronaca, ed. cit., p.291, note 5.

3. Studia up to 1320

Studia Generale Theologia: 1269 (one placed in Naples at same date); Naturae: 1288,1291; Philosophia: 1299,1309,1311; Artes Veteres et Tractatus: 1305; Biblia: 1310,1318.
See MOPH, 20, pp.36,86,100,132,174,182,157,178,207.

1261-65 Aquinas in Orvieto as lector curiae to Urban IV; probably also taught in S. Domenico studium.
See O.H. Pesch, LTK, vol.X, col.120.

4. Burials in S. Domenico up to c.1320

Cardinal Hugh of St. Cher OP, d.1262. (Temporarily buried in S. Domenico, before being transferred to Dominican house in Lyons.)
See Perugia, Archivio di Stato, MS.66, f.8v.

Cardinal Annibaldo Annibaldi, d.1272. (Buried beside High Altar.)
See Redigonda, DBI, III, p.343.

Cardinal Guillaume de Braye, d.1282.
See Romanini, 'Arnolfo di Cambio'.

Bishop Trasmondo Monaldeschi OP and members of his family.
See Caccia, pp.107-9.

5. Local Dominican Saints and Blessed up to c.1320
Beata Giovanna (Vanna); Dominican Tertiary; b. Orvieto 1264;
d.1306; buried Orvieto; beatified 1754.
See Taurisano, Catalogus, p.24; Kaftal, Tuscany, col.537.
Beato Valdo(?) of Orvieto; Dominican Friar; Founded Priverno
locus in 1325(?).
See Masetti, I, p.189; not mentioned in Taurisano, Catalogus.

6. Confraternities up to c.1350

Fratris Poenitentiae, mentioned in will of 1240.

See Will of Petrus de Pontana, ed. cit., cols.152-3.

Confraternity dedicated jointly to the Virgin and St. Dominic,
mentioned in confirmations by Master Generals John of
Vercelli (1276) and Munio de Zamora (1286).

See Fr. Tommaso di Siena, Tractatus de Ordine FF de
Paenitentia, ed. M.H. Laurent, in Pontes Vitae S.
Catharine Senesis, (Florence, 1938), XXI, pp.32-3.

(These confirmations may refer to same confraternity as
that mentioned in will of 1240.)

7. Dominican Bishops of Diocese up to 1320

Constantinus, c.1250-57.

Aldobrandinus Cavalcanti, 1272-9.

Tramo Monaldeschi, 1328 (-45?).

See Eubel, Hierarchia, p.508. Monaldeschi is not given as OP
in Eubel, but see Caccia, pp.52,123-5.

8. Later History

1401 Church restored by Giovanni Tomacello.

1680 Baroque transformation: nave shortened, interior provided
with lateral chapels, two new chapels added at transept
ends.

See Bonelli, 'S. Domenico'.

Late 18th century Suppressed by French.

1814 Church re-opened.

1873 Suppressed again.

See ASOP, II (1895), p.186.

9. Present State

Church used as parish church. Only transepts and chapels
remain, orientation has been changed so that High Altar situated
in former S. Transept.

Demolition and restoration. Nave demolished; in place of this and conventual buildings, Accademia Femminile Fascista di Educazione built. Western side of crossing bricked in to form W. wall of church (N. wall according to present orientation). Piers and arch embedded in this wall reconstructed from remaining fragments, capitals original. Traces of earlier structure found: at depth of approx. 1 metre below former nave, remains of curtain wall found running almost the length of the nave; at the end of this two others, running at right angles towards the west. Remains of portal, 3 metres from entrance to demolished nave and as wide as demolished nave (c.12 metres), 'tutta in cortina e di perfetta fattura'. Paoletti suggests these structures belong to earlier church which may have had different orientation. Under demolished sacristy, which abutted the church to the north, were found two vaults, one containing many bones and the other containing 14th century pottery fragments. Paoletti says that traces of painting (unspecified) found below street level on cloister wall facing piazza, which had been N. side wall of church, indicate that S. Maria della Pace, or earlier Dominican church, had crypt. See Paoletti, 'Demolizione', pp.40-46.

14th century frescoes in church. Now removed from wall, some displayed in the church and a few in the Orvieto Museo dell'Opera del Duomo.

Wooden crucifix, dated c.1285-95, displayed in church.

PERUGIA

SOURCES:

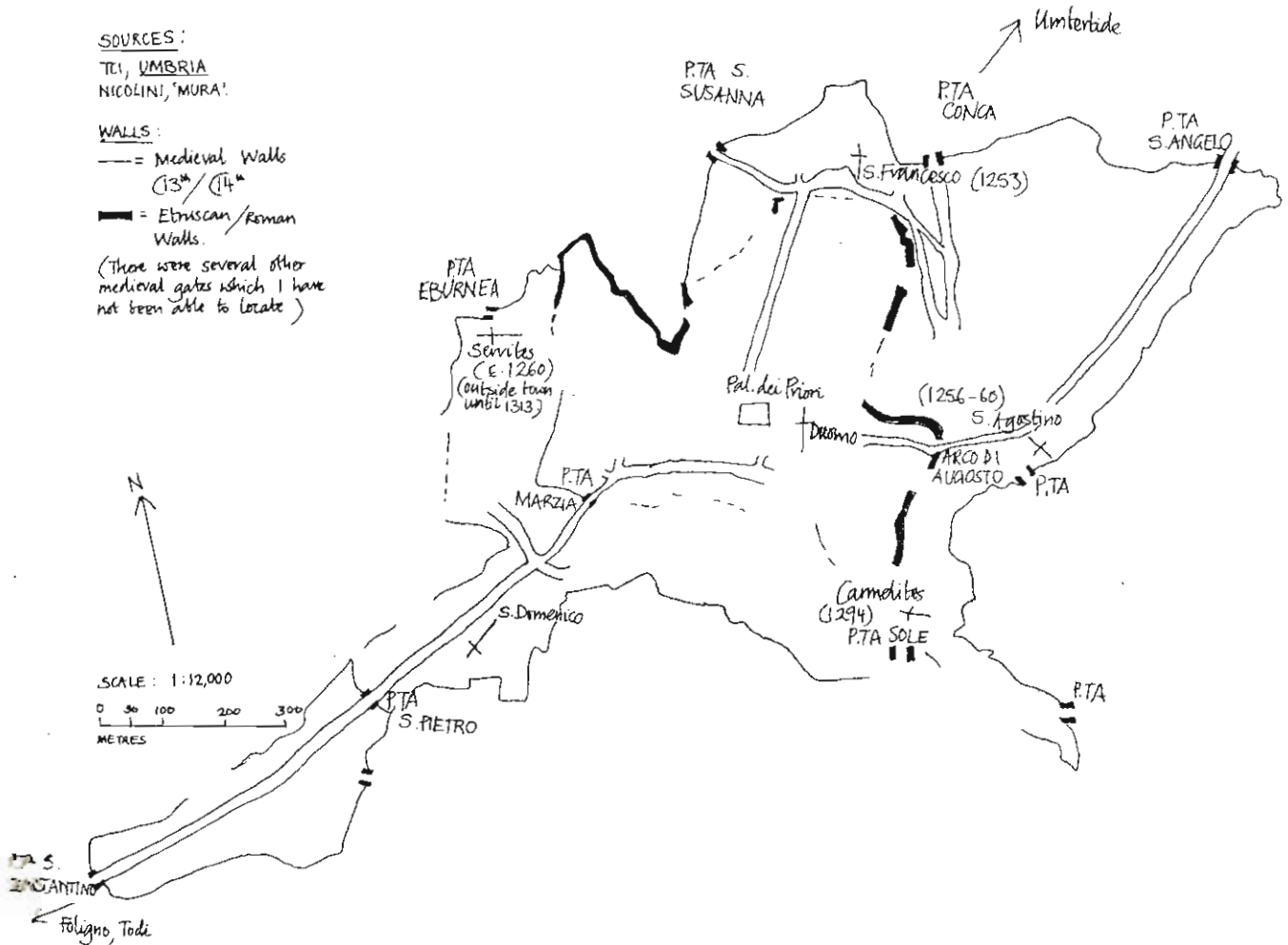
TEI, UMBRIA
NICOLINI, 'MURA'.

WALLS:

— = Medieval Walls
(13th/14th)

— = Etruscan/Roman
Walls.

(There were several other
medieval gates which I have
not been able to locate.)



PERUGIA

S. Domenico

1. Bibliography

(a) Manuscript Material:

Primary Sources

A part of the conventual archive survives and now forms fondo S. Domenico in the Archivio di Stato, Perugia. Much of the material is post medieval, or consists of post medieval copies of medieval material. A summary typescript inventory of the fondo is available in the Archivio di Stato. The majority of the material is unpublished although some items, such as

the 15th century inventories of the S. Domenico sacristy and lists of the conventual library holdings, have already formed the basis of studies.

(Fra Angelo Bettini, in 16th century, ordered and listed the conventual archive in a work called Il Campione (still extant?). See Boarini, S. Domenico, Introduction.)

Obituary list of S. Domenico, Perugia (1327-30).

MS: Perugia, Biblioteca Augusta, MS.1141. 18th century copy, AGOP, Lib.QQ, pp.685 bis-753.

Only small sections of this manuscript have been published.

(Orlandi, Necrologio, I, p.xliii, seems to be alone in naming an author - Giovanni Matteo Caccia OP - for this work.)

Secondary Sources

Ricordanze of S. Domenico, Perugia (1363-1435).

MS: Perugia, AS, fondo SD, 5.

See Masetti, I, p.24.

Domenico di Francesco Baglioni OP, Registro, (begun 1548).

(In questo libro chiamato registro della chiesa et sacristia di S. Domenico di Perugia ... si noteranno le cose più di importanza et utili pertinenti alla nostra ditta chiesa et sacristia.)

(Additions made to MS, from late 16th century to early 18th century).

MS: Perugia, Bib. Aug., MS.1232.

See QE, II, p.200.

Timoteo Bottonio OP, Annali del Convento di S. Domenico (1575).

MS: Perugia, Bib. Aug., MS.1150.

See QE, II, p.304; Masetti, I, pp.25-6.

Vincenzo Hercolani, Chronicon Coenobii Perusini (late 16th or early 17th century).

MS: Perugia, Bib. Aug., MS.1151.

See QE, II, p.402.

Reginaldo della Luna OP, Memorie di SD di Perugia (1667).

MS: Perugia, Bib. Aug., MS.1337.

Agostino Guiducci OP, Memorie del Convento di SD di Perugia, Aggiunte alle Memorie del Chiostro (1706).

MSS: Perugia, Bib. Aug., MS.1337; Perugia, AS, Fondo SD, unnumbered.

See QE, II, p.760.

Jacopo Gualtieri OP, work on history of SD, Perugia (Title?) (1711).

MS: Perugia, Bib. Aug., MS.1151?

See Masetti, I, p.27; (QE, II, p.760, mentions Gualtieri, but not this particular work.)

Annali Vari del 1566 al 1725.

MS: Perugia, Bib. Aug., MS.1152.

Notizia sulla tomba di Benedetto XI a Perugia (1748).

MS: AGOP, Lib.LII, f.345r-v.

Annali del Convento di S. Domenico di Perugia principando dall' anno 1726 (to 1792).

MS: Perugia, Bib. Aug., MS.1153.

Memorie del Convento di SD di Perugia (18th century).

MS: AGOP, Lib.C, pp.897-1004.

(Mainly copied from Bottonio.)

(b) Printed Material:

Secondary Sources

Boarini, R. OP, Descrizione Storica della Chiesa di S.D. di Perugia, (Perugia, 1778).

(This work makes use of almost all MSS. chronicles mentioned above, as well as originals and copies of documents still in conventual archive at that date.)

Gurrieri, I., La Chiesa di SD in Perugia, (Perugia, 1960).

Kaeppli, T. OP., Inventari di Libri di SD di Perugia, (1430-80), Sussidi Eruditi, 15 (Roma, 1962).

For tomb of Benedict XI, and further bibliography on that subject see:

Ladner, G., Die Papiusbildnisse des altertums und des mittelalters, (Vatican City, 1970), II, pp.341-9.

Nicolini, U., 'Le mura medievale di Perugia', Atti del VI Convegno di Studi Umbri, Gubbio, 1968, (Perugia, 1971), II, pp.695-769, (esp. pp.707-8, 738-42.)

Por, R., 'Affreschi Trecenteschi restaurati a SD di Perugia', MD, n.s.36 (1960), pp.249-60.

Rossi, A., 'Inventario della sacristia di SD di Perugia nel secolo quindicesimo', Giornale di Erudizione Artistica, 1, (1872), pp.73-83.

Salmi, II., 'Gli affreschi ricordati dal Vasari in SD di Perugia', BA, n.s.1 (1921), pp.403-26.

Gives ground plan of church, Florence, Uffizi, Dis. Arch. n.6744, before Maderna's restoration.

Santi, F., 'Ritrovamento di Oreficerie medioevali in SD di Perugia', BA, n.s.40 (1955), pp.354-8.

'La caduta e la riedificazione della Chiesa di S. Domenico di Perugia narrata da quattro scrittori contemporanei all' avvenimento', Giornale di Erudizione Artistica, II (1873), pp.340-349.

2. Brief History up to c.1320

Papal residences in Perugia: 1228;1229;1230;1234;1235;1251; 1252;1253;1265;1266;1284;1285;1294;1304.

(See the relevant years in Potthast.)

- 1220 According to Masetti it has been said that in this year Dominicans were sent to Perugia by St. Dominic, at request of citizens, and used church of S. Biagio. Masetti thinks that although no proof of this exists it may be correct, but rejects as most unlikely the story reported by some Perugian writers of a meeting between St. Dominic and St. Francis, near the town gate by S. Francesco, in this year.
See Masetti, I, p.182.
- 1233 Obituary list of SD says site was received and convent built in this year. Dominicans may have arrived in 1233 but documents mentioned below show main site was not received nor building work begun until following year.
See Perugia, Biblioteca Augusta, MS.1141, f.25r; printed in Kaeppli, Inventari, p.11.
- Masetti says B. Miccolò Palea, provincial prior, founded house together with Fra Cristiano domini Ermanni. Obituary list gives Ermanni (in Order c.1232-c.1237) as first prior of house. See Masetti, I, p.182; Perugia, Bib. Aug., MS.1141, f.25v-26r; Kaeppli, Inventari, p.11.
(Neither of these men is mentioned in the land donation documents of 1234.)
- 1234 February 1. Maffeo di Egidio de Villano sells to Podestà Ramberto de Gisleriis, acting on behalf of commune, all his land, a house, vineyard and other buildings in Borgo S. Pietro, near S. Stefano del Castellare, for 328 Lucchese libbre. (Details of site boundaries given.)
MS: Perugia, AS, Sommissioni, 2, ff.63v-64r.
Ed: Nicolini, 'Mura', pp.738-9.
- 1234 February 3. Rosso and Guglielmo, sons of the late Perusio Villani, sell to Podestà, acting on behalf of commune, all their land, three houses, vineyard and other buildings in Borgo S. Pietro, near Stefano del Castellare, for 353 Lucchese libbre.
MS: Perugia, AS, Sommissioni, 2, ff.64r-v.
Ed: Nicolini, 'Mura', pp.739-41.
- 1234 February 4. In presence of bishop, archpriest, Franciscan minister, judges and many other clerics and laymen of Perugia, Podestà, acting on behalf of commune, hands over to Dominicans the two properties mentioned above, on which will be built a church and conventual buildings. (Text of document unclear about whether commune will pay for building work or not.) The ius patronatus of this church to be retained by Perugia commune.
MS: Perugia, AS, Sommissioni, 2, f.65r.
Ed: Nicolini, 'Mura', pp.741-2.
(Boarini, S. Domenico, p.2, says Dominicans chose the site themselves.)
- 1234 November 29. Gregory IX, Perugia. Papal indulgence (140 days) for all those helping in any way with completion of Dominican church and convent, founded on site in Perugia suburbium assigned to friars by commune.
Ed: BOP, I, p.72.

This shows building work had already begun. (The wording of the bull is almost identical with a bull of 6 February 1235 concerning the Dominican Orvieto house.)

Boarini says that while building work underway Dominicans used church of S. Biagio, conceded to them by bishop of Perugia, for their services, and lived in nearby house.

See Boarini, S. Domenico, p.4.

1234 Inscribed tablet set into church wall, reported by Boarini, records that in this year Gregory IX canonised Elizabeth of Hungary in Dominican church.
See Boarini, p.3.

1235 Boarini says in this year high altar and two side altars, one belonging to Sinaglia family, completed.
See Boarini, p.3.

1253 Innocent IV proclaims canonisation of St. Peter Martyr in piazza in front of SD Perugia.
See AASS, April, III, pp.700-1.
Innocent IV (1243-54) sent two bulls directing parish priest of S. Stefano del Castellare to cede a field to Dominicans, so they could build larger church and convent.
See Boarini, S. Domenico, p.11, who saw the originals of these bulls at S. Domenico. Not given in BOP or published registers of Innocent IV.

1258 May 6. Alexander IV, Viterbo. Bishop of Perugia ordered to rescind prohibition made on receiving penance, being buried by, or making testamentary donation to any except parish priests; a prohibition especially directed against Franciscans and Dominicans.
Ed: BOP, I, p.363.

1258 May 13. Alexander IV, Viterbo. Papal indulgence (100 days) for all those visiting church of SD Perugia, on feasts and octave of the Virgin, St. Dominic and St. Peter Martyr.
Ed: BOP, I, p.364.
(Presumably issued to help Dominicans at time of difficulties with bishop; perhaps also connected with closing stage of building campaign.)

1260 Boarini says that church completed in this year.
See Boarini, S. Domenico, p.5.

1266 10 June. Clement IV, Viterbo. Papal indulgence (1 year 40 days) for all those visiting SD Perugia on anniversary or octave of its consecration.
Reported by Boarini, p.5, but not given in BOP, Potthast or the published registers of Clement IV.

1304 May 31. Benedict XI, Perugia. Dominicans granted nearby church of S. Stefano del Castellare, with all its land holdings and buildings, by the walls of Borgo S. Pietro, so as to enlarge the small site occupied by Dominicans and allow them to construct the new buildings they required. Dominicans must set up chapel of S. Stefano within their church and maintain chaplain to celebrate

mass. Neither Dominicans nor chaplain to be responsible to bishop of Perugia in matters concerning parish of S. Stefano. Other possessions and immovable goods of church of S. Stefano reserved to use of arch-priest and chapter of Perugia.

Ed: BOP, II, p.101. (For earlier status of S. Stefano Castellare see Boarini, S. Domenico, pp.13-14.)

Early 16th century Gubbio chronicler says ancient ruins, outside Porta S. Agostino and Porta S. Pietro, used as quarries for S. Domenico, Perugia and some buildings in Gualdo Tadino, by Benedict XI. (Chronicler mistakenly says Benedict XII.)

See Fra Girolamo da Venezia, Cronica della Città d'Umbrio, ed. Giuseppe Mazzatinti, Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, XXI, part 4, (Città di Castello, 1902), p.93.

Boarini says many donations towards fabric of new church by citizens, including annual donation of 150 gold florins given by commune from revenues of Lake Trasimeno. Donation confirmed by Ladislao, King of Hungary.

See Boarini, S. Domenico, pp.15-16 (who saw 16th century copy of agreement in Perugia archives).

1304 On his death bed Benedict XI said to have granted Porziuncula indulgence to SD Perugia, on feast of invention of S. Stefano. Disputed at length, until 1391, when indulgence granted by Boniface IX.

See Perugia, Bib. Aug., MS.975; Boarini, pp.7-9; BOP, II, p.316.

1309 June 5. To help make good damage caused by fire in convent, the council of the priors and the guilds offer Dominicans 100 gold florins.

MS: Perugia, AS, Annales Decemvir, 1309-11, f.180v. (5.VI.1309).

See Kaeppli, Inventari, p.13.

1326 Sacristy built.

See Boarini, S. Domenico, p.34.

3. Studia up to 1320

Artes: 1269; Theologia: 1293, 1299(?), 1311, 1318; Naturae: 1295; Philosophia: 1299, 1305, 1309, 1310; Biblia: 1313.

See HOPH, 20, pp.36, 112, 132, 132, 208, 122, 132, 156, 174, 178, 189.

4. Burials in SD up to c.1320

Francesco Poggi OP, bishop of Perugia, d. c.1312(?) (Eubel says 1330). Originally buried in old church. (Effigy in pink stone?)

See Boarini, S. Domenico, p.31.

B. Niccolò Palea OP, d.1255; buried under high altar.

See Boarini, p.32.

Benedict XI originally buried by High Altar of S. Domenico.

See Ladner, Fastbildnisse, p.341.

Tomb of Benedict moved from old church in 1700.

See Boarini, p.37.

(On p.38, Boarini says Cardinal Niccolò da Prato had the tomb made.)

5. Local Dominican Saints and Blessed up to c.1320

B. Niccolò Palea, b. Giovinazzo (Apulia); d. Perugia 1255;
buried S. Domenico, Perugia; beatified 1828.
See Taurisano, Catalogus, p.14.

B. Martino of Perugia, founded convents of Narni and Rieti,
d. Perugia 1276.
See Iacobilli, Vite dei Santi, pp.326-7. Not given
in Taurisano.

6. Confraternities up to c.1350

Marial Confraternity by 1258.

5 May 1258, Alexander IV grants indulgence for all those taking
part in services of confraternity.

Ed: Mamachi, Annalium, appendix, col.167.

See Meersseman, 'Études', I, p.30.

Disciplinati of S. Domenico, by 1318.

See Meersseman, 'Études', I, pp.27-31.

7. Dominican Bishops of diocese up to 1320

Francesco Poggi, 1308-1330.

See Eubel, Hierarchia, I, p.396.

8. Later History

Choir of S. Domenico Vecchio demolished to give space for
new dormitory building.

See Boarini, S. Domenico, pp.5-6.

1458 Church completed.

See Boarini, p.17.

1459 February 11. Church consecrated by Pius II; dedicated
to S. Stefano.

See inscription on tablet in church.

1614/1615 Fall of sections of vault. Interior of medieval
structure encased in new design by Carlo Maderno.

See 'La Caduta', passim.

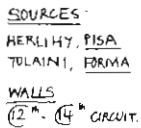
Late 18th century convent suppressed by French, 1814 reopened,
1867 suppressed again.

See ASOP, II (1295), p.94.

9. Present State

Church again used by Dominicans, conventual buildings divided
between Dominicans, Perugia Archivio di Stato, Perugia
Archaeological Museum and Perugia Soprintendenza dell'Antichità.
Old church of S. Domenico used as store for Perugia Archive.
Exterior structure of church and convent still medieval. East

chapels of church have been stripped to reveal medieval structure and fresco decoration from the mid-14th century onwards. Some original capitals still exist above roof-level in S. Domenico. (Ill. Krönig, 'Hallenkirchen', p.98, figs.66,67.)



S. Caterina

(a) Manuscript Material:

A considerable part of conventual archive survives. After suppression of S. Caterina in 1764 the part of the conventual archive then extant remained in same location, which became Seminario Arcivescovile. Archive divided into three main sections: Bulls, Privileges and Indulgences in favour of S. Caterina, 103 items; Documents concerning goods and holdings of S. Caterina, 228 items; Documents concerning goods and holdings not belonging to S. Caterina by 18th century, 224 items.

Two manuscript catalogues of the documents in the Seminario
Arcivescovile exist:

1728 Inventario dell'Archivio del Convento di SC di Pisa.

Paesani is himself at present engaged in making a new catalogue of these manuscripts.

Various items from this archive have been transcribed, notably by Paesani in his Tesi di Laurea, in which he transcribes the texts of the eighty-three earliest documents in the archive, dating from 3 December 1211 to 27 October 1266. Paesani intends to print further material from the archive in the future.

Four further documents relating to SC are now in Pisa, Archivio di Stato, Firmanale, 17 June 1293, 11 November 1312, 9 May 1317, 14 July 1326. The Archivio Arcivescovile di Pisa contains a little post-medieval material relating to SC.

Secondary Sources.

Giacinto Mabile OP, Chronicon Conventus Pisani Ord. Praed.
(early 17th century).

MS: Lost(?).

See QE, II, p.408.

Notizie storiche tratta da una cronaca del convento di Pisa
accompagnate della lettera di Fr. Pio Fe Pè (sic) al
P. Fr. M. Pollidori (1754).

MS: AGOP, Lib.A, ff.66r-68v.

Ranier Zuchelli, Compendio Istorico del già convento e Chiesa
di SC, ora convitto ecclesiastico (1747(?)).

MS: Pisa, Arc. Sem. SC.

A.A. Tantucci OP, Memorie istoriche dell'Ordine di S. Domenico
in Pisa (18th century).

MS: Siena, Bib. Com., MS.K.VIII.43.

A.A. Tantucci, Breve istorica notizia del Convento di SC di
Pisa, dell'Ordine dei Predicatori.

MS: Siena, Bib. Com., MS.B.X.3.

Gesta et singularia conventus SC de Pisis ordinis Praedicatorum
(18th century).

(Includes list of viri illustres of convent, taken from
Annales and printed works; short history of monasteries
of S. Domenico and S. Paolo ad Hortum.)

MS: AGOP, Lib.C, pp.107-33.

(b) Printed Material:

Primary Sources

Bartolomeo di S. Concordio OP, Hugolino Ser Novi OP, Domenico
da Peccioli OP, Simone da Cascina OP, Chronica Antiqua
Conventus Sanctae Catharinae, (1348-1400).

MS: Pisa, Sem. Arc., Bib. Cat.78 (xiv-xv) ff. 1r-38v.

Ed: Bonaini, pp.399-593.

See SOPA, I, pp.333-4, 282, 168.

Annales Conventus S. Catharinae (mid 16th century, later
continued up to 1773).

MS: Pisa, Arc. Sem. SC, Paper ms., no.42.

Partial Ed: Bonaini, ASI, 6 (1848), pp.399-593, 596-633.

Secondary Sources

- Barsotti, R., I manoscritti della 'Cronica' e gli 'Annales' del Convento Domenicano di S. Caterina di Pisa, (Arezzo, 1928).
(Also published in MD, 45 (1928), pp.211-19, 284-96, 368-74.)
- Bonaini, F., 'Chronica Antiqua Conventus Sanctae Catharinae de Pisis. Cronaca del Convento di Santa Caterina', Archivio Storico Italiano (= ASI), 6, ii (1848), pp. 399-633 (and ASI, 6, i, pp.xiii-xiv).
- Corallini, G., La chiesa di S. Caterina in Pisa, dalle origini ad oggi, (Pisa, 1965).
- Herlihy, D., Pisa in the early Renaissance, (Port Washington, N.Y./London, 1973).
- Lucciardi, D., 'Federico Visconti Arcivescovo di Pisa', Bollettino Storico Pisano, 2 (1933), pp.23-4.
- Paesani, R., 'L'Archivio e il fondo pergameneo di S. Caterina in Pisa', Bollettino Storico Pisano, 42 (1973), pp.73-110.
- Paesani, R., Codice Diplomatico dell'ex-Convento di S. Caterina in Pisa, 3 Dicembre 1211-27 Ottobre 1286. Tesi di laurea presso la facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Pisa, nell'anno accademica 1970-71, relatore il prof. O. Banti.
- Simoneschi, L., La Chiesa di SC in Pisa, L'incendio del 1651 e i restauri odierni, (Pisa, 1924).
- Taurisano, I., 'I Domenicani a Pisa', MD, 44 (1927), pp.177-232.
- Tolaini, E., Forma Pisarum, (Pisa, 1967).
- Zucchelli, M., Accounti e documenti per la storia del Seminario Arcivescovile di Pisa, (Pisa, 1906).

2. Brief History up to c.1320

The chronica says convent founded by Uguccio Sardo in the same year that St. Dominic founded convents in Siena and Florence. Masetti gives the year as 1221.

There is some disagreement over Uguccio's origins: the chronica says that when a child his mother brought him to Pisa from Sardinia (then under Pisan domination) but two post-medieval inscriptions in S. Caterina (reported in 1714, one now lost) say Uguccio belonged to noble Pisan families of Vacca and Grugno.

See Chronica, ed. cit., pp.402-4; Masetti, I, p.181.

Chronica says small church of S. Caterina, which occupied site of present sacristy, given to Uguccio. Behind church were small buildings and an orchard. Parish duties divided between two other churches: S. Simeone de Parlascio and S. Lorenzo de

Rivolta. Uguccio very successful as preacher and had many followers. Church soon frequented by many noble Pisans from families such as Comites, Orlandi, Verchionenses, Lanfranchi, Cortinghi, Gualandi, Farlascinghi, de Caprona.

See Chronica, ed. cit., p.402.

1230 March 1. Bene, Dominican prior, buys house and orchard.

MS: Arc. Sem. SC, 1 March 1230.

See Taurisano, 'Pisa', p.196, note 1.

1231 July 31. Ibid.

MS: Arc. Sem. SC, 31 July 1231.

See Taurisano, ibid.

1249 June 5. Lamberto Gabbadori gives Fr. Ugone, prior, the hospital which was near church.

MS: Arc. Sem. SC, 5 June 1249.

See Taurisano, 'Pisa', p.196, note 1.

1250 Provincial chapter, 'Volumus quod ad predicationes solennes, sicut Rome, Florentie, Pisis et in aliis locis, nec passim licentientur fratres nisi famosi et probati predicatorum, de quorum predicationibus scandalum non timeatur et qui libenter a populo audiantur.'

See MOPH, 20, p.11.

1251 Provincial chapter. Several houses called on to provide tunics for Arezzo house: Pisa must give three (Florence must give three and Lucca must give two).

See MOPH, 20, p.13.

(Chronicle of SC, ed. cit., p.401, says Siena also had to give three tunics.)

1252 Mamachi, Annalium, p.636, says work underway in this year.

Annales says new church completed after 1252, with help of important donations from Vacca and Grugno families.

See Annales, ed. cit., p.405.

Federico Visconti, archbishop of Pisa, (1252-1277) preached in support of the need for a new church for the 50 Pisa Dominicans. (Lucciardi says the church was complete before 1260.)

See Lucciardi, 'Federico Visconti', p.24.

1253 Innocent IV. Papal indulgence for all those helping in any way with completion of Dominican buildings.

Not given in BOP, or in Berger, Registres d'Innocent IV.

Reported by Mamachi, Annalium, p.636 from a copy(?) in S. Caterina archive.

1253 February 22. Innocent IV, Perugia. Guido, canon of Pisa, to desist from trying to prevent burials in Dominican cemetery and obstructing Dominicans in other ways.

Ed: BOP, VII, pp.29-30.

1260 March 25. Alexander IV, Anagni. Free right of burial confirmed for Pisa convent.

Ed: BOP, I, p.391.

1260 November 14. Alexander IV, Lateran. Confirmation of free right of burial in Pisan Dominican convent.

Ed: BOP, VII, p.40.

(Conflict with Pisan canons evidently continuing.)

November 17. Alexander IV, Lateran. Further confirmation of Dominican burial rights in Pisa.

Ed: BOP, I, p.397.

1261 January 3. Alexander IV, Lateran. Archbishop and chapter of Pisa instructed to allow Dominicans to preach in Cathedral without hindrance.

Ed: BOP, I, p.403.

1265 Provincial chapter. For students in Paris and debts of Province, Pisa convent must pay 26 solidos Turonensium. (No other convent mentioned.)

See MOPH, 20, p.32.

1282 Provincial chapter. No lector to read more than one lesson a day, except those of Pisa and Naples, who may read two: one of Bible text, the other of Sentences. No bachelor may sit in chair of lector (in cathedra lectorum), except in Pisa and Naples.

Not given in MOPH. Printed by Bonaini, ASI, 6, ii, p.401.

(This account contains an error, since chapter is said to have been held in S. Sabina in 1282, whereas 1282 chapter held in Orvieto, and 1283 chapter in S. Sabina.)

Some time before 1320 the chapter house was painted at the expense of the family (rich merchants) of Thomas de Sciortis OP. See Bonaini, p.484.

Prior Jacopo Donati (d.1327) paid for one side of a sculpted cloister, and procured money and marble for the revetment of the façade of S. Caterina from the Gualandi family.

See Bonaini, pp.487-8; Corallini, S. Caterina, pp.4,34.

3. Studia up to 1320

Artes: 1272; Philosophia: 1299,1311,1318; Naturae: 1288;

Theologia: 1307,1308,1309; Biblia: 1310.

See MOPH, 20, pp.39,132,132,208,86,166,170,174,178.

There is a tradition that St. Thomas Aquinas taught at SC Pisa.

See Mamachi, Annalium, p.636; Taurisano, 'Pisa', pp.191-2.

4. Burials in SC up to c.1320

B. Giordano da Pisa, d.1311, now buried beneath high altar.

5. Local Dominican Saints and Blessed up to c.1320

B. Giordano da Pisa; friar; b. Pisa; d. Piacenza, 1311;

buried Pisa SC; beatified 1833.

See Taurisano, Catalogus, p.25.

6. Confraternities up to c.1350

Confraternity of St. Dominic, pre 1260.

Laudesi confraternity of Virgin, existed by 1291; statutes, letters of indulgence and of confraternity, published.

Raccomandati confraternity of Virgin; founded c.1262 (based on similar confraternity of same name in Rome).

Confraternity of St. Dominic probably reformed by Giordano da Pisa (in Order 1280-1311) to form Disciplinati confraternity of the Cross - in existence by 1295; statutes published. (Also called Societatis Salvatoris because meetings held in oratory dedicated to the Saviour.)

In 1312 Disciplinati and Raccomandati joined together to form single confraternity with common statutes.

See Meersseman, 'Études', I, pp.31-4; Bonaini, pp.451-2.

Statutes of Disciplinati published: G. Coen, I Capitoli della Compagnia del Crocione, (Pisa, 1895).

Statutes of Laudesi Confraternity of Virgin published: Coen, pp.xx-xxiii; letters of indulgence, xxviii-xxx; letters of confraternity, pp.xxxi-xxxii.

7. Dominican Bishops of Diocese up to c.1320

Giovanni (de Polo), 1299-1312.

Oddo de Sala, 1312-23.

Simone Saltarelli, 1323-42.

See Eubel, Hierarchia, I, p.400.

8. Later History

1651 Serious fire in SC, which destroyed roof and medieval stained glass and damaged much of interior of church.
See Bonaini, pp.406-8, who reproduces the description in Jacopo Arrostiti's manuscript chronicle of 1650;
Simoneschi, Incendio, passim.

SC closed in Leopoldine suppression of 1784.

See ASOP, II (1895), p.95.

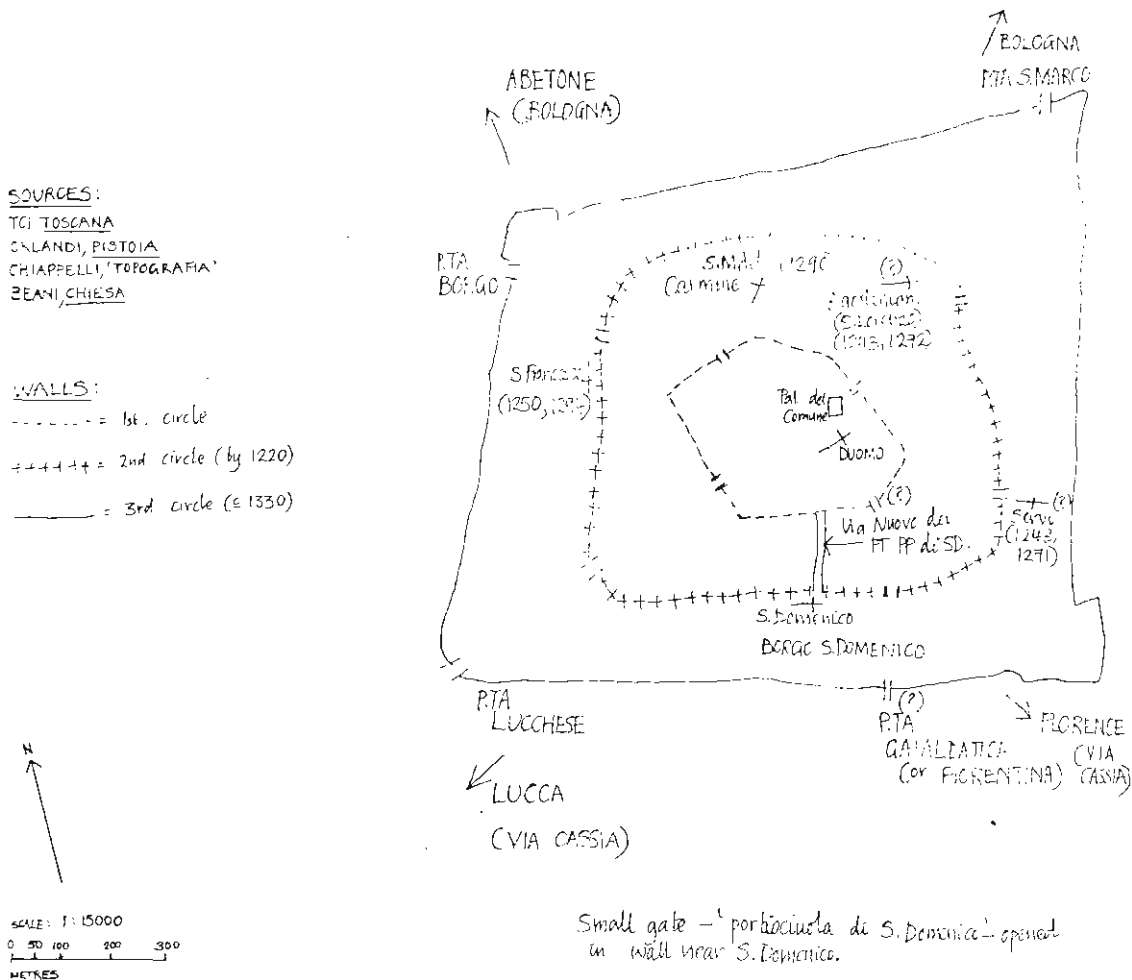
Demolition of convent and reconstruction as Seminario Arcivescovile, under guidance of Archbishop Franceschi, who himself designed the new façade.

See Zucchelli, Appunti, pp.56-7.

9. Present State

Church, still substantially the medieval structure (having undergone restoration) survives and is used as parish church.
Site of conventual buildings occupied by Seminario Arcivescovile.

PISTOIA



PICTOIA

S. Domenico

1. Bibliography

(a) Manuscript Material:

• Primary Sources

A part of conventual archive survives and is distributed among several archives. Medieval material exists in Archivio di Stato, Florence, Diplomatico, spoglio n.36, which contains 132 items dating from 1255-1533. The same archive contains, in fondo Documenti cartacei, copies of wills of 12 December 1252 and 16 June 1254. The provvisori and statuti in the list of Archivio di Stato provide some information about S. Domenico and

a considerable amount of post-medieval material is to be found in the Archivio del Patrimonio Ecclesiastico and the Archivio Vescovile, Pistoia. Copies of wills of 12 December 1252, and of 1256, form AGOP, Lib.A, f.168r-v, Lib.PP, ff.160r-64v.

See Piattoli, Guida, II, i, pp.143-4.

Secondary Sources

Sepoltuario (3 vols.) (1501-1773).

MS: Pistoia, Archivio Vescovile, Stati Antichi, filza 12.

Relatio foundationis coenobii et templi divi Dominici in civitate Pistorii (1705).

LS: AGOP, Lib.C, pp.895-97.

Notizie sopra il patrimonio del soppresso convento di Pistoia (1783).

MS: Florence, Arch. di Stato, Dipl. di SMN, 102, n.96.
See Taurisano, 'Pistoia', pp.88-89.

Brief History of Church (12th century).

MS: Pistoia, Raccolta Rossi-Cassigoli, cassetta XV, III-13.

Notes on Church of S. Domenico.

MS: Pistoia, Biblioteca Forteguerriana, MS.B-125.

(b) Printed Material:

Secondary Sources

AA.VV Chiesa Monumentale di S. Domenico, supplement to La Voce di S. Domenico on occasion of inauguration of restorations, 16 October 1932, Pistoia.

Battista da Firenze OP, Mattia da Pisa OP et. al., Sepoltuario, (1432-98).

MS: Pistoia, Biblioteca Forteguerriana, MS.B-76.
See Orlandi, Pistoia, pp.29-56 (partial edition).

Beani, G., La Chiesa Pistoiese della sue origine ai tempi nostri, (Pistoia, 1883/4).

Beani, G., Chiesa e Convento di S.D. Pistoia, (Pistoia, 1909).

Chiappelli, A., 'Della topografia antica di Pistoia', Bulletino Storico Pistoiese (= BSPT), 32 (1929), pp.174-93, 33 (1930), pp.19-36, 80-85.

Conti, A., 'Appunti Pistoiesi', Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, ser.III, I, i (1971), pp.119-20.

Donati, P.P., 'Per la Pittura Pistoiese del Trecento - Il Maestro del 1310', Paragone, Arte, 295 (1974), pp.3-26.

Mascarucci, P.O., 'Documentazione inedita in volgare sui rapporti tra l'Opera di S. Jacopo e il convento di S.D. di Pistoia dal 1350 al 1480 circa', BSPT, n.s.2 (1960), pp.18-57.

Orlandi, S. OP, 'I domenicani a Pistoia fino al sec. XV', ID 74 (n.s.33) (1957), pp.73-96. The publication referred to below is a version of the article printed as an opusculum, giving more detailed references to sources.

Piattoli, R., Guida Storica e Bibliografica degli Archivi e delle Biblioteche d'Italia, II, Provincia di Pistoia, I, Pistoia (Rome, 1934).

Salmi, N., 'Per la storia della Pittura a Pistoia e Pisa. A proposito degli affreschi scoperti in S.D. Pistoia', Rivista d'Arte, 13 (1931), pp.451-76.

Taurisano, I. OP, 'I domenicani in Pistoia, la loro chiesa e il loro convento', BSPT 25 (1923), pp.10-18, 41-56, 87-94. Also available in form of an opusculum, pages numbered 1-32.

2. Brief History up to c.1320

Dominicans came to Pistoia from Florence on preaching expeditions, before foundation of a locus. The necrology of S. Maria Novella talks about 'Fra Sinibaldus de Lucardo qui antequam fratres haberent locum Pistorij insistens ferventer predicationi obiit ibidem'. Various young men from the town seem to have joined the Order before the foundation of the Pistoia convent, presumably as a result of conversion during preaching missions. See Orlandi, Necrologio, I, p.4; Taurisano, 'Pistoia', pp.12-13.

1249 January 18. Letter of bishop of Gubbio mentions Dominican establishment (presumably locus) in Pistoia.
MS: Lucca, Archivio di Stato, dip. S. Romano, 18 January 1249.
See also Orlandi, Pistoia, p.4.

Building work underway by 1252:

1252 December 12. Will of Torrisiano di Ventura includes donation of 5 soldi for the fabric of Dominican church.
MS: 18th century copies: AGOP, Lib.A, f.168; Florence, A di S, fondo documenti cartacei, S.D. Pistoia, 12 December 1252.

1258 October 5. Two Dominicans used by Pistoia commune as ambassadors for pact made with Florence.
See Orlandi, Pistoia, p.6.

1259 Official foundation of Pistoia convent by provincial chapter.
See MOPH, 20, p.24.
See Orlandi, Pistoia, p.8.
Orlandi says present chapter house was originally a small oratory, used by Dominicans as their church. (No sources given.)

- 1274 Date carved on respond in north transept of S. Domenico shows east end of new church completed within or soon after that year.
See plates, fig.5.
- 1299 Provincial chapter held at Pistoia.
See MOPH, 20, pp.129-36.
- 1303 April 30. Goccio di Bottingoro Bottingori leaves 800 Libbre to set up a chapel in S.D. Pistoia.
MS: Florence, AS, op. di S. Iacopo, 1303 April 30.
See Taurisano, 'Pistoia', p.17.
- 1318 Squared stones bought for work on church with communal donations.
(Niccolò da Prato also contributed to cost of building.)
See Fontana, p.151 (reporting f.29 of records of communal Cancellaria); Orlandi, Pistoia, pp.8-9.
- 1332 November 18. Commune gives Dominicans 100 squared stones for façade (frontispitii) of their church.
MS: Pistoia, AS, Provvisioni e Statuti, reg.8, part I, f.18r-v.
Partial ed: Mascarucci, 'Documentazione', p.38.
- 1333 March 26. Commune gives Dominicans 150 libbre for completion of church façade.
MS: Pistoia, AS, Provvisioni e Statuti, reg.8, part I, f.41r-v.
Partial ed: Mascarucci, p.39.
- 1334 March 15. Commune gives 300 libbre to Dominicans to complete west (? = anteriori) wall of church and portal.
MS: Pistoia, AS, Provvisioni e Statuti, reg.8, part III, ff.6v-7r.
Partial ed: Mascarucci, pp.39-40.
- Work on church still continuing in second half of century, e.g:
- 1370 Gift of Giovanni di Lapo Tonti, per aiuto a fare lo muro della chiesa.
MS: Florence, AS, opera di S. Jacopo, 1370.
See Chiesa Monumentale, p.13.

3. Studia up to 1320

Naturae: 1288,1295; Logica Nova: 1291; Theologia(?): 1299;
Logica: 1310,1318.

See MOPH, 20, pp.86,121,101,132,178,209.

4. Burials in S. Domenico up to c.1320: None recorded.

5. Local Dominican Saints and Blessed up to c.1320: None recorded.

6. Confraternities up to c.1350

Società or Compagnia dei Disciplinati di S. Domenico, 13th century.

Compagnia dei Magi by early 14th century.

See Orlandi, Pistoia, pp.23-4; Taurisano, Il Resto Andrea Franchi, (Rome, 1922), pp.65-6.

7. Dominican Bishops of Diocese up to 1320: None recorded.

8. Later History

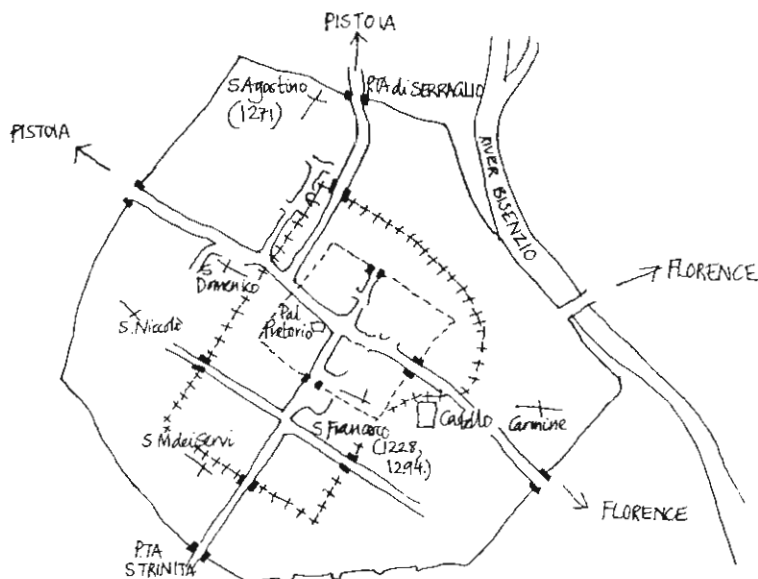
Suppressed by Leopold, archduke of Tuscany, 1782.
See ASOP, II (1895), p.95.

9. Present State

Re-opened by Dominicans in 1928 (see Agresti, ED, n.s.2 (1971), p.201). Church heavily bombed during Second World War (Macmillan Commission photographs, now held by Conway Library, Courtauld Inst. of Art, show extent of damage). Subsequently the church, medieval in structure, and the conventual buildings, partly medieval, have undergone restoration. (See Chiesa Monumentale, passim.) The church, chapter house and cloister contain frescoes dating from the last quarter of the 13th century onwards. The earliest are a Crucifixion, in the chapter house, a St. Dominic in the north transept and fragments of a Crucifixion(?) on the south nave wall.

SOURCES:TCI, TOSCANAFIUMI, DEMOGRAFIAWALLS:--- = First circle (C11^a)++ = Second circle (C12^a)— = Third circle (C14^a)

SCALE: 1:15,000

 0 50 100 200 300
 METRES
PRATOS. Domenico1. Bibliography(a) Manuscript Material:Primary Sources

At the time of Savonarola's reform parts of conventual archive dispersed. Further losses presumably occurred at time of 1647 fire. Material formerly in the archive, especially concerning the estate of Cardinal Niccolò da Prato, is mentioned in Fineschi, Supplemento. A single document of 1335 remains in Prato, Archivio del Patrimonio Ecclesiastico, which also contains some post-medieval material from S. Domenico. See Piattoli, Guida, I, i, pp.55-6.

17th century copies of indulgences concerning S. Domenico and 18th century copies of two documents concerning the foundation of the convent in 1281 are AGOP, Lib.F, p.472, Lib.GGG, f.288 r-v.

Secondary Sources

Sepoltuario, 17th-18th centuries.

MS: Prato, Biblioteca Roncioniana, cod.319.

Notizie Storiche

MS: Florence, Archivio di Stato, Carte Ricci, invent.341.

(b) Printed Material:Secondary Sources

Fineschi, V. OP, Supplemento alla vita del Cardinale Niccolò da Prato, (Lucca, 1758).

Fiumi, E., Demografia movimento urbanistico e classi sociali in Prato, Biblioteca Storica Toscana, 15 (Florence, 1968).

Guasti, C., 'I sigilli Pratesi editi e inediti', Periodico di Numismatica e Sfragistica per la Storia d'Italia ..., 4/5, (1872-73), pp.49-58.

Piattoli, R., Guida Storica e Bibliografica degli Archivi e delle Biblioteche d'Italia, I, i, Prato, (Rome, 1952), pp.55-6.

Pittura Murale nel San Domenico di Prato (catalogue), ed. F. Garrieri, (Prato, 1964), esp. plan, fig.1, elevations and sections, figs.2-6.

Razzi, S., 'Diario di Viaggio di un Ricercatore (1572)', ed. Guglielmo di Agresti OP, MD, n.d.2 (1971).

2. Brief History up to c.1320

Dominicans lived in Ospedale della Misericordia, Prato, from 1279.

See Agresti, MD, n.s.2 (1971), p.199.

1281 Provincia Romana permitted by general chapter (held in Florence) to found house in Prato.

See MOPH, 3, p.214.

Fontana, p.131, says commune of Prato sent officials to chapter to request foundation of Dominican house in their town and promising necessary help.

1281 July 6. Fra Filippo del Giudice and Fra Salvo da Lucca, sent by Fra Pietro de Romanis, Provincial of Roman Province, to find site for Prato convent, agreed with Messer Gualfreduccio Giudice on the site and quantity of land they were to have, in the presence of the Stimatori of the commune.

MS: Formerly Arch. Conv., S. Domenico Prato, fasc.1. See Fineschi, Supplemento, pp.15-16.

1282 Prato convent officially founded by Province.

See MOPH, 20, p.62.

1284 June 20. On occasion of laying of first stone of building, Guidaloste Vergiolesi, bishop of Pistoia, granted indulgence (40 days) to all those contributing towards work.

MS: Formerly Arch. Conv., S. Domenico Prato, fasc.1.

See Fineschi, Supplemento, p.16.

(Fineschi thinks Guidaloste may well have made donations and given other assistance to the convent.)

Cardinal Niccolò da Prato was also a patron of building work, and left 5000 gold florins, in the codicil to his will, for the fabric.

See the forthcoming work on Cardinals' wills by A. Paravicini Bagliani.

1310 Death of Fra Mazzettus, conversus, carpentarius and architectus, while supervising building work on SD, Prato.

See Orlandi, Necrologio, I, p.28.

1322 Building work not yet completed.

See Agresti, ID, n.s.2 (1971), p.200.

3. Studia up to 1320

Logica Vetera et Tractatus: 1291; Artes Novae: 1305; Logica: 1309, 1318; Philosophia: 1310; Artes: 1311.

See KOPF, 20, pp.102, 156, 174, 209, 178, 182.

4. Burials in S. Domenico up to c.1320: None recorded.

5. Local Dominican Saints and Blessed up to c.1320: None recorded.

6. Confraternities up to c.1320

Disciplinati of S. Domenico, Prato; founded 1335; statutes of that year survive.

MSS: 18th century copies, Prato, Biblioteca Roncioniana, cod. 265, 269.

See Meersseman, 'Études', I, pp.41-2, 'Études', III, p.74; Guasti, 'Sigilli', pp.49-58.

7. Dominican Bishops of Diocese up to 1320

Prato not a bishopric at this date.

8. Later History

In 1647 a fire destroyed much of the church, leaving only the walls.

See Piattoli, Guida, I, i, p.55.

(Prato, Arch. Com., contains two books of Entrata and Uscita, nos.57,58, concerning subsequent restoration (1647-61).)

9. Present State

Church and part of convent now used by Franciscans. Part of convent now forms museum of frescoes and arte sacra in Prato. Medieval shell of church and part of exterior of chapter house and dormitory survive. A few fragments of frescoes of the 2nd half of the 14th century, originating from S. Domenico, or the conventual buildings, are now on display in the fresco museum.

RIETI

SOURCES:

TCI, LAZIO.

PALMEGIANI, CATTEDRALE

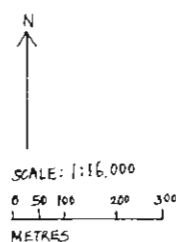
PALMEGIANI, RIETI

SACCHETTI SASSETTI, GUIDA
MARCONI, 'PIANO REGOLATORE'

WALLS:

Walls enlarged 1253

(Bull, Innocent IV, Perugia)



RIETI

S. Domenico

1. Bibliography

(a) Manuscript Material:

Primary Sources

Part of the conventual archive now forms Archivio Domenicani in the Biblioteca Comunale, Rieti. Other documents concerning S. Domenico are to be found in the Archivio Notarile (Notary Angelus) which forms part of the Archivio Comunale, Rieti, and in the Archivio Capitolare, Rieti.

Copies of some documents from S. Domenico (probably papal bulls) are found in AGOP, cod.XI, 49-59.

Secondary Sources

Agostino de Paulis, Memorie del convento di S. Domenico Rieti, (1688).

MS: AGOP, Lib.LII, pp.260-83.

Not given in QE.

(b) Printed Material:

Secondary Sources

Boschi, V., Notizie Storiche sopra la Chiesa e il Convento di San Domenico in Rieti, (Rieti, 1910).

Marconi, P., 'Piano Regolatore e di Ampliamento di Rieti',
Architettura, 20 (1941), fasc. i-ii, pp.117-27.

Mortari, L., Il Tesoro del Duomo di Rieti, (Rome, 1974).

Mortari, L., Restauro in Sabina, Mostra delle opere restaurate
dalle Soprintendenze ai Monumenti e alle Gallerie del
Lazio, (Rieti, 1966), pp.45-47.

Palmecciani, F., 'Gli affreschi nell'antica chiesa di S. Domenico
a Rieti', Terra Sabina, 11 November 1924.

Palmecciani, F., La Cattedrale Basilica di Rieti, (Rome, 1926).

Palmecciani, F., Rieti e la Regione Sabina, (Rome, 1926).

Sacchetti Sassetti, A., Guida Illustrata di Rieti, (Rieti, 1916).

Verani, C., 'Gli affreschi nella chiesa di S. Domenico in Rieti',
Sabina, Rivista dell'E.P.T. di Rieti, (October-December
1956).

Zucchi, A. OP, 'S. Domenico di Rieti', MD, 52 (n.s.10) (1935),
pp.134-9, 183-3, 276-92. (Also available as opusculum in
which page numbering differs.)

2. Brief History up to c.1320

Papal residences in Rieti: 1228;1231;1232;1234;1236;1237;1288;
1289;1298.

See the relevant years in Potthast.

Dominicans arrived in Rieti some time before official foundation
of convent, but opinions on exact date differ. Arrival has been
put in 1228 or 1230, and by Michele Plodio (who wrote his
Coenobii Italiae, c.1620) in 1242.

See Sassetti, I, p.185.

1263 November 2. Earliest documentary evidence for Dominican
presence in Rieti. Church of SS. Apostoli, Rieti, with
its lands and possessions, inside and outside the town
walls, ceded to Fra Pietro di Trastevere, prior of
S. Sisto in Rome, by Riccardo di Pietro Annibaldi, Roman
Consul.

MS: Rieti, Bib. Com., Arch. Dom., perg.I.

Ed: Zucchi, 'Rieti', p.136.

1265 October 4. Perugia, Clement IV. Rieti Cathedral
Chapter instructed to sell land, presumably adjoining
church of SS. Apostoli, to Dominicans, so they can enlarge
conventual buildings.

MS: Rieti, Arch. Com., Arch. Dom., num.42.

Ed: BOP, VII, p.43 (and Zucchi, p.136).

1266 February 4. Gift of 20 solidi to church of S. Domenico,
by Baronus Martini Blandi formerly of Assisi and now
citizen of Rieti, pro opere dicte ecclesie, indicates
work on new church buildings had begun by this date.

MS: Rieti, Arch. Com., Not. Angelus, vol.IX, die 4 februarii.

Partial ed: Zucchi, p.136.

- 1268 Official foundation of convent in provincial chapter.
See MOPH, 20, p.34.
- 1294 Provincial chapter held at Rieti, so building work must have been well advanced by this date.
See MOPH, 20, p.116.
- 1295 Indulgence (40 days) granted by Niccola Cisterciense, Bishop of Rieti, to all those contributing to building work on the church or convent or other needs of friars, shows work still in progress.
MS: Rieti, Arch. Com., Arch. Dom., No.47.
Partial ed: Zucchi, p.139.

Building work on convent not completely finished for another hundred years.
See Zucchi, p.139.

3. Studia up to 1320

Artes: 1311; Logica: 1318.

See MOPH, 20, pp.182, 210.

4. Burials in S. Domenico up to c.1320: None recorded.

5. Local Dominican Saints and Blessed up to c.1320: None recorded.

6. Confraternities up to c.1350

1268 Letter of Master General John of Vercelli, recognising privileges of confraternity of Virgin, St. Dominic and St. Peter Martyr, shows confraternity established by that date.

MS: Rieti, Bib. Com., Arch. Dom., perg.45.

Ed: Zucchi, 'Rieti', p.138.

Later documents refer to confraternity under single dedication to St. Peter Martyr. Confraternity patronised by rich merchants of town and recognised as 'confrérie professionnelle'.

1326 Commune builds a chapel for the confraternity in S. Domenico.

See Meersseman, 'Études', II, p.101.

7. Dominican Bishops of Diocese up to c.1320

Dominicus. Ughelli says 1250, others say 1235.

See BOP, I, p.114.

8. Later History

1447 Oratory of St. Peter Martyr restored.

See TCI guide to Lazio, p.293.

Late 18th century Suppressed by French.

1814 Re-opened.

1867 Suppressed again.

See ASOP, II (1895), p.98.

9. Present State

Convent site used as military barracks. Church used by barracks as rubbish tip. Structure of medieval church, somewhat damaged, survives. Some 13th century frescoes have been removed from walls; one is now on display in Cathedral Museum, Rieti. Other fragments of 13th and 14th century frescoes visible in church.

ROME

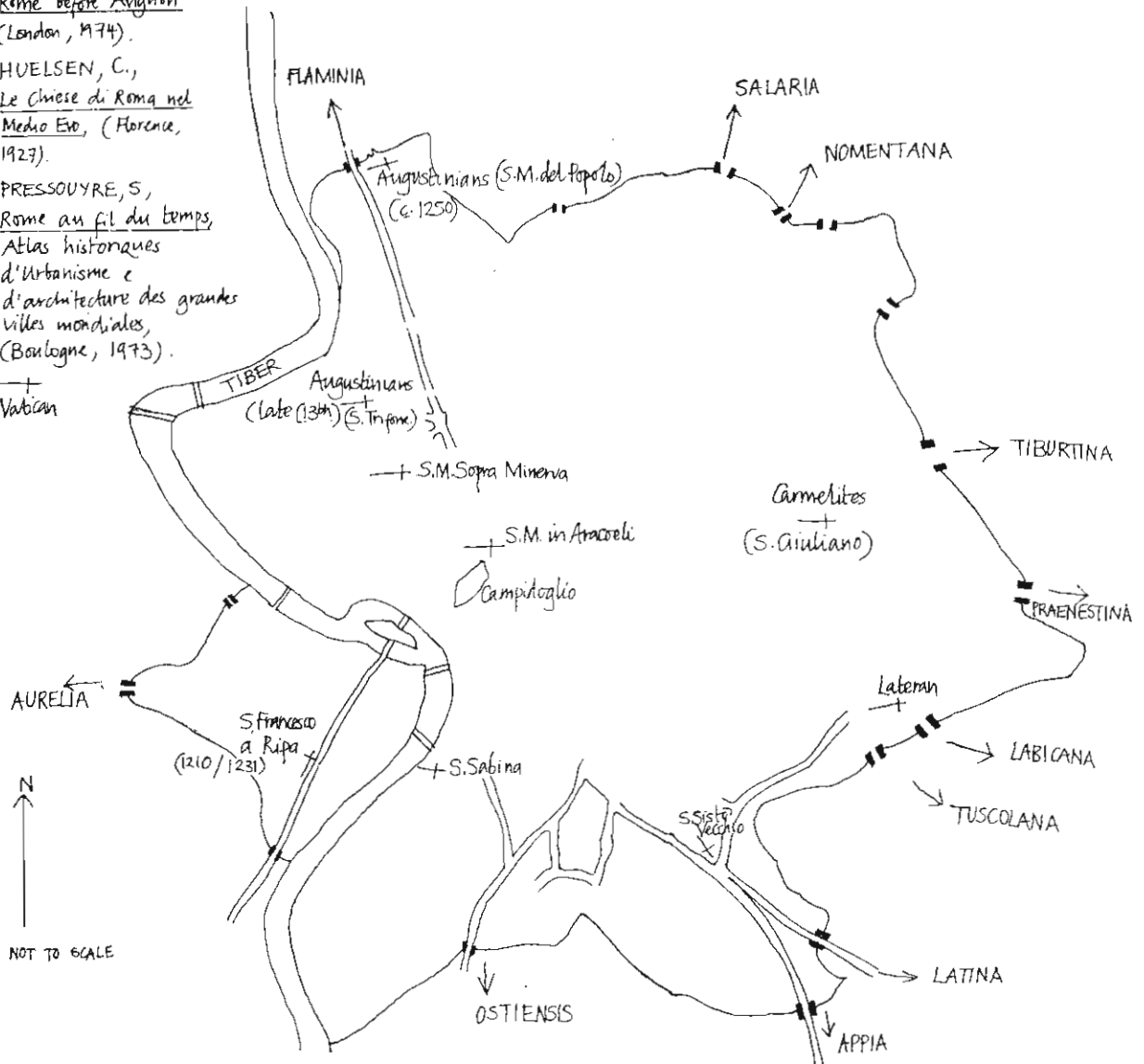
SOURCES:

BRENTANO, R.,
Rome before Augustus
(London, 1974).

HUELSEN, C.,
Le Chiese di Roma nel
Medio Evo, (Florence,
1927).

PRESSOUYRE, S.,
Rome au fil du temps,
Atlas historiques
d'urbanisme e
d'architecture des grandes
villes mondiales,
(Boulogne, 1973).

+
Vatican



ROME

S. Sisto (Vecchio)

1. Bibliography

(a) Manuscript Material:

Primary Sources

Part of Monastic Archive survives. A section of this archive was transferred to archives of Dominican Order in 1931, when nuns of SS. Domenico e Sisto (monastery succeeding S. Sisto) moved to Madonna del Rosario, Monte Mario. This section includes 31 items (30 originals, of which one is a duplicate, and one authenticated copy) from S. Maria in Tempulo, dating from 19 October 1150 to 26 November 1220 - now AGOP, XII, 3c-3d, nos.84-111. Some items from this fondo are published.

Koudelka publishes four documents concerning S. Sisto, now in the Archivio Segreto Vaticano, or Perugia AS, dating from 1222 to 1306. Benedict of Montefiascone, in his Registrum, summarises twenty-nine papal bulls in favour of S. Sisto, the majority unpublished, dating from 6 May 1221 to 15 December 1303.

See Koudelka, 'San Sisto', pp.6-13, 65-81.

(b) Printed Material:

Primary Sources

c.1318 Benedict of Montefiascone, Registrum notabilium rerum ac negotiorum monasterii S. Sixti de Urbe.

ISS: Introduction, summarising history of monastery:

17th century copies, AGOP, XII, 3g, ff.3v-11v;

AGOP, XII, 3f., ff.2r-3v.

Part I, register of bulls favouring S. Sisto: 14th century copy, Perugia, AS, Sop. Cong. Rel. SD, no.66, ff.98r-103r.

Ed: Koudelka, 'San Sisto', pp.69-81.

Text of part II, summarising monastic property titles, is lost.

Secondary Sources

Bertelli, C., 'L'Immagine del 'Monasterium Tempuli' dopo il restauro', AFP, 31 (1961), pp.82-111.

Berthier, J.J. OP, Chronique du Monastère de San Sisto et de San Domenico e Sisto à Rome, 2 vols., (Levanto, 1919-20). (Based on material from chronicles from 16th century onwards and other sources.)

Geertman, H., 'Ricerche sopra la prima fase di S. Sisto Vecchio in Roma', Rendiconti-Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia 41, (1968-69), pp.219-228, résumé, pp.xx-xxi.

Koudelka, V.J. OP, 'Le 'Monasterium Tempuli' et la fondation Dominicaine de San Sisto', AFP, 31 (1961), p.5-81.

Ronci, G., 'Antichi Affreschi in S. Sisto Vecchio a Roma', BA, 36 (1951), pp.15-26.

Torriglio, F.M., Historia della Veneranda Immagine di Maria Vergine posta nella Chiesa del monastero delle RR monache di Santi Sisto e Domenico di Roma, (Rome, 1641).

Zucchi, A. OP, Roma Dominicana, 4 vols., (Florence, 1938-43).

2. Brief History up to c.1320

c.1208 Innocent III rebuilt Roman church of S. Sisto, in order to rehouse several communities of Roman nuns.

See Koudelka, 'San Sisto', pp.43-8; Benedict of Montefiascone, Registrum, introduction, rubr.1, ed. cit., p.69.

- 1218 August 3. Honorius III, Lateran. Gilbertine prior ordered to send four friars to Rome to occupy S. Sisto before Christmas, otherwise church will be given to another Order.
Ed: MOPH, 25, pp.94-5.
 Koudelka, p.51 suggests that St. Dominic already wished to have S. Sisto by this date and was helped in his case by various friends in the Curia.
- 1219 December 4. Honorius III, Viterbo. Gilbertines absolved from care of church of S. Sisto.
Ed: MOPH, 25, pp.112-3.
- 1219 December 17. Honorius III, Civit  Castellana. Priars and nuns of Prouille, Fanjeaux and Limoux informed that they must take possession of S. Sisto since it has now been granted to them.
Ed: MOPH, 25, pp.117-8; BOP, I, pp.8-9.

Koudelka places official foundation of S. Sisto convent after foundation of Florence and before foundation of Siena, on basis of order of foundation given for S. Sabina in Liber Privilegiorum Provinciae Romanae, Perugia, AS, Sop, Cong. Rel., SD, no.66, f.4. i.e. between summer 1219 (Florence) and Siena - founded at the latest February 1221.

See Koudelka, 'San Sisto', pp.53-4.

- 1221 Several Roman communities of nuns, notably S. Maria in Tempulo and members of S. Bibiana, join Dominican nuns brought from Prouille, and new converts to the Order, to form S. Sisto monastery, thus fulfilling earlier plans of Innocent III.
 See Koudelka, pp.54-9; Benedict of Montefiascone, Registrum, introduction, rubr.4,5,7, ed. cit., pp.69-70.

- 1221 April 25. Honorius III, Lateran. Possessions of Monasterium Templi and S. Bibiana granted to S. Sisto.
Ed: BOP, I, p.13.

Berthier says that Honorius III also made donations of large sums of money to S. Sisto.

See Berthier, Chroniques, I, p.92.

- 1221 Friars living in house on S. Sisto site divide into two groups: one group leaves to form convent of S. Sabina; other group remains to administer spiritual care of nuns.
 See Koudelka, p.54; Benedict of Montefiascone, Registrum, introduction, rubr.3, ed. cit., p.69.

Cardinal Giovanni Boccamazza (d.1309) made several important donations to monastery: gave farm in Tivoli district, farm of S. Clemente on via Appia; his share of Sicily tribute; 1000 florins; financial help in enlarging dormitory and adding vaulted section to chapter house.
 See Benedict of Montefiascone, Registrum, introduction, rubr.13, 14, ed. cit., p.72; Torrigio, Historia, p.62; Koudelka, 'S. Sisto', p.60; Berthier, Chroniques, pp.95, 115-6.

Among further donors and donations of the 13th and the first half of the 14th century are the following:

Cardinal Stefano de Fossanova; Pietro Colonna (silver lamp to hang before Madonna Avvocata); Archbishop of Nicosia (liturgical vestments and vessels); Abbot of S. Anastasio; Abbot of S. Saba (wood for building work); Prince of Galliciano (stone for building work); Stefano Conti (three marble columns and tiles for roof); Annibale degli Annibaldi (lime for mortar); Niccolò di S. Pietro (wood); Andrea Scrinari (iron); Guido Carbone (built bell tower); Bertoldo Palombara (farm in territory of Petra-Porci and other lands); Giovanni Frangipani (land); Giovanna Angela Guidoni (land and property); Pietro Cerritoni (land and property). Church also received four silver chalices, two censers, two silver nebs, vestments, books etc. See Berthier, Chroniques pp.95-6. (Zucchi, Roma, I, p.254, casts doubt on reliability of information in Chroniques.)

3. Studia up to 1320 —
4. Burials in S. Sisto up to c.1320: None recorded.
5. Local Dominican Saints and Blessed up to c.1320: None recorded.
6. Confraternities up to c.1350: None recorded.
7. Dominican Bishops of Diocese up to c.1320 —
8. Later History

In 1566 congregation moved to church and convent of SS. Domenico e Sisto, nearer centre and away from unhealthy malarial area in which S. Sisto was situated.
See Zucchi, Roma, I, pp.278-87.

Church underwent restorations in 14th, 15th, 16th, 18th and 20th centuries.
See Zucchi, Roma, I, pp.337-41, 343-4.

9. Present State

Church and convent again occupied by Dominican nuns. Shell of church is medieval, although interior decorated mainly in 18th century. Original apse, decorated with 13th and 14th century frescoes, forms shell around present, later apsidal structure. Only remnant of medieval convent is part of chapter house, considerably restored.

ROME

S. Sabina

1. Bibliography

(a) Manuscript Material:

Primary Sources

No part of conventual archive so far located.

Secondary Sources

Alcune notizie tratte dal calendario manoscritto del Convento di S. Sabina (P. Badetti.)

MS: AGOP, Lib.GGG, f.44.

Descrizione della Chiesa di S. Sabina, (18th century).

MS: Roma, Biblioteca Casanatense, MS.3209.

(b) Printed Material:

Primary Sources

Libro di tutta la spesa fatta da N.S. Papa Sisto V a Santa Sabina (1587).

MS: ASV, AA Arm.B.15.

Ed: Muñoz, Restauro, pp.48-53.

Secondary Sources

Cronaca di S. Sabina (17th century).

MS: Macerata, Bib. Municipale.

Ed: F. Rodocanachi, Una Cronaca di Santa Sabina sull' Aventino, (Torino, 1898).

Memorie riguardanti il nostro convento di S. Sabina dal 1412 al 1678.

(Summary of Macerata chronicle mentioned above.)

MS: AGOP, XIII, 612.

Ed: Berthier, Église, pp.523-31.

Notizie Storiche della Chiesa e Convento di SS martire in Roma, (1755).

MS: Vat. Lat. 9167.

Partial ed: Berthier, Église, pp.531-7.

Berthier, J.J. OP, L'Église de Sainte-Sabine à Rome, (Rome, 1910).

Berthier, J.J. OP, Le Couvent de Sainte-Sabine à Rome, (Rome, 1912).

Darsy, F. OP, Santa Sabina, Le Chiese di Roma Illustrate, 63-4, (Rome, 1961). (Provides further bibliography, pp.155-60.)

Martinelli, V., 'Su una statuetta di San Domenico a Roma, opera giovanile di Arnolfo', Scritti di Storia dell'Arte in onore di Ugo Procacci, (Milan, 1977), I, pp.73-81.

Muñoz, A., Il Restauro della Basilica di Santa Sabina, (Rome, 1939).

2. Brief History up to c.1320

- 1221 Dominicans arrive in S. Sabina.
See Koudelka, 'S. Sisto', p.54.

Berthier, Convent, p.147 gives the date of the move as 15th or 16th February, 1220 but cites as his source Suora Cecilia's miracula Dominici, (No.VI), an unreliable source in matters of chronology. (See Koudelka, 'S. Sisto', pp.38-40.)

The Dominicans arrived in S. Sabina at some time after the establishment of the S. Sisto community, which Koudelka dates between summer 1219 and February 1221, and before the bull of 5 June 1222 confirming their possession of S. Sabina (see below.) Koudelka's date of 1221 therefore seems more convincing than the date of 1220 given by Berthier and sometimes repeated by other writers.

- 1222 June 5. Honorius III, Rome. Confirmation of donation of church of S. Sabina and adjoining houses to Dominicans. House with baptistry reserved to use of two priests who are to look after possessions of church and parish duties.
Ed: BOP, I, p.15.

The Aventine site of S. Sabina formerly formed part of the residence of the Savelli family of which Honorius III was a member. (Area given to Dominicans corresponded to about half area occupied by Rocca Savelli.)
See Berthier, Salise, p.78; Darsy, S. Sabina, p.139.

Changes made to interior of early christian church to make it suitable for use by Order of regular clergy: Tramezzo (2m.30 high), placed across nave, pierced by two small doors; along screen five altars established for service of faithful.
See Berthier, Salise, p.82, reporting information in unpublished Memoria about S. Sabina, presented to Clement XI, MS. Casanatense Miscell. t.vii (? = Descrizione, Casanatense MS.3209.)

Honorius III said to have donated altar with chalice, patten and corporal to S. Sabina.
See Berthier, Salise, p.82, reporting Pompeo Felice, La Prima delle Cinquantasette Stazioni di Roma (Rimini, 1587).

- 1238 November 14. Gregory IX consecrated high altar, while four bishops consecrated side altars. Pavement probably renewed at this time.
(The high altar was towards the middle of the nave, in the church of the laity. A conventual altar, east of the choir screen, is mentioned by Gerard de Frachet and Ugonio.)

See Berthier, Église, pp.336-8, 378; Muñoz, Restauro, p.14; Gerard of Frachet, Vitae Fratrum, I, 1, cap.vi; Pompeo Ugonio, Historia delle Stationi di Roma ... (Rome, 1588), fol.11.

- 1248 Chapel dedicated to St. Michael and the Angels (later dedicated to St. Dominic); first chapel to E. of S. side of church.

See Berthier, Église, pp.311-2; Darsy, S. Sabina, p.34.

- 1262 (or 63?) Chapel dedicated to St. Peter Martyr. (Chapel facing that dedicated to St. Michael and the angels.)

See Muñoz, Restauro, p.14; Darsy, S. Sabina, pp.34-5.

Provincial chapters held at S. Sabina: 1243, 1244, 1246, 1247, 1248, 1253, 1259, 1263, 1273, 1280, 1283, 1287, 1292 (post generale).

See MOPH, 20, pp. 1, 2, 5, 7, 14, 23, 27, 41, 53, 62, 75, 105.

3. Studia up to 1320

Artes Veteres et Tractatus: 1305; Artes: 1311; Logica: 1318.

See MOPH, 20, pp.157, 182, 210.

4. Burials in S. Sabina up to c.1320 (Only dating from after Dominican possession of church.)

Cardinal Hugues Aycelin OP, d.1297, buried in front of former high altar, bronze floor tomb (lost).

Master General Munio de Zamora OP, d.1300, originally buried to left of conventual altar, marble and mosaic tomb slab.

Ildibrandino de Clusio OP, papal penitentiary, d.1300, (originally buried in chapel of St. Michael and the angels?) incised marble tomb slab.

Egidio de Warnsparg, abbot of Wissembourg, d.1312 (originally buried in chapel of St. Michael and the angels?), incised marble tomb slab.

Egidio de Wilika, chaplain of Egidio de Warnsparg, d.1312(?), (originally buried in chapel of St. Michael and the angels?) incised marble tomb slab.

Cozo de Husb'cn, knight, d.1312, incised marble tomb slab.

(These three Germans probably died in fighting which occurred during Henry VII's stay in Rome.)

See Berthier, Église, pp.423-64.

5. Local Dominican Saints and Blessed up to c.1320: None recorded.

6. Confraternities up to c.1350: None recorded.

7. Dominican Bishops of Diocese up to c.1320 ———

8. Later History

Church interior underwent various modifications and alterations from the 14th to 19th centuries. Church 'returned' to early christian form in restorations conducted by Antonio Muñoz, 1914-19 and 1936-39.

See Muñoz, Restauero, passim.

For further information about later history of S. Sabina see Darsy, S. Sabina, pp.37 ff.

9. Present State

Church and convent again used by Dominicans. General archive of the Order is housed in convent and until 1975 the Dominican Historical Institute was in residence there. Apart from the church, the only other remaining medieval structure is the cloister, which contains various fragments of Cosmati work and a sculptured figure of a Dominican - presumably from church furniture, probably a screen, formerly inside the church.

S. Maria Sopra Minerva

1. Bibliography

(a) Manuscript Material:

Primary Sources

No part of conventual archive yet located. (Much documentary material probably destroyed, with many other documents, in 1559, when SMSM was serving as headquarters of the Inquisition. See Bernardini, 'Minerva', pp.15-16.)

Secondary Sources

Cronica Breve (della chiesa e convento di SMSM di Roma) raccolta dal P. Maestro e Predicatori Fr. Ambrogio Brandi (d.1645), (c.1610).

MS: Copy with annotations of 1706, AGOP, Lib.C, pp.1-83.
See Koudelka, 'Fondo 'libri' ', pp.111-12; QE, II, p.542.

Petrus Antonius de Pretis OP, Series virorum illustrium Conventus Romani S. Mariae supra Minervam ab origine conventus ad annum 1800, 2 vols.

MS: AGOP, cod.XIV, 16 and 17.

(b) Printed Material:

Secondary Sources

Bernardini, F., 'Il chiostro della Minerva a Roma', L'Urbe, n.s.32 (1969), iii, pp.12-17.

Berthier, J.J. OP, L'Eglise de la Minerve à Rome, (Rome, 1910).

Berthier, J.J. OP, Le Couvent de Sainte-Sabine à Rome, (Rome, 1912), pp.327-40.

Masetti, P.T., OP, Memorie Istoriche della Chiesa di SMSM, (Rome, 1855). Includes ground plan of church and lateral sections pre- and post-1848 restorations, inserted between pp.50 and 51.

Matthiae, G., 'Gli aspetti diversi di SMSM', Palladio, n.s.4 (1954), pp.19-26. (Includes partial reconstruction of original appearance of church, and reproduces 16th century engraving of façade, 17th and 19th century engravings of interior.)

Zucchi, A. OP and Grossi, I. OP, 'L'Antico Convento della Minerva e le trasformazioni dei secoli XVI e XVII', MD, 84 (n.s.43), (1967), pp.144-61.

2. Brief History up to c.1320

1266 Dominicans of Rome forbidden by provincial chapter to alienate even the least part of locus recently

opened by them in town. This indicates recent foundation of locus (presumably that near church of SMSM) and apparent reluctance of Rome Dominicans to continue the experiment.

See MOPH, 20, p.33; Zucchi/Grossi, 'Convento', p.144.

The Minerva was previously occupied by community of repentite (reformed women) established there in 1252. This community was granted the church of S. Pancrazio by Alexander IV in 1255 because the buildings in the Rione Pigna proved to be too small. BOP, I, p.287.

It has been suggested that the Dominicans took over the site as soon as the repentite had vacated it, but the phrase novum accentum in the chapter acts of 1266, mentioned above, suggests that the Dominicans did not in fact take possession until some ten years later.

- 1275 November 17. Aldobrandino Cavalcanti OP, bishop of Orvieto and Papal Vicar in Rome; Rome, S. Sabina. Confirmation of donation of church of SMSM to Dominicans of S. Sabina, by abbess and nuns of Benedictine house of S. Maria in Campo Marzio.
MS: Authenticated copy of 1628: inserted after page 95 in manuscript of Giovanni Caroli OP, Vite non nullorum fratrum beate Marie Novelle, Florence, Archive of SMN; further copy, AGOP, Lib.Y, p.136.
Ed: Fontana, p.52; Orlandi, Necrologio, II, pp.418-9.
- 1276 November 3. John XXI, Viterbo. Confirmation of grant to Dominicans of parish rights attached to church of SMSM. (Dominicans did not actually exercise parish ministry; this was entrusted to member of secular clergy.)
Ed: BOP, I, pp.550-51.
- 1280 June 22. Nicholas III, Soriano. Roman senators Giovanni Colonna and Pandolfo Savelli requested to execute donation for new church of Minerva being built by Dominicans (cum ... dicta ecclesia incipiatur fabricari ad presens), as had been already decided in the consilium urbis.
Ed: BOP, I, pp.571-2.
- (Nicholas III was an Orsini. Orsini Dominicans Latino Malabranca and Matteo Orsini were later buried in the Minerva. Matteo Orsini paid for a chapel in the church. See Masetti, Memorie, p.17, note 2.)
- 1285 Minerva still not considered as full independent convent. Provincial chapter acts of this year indicate there was only one full Dominican convent in Rome.
See MOPH, 20, p.72.
- 1287 Minerva full convent by this date. Mention of prior of SMSM in provincial chapter acts.
See MOPH, 20, p.77.
- 1296 January 21. Boniface VIII, Rome, St. Peters. Grant of 2,000 libra turonensis for continuation of work on fabric.
Ed: BOP, II, p.39.

(Those guilty of usury, fraud or violence, and unable to repay the damaged party, could absolve themselves by making appropriate donation to the fabric of the Minerva. See Berthier, Minerve, p.9.)

- 1296 Transept well advanced by this date, since Guillaume Durand buried in this part of church in that year.
See Masetti, Memorie, p.12.

Cappella Maggiore said to have been built with Savelli patronage; crossing arch by Caetani family.

See Brandi, Cronica, reported in Berthier, Convent, p.339.

- 1297 Will of Cardinal Hugues Aycelin OP includes donation of 100 gold florins to SMSM in constructione operis dicti loci.

See Duchesne, Cardinaux, II, p.232.

- 1300 Building work interrupted about this time.

See Masetti, Memorie, pp.12-13, reporting Bruzio, who wrote in 17th century.

3. Studia up to 1320

Theologia: 1288, 1291; 1295, 1299, 1309, 1310, 1311, 1313; Philosophia: 1318; Unspecified: 1305; Artes: some time before 1292; Nova Logica: 1291.

See MOPH, 20, pp.85, 100, 121, 132, 174, 178, 182, 189, 209, 155, 107, 101.

4. Burials in SMSM up to c.1320

Guillaume Durand, Bishop of Mende, d.1296, originally buried in chapel of Ognissanti (or Altieri) (S. chapel on E. side of S. transept); tomb moved to S. wall of transept in 1670; restored 1817; canopy tomb with effigy, mosaic by Giovanni di Cosma.

See Berthier, Minerve, p.196.

Cardinal Latino Malabranca OP, d.1294; originally buried in sacristy.

See Berthier, Minerve, pp.256-7.

5. Local Dominican Saints and Blessed up to c.1320: None recorded.

6. Confraternities up to c.1350: None recorded.

7. Dominican Bishops of Diocese up to c.1320 ———

8. Later History

Mid. 15th century Nave vaulted by Cardinal Torquemada,
(formerly wooden-roofed.) See Matthiae, 'Aspetti', p.26 note 8.

16th, 17th and 18th centuries: Many post-medieval chapels, tombs, decorations and structural alterations occurred. See Zucchi and Grossi, 'Convento', passim; Matthiae, 'Aspetti', passim.

1848 Radical 'restoration' of church to gothic form. Vaulting, piers, choir, pavement, height of nave and transept walls altered. See Matthiae, ibid.; Q. Leoni, 'La Chiesa di S. Maria Sopra Minerva restaurata per cura dei PP. Domenicani', Album, 22 (1855), pp.217-20, 250-51, 266-68; Masetti, Memorie, pp.23-30.

9. Present State

Church and convent again used by Dominicans; part of convent used for secular purposes. One side of ciborium formerly covering high altar now used as entrance arch to Cappella del Crocefisso.

See Berthier, Minerve, pp.143, 145.

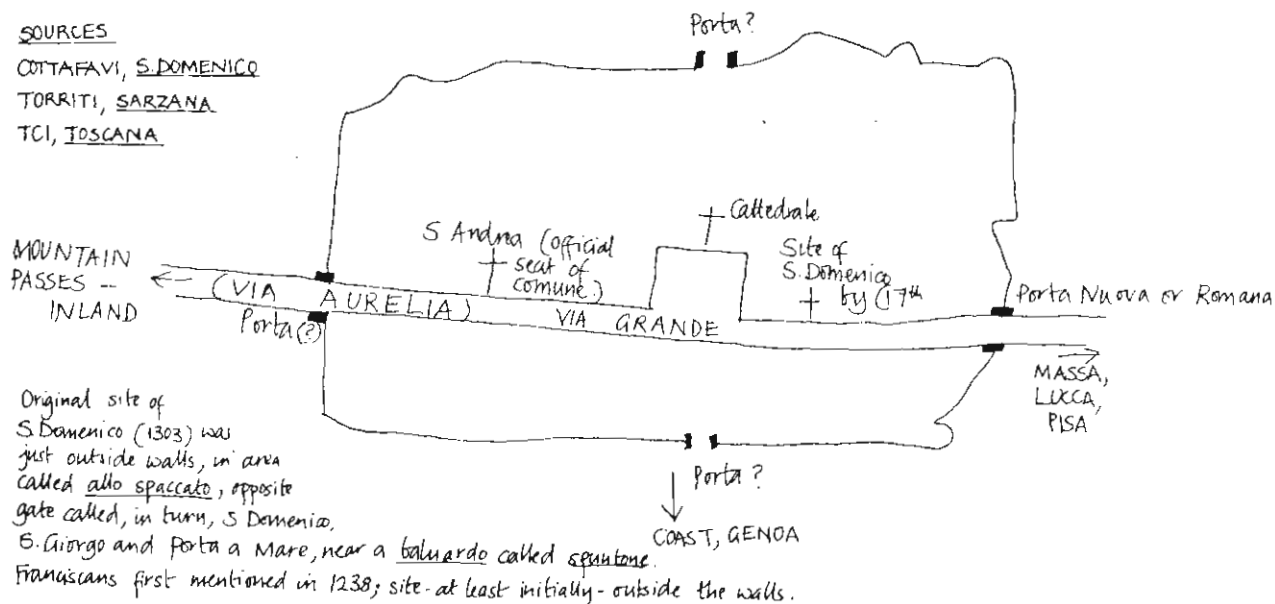
See Matthiae, 'Aspetti', (1954), figs. 3,7,8,9,10 for fragments of medieval structure.

SOURCES

COTTAFAVI, S. DOMENICO

TORRITI, SARZANA

TCI, TOSCANA



NOT TO SCALE

SARZANA

S. Domenico

1. Bibliography

(a) Manuscript Material:

Primary Sources

So far no part of the conventual archive has been located, but there are some notarial acts relating to S. Domenico in the Archivio Notarile of Sarzana, and further documents in the Archivio Comunale di Sarzana.

Secondary Sources

P. Valentino Macario, Relazione Storica sul Convento di Sarzana (1726).

MS: AGOP, Lib.N, pp.1161-85.

Not given in QE.

(b) Printed Material:

Secondary Sources

Cottafavi, C., Del Convento di S. Domenico in Sarzana, (Sarzana, 1892).

Forte, S. OP, 'Le Provincie Domenicane in Italia nel 1650', AFP 41 (1971), pp.438-9.

Torriti, P., Da Luni a Sarzana, (Sarzana, 1963).

2. Brief History up to c.1320

- 1299 Mention of Locus de Sarezana in provincial chapter acts.
See MOPH, 20, p.134.

Probably Dominicans came to Sarzana only shortly before this date. The first volume of protocols of Giovanni di Parente, only surviving 13th century notarial acts in Sarzana, which ends in 1294, records no wills mentioning S. Domenico although in several wills, for example that of Giacomina di Bendicasa, every other church in Sarzana is mentioned.

MS: Arch. Notarile di Sarzana, Protocolli di Giovanni di Parente, 14 August 1293.

Ed: Cottafavi, S. Domenico, p.17.

- 1303 July 28. Will of Mucio di Guido Paganini includes bequest of 6 soldi to S. Domenico, Sarzana, confirming arrival of Dominicans in town by this date.

MS: Arch. Notarile di Sarzana, Protocolli di Giovanni di Parente, 28 July 1303.

Ed: Cottafavi, pp.17-18.

- 1304 Indulgence of Benedict XI for those helping with fabric.

MS: Copy, AGOP, 1, p.130.

See Le Reg. de Benoît XI, col.110 n.127.

- 1310 Confirmed as full convent in provincial chapter.

See MOPH, 20, p.177.

- 1334 June 16. Two land sales by Dominican convent to commune of Sarzana mention Dominican church is outside town walls, near Porta S. Domenico.

MSS: Archivio Comunale di Sarzana, Registrum Vetus Carte XXXVIII, XXXIX.

Ed: Cottafavi, pp.18-19.

Some further indications on the original position of the church can be obtained from a copy (now lost) made by Giovanni Maria Bolfino, prior of Sarzana in 1663, of a document of 1472. Apparently the document referred to the former church of S. Domenico outside Porta S. Domenico, in a place called Lo Spuntone. Cottafavi adds that the original church must have been in an area now (1892) called allo spaccato, that the Porta S. Domenico was subsequently called the Porta S. Giorgio and the Porta a Mare, and that the name Spuntone comes from a particular rampart of the town fortifications.

See Cottafavi, pp.6-7; Forte, Province, pp.438-9.

3. Studia up to 1320: None recorded.

4. Burials in S. Domenico up to c.1320: None recorded.

5. Local Dominican Saints and Blessed up to c.1320: None recorded.

6. Confraternities up to c.1350: None recorded.

7. Dominican Bishops of diocese up to 1320: None recorded.

8. Later History

1442 August 12. Document mentions consecration of church of S. Domenico. Cottafavi assumes this must be new church inside town walls.

ES: Sarzana, Arch. Notarile: Protocolli del Notaio
Andrea fu ser Iacopino de Griffi.

Ed: Cottafavi, S. Domenico, pp.19-20.

1487 Church of S. Maria della Grazie handed over to Dominicans.
See Forte, Provincie, p.439.

1513 Dominicans again moved to new site in town.
See Forte, Provincie, p.439.

1798 July 16. Convent suppressed.
See Cottafavi, p.11.

9. Present State

Nothing remains of the medieval buildings.

SOURCES:

TCI, TOSCANA

IL SINA,

TOPOGRAPHIA:

For a recent
attribution of
plans see

BALESTRACCI
and PICCINI,
SIENA

WALLS:

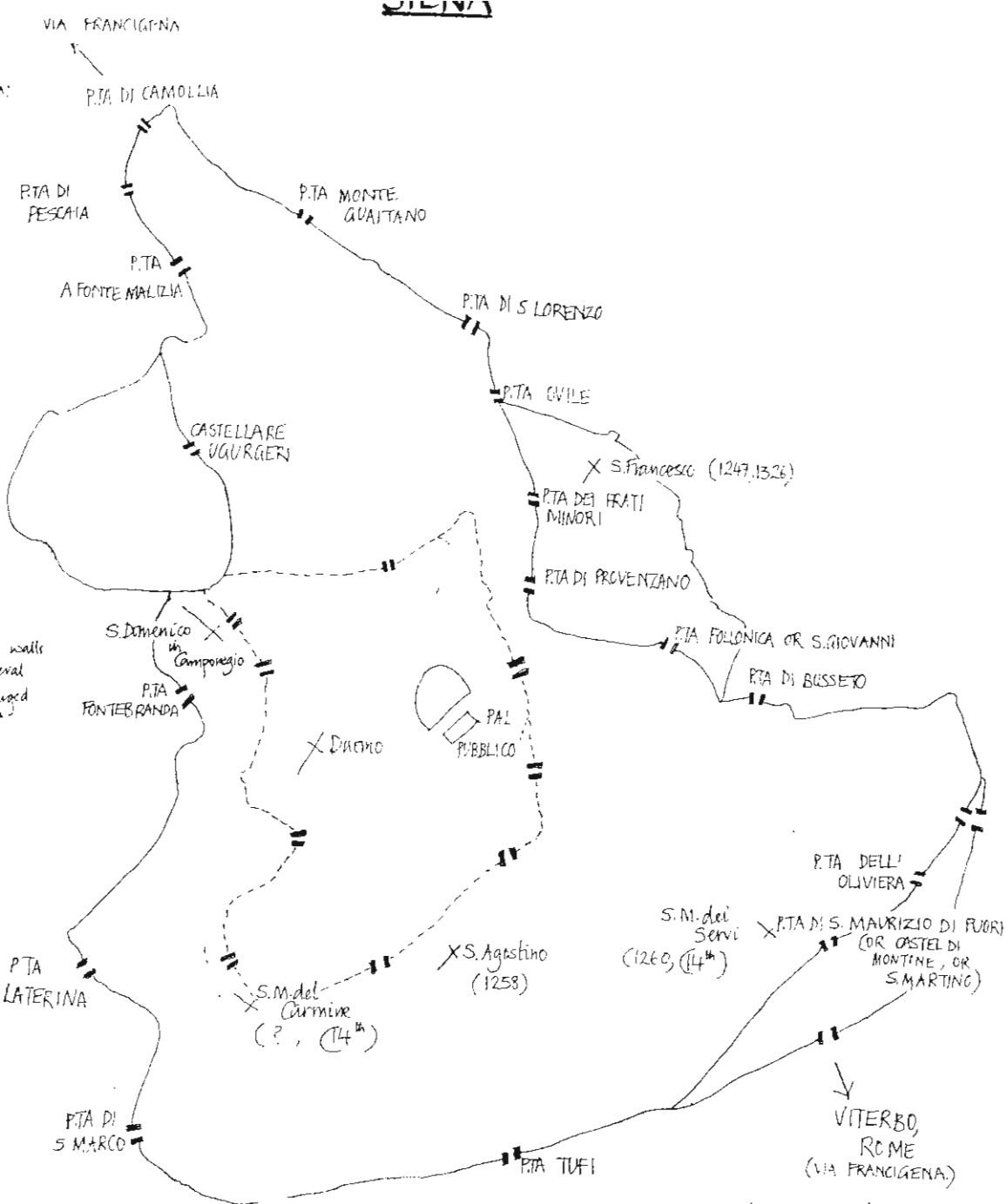
--- = Roman walls

— = Medieval
circuit, enlarged
from mid. (13th)
inwards.



SCALE: 1:11,000

0 50 100 200 300
METRES



By 1296 a Porta Camporegio is mentioned, situated on height of hill, towards the vineyard, above an area called Pesone. A road joined Porta Camporegio and Porta Fortebranda.

SIENA

S. Domenico

1. Bibliography

(a) Manuscript Material:

Primary Sources

Part of conventual archive survives. Together with material concerning Siena commune deposited in sacristy of S. Domenico

for safe keeping, it now forms fondo diplomatico convento di S. Domenico, Archivio di Stato, Siena. There are three catalogues of the archive: made by Pecci, in late 17th century (Siena, AS, MS.B.56); Sestigiani, 1702 (Siena, AS, MS.B.55); and Pizetti, 1782, (Siena, AS, Patrimonio dei Resti nn.3536-7). Pecci's catalogue lists 2200 documents but in 1868, when the archive arrived in Siena AS, it contained only 621 items. The documents date from 1081 to 1723; several have been published. See Guida-Inventario, I, pp.27-8.

Further documents referring to S. Domenico are to be found in other Sienese archives. (See below, brief history.)

Secondary Sources

Sigismondo Tizio, Historia Senesis (c.1520).

MS: Siena, Bib. Com. MS.I.

Girolamo Macchi, Notizie di tutte le Chiese (1708).

MS: Siena, AS, t.I, pp.90,102,225,314.

Angiolo Maria Carapelli OP, Notizie del Convento di S. Domenico in Camporegio ... dall'anno 1215 all'anno 1722.

MS: Siena, Bib. Com. BVII.7.9.

Chronotaxis Sancti Dominici in Campo Regio de Senis (18th century).

MSS: Siena, Bib. Com., C.V.24; AGOP, Lib.C, pp.783-814.

Ambrogio Ansano Tantucci OP, Historia Conventus S. Dominici ad Campum Regium in Civitate Senarum (18th century).

MSS: Siena, Bib. Com., B.X.2; AGOP, Lib.C, pp.699-782.

See QE, II, p.783.

Memorie della Chiesa e Convento di S. Domenico in Camporegio

... dall'anno 1225. Note di sepolcri, depositi, iscrizioni, armi gentilizie ec., che sono, ovvero erano nella chiesa e ne' chiostri del detto convento (18th century).

MS: Siena, Bib. Com., C.III.7.

Notizie della Madonna ch'è nella cappella del Angelo Custode di questa chiesa [S. Domenico in Campo Regio di Siena].

MS: AGOP, Lib.C, pp.1009-12.

Gregorio Lombardelli OP, (d.1613), De Origine Conventus Divae Mariae Magdalene ac D. Dominici, cui titulus a Campo Regio in Urbe Senarum, ...

Siena, Bib. Com.

(b) Printed Material:

Primary Sources

Zdekauer, L., Il costituito del Comune di Siena dell'anno 1262, (Milan, 1897).

Lisini, A., Il costituito del Comune di Siena, volgarizzato nel MCCCIX-MCCCX, 2 vols. (Siena, 1903).

Nicolaus Andreas di Incontris OP, Necrologium Coenobii S.D. Senensis (1403).
MS: Siena, Biblioteca Comunale, B.VII.4.
Ed: Laurent, Necrologi.
See QG, I, p.749.

Secondary Sources

Bacci, P., 'Il chiostro di S. Domenico di Siena e le sue fasi costruttive nel XIV e XV secolo', BSSP, n.s.12 (1941), pp.1-18.

Bacci, P., 'La Cappella delle suore della Penitenza detta la 'cappella delle volte' in San Domenico di Siena', BSSP, 3rd series 1 (1942), pp.3-21. (Includes photographs of the chapel before restoration.)

(Pàleo Bacci was preparing a book: La basilica di S. Domenico di Siena e i Santuarii Cateriniani. Arte, Storia e Leggenda, of which the two articles mentioned above were to have formed a part, but which was apparently never completed and published.)

Brandi, C., Duccio, (Florence, 1951).

Brandi, C., 'Il discusso restauro del S. Domenico di Siena', Bollettino dell'Istituto Centrale del Restauro, 29/30 (1957), pp.3-10.

Guida-Inventario dell'Archivio di Stato di Siena, Ministero dell'Interno, Pubblicazioni degli Archivi di Stato, 2 vols. (Rome, 1951).

Laurent, M-H., OP, I necrologi di S.D. in C., Pontes Vitae S. Catherinae Senensis Historici, 20 (Siena, 1937).

Liberati, A., 'Chiese, Monasteri, Oratori e Spedali Senesi: Basilica di San Domenico', BSSP, 3rd series 20 (1961), pp.263-74.

Liberati, A., 'Il campanile di S.D.', Miscellanea Storia Senese, 3 (1895), fasc.iv.

Lisini, A., R. Archivio di Stato in Siena: Inventario delle pergamene conservate nel diplomatico dall'anno 736 all'anno 1250, (Siena, 1908).

Lusini, V., 'S.D. in C.', BSSP, 13 (1906), pp.263-95.

Lusini, V., 'Note storiche sulla topographia di Siena nel secolo XIII', BSSP, 28 (1921), pp.240-341.

Mamachi, T.M. OP, Annalium Ordinis Praedicatorum (Rome, 1756).

Sansedoni, G., Vita del Beato Ambrogio Sansedoni da Siena, (Rome, 1611).

Bibliography concerning confraternities:

Tractatus de Ordine FF. de Paenitentia S. Domonici di F.

Tommaso di Siena, (1407), ed. H-H Laurent OP, Fontes Vitae S. Catharinae Senensis Historici, 21, (Florence, 1938).

Lusini, V., Storia della basilica di S. Francesco in Siena, (Siena, 1894), pp.64-9, publishes late 13th or early 14th century letter which refers to Sienese Dominican confraternity.

Meersseman, G.G. OP, 'Nota sull'origine delle campagne dei Laudesi, (Siena 1267)', Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia, 17 (1963), pp.395-405.

Meersseman, G.G. OP, 'Études', I, pp.19,34-41, 'Études', III, pp.92,116-7,122,123,125.

Prunai, G., 'I capitoli della compagnia di S.D. in C.', BSSP, n.s.11 (1940), pp.117-56.

The number of printed works concerning medieval Siena is considerable. For a recent select bibliography of printed works and manuscript material concerning building and urban development in Siena see D. Balestracci and G. Piccinni, Siena nel Trecento, (Florence, 1977), esp. pp.177-84.

2. Brief History up to c.1320

St. Dominic himself is said to have founded this convent. Since Siena lies on the Via Francigena, the main route between Rome and France, Dominic may well have passed through the town. However, there is no evidence that the 1221 donation of the church of S. Maria Maddalena to the Dominicans (see below) is the confirmation of a gift which was actually made one or as much as six years earlier, as some writers have suggested. See, for example, Masetti, I, p.181; Mamachi, Annalium, p.587.

1221 February 16, Siena. Emilia, widow of Tacca, prioress of the hospital of S. Maria Maddalena, Siena, with the consent of the sisters and of patron Rainerio Rustichino gives to Fra Bene and Fra Frugerio, Dominican friars, the church of S. Maria Maddalena, with its possessions, the roads leading to it and adjoining land and vineyards. Hospital of S.M.M. recommended to correction and protection of Dominicans.

MSS: Original lost. Authorised copy of c.1322 is Siena, AS, Convent 161 (Caleffo di S. Galgano), A, ff.276v-77v.

Ed: Koudelka, KOPH, 25, pp.147-50.

1226 March 25. Fortebraccio Malavolti, Ranuccio Filippi and Orlando Arrigo Malavolti rent a vineyard in Camporegio, outside town walls, to Fra Gualtiero, prior of Siena Dominicans.

MS: Siena, AS, Diplomatico, Conv. di S. Domenico, 25 March 1225 (Siena style).

Ed: Mamachi, Annalium, appendix cols.83-4.

- 1226 March 26. Donors, as above, grant to Dominicans plot outside town walls, in Camporegio, on which they may build church and conventual buildings. (Site boundaries to be indicated by donors: terminatum intro murum civitatis, et extra murum sicut trahit, et tenet saxum prope murum usque ad cantum vineae, quae est ibi prope, sicut designatum apperuit ...)
MS: Siena, AS, S. Domenico, 26 March 1225 (Siena style).
Ed: Mamachi, Annalium, appendix cols.84-6.

Fortebraccio Malevolti and his descendants continued to donate land and money to help increase size of church and convent. Records of some donations exist in Siena, AS. (Dominicans also bought some land from Malavolti, see below, 1251.)
See Mamachi, Annalium, appendix p.588 and appendix col.84 note 2.

- 1227 March 3. Dominicans, wishing to build their convent in Camporegio, seek and obtain permission of Podestà and Council to make doors, windows and other openings (porticciolis) in the town wall and to build up against the walls.
MS: Siena, AS, S. Dom. 3 March 1226 (Siena style).
Ed: Mamachi, Annalium, cols.89-90.

- 1227 December 28. Fra Gualtiero, prior of S.M. Maddalena, gives up all rights held by Dominicans over that church.
MS: Authorised copy: Siena, AS, Convent 161 (Caleffo di S. Galgano), A, f.277v.
Ed: Mamachi, Annalium, appendix cols.93-4.

Presumably by this date Dominicans able to move to Camporegio site and live and hold services there.

- 1239 Letter (lost?) of Buonfiglio, bishop of Siena (1216-52) grants church of S. Gregorio in Camporegio to Dominicans so that they can continue to celebrate services. (Dominicans relinquished the parish duties attached to this church, which were divided between two other parish churches.)
MS: Formerly Archivio di S. Domenico (no.1131) (reported in 1702).
See Brandi, Duccio, p.105 who gives detailed references for this and the following document.

(Macchi, Notizie, says S. Gregorio was near to, or adjoining Dominican Camporegio site.)

The twelve year gap between relinquishing S.M. Maddalena and being granted S. Gregorio may be explained in two ways: either the Dominicans had already been using S. Gregorio without official episcopal approval or, more likely, they had been holding services in a small chapel or part of the conventual buildings, built on the Camporegio site itself between March 1226 and December 1227. Presumably an increase in the number of laity attending their services, and in the membership of the convent itself, would have necessitated the move to a larger church.

After the move to S. Gregorio for services, the way may have been clear to start fresh building work on the original Camporegio site:

- 1246(?) Letter of bishop Buonfiglio grants indulgence (50 days - elsewhere reported as 40) to all those helping with construction of church and convent.
MS: Siena, AS, Patrimonio dei Resti Eccl. (S. Dom.).
See Lisini, Inventario, p.376.
- 1246 May 12. Innocent IV, Lyons. Papal indulgence (100 days) for all those helping with completion of building work.
Ed: BOP, I, p.164.
(Same wording as bull of 19 April 1246 for Orvieto and 25 April 1246 for Viterbo.)
- 1246 November. Commune gives Dominicans 50 lire towards construction of their church.
MS: Siena, AS, Biccherna, 6, p.95.
See Liberati, 'Chiese', p.264.
- 1251 Further communal donation of 50 lire for building work.
MS: Siena, AS, Biccherna, vol.II, p.79.
See Liberati, loc.cit.
- (These two recorded examples may be the surviving traces of an annual donation.)
- 1251 February 11. Dominican prior buys from Bernardino 'detto Bianco' son of Uguccio di Fortebraccio Malvolti a twelfth of an orchard in Camporegio, near the town walls, and a twelfth of a piazza at the foot of the street leading to the Camporegio gate.
MS: Siena, AS, S. Dom., 11 February 1250 (Siena style).
See Liberati, 'Chiese', pp.264-5.
- 1256 February 13. Alexander IV, Lateran. Papal indulgence (40 days) for all those visiting church on feasts and octaves of St. Dominic and St. Peter Martyr.
Ed: BOP, I, p.296.
(Indulgence may have been granted to mark completion of stage in work on church, but might only reflect desire to promote cult of Dominican saints. Dedication of church not mentioned, so not possible to tell whether church of S. Gregorio or S. Domenico is intended.)
- By 1262 Constitutions of commune mention donation of 50 lire to help complete work on church: pro opera ecclesia complendo.
See Const. dist. I, rubr. 42, ed. Zdekauer, p.37.

Many of the rubrics included in the 1262 constitutions actually date from earlier years, so this mention could refer to earlier donation, possibly one of those mentioned above.

By 1262 Constitutions also mention permission given to Dominicans to enclose carbonaia (ditch outside town wall, forming part of fortification) which ran from their dormitory to the gate which gave access to the vineyard (presumably the vineyard rented by them in 1226.) Also permission to open wall in Camporegio. See Const. dist. I, rubr.43, ed. Zdekauer, p.37.

By 1262 Constitutions instruct camerlengo of Repubblica to to keep his documents in sacristy noviter facta in ecclesia fratrum predicatorum. See Const. dist. I, rubr.116, ed. Zdekauer, p.120.

By 1262 (January). Constitutions promise help to Dominicans in enlarging their dormitory. See Const. dist. I, rubr.40, ed. Zdekauer, p.36.

Although the constitutions do not provide a precise date, they show that around the middle of the century work on the church at the Camporegio site was reaching its conclusion, and work on various conventual buildings was far advanced.

1286 There is a tradition that when B. Ambrogio Sansedoni died in this year (20 March 1286) so many people came to S. Domenico and made offerings that Dominicans built a new, large transept for their church. See Sansedoni, Vita, p.257.

1286 Council of the nine votes to give 50 lire from communal funds to the opera del duomo to build a tomb for B. Ambrogio Sansedoni.
MS: Siena, AS, Rif.1286, p.65.
Ed: Sansedoni, Vita, pp.266-7.

1287 July 19. Consiglio della campana and members of other governing bodies vote to give 500 lire to Dominicans to spend on chapel now being built in honour of Ambrogio Sansedoni in their church.
MS: Siena, AS, Consiliorum Campanae Communis Senarum, inc. ab anno 1287, cal. Iulii, fol.7.
Ed: Sansedoni, Vita, p.268.

1287 August 10. Renaldo Malavolti, bishop of Siena, grants indulgence (40 days) to all those helping in any way with construction of chapel in honour of B. Ambrogio Sansedoni which Dominicans have started to build in their church; (opere sumptuoso.)
MS: Archivio di S. Domenico (lost?).
Ed: Sansedoni, Vita, pp.150-51.

(Sansedoni says chapel was in the middle - nel bel mezzo - of church of S. Domenico. Chapel destroyed in fire of 1533 but site still visible: Per la differenza dei mattoni dello stipo del pavimento in un gran quadro ... per contro all'organo, ed all'altare fuori del Rosario. See Sansedoni, Vita, pp.149-51.)

1293 Consiglio della Campagna deliberates on permission for some beams coming to Siena from Monte Amiata for the

church of S. Domenico to be brought over the ponte dell'Arbia.

MS: Siena, AS, Delib. del. cons. gen., vol.XLV, p.102.
See Lusini, 'S. Domenico', p.265.

Beams may have been for roofing, perhaps of conventual building, or in anticipation of completion of transept. The present crypt is sometimes said to incorporate the structure of the 13th century church of SD. (See, e.g. Balestracci and Piccinni, Siena, p.108.) However, the crypt is by no means an obviously mid-13th century structure. It could have been built in the late 13th/early 14th century campaign. The beams discussed in 1293 could have been intended as centring for the vaults of a newly-constructed, or renewed, crypt.

- (1297 From this year onwards hospital of S. Maria della Scala makes annual donation of food and other necessities to Dominicans.
e.g. MS: Siena, AS, Spedale (Perpetue) 128, pp.2,3,13, 73v,82v etc.
See Liberati, 'Chiese', p.265.)

1309-10 Constitutions of Siena:

- 1306 May. Included in annual donations which camerlengo must make: 100 lire to Dominicans and 20,000 bricks to use in building of their church annually, until construction of church completed. Bricks not to be used for any other purpose.
See const. dist. I, rubr.54, ed. Lisini, I, p.77.

- 1309 Annual donation raised to 100,000 bricks and 100 bushels of mortar to help Dominicans continue building transept. Rubric suggests foundations and crypt level already built by this date.
See const. dist. I, rubr.54, ed. Lisini, I, p.83:

'Anco, a li frati Predicatori di Camporegi, per fare la croce ne la loro chiesa da la parte di sopra verso Fontebranda sopra le colonne già ine fondate, acciò che la longheza d'essa chiesa, recati li altari in essa croce, sia più bella, più distesa et più spatiosa a la moltitudine del popolo ritenere et capire, la quale ine spessamente si rauna a le prediche et divini officii, utilmente udire ...'

(Lisini interprets phrase acciò che la longheza d'essa chiesa ... as meaning that a new transept was built and old one converted to use as nave (reverse of Siena Duomo procedure). I take longheza to mean nave, and that large transept was being built (perhaps for a previously transeptless church, like S. Caterina, Pisa etc.) to accommodate many chapels, possibly previously in nave, so that more room for faithful to circulate and hear sermons in nave.)

- 1305-10 Further grants to SD from commune, totalling 1,600 lire, towards completion of new church.
See Balestracci and Piccinni, Siena, p.109, note 29.

Wall blocking view and impeding preachers in piazza S. Domenico, may be moved.

(Since this rubric does not have a precise date, it does not necessarily date from 1309-10, but may have been introduced at some other time after 1262.)

- 1340 Original part of campanile built. Lusini says it abuts transept which must have been built by then. See Lusini, 'S. Domenico', p.273.
- 1361 April 21. Dominicans apply to commune for financial help with choir (unum corum) which they intend to build at cost of about 1,500 florins. Request refused.
MS: Siena, AS, Consiglio generale, 167, p.22v.
Partial ed: Liberati, 'Chiese', p.266.
- 1400 Cappella Maggiore completed (Spanocchi patronage.)
Side chapels completed at about same time.
See Bacci, 'Cappella', p.14.
- 1443 Serious fire damages church.
See Siena, AS, G.A. Pecci, Iscrizioni, vol.III, p.152; Liberati, 'Chiese', p.266.
- 1444 July 29. Commune gives Dominicans 500 florins to repair the roof of church.
MS: Siena, AS, Concistoro, 471, p.24.
See Liberati, loc. cit.

3. Studia up to 1320

Theologia: 1281,1291,1295,1299,1309,1310,1318; Naturae: 1288;
Unspecified: 1305; Logica: 1309; Philosophia: 1311,1313,1318.

See MOPH, 20, pp.56,100,121,132,174,178,207,86,155,174,182,189, 208.

4. Burials in S. Domenico up to c.1320

B. Ambrogio Sansedoni, d.1286. See above.
B. Andrea Gallerani, d.1251. See AASS, March, III, p.49, no.1. p.52, no.15.

5. Local Dominican Saints and Blessed up to c.1320

B. Ambrogio Sansedoni, friar; b. Siena 1220; d. Siena 1286; buried Siena, S. Domenico 1286; translated Siena S. Domenico 1287; beatified 1622.
See Taurisano, Catalogus, p.22; Sansedoni, Vita, passim.

B. Andrea Gallerani, tertiary OP; d. Siena 1251.
See AASS, March, III, pp.49-57.

6. Confraternities up to c.1350

13th century Laudesi confraternity of Virgin and St. Dominic, for male and female members. Statutes of 1267, letter of confraternity of 1292 and indulgences of 1273, 1293 and 1308 are known.

See Keersseman, 'Études', I, pp.19,34-5; 'Études', III, pp.92,116-17,122,123,125; Keersseman, 'Laudesi', pp.396-7, where document previously thought to be of 1257, shown to be of 1267.

Disciplinati founded as confraternity of S. Croce, c.1261; given statutes and renamed confraternity of St. Dominic by Ambrogio Sansedoni, c.1270. 1344 version of statutes known.

See Keersseman, 'Études', I, pp.34-41; Prunai, 'Capitoli', pp.117-56.

7. Dominican Bishops of Diocese up to 1320.

Thomas Fusconi de Berta, 1253-?

Thomas Balzetti, ?-1273.

Eubel gives only one Dominican bishop of Siena called Thomas, 1253-73.

Rogério (de Casole), 1307-16.

See BOP, VII, p.512; Eubel, Hierarchia, I, p.446.

8. Later History

1533 Church again damaged in fire. Chapel of Ambrogio Sansedoni destroyed.

See Liberati, 'Chiese', p.267.

1578 Church consecrated by Alessandro Piccolomini, archbishop of Siena.

17th century Further altars added.

18th century Nave roof lowered slightly.

See Lusini, 'S. Domenico', p.264.

Church closed in Leopoldine suppression of 1782.

ASOP, II (1895), p.106.

1798 Church damaged in earthquake.

1806 Restorations completed.

See Liberati, 'Chiese', p.267 ff., who also gives further information about the later history of the church.

9. Present State

Church, still basically medieval in structure and returned to medieval appearance by 20th century restorations, now used by Dominicans again.

See Brandi, 'Restauro', passim.

Fragments of medieval sculpture are now placed in wall of staircase leading to crypt. Convent demolished.

SPOLETO

SOURCES:

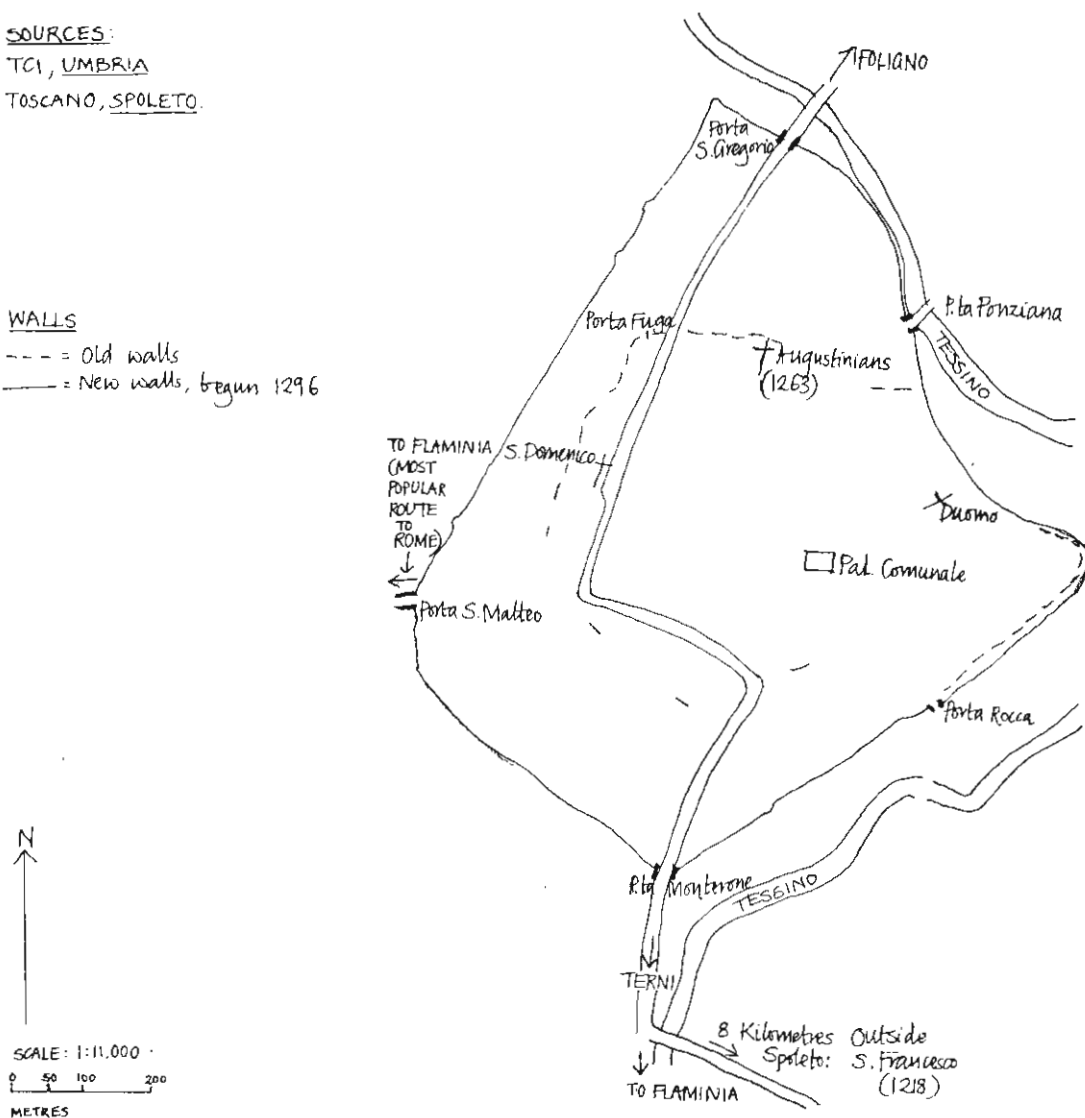
TCI, UMBRIA

TOSCANO, SPOLETO.

WALLS

--- = Old walls

— = New walls, begun 1296



SPOLETO

S. Domenico

Dedication: Originally dedicated to S. Salvatore, name later changed to S. Domenico.

See BOP, VII, p.20; Toscano, Spoieto, p.67.

1. Bibliography

(a) Manuscript Material:

Primary Sources

So far no part of the conventual archive has been located. Fontana used documents from the archive in his section on S. Salvatore, and publishes four documents presumably found in the

archive (letters of Raniero Capocci and Alexander IV) in full.
See Fontana, pp.117-29.

A copy of a will of 1249 from the archive is AGOP, Lib.Y, p.86.

Secondary Sources

Cronica sive historia erectionis ac fundationis ecclesiae et
conventus S. Salvatoris de Spoletto O.P. S. Dominici
and Origo Monialium O.P. Spoletini (18th century).
MS: AGOP, Lib.C, pp.1012-52.

(b) Printed Material

Secondary Sources

Bazzocchini, B., Cronaca della Provincia Serafica di S. Chiara
d'Assisi, (Florence, 1921), pp.161-2.

Toscano, B., Spoletto in Pietre, (Spoletto, 1963), pp.64-73.

2. Brief History up to c.1320

1236 Fontana says there must have been Dominicans in Spoletto by this date, although not yet occupying a fixed site, because in this year B. Giacomo Bianconi followed some Dominicans from Bevagna, where they had been preaching, to Spoletto, in order to be received into Order.
See Fontana, p.117; notes on Bevagna house, above.

1248 April 23. Letter of Cardinal Legate Raniero Capocci, Papal Vicar in Tuscany, the Duchy of Spoletto and the March of Ancona. Ancona. Since Dominicans have no permanent house in the Valle Spoletana and the citizens of Spoletto wish them to live in that town, chapel of S. Salvatore and adjoining buildings, chosen as suitable site by commune, granted to Dominicans. Communal resources to be used to provide orchard and conventual buildings and build church. The monastery of S. Pietro in Ferentillo, present owners of chapel, to be recompensed, provided transaction properly carried out.
Ed: BOP, VII, p.20.

October 13. Letter of Raniero Capocci, Jesi.
Indulgence (40 days) for all those attending service (communion and sermon) in honour of the Virgin, held on first Wednesday of every month in S. Salvatore.
Ed: Fontana, pp.121-2; Heersseman, 'Études', III, document II, pp.88-9.

This shows Dominicans soon in possession of S. Salvatore and playing active role in town.

(1249 Will of Thomas Grimaldi of Spoletto, including donation to S. Domenico, partly executed by Raniero Capocci. This shows Capocci's continuing interest in the Spoletto Dominicans.
MS: 18th century copy: AGOP, Lib.Y, p.86.)

Before 6 April 1252 Fontana says so many people came to church that it became necessary to build larger one. While building in progress, St. Peter Martyr passed through Spoleto on way from Rome to Milan. Friars persuaded him to appeal to citizens for money to complete work. The saint preached in the piazza, asking for funds with such success that work soon finished. New church large enough to hold all citizens of Spoleto.

See Fontana, p.122 (no sources given).

1258 Official foundation of convent in provincial chapter. See MOPH, 20, p.23.

1259 June 26. Alexander IV, Anagni. Papal indulgence (100 days) for all those visiting church on feasts of Sts. Dominic and Peter Martyr, on the anniversary of dedication of church and following seven days.
Ed: Fontana, p.123.

This shows new church dedicated by this date (perhaps dedicated in previous year, when Spoleto made full convent.)

1260 May 14. Alexander IV, Anagni. Papal repetition and confirmation of letter of 23 April 1248, establishing Dominican house in Spoleto.
Ed: Fontana, pp.124-6.

Presumably Dominican right to church and adjoining land and buildings had been contested.

A building break clearly visible towards the west end of the exterior of the south nave wall indicates that the church was built in more than one campaign.

From the documents it appears that a new church was begun and completed during the course of the sixth decade of the century. A fresh start may well have occurred in the last two decades of the century, when three Dominicans were bishop of Spoleto in close succession and the provincial chapter was held at the house in 1291.

See my fig. 19; MOPH, 20, p.96.

3. Studia up to 1320

Artes: 1288; Nova Logica: 1291; Logica: 1309, 1318.

See MOPH, 20, pp.87, 101, 174, 210.

4. Burials in S. Salvatore up to c.1320: None recorded.

5. Local Dominican Saints and Blessed up to c.1320: None recorded.

6. Confraternities up to c.1350

Confraternity of the Virgin, by 1248.

See Meersseman, 'Études', III, p.25; Letter of 13 October 1248, above.

Flagellant confraternity of St. Peter Martyr, (earlier a society of the faithful?), by 1280. Confraternity at first met in oratory in convent entrance. (Is this site identical with oratory of St. Peter Martyr, situated below East end of present church?)

See Meersseman, 'Études', II, pp.104-5; Pontana, p.127.

7. Dominican Bishops of Diocese up to c.1320

Paparonus de Paparonibus, 1285-90.

Gerardus (Pigolotti), 1290-95.

Niccolò da Prato, 1299-1303.

See Eubel, Hierarchia, p.461.

8. Later History

Late 18th century Suppressed by French.

1814 Church re-opened.

1867 Suppressed again.

See ASOP, II, (1895), p.107.

After 1860, part of convent became seat of Tribunale, and then of 'Regio Liceo e Ginnasio' and 'Regio Istituto Tecnico'.

Presumably Dominicans returned to Spoleto at some time after 1867, since Bazzocchini says they left again, for the last time, in 1915.

1916 S. Domenico handed over to the Franciscan Order.

See Bazzocchini, Cronaca, pp.161-2.

9. Present State

Church used by Franciscan Order. Parts of convent used by 'Istituto Scuola Tecnica G. Spagna' and 'Ist. Professionale di Olivicoltura'. Interior of church 'recently' restored. (Toscano, p.67, writing in 1963). Church basically medieval in structure. Entrance to chapter house survives. There are various frescoes, including a 13th century Virgin and Child on the north nave wall, 14th century votive frescoes in the Cappella Maggiore and 14th century frescoes in the oratory of St. Peter Martyr.

TERRACINA

SOURCES:

TCI, LAZIO

DE LA BLANCHÈRE, TERRACINE.

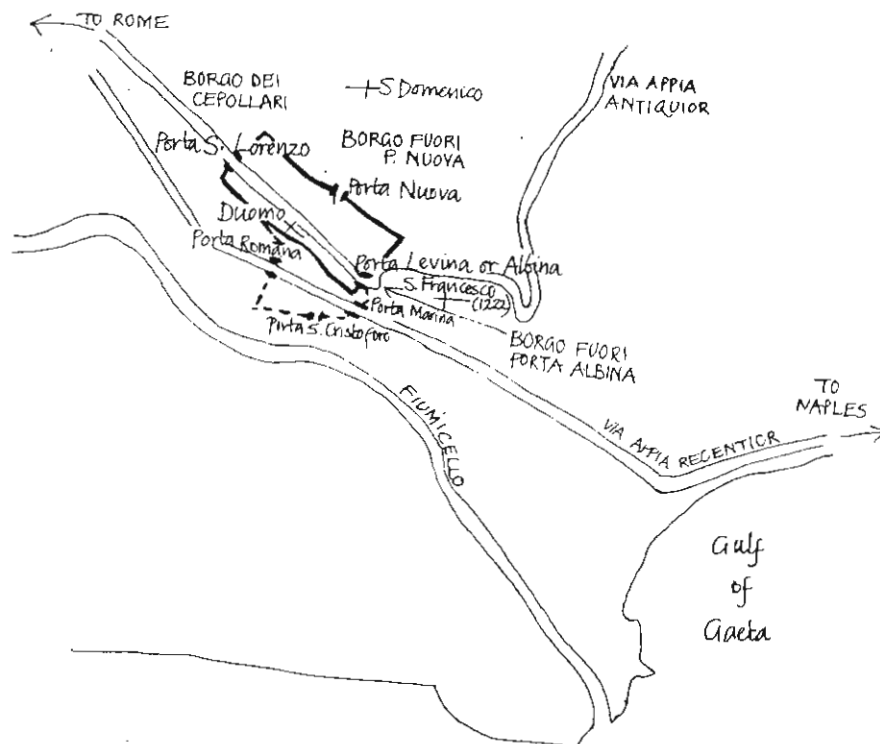
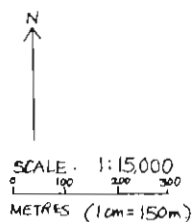
AURIGEMMA, CIRCEO.

ZANDER, 'TERRACINA'.

WALLS:

— = Medieval walls of upper town

- - - = Medieval walls of lower town



TERRACINA

S. Domenico

1. Bibliography

(a) Manuscript Material:

Primary Sources

So far no part of conventual archive has been located, but some later copies of documents from the archive are probably to be found in AGOP, Cod.XI, 70,71.

(b) Printed Material:

Secondary Sources

Aurigemma, S., Bianchini, A., de Santis, A., Circeo, Terracina, Fondi, (Rome, 1957), pp.46,54.

Bianchini, A., Notizie sulla diocesi di Terracina e descrizione delle chiese della Città, (Fiverno, 1972).

de la Blanchère, M.-R., Terracine, Essai d'Histoire Locale, (Paris, 1884), pp.177,182, plate II.

Contatore, Dominico A., De Historia Terracinensi, (Rome, 1706), pp.344-5.

Zander, G., 'La Chiesa di S. Domenico di Terracina e il suo restauro', Fede e Arte, 12, no.1 (1964), pp.41-6.

Zander, G., 'Terracina Medioevale e Moderna attraverso le sue

vicende edilizie', Saggi di Storia dell'Architettura in Onore del Professore Vincenzo Basolo, Quaderni dello Istituto di Storia dell'Architettura, 6,7,8, nos. 31-48 (1961), pp.315-30.

2. Brief History up to c.1320

Traditionally said to have been founded by St. Dominic, but this seems very unlikely.

See Masetti, I, p.187.

1289/1292 During pontificate of Nicholas IV (1288-1292) Bishop Alberto da Terracina OP, at that time occupying the see of Fondi (1289-1296(?)), enlarged the small, humble buildings of the Terracina Dominicans with the help of money from the Caetani Counts of Fondi and the commune and citizens of Terracina. Presumably the church started at this time is the one still extant. See Contatore, Historia, p.344 (he gives no references but is quoting documents which are now lost); Eubel, Hierarchia, p.256.

1318 Convent officially founded in provincial chapter. Phrase ponimus conventum in Terracena in loco ubi nunc fratres habitant confirms that Dominicans had established a locus in Terracina before the official foundation of the convent.
See MOPH, 20, p.212.

3. Studia up to 1320: None recorded.

4. Burials in S. Domenico up to c.1320: None recorded.

5. Local Dominican Saints and Blessed up to c.1320: None recorded.

6. Confraternities up to c.1350: None recorded.

7. Dominican Bishops of Diocese up to 1320

Petrus de Quercu (or, de Terracina), 1259.

See Caccia, p.51. (Not given as OP in Eubel.)

(Alberto, 1296-1300. Is this Dominican Alberto da Terracina, bishop of Fondi, (1289-?)?

See Eubel, Hierarchia, I, pp.478,256.)

8. Later History

1652 Convent Suppressed.
ASOP, II (1895), p.184.

- 1667 Friars leave.
ASOP, II (1895), p.184.
- 1728 S. Domenico re-opened.
ASOP, II (1895), p.184.
- 1873 Friars expelled.
ASOP, II (1895), p.184.

9. Present State

Church restored by Giuseppe Zander, under the direction of Soprintendenza ai Monumenti del Lazio in 1952-3. The adjoining convent, perhaps including some medieval structures, has not been restored and is still divided into various dwellings.

See Zander, S. Domenico, passim.

Van Marle, I, p.562, 'Terracina possesses in the Church of S. Domenico figures of SS. Peter and Dominic, as well as some heads, all of the 13th century'.

TIVOLI

SOURCES:

TCI, ROMA

CAPPELLETTI, CHIESE.

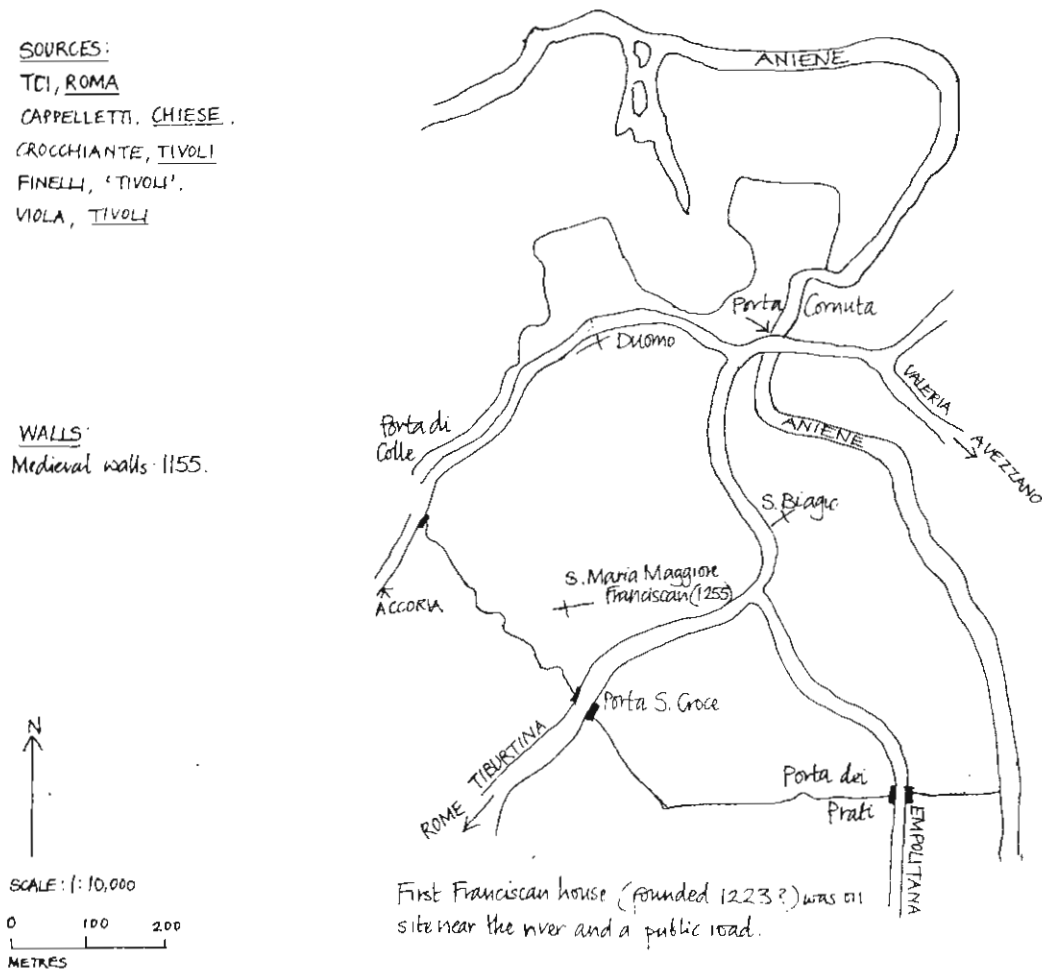
CROCCHIANTE, TIVOLI

FINELLI, 'TIVOLI'.

VIOLA, TIVOLI

WALLS:

Medieval walls 1155.



TIVOLI

S. Biagio

1. Bibliography

(a) Manuscript Material:

Primary Sources

So far no part of conventual archive has been located, but some later copies of documents from the archive form AGOP, Lib.Y, p.152; Cod.XI, 72,73.

Secondary Sources

Ecclesia et Conventus S. Blasii de Tybure. Brevis Lucubratio,
(18th century).

MS: AGOP, Lib.C., pp.1098-1109.

(b) Printed Material:

Secondary Sources

Bartoloni, F., Le antiche carte dell'archivio del Monastero dei SS. Domenico e Sisto, (Rome, 1941).

Cappelletti, G., Le Chiese d'Italia, (Venice, 1847), VI, pp.674-9.

Crocchiante, G. Carlo, L'Istoria delle Chiese della Città di Tivoli, (Rome, 1726), Lib.II.

Finelli, L., 'Storia della Città di Tivoli', Quaderni dell'Istituto di Urbanistica, 2 (1960), pp.62-39.

Grossi, I. OP, 'Il Convento di S. Biagio in Tivoli dalla fondazione alla fine del sec. XV', Atti e Memorie della Società Tiburtina di Storia e d'Arte, 38 (1965), pp.23-40.

Viola, S., Storia di Tivoli, (Rome, 1819), pp.175-6.

2. Brief History up to c.1320

Papal residences in Tivoli: 1285; 1286.
See Potthast, pp.1798-1802, 1816.

Constantine of Orvieto, writing a life of St. Dominic in 1247, was the first to say that the founder stayed in Tivoli. A tradition has grown up that St. Dominic preached in Tivoli, but it cannot be confirmed.
See Constantine of Orvieto OP, Legenda Sancti Dominici, ed.H.C. Scheeben, MOPH, 16 (1935), pp.333-4; Grossi, 'S. Biagio', pp.32-4.

Fontana and, perhaps following him, Viola, say that from the first years of the Order Dominicans stayed in the hospice of S. Giovanni outside the Porta dei Prati, when preaching in Tivoli.
See Fontana, p.202; Viola, Storia, pp.175-6.

c.1277 By this date Dominicans often going to Tivoli to preach or to administer property of S. Sisto Muns.
See Bartoloni, SS. Domenico e Sisto, passim.

1277 January 10. On behalf of Convent of S. Sabina, Fra Oddone Colonna receives from Altruda del fu Giovanni di Pietro Giordani of Tivoli a house in the district of S. Paolo in the parish of S. Maria in Monte Arsiccio, to serve as a hospice for the friars when they happen to come to Tivoli. This suggests either that previously they had no hospice in the town, or that it was proving inadequate.
MS: 18th century copy, AGOP, Cod.XI 72B.
Partial ed: Grossi, 'S. Biagio', pp.24-5.

1285 July 19. Honorius IV, Tivoli. At request of Master General, Prior of Provincia Romana and other Dominicans, Bishop Sabarisius, canon of S. Cecilia in Trastevere, is

directed by Honorius IV to cede church of S. Biagio and its possessions to the Dominicans so they can establish a house in Tivoli. The two priests who administered the church to be given other offices and prebends.
Ed: BOP, II, p.6.

- 1287 Tivoli mentioned as full convent in provincial chapter acts in this year. (Confirmation as full convent in provincial chapter acts does not survive.)
See MOPH, 20, p.78.
- 1291 September 11. Indulgence (1 year 40 days) granted by Salvo, Dominican bishop of Recanati and papal vicar, for those visiting S. Biagio on feasts and octaves of St. Dominic and St. Peter Martyr, feasts of Virgin Mary, St. Blaise and the Twelve Apostles and the major days of Lent. Presumably the convent was in financial difficulties at the time (see following document).
MS: 18th century copy, AGOP, Lib.YP, p.152.
See Fontana, pp.205-6; Grossi, 'S. Biagio', p.26.
- 1304 February 5. Letter of Cardinal Niccolò da Prato OP, papal vicar, to Bishop Sabarisius, opened in presence of four members of Tivoli house and a notary. In name of Benedict XI, Sabarisius called on to hand over to Dominicans remaining lands and possessions of S. Biagio.
MS: 18th century copy, AGOP, cod.XI 72B.
Partial ed: Grossi, p.26.
- 1304 February 12. Notarial act records handing over of remaining lands and possessions (vineyards, fields, houses and tenements) by Sabarisius to prior of S. Biagio.
MS: 18th century copy, AGOP, cod.XI 72B.
See Grossi, p.26.

3. Studia up to 1320: None recorded.
4. Burials in S. Biagio up to c.1320: None recorded.
5. Local Dominican Saints and Blessed up to c.1320: None recorded.
6. Confraternities up to c.1350: None recorded.
7. Dominican Bishops of Diocese up to 1320: None recorded.
8. Later History

By 1376 New church adjoining S. Biagio, originally called S. Maria de Gloria but now called S. Biagio, built.
See Grossi, 'S. Biagio', pp.30-34.

Late 18th century Suppressed by French.
See ASOP, II (1895), p.186.

1814 Given back to Order.
See ASOP, II (1895), p.186.

1873 Suppressed again.
See ASOP, II (1895), p.186.

9. Present State

Church now used by Dominicans again. Original church of S. Biagio, small cloister and campanile (mostly demolished after World War II) still extant. Fourteenth century church (side chapels, nave vaults and polygonal apse built in second half of 19th century) still in use. Fresco of Crucifixion with Virgin, St. John the Evangelist, St. Dominic and St. Blaise(?) (Cavallini school), originally in first church of S. Biagio, is now displayed in east end of fourteenth century church.

TODI

SOURCES:

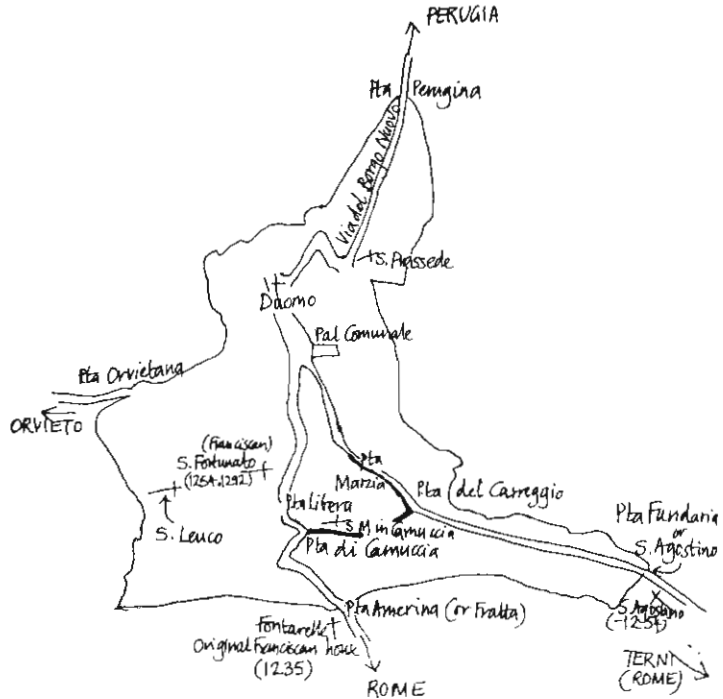
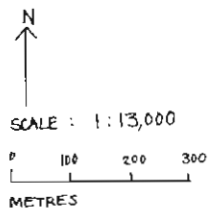
TCI, UMBRIA
BASSI ET AL., 'TODI'
CECI, TODI
MANCINI, IDBI

WALLS:

— = Roman wall. (full extent not known, went as far north as Porta S. Prassede)

--- = Medieval wall

Borgo Nuovo fortified c. 1200.
Construction of walls continued during 13th.



TODI

S. Maria in Camuccia (and S. Leuco/S. Prassede/S. Agostino).

1. Bibliography

(a) Manuscript Material:

Primary Sources

No part of conventual archive has yet been located.

Document in Archivio Segreto Vaticano refers to Convent of S. Leuco.

MS: ASV, Instrumenta Tudertina 10 membr.

Ed: Backmund, Analecta Praemonstratensia, 45 (1969), pp.84-9.

Secondary Sources

Iohannes Mactei Caccia OP, Chronica Conventus Urbevetaui OP (by 1748).

MS: AGOP, XIV, 28 (xiv).

Ed: Jean Mactei Caccia, Chronique du Couvent des Precheurs d'Orvieto, ed. A.M. Viel and P.M. Girardin, (Rome-Viterbo, 1907).

Annales Conventus S. Mariae in Camuccia de Tuderto (18th century).

MS: AGOP, Lib.C., pp.1162-5.

Secondary Sources

Backmund, N. O. Fraen, 'Ein Inventar der Abtei St. Leucius in Todi 1236', Analecta Praemonstratensia, 45 (1969), pp.84-9.

Bassi, G., Chiuini, G., di Lorenzo, A., 'Todi - L'Organizzazione del Contado tra espansione comunale e 'periferie' feudali', in Città, Contado e Feudi nell'Urbanistica Medievale, ed. Enrico Guidoni, (Rome, 1974), vol.II, pp.149-80.

Ceci, G., Todi nel Medio Evo, (Todi, 1897), pp.254-5.

Mancini, F., Todi e i suoi Castelli, (Città di Castello, 1960), tav.IX (opp. p.98).

Petti, L., Commentari della Città di Todi, 6 vols., 17th century manuscript in Todi, Archivio del Comune. (See Mancini, Todi, p.363).

Tenneroni, A., Vicende Storiche della Città di Todi e del suo Territorio, (Todi, 1939), pp.37-8.

2. Brief History up to c.1320

Caccia says Fr. Latino of Orvieto founded Todi house. Latino sent to Todi and obtained monastery of S. Fortunato. He remained there for some time but since the friars were so few in number they decided to annul the agreement. Afterwards they were given monastery of S. Leuco, with all its possessions, by Todi commune. In spirit of poverty they refused rents, but accepted site, which was inconvenient because of its height and the winds which constantly beat against it. See Caccia, pp.68-9.

(Masetti, I, p.184, says Todi house was founded by B. Niccolò Palea (d.1255) or the brothers of Perugia.)

1236 March 1. Premonstratentian convent and church of S. Leuco granted to Dominicans. Petti, cited by Ceci, says he saw this information in an old book in S. Maria in Camuccia (the present Dominican convent). Fontana gives 3 March 1236 as date on which Dominicans arrived in Todi and were given S. Leuco by its rector. See Ceci, Medio Evo, p.251; Fontana, p.111.

Inventory of 29 January 1236 records all goods of S. Leuco given to Poor Clares of Montesanto.
Ed: Backmund, Analecta Praemonstratensia, 45 (1969), pp.85-9.

Before 1243 Convent of S. Leuco actually handed over to Dominicans, and its possessions to Poor Clares of Montesanto.
See Backmund, p.85.

1243 Prior of Todi mentioned in provincial chapter acts,
therefore Todi full convent by this date.
See MOPH, 20, p.1.

3. Studia up to 1320

Logica Veterae et Tractatus: 1291; Naturae: 1295; Artes Novae:
1299, 1305; Logica: 1309; Philosophia: 1318.

See MOPH, 20, pp.102,122,133,157,174,208.

4. Burials in S. Leuco up to c.1320: None recorded.

5. Local Dominican Saints and Blessed up to c.1320: None recorded.

6. Confraternities up to c.1350: None recorded.

7. Dominican Bishops of Diocese up to 1320

Jacobus, 1250.

See BOP, I, p.263. (Not given as OP in Eubel.)

8. Later History

1371 Dominicans move from S. Leuco to church and convent of
S. Prassede. (Masetti and Fontana give date as 1378,
which seems unlikely, since S. Leuco demolished in 1373.)
See Mancini, Todi, p.120; Masetti, I, p.184; Fontana,
p.111.

1373 S. Leuco demolished by Gregory IX to help make space
for the Rocca.
See Petti, Commentarii, II, p.361, cited by Ceci, Medio
Evo, p.251.

Mancini says that between leaving S. Leuco and coming to S.
Maria in Camuccia, the Dominicans also used the church and
convent of S. Agostino. Fontana also says they stayed there,
between occupying S. Prassede and S. Maria in Camuccia, although
the length of stay he mentions, forty years, must be incorrect.
Mancini, Todi, p.105; Fontana, p.111.

1393 Boniface IX grants S. Maria in Camuccia to Dominicans.
(Bull not given in BOP).
Fontana reports that official document shows Dominicans
took possession of church 23 July 1393.
See Masetti, I, p.184; Fontana, pp.111-2.
(Mancini, Todi, p.105, gives the year as 1394.)

1652 Suppressed by Innocent X.

1654 Re-opened.

c.1808 Suppressed by French.

See ASOP, II, (1895), p.186.

9. Present State

No trace remains of S. Leuco. S. Maria in Camuccia is used as parish church; it contains a late 12th century (or early 13th century?) wooden Madonna and Child, but there is no way of telling whether this comes from the original Dominican church in Todi.

VITERBO

SOURCES:

TCI, LAZIO

PINZI, OSPIZI.

SCRATTOLI, VITERBO

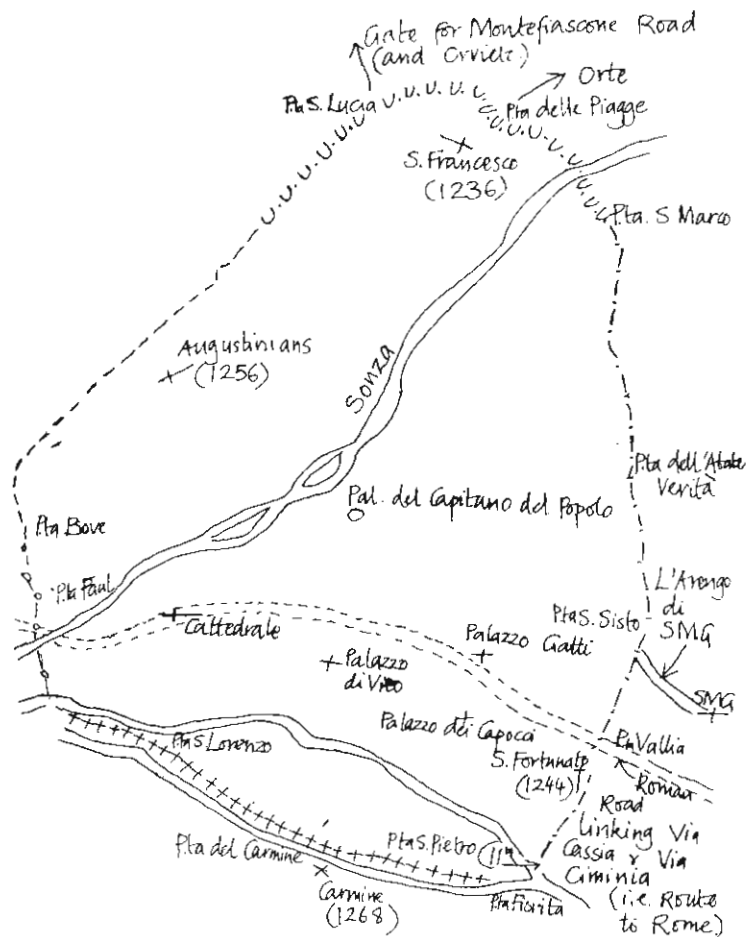
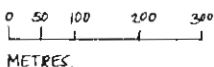
SIGNORELLI, VITERBO

WALLS:

KEY (after Schaltoli)

$$1095$$
$$++++ = 1148 \text{ (uncertain)}$$
$$U \cdot U \cdot U = 1208$$
$$- - - = 1215$$
$$-0-0-0- = 1268.$$


SCALE: 1:12,000



VITERBO

S. Maria in Gradi

Dedication: Annunciation.

See BOP, I, p.86.

1. Bibliography

(a) Manuscript Material:

Primary Sources

A part of the conventual archive previously in SMG now forms: Viterbo, Biblioteca Comunale degli Ardentì, perg. 2697-3511. Other documents from the SMG archive are in the same library, but outside the main collection; others are in the archive at

S. Maria Sopra Minerva, Rome.

Several writers have drawn on the material in the Viterbo library, but the collection remains largely unpublished. See T. Kaeppli OP, 'Delle Pergamene di S. Maria in Gradi', AFP, 33 (1963), p.243.

Later copies of documents formerly in the SHG archive, chiefly made in the 17th century, as well as some secondary material: AGOP, Lib.C., p.159; Lib.F, p.450; Lib.Y, pp.84,98,118,225; Lib.L11, p.547; Cod.XI 20. ASV, Fondo Domenicani II, 42.

Secondary Sources

Ignazio (Masetti gives Hyacinthus) de Ferrara OP, Chronica Gradensis (1577).
See Francesco Cristofori, Le Tombe dei Papi in Viterbo, (Siena, 1887), p.63, who was unable to locate the work. Not mentioned in QE.

Gabriele Pollioni OP, Antiquitates Civitatis Viterbiensis et coenobii in ea S. Maria ad Gradus (c.1610).
MS: Viterbo, Arch. della Cattedrale.
See Giuseppe Signorelli, Viterbo nella storia della Chiesa, (Viterbo, 1907), I, p.175 n.26; QE, II, p.373.

Giacinto de Nobili OP, Chronaca Conventus Gradensis (1616).
MS: 17th century copy, Viterbo, Bib. Con.
See Signorelli, Viterbo, I, p.175 n.26; QE, II, p.403.

Francesco Salmini OP, Chronologica Gradensis, seu Conventus S. Mariae ad Gradus de Viterbio (1706).
MS: AGOP, Lib.C, pp.159-595.
See Cristofori, Tombe, p.63; QE, III, p.517.
Salmini draws on the works of De Ferrara and Nobilius.

(b) Printed Material:

Secondary Sources

Cristofori, F., Le Tombe dei Papi in Viterbo, (Siena, 1887), pp.61-138.

Faldi, I., Museo Civico di Viterbo, (Viterbo, 1955), pp.51-2.

Giovanni de Maiensibus de Viterbo, Breve Chronicon Gradensis Coenobii, (1380).
MS: Perugia, Arch. di Stato, Corporazioni Religiosi Soppr., S. Domenico 66, fols. 10v, 32v-34v, 106.
Ed: Masetti, I, pp.361-74.
See SOPA, II, p.473.
Giovanni de Maiensibus uses earlier sources, including an obituario, which are now lost.

Kaeppli, T. OP, 'Un Catalogo di Scrittori Domenicani Viterbesi', AFP, 15 (1945), pp.143-48.

Kaeppli, T. OP, 'Delle Pergamene di S. Maria in Gradi', AFP, 33 (1963), pp.243-59.

Pinzi, C., Gli Ospizi Medioevali e l'Ospedale-Grande di Viterbo, (Viterbo, 1893), pp.25-37, 100-117, 365-70.

Scriattoli, A., Viterbo nei Suoi Monumenti, (Rome, 1915-20), pp.61-82, 331-7.

Signorelli, G., Viterbo nella Storia della Chiesa, (Viterbo, 1907), I, pp.175-6, 191-2, 316-7.

Cronaca di Niccola della Fuccia, ed. I. Ciampi, Cronache e Statuti della Città di Viterbo, Documenti di Storia Italiana, 5 (Florence, 1872), pp.1-272, notes pp.275-418.

2. Brief History up to c.1320

Papal residences in Viterbo: 1219;1220;1235;1236;1257;1258; 1261;1262;1266;1267;1268;1271 (Conclave); 1272;1276; 1277;1278;1279;1281;1304.

(See the relevant years in Potthast.)

1221 Founded by St. Dominic when with Honorius III in Viterbo. See ASOP, III (1895), p.189; Masetti, I, p.182. Masetti is unsure of the date, but 1221 seems correct, since the list of Viterbo Priors given by Giovanni de Maiensibus begins in that year. See Masetti, I, p.366.

(Since St. Dominic did indeed visit Viterbo several times there is, for once, no need to be sceptical about claims that the saint personally founded the house.)

Small church of S. Croce and adjoining house, situated on wooded hill called Colle Caponino, outside the Porta Sisto, previously used by some Cistercian nuns, obtained by Dominicans.

See Nobilius, Chronaca, p.5; Cristofori, Tombe, pp.72-3; Pinzi, Ospizi, p.31 n.1, p.102.

Site and buildings often said to be gift of Cardinal Raniero Capocci.

See, for example, Fontana, pp.93-4.

Capocci, who had met and been impressed by St. Dominic in 1219, became the main patron of SMG. Capocci family owned considerable lands around Viterbo and series of houses in the city, but no evidence they owned the Colle Caponino site.

See N. Kamp, DBI, p.603.

1227 April 30, August 14, November 14. First evidence of Capocci's patronage: three purchases of land (orchards and vineyards) adjoining convent site. ES: 17th century copy, ASV Fondo Domenicani II 42, p.47. See Signorelli, Viterbo, p.176 n.27.

1231 October 8. Gregory IX, Viterbo. Papal indulgence (1 year 40 days) granted for visiting church on feasts of Annunciation and Sts. Peter and Paul, mentions Ecclesia vestra, constructa, in honorem Beate Marie Virginis, so by this date new church had replaced small

church dedicated to S. Croce, received in 1221.
Grant of indulgences may indicate church only recently completed but more likely reflects presence of Gregory IX in Viterbo.

Ed: BOP, I, p.86.

(S. Croce, later used as a confraternity chapel, demolished in 15th century to allow enlargement of choir of SMG.

See BOP, IV, p.16.)

- 1243 March 1. Consecration of cemetery, in presence of Capocci, by Bishop Guglielmo da Modena.

MS: Viterbo, Bib. Com. perg. 2723.

See Cristofori, Tonbe, pp.114-15.

- 1244 May 4. Innocent IV, Lateran. Papal indulgence, as above, 25 March 1236. Probably marks end of building programme, presumably by completion of conventual buildings.

Ed: BOP, I, p.141.

(Cristofori, pp.72-3, gives completion date as 1246, says site for small convent was that later occupied by choir of SMG.)

- 1244 February 10. Capocci grants church of S. Fortunato, situated within Viterbo walls near Porta Vallia, to SMG, for use in times when dangerous to remain outside walls.

MS: Viterbo, Bib. Com. perg. 2724. Grant renewed 1253:

17th century copy, AGOP, Lib.Y, p.84; renewed 1258:

Viterbo, Bib. Com. perg. 2741.

- 1244 May 6. Innocent IV, Lateran. Papal confirmation of grant of S. Fortunato.

Ed: BOP, I, pp.141-2.

(In his chronicle entry for the year 1245 Niccola della Tuccia reports that, at the orders of Capocci, the Viterbesi built a moat around SMG.

See della Tuccia, ed. cit., p.26.)

- 1244 May 10. Innocent IV, Lateran. Papal confirmation of donations made by Capocci to SMG. Capocci provided land and built church at own expense (without retaining rights of patronage on his gift). List of all ecclesiastical vestments and vessels, and books given to the convent (inalienably) by Capocci. Use of these retained during his lifetime.

Ed: BOP, I, pp.142-3.

- 1246 SMG virtually destroyed by storm.

See Scriattoli, p.331.

April 25. Innocent IV, Lyons. Following damage to church and conventual buildings, Papal indulgence (40 days) granted to all those giving assistance.

Ed: BOP, I, p.162.

- 1247 Capocci purchases three plots of land (orchards and vineyards) near SMG, on behalf of convent.
See Cristofori, Tombe, p.73.
- 1250 Dormitory built.
See Cristofori, p.73.
- 1250 Capocci purchases two plots of land (orchards) on behalf of SMG.
See Cristofori, p.73.
- 1255 May 20. Alexander IV, Viterbo. Papal indulgence (1 year 40 days) for those visiting SMG on anniversary of consecration or the following fifteen days.
Ed: BOP, I, p.284.
This would suggest that the consecration of a new church building had just taken place, but 1258 is the date usually given for this (see below). Alexander IV, who performed the consecration, was present in Viterbo in both 1255 and 1258.
The consecration date does not necessarily mark the completion date for building work but the new consecration, coupled with Capocci's land purchases after the storm of 1246, indicate that he took the opportunity, after the storm damage to the fabric, to reconstruct the church on a larger scale.
- 1256 Cloister Built by Alexander IV. (Construction of cloister is also attributed to Clement IV during his 1266-68 stay in Viterbo.)
See Scriattoli, Monumenti, pp.334-5.
- 1258 April 2. Alexander IV, Viterbo. Papal indulgence (1 year 40 days) for those visiting SMG on feast and octave of Annunciation.
Ed: BOP, I, p.360.
- 1258 Inscription on slab now in Museo Comunale, Viterbo records consecration of church by Alexander IV in this year.
- 1258 Provincial chapter held at SMG. (So rebuilding of both church and convent must indeed have been well advanced, or completed.)
See MOPH, 20, p.22.
- 1260 Hospice and guest house built.
See Cristofori, Tombe, p.73.
- 1261 September 12. Urban IV, Viterbo. Papal indulgence (3 years 120 days) for those visiting SMG on first Sunday in September and following seven days. Granted to mark coronation of Urban IV in the church.
Ed: BOP, I, p.416.
- 1264 Provincial chapter held at SMG.
See MOPH, 20, p.28.
- 1266 Chapter House built by di Vico family.
See Cristofori, Tombe, p.73.

- 1267 Canonisation of St. Edwige of Poland conducted by Clement IV in SMG.
See Fontana, pp.94-5.
- 1268 Burial of Clement IV in SMG. (Tomb later moved to Duomo and back; now in S. Francesco, Viterbo.)
See Ladner, Papstbildnisse, pp.143-59, esp. pp.143-4, 149-52.
- 1268 General and provincial chapter held at SMG.
See MOPH, 20, p.34.
- 1268 Pietro di Vico gives bell from tower of his palace in Viterbo to SMG.
See Cristofori, Tombe, p.74.
- 1268 Pietro di Vico makes will favouring SMG.
MS: Partial 14th century copy, Viterbo, Bib. Com. perg. 2759.
- 1271 Friars purchase two plots of land (orchards) adjoining SMG.
See Cristofori, p.73.
- 1288 Bernardo di Zamora OP (sometime prior of Viterbo, brother of Master General Munio de Zamora) donates a house and all other property in Viterbo to SMG.
MS: Archive of S. Maria Sopra Minerva, Rome. (No number available.)
Ed: Kaeppli, 'Viterbo', p.246.
- 1289 Friars purchase two plots of land (orchards) adjoining SMG. (This and 1271 purchase (see above) provided land for new cemetery and conventual buildings.)
See Cristofori, Tombe, p.73.
- 1289 Will of Visconte Gatti, favouring SMG, indicates intention of building hospital.
MS: Viterbo, Bib. Com. perg. 2826.
Partial ed: Kaeppli, 'Viterbo', p.247.
- 1290 Pietro and Manfredi di Vico donate their father's palatium near SMG to convent, for remission of his sins.
Ed: BOP, II, p.57 n.3.
(Mention of Burgus S.M. ad Gradus, in donation, shows that by this date a suburb had grown up around SMG.)
- 1291 Visconte Gatti buys above-mentioned palatium from Dominican provincial prior.
Ed: BOP, II, p.57 n.3.
- 1292 Inscription on slab from Domus Dei, now in Museo Civico Viterbo, says Visconte Gatti founded, built and endowed hospital in 1292. (Slab itself, with relief showing Visconte Gatti and wife, Teodora Capocci, being presented to Virgin and Child, made 1303.)
See Faldi, Museo, pp.51-2.

- 1293 June 30. Instrument issued during Papal vacancy records gift by Visconte Gatti of hospital, Domus Dei, contents and possessions, to SMG.
Ed: BOP, II, p.57 n.3.
- 1296 November 22. Boniface VIII, Rome, St. Peters. Papal grant of 1000 libra parisiensi (profits of justice) to remove debts and help in construction of infirmary already underway.
Ed: BOP, II, p.51.
(Presumably this refers to work on Domus Dei.)
- 1299 March 23. Boniface VIII, Lateran. Papal confirmation of hospital Domus Dei, constructed by Visconte Gatti and placed under jurisdiction of SMG.
Ed: BOP, II, pp.56-7.
- 1300 Consiglio Gatti OP (prior of SMG c.1300, later archbishop of Conza) builds new wing of convent called Il Palazzotto.
See Cristofori, Tombe, p.74.

Consiglio Gatti builds chapel in SMG dedicated to St. Paul.
See Cristofori, Tombe, pp.68-9, who cites Salmini, Chronologica, p.232.
- 1303 March 16. Boniface VIII, Rome, St. Peters. Porziuncula indulgence granted to those visiting SMG on feast of Annunciation or second day of August.
Ed: BOP, II, p.67.
(This unusually generous indulgence indicates importance of SMG.)
- 1306 Consiglio Gatti builds inner cloister of SMG.
See Cristofori, Tombe, p.74.
- 1306 August 12. Donation, will and codicil of Visconte Gatti, making hospital of Domus Dei chief beneficiary.
MSS: Viterbo, Bib. Com. perg. 2929, 2930, 2931.
See Pinzi, Ospizi, p.102.
(Gatti's family, and others, continued to make donations to Domus Dei, not recorded here.)
- 1309 June 30. Will of Cardinal Giovanni Boccamazza leaves a third of all possessions in Viterbo to SMG.
MS: 15th century copy, Vat. Lat. 14064, fol.5v.
- 1310 November 25. Alisia, daughter of the late Cola di Baldo, Dominican Tertiary, sells vineyard to pay for construction of Campanile of SMG.
MS: Viterbo, Bib. Com. perg. 2960.
See Cristofori, Tombe, pp.74-5.
- 1311 Cardinal Niccolò da Prato, who stayed at SMG for some time, restores the lower part of the dormitory and adds a new storey, probably in his capacity as Boccamazza's executor.
MS: 17th century description, ASV, Fondo Domenicani, II, 42, p.8.
See Masetti, p.245; Cristofori, Tombe, pp.73-4.

3. Studia up to 1320

Artes: 1288, 1292; Artes Veteres et Tractatus: 1305; Logica: 1309, 1310; Philosophia: 1311, 1318.

See MOPH, 20, pp.87,107,157,174,178,182,209.

4. Burials in SMG up to c.1320

Clement IV, d. 1268.

Cardinal Robert Kilwardby OP, d.1280.

Consigliò Gatti OP, Chaplain and Penitentiary to Martin IV,
Archbishop of Conza, d.1328.

Rogério, Archbishop of Pisa (= Rogério Ubaldini, d. by 1295?)

Arnolfo, Bishop of Umana, OP, d.1267.

Pierre le Gros, Bishop of St. Gilles, nephew of Clement IV.

Paul, Bishop of Paphos.

Pietro di Vico, Prefect of Rome, d.1268.

De Vico Family.

Gatti Family.

For all the above see Cristofori, Tombe, pp.66-72. Cristofori based himself on Salmini, Chronologica, and on inscriptions still extant in his day.

Giovanni de Maiensibus, writing in 1380, says that eight Cardinals and thirty four Bishops were buried in SMG. (The pallia of the Cardinals were hung in front of the high altar.) See Giovanni de Maiensibus, Chronicon, fol.32v; Ed: Masetti, I, p.365.

5. Local Dominican Saints and Blessed up to c.1320: None recorded.

6. Confraternities up to c.1350

Confraternity of the Holy Cross, founded 13th century..

See Salmini, Chronologica, pp.166,241; Meersseman, 'Études', I, p.18.

Joint confraternity of the Virgin and St. Dominic, founded 1288.

See letter of Master General Munio de Zamora:

MS: Copied by Salmini, Chronologica, p.240.

Ed: T.M. Mamachi, Annalium Ordinis Praedicatorum, (Rome, 1756), appendix, col.183.

See Meersseman, 'Études', I, p.19.

7. Dominican Bishops of Diocese up to c.1320: None recorded.

8. Later History

Innocent VIII (1484-92) enlarged church.

See Cristofori, Tombe, p.76.

c.1740 Church rebuilt to designs of Niccolò Salvi.

See Cristofori, Tombe, p.76.

- 1873 Church closed to cult.
See Cristofori, Tombe, p.76.
- 1944 Church badly damaged by bombing.
See TCI Guide to Lazio, p.202.

9. Present State

SMG used as prison. Only surviving parts of medieval buildings are 13th century cloister and chapter house entrance; and a sphinx carved by Fra Pasquale OP, friar of S. Sabina, in 1286 and some inscribed slabs, now in Museo Civico, Viterbo.

APPENDIX 2: MEMBERSHIP AND ART PATRONAGE IN THREE DOMINICAN
CONVENTS: THE OBITUARY LISTS OF FLORENCE, ORVIETO
AND PISA.

For a discussion of the value of obituary lists as sources of information, see above, pp.44-6. The Orvieto list is considered in more detail here than those of Florence and Pisa.

(a) Known Medieval Dominican Obituary Lists.

Existing lists (in chronological order):

Florence, S. Maria Novella

Composed 1280 onwards.

Period covered: c.1225 onwards (in the following lists information is taken only for the period up to 1357).

Printed: S. Orlandi OP, Necrologio di S. Maria Novella, 2 vols., (Florence, 1955).

Perugia, S. Domenico

Composed, c.1327-30 onwards.

Period covered: c.1234 onwards.

MS: Perugia, Biblioteca Augusta, MS.1141 (no printed edition).

Orvieto, S. Domenico

Composed c.1340 onwards.

Period covered: c.1232-1348.

Printed: A.M. Viel and P.M. Girardin, Jean Mactei Caccioia, Chronique du Couvent des Prêcheurs d'Orvieto, (Rome/Viterbo, 1907).

Pisa, S. Caterina

Composed c.1348 onwards.

Period covered: c.1221 onwards (in the following lists information is taken only for the period up to 1380).

Printed: F. Bonaini, 'Cronaca del Convento di Santa Caterina', Archivio Storico Italiano, 6, 11 (1848), pp.399-593.

Siena, S. Domenico

Composed 1403 onwards.

Period covered: 1348 onwards (and obituary list of laymen 1336-1432).

Printed: M.-H. Laurent OP, I Necrologi di S. Domenico in Camporegio, Fontes Vitae S. Catherinae Senensis Historici, 20 (Siena, 1937).

Lost lists:

Viterbo, S. Maria in Gradi

Composed at some time before 1380, now lost. See Masetti, I, p.18.

Rome, S. Maria Sopra Minerva

Masetti, I. p.18, says there may have been an obituary list kept by this house.

(b) Orvieto

Period under consideration: c.1235-1348.

Total number of entries in list: 150. Friars: 121, lay brothers: 29.

Geographical Origins of Members:

Definitely from Orvieto: 51

Definitely from Orvieto contado: 21

(This figure includes those from areas defined by Waley as being within Orvieto's sphere of political influence in 1313. See Waley, Orvieto, map facing p.xiv.)

Definitely from outside Orvieto and its contado: 4

S. Domenico was situated in the S. Pace rione of Orvieto. There is no evidence that recruits from this rione predominated.

Social Origins of Members:

Total named as coming from noble family, important family or family with some wealth: 43

This total comprises the following:

Specifically called noble, and appearing in list of nobled made in 1322 (see chapter 1, note 128): 10

Specifically called noble, but not appearing in 1322 list: 5
(This number comprises 4 members of families from outside Orvieto and its contado, and one member of a Ghibelline family, apparently in exile.)

Those with the surnames of noble families mentioned in 1322 list, but not called noble in obituary list: 9

Mentioned as de Domo ..., but not from noble family: 7

Son of Dominus ... : 1
(From other sources this is known to be an important popolani family.)

Son of Iudex: 2

Son of bonus mercator, magnus popularis: 1

Noted as bringing patrimony into Order with him (but no other comment on origins): 4

Noted as having parents with some means; considerable donation made by mother after death of son:	1
Distinguished canon lawyer before entering Order:	1
Relative noted as having been consul:	1
Family noted for land holdings over 2000 <u>libbre</u> : (There were only 205 such families in Orvieto. See Pardi, 'Catasto', <u>passim</u> .)	1

Careers of Members

Those holding office with the Order (excluding sub- prior of Orvieto):	40
Of these, 20 came from noble, important or wealthy families, as listed above, and 20 from families not specified in this way.	
Those holding office outside the Order, within the church hierarchy:	19
Of these, 13 came from noble, important or wealthy families, as listed above, and 6 from families not specified in this way.	
These 19 offices comprise the following:	
Papal legate:	1
Papal penitentiary	1
Confessor to king:	1
Bishop:	4
First inquisitor of infidels and saracens:	1
Vicar general to bishop:	2
Household of cardinal:	6
Household of bishop:	2
Household of papal notary:	1

Donations made by Convent Members

Number of donations by type:

Total:	20
Total for art and building:	7
Total of other donations:	13
The 20 donations comprise the following:	
Building:	2
Chapel:	1
Metalwork:	3
Panel painting:	1
Books:	1
Pittances:	6
Unspecified:	6

Social Status of Members making Donations

N.B. Discrepancies between total numbers of members making donations and numbers of donors in individual categories, arise because the same person sometimes made more than one type of donation. E.g. Trasmondo Monaldeschi paid for a painting, building work, metalwork, books and pittances. This also explains the discrepancies between this table and the one above, which lists numbers of donations by type.

Origins given in obituary list:	<u>Noble</u>	<u>Other</u> <u>families of</u> <u>importance</u> <u>or wealth</u>	<u>Unspecified</u>	<u>Total</u>
Total of members making donations	5	4	5	14
Total of members donating art or building	2	2	1	5
Total of members donating other items	4	2	4	10
Members donating art	1	2	-	3
Members donating to building	2	-	1	3
Members donating books	1	-	-	1
Members paying for pittances	2	-	4	6
Members making donations for unspecified items	4	2	-	6

Procuration

Members procured money for a total of 3 items, comprising:

Buildings:	2
Altar and chapel:	1

(c) Florence, S. Maria Novella

Period under consideration: c.1225-1357.

Total number of members sampled: 414

Donations made by Convent Members

Number of donations by type:

Total:	27
--------	----

Total for art and building:	9
-----------------------------	---

Total for other donations:	18
----------------------------	----

The 27 donations comprise the following:

Building:	6
-----------	---

Altar:	1
--------	---

Panel painting:	1
-----------------	---

Vestments and hangings:	1
-------------------------	---

Pittances:	16
------------	----

Relios:	1
---------	---

Unspecified:	1
--------------	---

Social Status of Members making Donations

N.B. Discrepancies arise between total number of members making donations and numbers of donors in individual categories, for the reasons described in the Orvieto list of donors, above.

Origins given in obituary list:	<u>Noble</u>	<u>Other families of importance or wealth</u>	<u>Unspecified</u>	<u>Total</u>
Total of members making donations	2	8	13	23
Total of members donating art or building	1	4	3	8
Total of members donating other items	1	6	9	16
Members donating art	1	2	1	4
Members donating to building	-	3	3	6
Members paying for pittances	1	6	9	16
Members donating relios	-	-	1	1
Members making donations for unspecified items	-	1	-	1

Procuration

Members procured money for a total of 7 items, comprising:

Buildings:	5
Fresco decoration:	1
Panel painting:	1

(d) PisaPeriod under consideration: c.1221-1380.Total number of members sampled: 240Donations made by Convent MembersNumber of donations by type:

Total:	15
--------	----

Total for art and building:	6
-----------------------------	---

Total of other donations:	9
---------------------------	---

The 15 donations comprise the following:

Building:	4
Painting:	1
Metalwork:	1
Books:	3
Pittances:	4
Unspecified:	2

Social Status of Members making Donations

N.B. Discrepancies arise between the total number of members making donations and numbers of donors in individual categories, for the reasons described in the Orvieto list of donors, above.

Origins given in obituary list:	<u>Noble</u>	<u>Other families of importance or wealth</u>	<u>Unspecified</u>	<u>Total</u>
Total of members making donations	3	5	5	13
Total of members donating art or building	2	1	3	6
Total of members donating other items	1	4	3	8
Members donating books	-	1	2	3
Members paying for pittances	-	2	2	4
Members making donations for unspecified items	1	-	1	2

Procuration

Members procured money for a total of 8 items, comprising:

Buildings:	3
Panel painting:	2
Metalwork:	1
Vestments and hangings:	2

(e) Orvieto, Pisa and Florence

The information concerning donations, given in the preceding tables, provide the following totals:

Number of donations by type:

Total:	62
Total for art and building:	22
Total for other donations:	40

The 62 donations comprise the following:

Building:	12
Chapel/altar:	2
Metalwork:	4
Painting:	3
Vestments and hangings:	1
Books:	4
Pittances:	26
Relics:	1
Unspecified:	9

Number of Convent Members making donations:

Total of members making donations:	50
Total of members donating art or building:	19
Total of members donating other items:	34

ROMANA BY THEIR DONATIONS OR THEIR CAREERS.

Patrons are listed under type of object owned, patronised or donated, in roughly chronological order. (Brief details of each patron's career are given in the notes to this appendix.) The majority of items listed do not appear to be extant. Those known to exist, are noted.

(a) Metalwork.

Bishop Pietro Angiorenelli (will of 1274)⁽¹⁾

Silverware to the value of 1000 lire(?) willed to Luoca convent, all(?) to be used towards cost of new building programme; all silver tableware also willed to Luoca convent. (2)

Cardinal Hugues Aycelin (wills of 1297)⁽³⁾

Silver-gilt chalice, gift of Viterbo house at promotion to cardinalate, returned to donors; large silver-gilt crucifix with figures of Virgin and St. John to go to S. Sabina, if other recipients attempt to change it; gold chalice, mitre with pearls and enamels, best ring, left to Boniface VIII; further gifts of metalwork to Dominican and other churches. (4)

Fra Pietro Bernardi (d. post 1272, pre 1300(?))

Gave silver-gilt chalice worth g.100 lire to sacristy of Orvieto house, bought with proceeds of sale of his bible. (5)

Fra Giovanni detto Cistone, converso (d. g.1300)

With his own money bought two silver ampullae, which he gave to Orvieto sacristy. (6)

Pope Benedict XI (d.1304)⁽⁷⁾

Silver-gilt chalice with translucent enamels, copper-gilt paten with niello work, given to Dominican convent Perugia (extant: now in Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria, Perugia); (8)
gold chalice given to S. Domenico, Bologna, melted down g.1383 to help form head-reliquary of St. Dominic. (9)

Cardinal Niccolò da Prato (will of 1321)⁽¹⁰⁾

Left small thurible and silver nef from daily chapel to Siena convent; best chalice, cross, thurible and bell of silver, from his chapel, and silver situla with aspergillum, left to Prato convent; gold filigree cross, weighing the equivalent of one silver angelus, left to Viterbo house. (11)

Bishop Trasmondo Monaldeschi (d.1330)

Left 'precious and beautiful' chalice worth 100 lire to Orvieto house. (12)

(b) Liturgical Vestments and Hangings.

Bishop Pietro Angiorelli (will of 1274)

Willed considerable number of vestments and hangings to sacristy of S. Romano, Lucca. (13)

Cardinal Hugues Aycelin (wills of 1297)

Willed vestments and hangings to various Dominican houses and to other recipients. Items included: cope decorated with Jesse tree (gift of King of England); Opus Anglicanum cope with nativity cycle; embroidered chasuble with gems bought from patriarch of Jerusalem; embroidered cope with gems given by Hugo de Curtis OP, bishop of Bethlehem; embroidered chasuble bequeathed to S. Sabina; cope with alb and amice bequeathed to Viterbo convent. (14)

Pope Benedict XI (d.1304)

Alb, sandals, cope and orphrey, fragment of orphrey from chasuble(?), mitre, said to have belonged to Benedict XI, extant - kept in S. Domenico, Perugia. (15) Chasuble and orphrey said to have belonged to Benedict XI, extant, in the Museo Capitolino, Velletri. (16)

Fra Albertino detto Mazzante figlio Cambio (d.1319)

Used part of inheritance to purchase vestments for hospice in S. Casciano which he helped to build. (17)

Cardinal Niccolò da Prato (will of 1321)

Willed silk cope with Opus Anglicanum border, another cope and a dalmatic to Spoleto convent; a linsey-woolsey chasuble with Florentine embroidery, two with Montpellier embroidery, one linsey-woolsey copy with Florentine embroidery, an alb and amice with pearls and Roman embroidery and a stole with maniples and belt, all bequeathed to S. Maria Novella; one altar hanging (dossale) embroidered with the image of St. Dominic, another with Roman embroidery of the Man of Sorrows(?) (- ad figuras cum sepolcro), another with Roman embroidery of the Virgin and Child and two chasubles all bequeathed to the Prato convent; other vestments, all carefully itemised, bequeathed to S. Domenico, Pistoia and to several other Dominican houses. (18)

Fra Baro Sassetti (joined Order by 1264, died 1324)

Equipped sacristy of S. Maria Novella with complete set of silk vestments. (19)

(c) Building.Cardinal Annibaldo Annibaldi (20)

Rebuilding of larger church and convent at Orvieto financed by Annibaldi, from 1262(?) onwards. (This act of patronage may partly have been carried out to mark Annibaldi's creation as cardinal by Urban IV in Orvieto, probably in December, 1262.) (21)

Bishop Pietro Angiorelli (will of 1274)

Bequeathed silver to the value of 1000 lucchesse lire for recently-begun building work at S. Romano, Lucca. (22)

Bishop Teodorico Borgognoni (will of 1298) (23)

Urged Bologna friars to complete work on choir vault previously begun by Borgognoni. (24)

Document of 1313 connected with execution of Borgognoni's will mentions bequest for repair and rebuilding of fabric of S. Romano, Lucca. (25)

(All said to have given 1000 lire for building infirmary for S. Romano, Lucca, in 1297. (26))

Cardinal Hugues Avoelin (wills of 1297)

Bequests of 100 gold florins and further revenues towards cost of building S. Maria Sopra Minerva. (27)

Fra Pietro de' Macci (d.1301) (28)

Took over supervision of construction and maintenance of Figline hospice, giving money towards it himself (and administered foundation of hospice at S. Casciano). (29)

Cardinal Niccolò da Prato (will of 1321) (30)

Bequeathed money for foundation of monastery of S. Niccolò, Prato, and for further building work at S. Domenico, Prato. In edict of same year increased donation to S. Niccolò from 7,000 to 10,000 gold florins, donation to S. Domenico from 1,000 to 5,000 gold florins. (32)

In 1318 gave money towards purchase of squared stones for building work at S. Domenico, Pistoia. (33)

Fra Jacopo degli Scalzi (d. c.1325)

Had his own cell built, but died before its completion. (34)

Fra Tiburzio di Meo Rainuzio di Provezzano (d.1325) (35)

Gave money for hospitium to be founded on road between Orvieto and Todi, but his death prevented its completion. (36)

Fra Jacopo Donati (d.1327) (37)

Procured money for marble revetment of façade of S. Caterina, Pisa, and from his own money paid for one side of sculpted cloister. (38)

Bishop Trasmondo Monaldeschi (d.1330) (39)

Gave c.1000 lire for fabric of church of S. Domenico, Orvieto. During his episcopate, his diocese was augmented by buildings both in Sovana and elsewhere. (40)

NOTES TO APPENDIX 3

1. d.1274. Prior and lector in Viterbo and Lucca; diffinitor at provincial and general chapters; possibly maestro di sacro palazzo under Clement IV; bishop of Lucca, 1272-74. See Lazzareschi, 'Pietro Angiorenelli', pp.112ff; Eubel, Hierarchia, I, p.313.
2. For will see above, chapter 3, note 3.
3. d.1297. Nephew of Philippe le Bel's chancellor; 1288 became cardinal priest of S. Sabina; 1294 cardinal bishop of Ostia and camerarius sacri collegii. See A. Walz OP, I Cardinali Domenicani: Note Bio-Bibliografiche, (Florence/Rome, 1940), (extract from MD), pp.18-19.
4. For will see above, chapter 3, note 1.
5. Friar of Orvieto house; member of Order for 40 years; sub-prior in Orvieto. See Caccia, p.76.
6. Lay-brother, for some time member of Orvieto house; for many years in family of Teduccio(?) bishop of Orvieto; died at S. Sisto after 36 years in Order. See Caccia, p.80.
7. Niccolò Boccasini, b. Treviso; master general 1296-99; became cardinal priest of S. Sabina 1298; became cardinal bishop of Ostia 1300; licentia testandi 1301; elected pope 1303; d. Perugia 1304. See Walz, Cardinali, p.19.
8. Described as gifts of Benedict XI in 15th century inventories: see F. Santi, 'Ritrovamento di Oreficerie medioevali in S. Domenico di Perugia', BA, 40 (1955), pp.354-8; id., Galleria Nazionale, pp.166-8, plates 141b,c,d,e, (Santi attributes the works to Siena).
9. See Bologna, Archivio di Stato, fondo S. Domenico, MS.240/7574, Campione II, ff.94r. ff., printed in V. Alce OP, II Reliquario del capo di San Domenico, (Bologna, 1971), (extract from Cultura Bononia, Rivista di Studi Bolognesi, 3 (1971), 1), pp.14-15.
10. Became bishop of Spoleto 1299; cardinal bishop of Ostia 1303; d.1321. See Walz, Cardinali, pp.19-20.
11. For will see above, chapter 3, note 2.
12. Studied Bologna and Paris; lector at Orvieto; prior at Orvieto, Viterbo, S. Maria Sopra Minerva, Arezzo, Pisa, Lucca; vicar in part of Provincia Romana, diffinitor in many provincial chapters; bishop of Sovana; d.1330. See Caccia, pp.95, 107-9, 119.
13. See above, notes 1 and 2.
14. See above, notes 3 and 4.

15. See A. Lupattelli, Benedetto XI in Perugia: suo monumento sepolcrale, sue reliquie, (Rome, 1903); Catalogo della Mostra d'Antica Arte Umbra, (Perugia, 1907), pp.26-8; see above, notes 7 and 8; and see above, chapter 3, notes 115,116.
16. See Mortari, Velletri, pp.52-3.
17. Friar of S. Maria Novella; in Order for about 53 years; a carpenter and builder. See Orlandi, Necrologio, I, pp.35, 273-5.
18. See above, notes 10 and 11.
19. Friar of S. Maria Novella; confessor and preacher; in Order more than 60 years. See Orlandi, Necrologio, I. p.40.
20. Became cardinal priest of 12 Apostles in 1262; d.1272. See Walz, Cardinali, p.16.
21. See DBI, s.v.
22. See above, notes 1 and 2.
23. b. Lucca, 1205; moved to Bologna 1214; papal penitentiary to Innocent IV; became bishop of Bitonto 1262 (but resident in Lucca); bishop of Cervia 1270 (but resident in Bologna); d.1293. See DBI, s.v. For will see above, chapter 3, note 4.
24. (In will of 1298): 'Volumus autem et mandamus quod conventus fratrum predicatorum de Bononia edificari faciat et compleri quam cito potest commode fieri opus et testudinem per nos inceptam super presbyterium maioris altaris Sancti Nicholaj'. See I.B. Supino, L'Arte nelle Chiese di Bologna, vol.I, (Bologna, 1932), p.165.
25. See Taurisano, Domenicani, p.4, note 1.
26. Reported in manuscript chronicle of 1525, Ignazio Manandro OP, Chronica del Convento di S. Romano di Lucca, Lucca, Biblioteca Governativa, MS.2572, p.16.
27. See above, notes 3 and 4.
28. Friar and preacher; in Order 41 years; sub-prior of S. Maria Novella; had practical knowledge of construction skills. See Orlandi, Necrologio, I, pp.22,23.
29. Ibid.
30. See above, note 10.
31. See Fineschi, Supplemento, pp.50,53.
32. See Paravicini Bagliani.
33. See Orlandi, Pistoia, pp.8-9.

34. Friar of S. Domenico, Perugia. See Masetti, I, p.91.
35. Friar and preacher; lector at Orvieto and Todi. See Caccia, p.95.
36. Ibid.
37. Prior of Pisa; learned and well-travelled; sent by Pisans as ambassador to Robert of Anjou; (mentioned in list of holdings as owning some land in S. Maria al Trebbio). See Bonaini, pp.487-8.
38. Ibid.
39. See above, note 12.
40. See Caccia, pp.107-9.

(a) Illuminated Choir Books from Dominican Houses in the Provincia Romana.

Florence.

S. Maria Novella: Cor.A (inv.1350), B (1351), E (1354), F (1355), H (1357), I (1358), K (1359), L (1360), M (1361), N (1362).

Catalogued and discussed (with some illustrations) by S. Orlandi OP, 'I Libri Corali di S. Maria Novella con miniature dei secoli XIII e XIV', MD, 82 (1965), pp.129-145, 193-224; 83 (1966), pp.3-61, 73-96.

Orlandi (p.89), on liturgical grounds, dates the graduals (Cor. I,K,L,M) to the decade of the 1270s and, on stylistic grounds, dates the antiphonaries (apart from the later Cor.H) to the last quarter of the 13th century, or possibly to c.1270, given the similarities to the graduals. He attributes the miniatures to at least five different masters, two Bolognese, one Cimabuesque, the rest probably Florentine (pp.194-200). He attributes the work in Cor.H to various Florentine masters working at different times in the 14th century (pp.200-201).

A more recent discussion of the style of some of the books is A. Garzelli, 'Miniature Fiorentine del Duecento', Arte Illustrata, 59 (1974), pp.339-50. Garzelli set out to expand our knowledge of 13th century Florentine illumination by the inclusion of the choir books in this corpus, rejecting the attribution of several manuscripts, including parts of this group, to Bologna. She traces the work of one of the S. Maria Novella masters in other Tuscan choir books.

S. Marco: Antiph.A (563), Antiph.D (564), Grad.F (561), Grad.G (562), Leot.B (621), Psalter, s.s. (624).

Listed in R. Chiarelli, I Codici Miniati del Museo di S. Marco a Firenze, (Florence, 1968), pp.65,68. See also P. D'Ancona, La Miniatura Fiorentina dal sec.XI al sec.XVI, (Florence, 1914), II, pp.107-9.

The lectionary and psalter come from S. Maria Novella, the antiphonaries and graduals were originally from the Dominican monastery of S. Jacopo a Ripoli. Chiarelli attributes the graduals to a Cimabuesque master working at the very beginning of the 14th century, the antiphonaries to two Florentine artists of the first half of the 14th century, the psalter to an unknown Florentine of the early 14th century and the lectionary to a Florentine of the first half of the 14th century.

Gubbio.

Archivio Comunale: Cor.B,C,D,E,F,G,I,L,M,O,IX.

Catalogued by P.G. Théry OP, 'A propos des livres choraux des Dominicains de Gubbio', AFP, 2 (1932), pp.252-83, who dates them, on liturgical grounds, to the first quarter of the 14th century. See also G. Castelfranco, 'I corali miniati di S. Domenico di

Gubbio', BA, 8 (1929), pp.529-55; id., 'Contributi alla Storia della Miniatura Bolognese del '200'', Bologna, 7 (1935), pp.11-22, esp. n.29, pp.18-22. In the earlier article Castelfranco illustrates the choir books extensively and attributes them, on stylistic grounds, to one Bolognese master with a few closely imitative assistants, working at the end of the 13th century. In the later article he rejects Thery's later dating, producing convincing arguments, on liturgical and stylistic grounds, for a dating in the last decade of the 13th century.

Lucca.

Biblioteca Statale (formerly Biblioteca Governativa): MSS.2648 (Cor.D), 2654 (Cor.N).

Summary catalogues in A. Manoini, 'Index codicum latinorum publicae lucensis', Studi italiani di filologia classica, 8 (1900), pp.288,290; and in Mostra storica nazionale della Miniatura, (Florence, 1954), pp.232-3 where the miniatures are described as Lucchese(?) with Emilian influence. See also P. Toesca, Il Medioevo, Storia dell'Arte Italiana, I (Turin, 1927), pp.1066,1135, n.15, who calls them mid 13th century, under early Bolognese influence.

The miniatures have never been published or discussed in any detail. The style of the miniatures is fairly consistent, but the quality varies, possibly suggesting three different hands. The work was probably executed by Bolognese, or Florentine Bolognese-trained artists (who had worked on the S. Maria Novella choir books) in the last quarter of the 13th century. (See above, p.142).

Perugia.

Biblioteca Augusta: MSS.2781 (G1), 2782, 2783 (f), 2784, 2785 (A), 2786 (Q), 2787 (P), 2788 (G), 2789 (A), 2790 (G), 2791 (H), 2792 (D), 2793 (E), 2794 (F), 2795 (A), 2796 (I), 2797 (I), 2798 (L), 2800 (O), 2801 (B).

Catalogued briefly in typescript continuation of the printed Mazzatinti catalogue, available in the Biblioteca Augusta. The miniatures are the work of two separate groups of artists: MSS.2790,2791,2792,2793,2794,2798 and parts of 2797 were probably executed in the late 13th century; the other MSS. were decorated during the course of the 14th century.

The earlier group have never been properly discussed. See P. Toesca, La Collezione di Ulrico Hoepli, Monumenti e Studi per la Storia della Miniatura Italiana, I (Milan, 1930), p.30, who considers this work is probably Umbrian of the late 13th or early 14th century.

For the later group see A. Caleca, La Biblioteca Capitolare di Perugia, Miniatura in Umbria, 1 (Florence, 1969), pp.95-7 and, more recently, Gordon, Art in Umbria, pp.203-212, who attributes the work to four Umbrian masters, working between c.1320 and c.1338, with the exception of MS.2783 (F), f.128r., which (following Caleca, p.95), she attributes to a Bolognese hand. (For further leaves from these books see the leaves in the Cini Foundation, Venice and the Museum of Fine Arts, Montreal, listed below, section (o).)

Rome.S. Sabina.

Berthier, *Église*, pp.387-94, mentions two choir books which no longer appear to be in the convent's possession. He supplies one photograph (fig.70, p.388) of a leaf with a representation of the death of St. Peter Martyr and line drawings of nineteen other initials (figs.71-6, pp.389-94). A figure which Berthier identifies as representing the artist, drawn in the border of a leaf containing the 'feast of St. John' (the evangelist(?)), is shown as a layman holding a scroll with the inscription 'Bons Johs Andree Pauli gracias ago' (Berthier, p.394). It is not clear whether the artist of the miniatures is Italian or French. The one unsatisfactory photograph provided suggests that he was Italian, as Berthier believes. (Berthier, p.391, says that the books were made in S. Sabina and that some motifs in the miniatures were copied from the mosaics in the church). On the other hand Berthier says that these miniatures are close in style to those of a missal, made for Cardinal Hugues Aycelin, now Clermont-Ferrand, Bib. Municipale, MS.62, which is in fact French, although Berthier mistook it for Italian work undertaken at S. Sabina. (See Berthier, pp.387,545; V. Leroquais, Les Sacramentaires et les Missels Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques de France, (Paris, 1924), vol.II, pp.120-21.) Probably Berthier's attempted comparison of the choir books and missal is at fault, and the S. Sabina choir books are (or were) Italian work of the later 13th century. (For the possible patronage of these books see below, section (e).)

Viterbo.

The Viterbo house apparently once possessed some early illuminated(?) choir books, now lost. (See Masetti, I, p.73.)

- (b) Illuminated Choir Books, decorated by Italian Artists, definitely or probably for Houses outside the Provincia Romana.

Bologna.

S. Domenico, Bologna: Cor.1,3,4,5,6,9,11,12,13,14,18,19,20,21,22,23, 24-1,24-11,25,26,27,34.

Briefly catalogues and discussed (with a few illustrations) in V. Alce OP and A. D'Amato OP, La Biblioteca di S. Domenico in Bologna, (Florence, 1961), pp.139-69. Alce dates all the books except for Cor.34 (a work of lower quality) to between 1307 and 1324, on liturgical grounds, and attributes the miniatures to at least seven different Bolognese hands.

Museo Civico Bologna: Cor.516,522,523,524,525 (et. al.)

No proper catalogue of these books has been published. At some point during the prolonged closure of the Museo Civico the books have been re-numbered, making it difficult to correlate earlier mentions of the books with more recent work. There may be as many as ten choir books of Dominican origin in the collection: P. Ducati, Guida del Museo Civico di Bologna, (Bologna, 1923), p.229, says that corali 8-12 come from the Dominican monastery of S. Maria Maddalena in Valdepetra, Bologna (but since this appears to be a post-14th century foundation (not listed in QE) these choir books presumably originated elsewhere); Mostra Storica lists three choir books of Dominican origin from the Museo Civico: Cor.12, 'made for nuns' (pp.122-3) whose present number I have not been able to trace, Cor.13 (now Cor.522), Cor.15 (now Cor.524); M. Salmi in Emilia e Romagna, Tesori delle Biblioteche d'Italia, 1, ed. D. Fava, (Milan, 1932), p.289 and fig.142, says Cor.7, a 13th century Bolognese work, comes from S. Domenico and reproduces on p.295 a leaf (f.151r) with the feast of St. Thomas Aquinas from Cor.36 (now Cor.545); I have not been able to ascertain the earlier number of the present cod.516 which, in view of the inclusion of Sts. Dominic, Thomas Aquinas and a supplicant Dominican nun, clearly comes from a Dominican house. Alce, La Biblioteca, pp.155,157,169, n.26, identifies Cor.522,523, and 524 as three of the five antiphonaries given to S. Domenico, Bologna by Martino da Cento at some time before 1380 (probably originally made for a Dominican monastery).

Chicago/Cologne/Stockholm/Sotheby's/Philadelphia.

A volume from a Dominican gradual (the second half of a former set) in the Ludwig Collection, Cologne (formerly in the Kraus Collection, New York) (445 x 320 mm.) is signed on f.159v.,

'Ego Jacobellus dictus Muriolus de Salerno hunc
librum scripsi. notavi & miniavi. & fuit primum
opus manuum mearum'.

See H.P. Kraus, Monumenta Codicum Manu Scriptum, (New York, 1974), p.47, colour plate 46, figs.124,125; A. von Euw and J.M. Plotzek, Die Handschriften der Sammlung Ludwig, I (Cologne, 1979), pp.262-5, colour plate 263, figs.170-73.

Recently Professor Carl Nordenfalk and I independently noticed

that two other Dominican choir books, an antiphony in the Art Institute, Chicago (Inv. no. 11.142.B) and an antiphony in the National Museum, Stockholm, B1578 (545 x 345 mm.) - earlier identified by Nordenfalk as two parts of the same set - were illuminated by the same hand as the Ludwig volume. See C. Nordenfalk, 'Miniatyrsamlingen Nyuppställning och Nyförvärv 1948-50', Nationalmusei Årsbok 1949-50, (Uppsala, 1952), pp. 72-4, figs. 18, 19, Id., Bokmålningar från medeltid och renässans i Nationalmusei samlingar, (Stockholm, 1979), pp. 78-80, figs. 104-7, 220 (Ludwig MS.), 222 (Chicago MS.), colour plate 9. Nordenfalk has further identified a related leaf, representing the Last Supper, in the Museum of Fine Arts, Philadelphia (Bokmålningar, p. 78 and fig. 221) and I have identified another related leaf, representing the Presentation in the Temple, with two Dominican nuns and a friar in bas-de-page roundels, Sotheby's Sale, 11 December 1979, lot 5 (528 x 350 mm.) (Presentation ill. in sale catalogue).

The original provenance of these choir books is not known, but the predominance of nuns in the bas-de-page roundels - accompanied by the friars who supervised them - shows that they were made for a Dominican monastery.

Jacobello's knowledge of Bolognese illumination is evident in his use of decorative bar-borders and bas-de-page roundels (see Nordenfalk, Bokmålningar, p. 78) but the source of his unsophisticated figure style is more difficult to pin-point. The Kraus catalogue, Ludwig catalogue and Sotheby's sale catalogue place his work around 1270; Nordenfalk initially placed it around 1300, and now puts it in the 13th century. Since the illuminator does not sign himself Fra Jacobellus he was presumably a layman.

Dubrovnik.

St. Dominic, MSS. 85, 91.

Listed in T. Kaeppli and H-V Schooner, Les Manuscrits médiévaux de Saint-Dominique de Dubrovnik, Institutum Historicum FF. Praedicatorum Romae ad S. Sabinae, Dissertationes Historicae, 17 (Rome, 1965), pp. 100, 102. Many illuminations have been cut out of the MSS; the remaining ones are attributed to Bolognese artists of the 14th (and 15th) century.

Florence.

Ginori Conti Coll.

See P. Ginori Conti, Un Antifonario Miniato della Scuola Bolognese, (Florence, 1940), where it is attributed to early 14th century Bologna, with later additions. Ginori Conti considers the book was probably, but not definitely, made for a Dominican house (p. 25, n. 1) but the inclusion of Dominican saints in the illustrations makes a Dominican provenance virtually certain.

ForlìS. Domenico, Bologna: Cod.36.

Catalogued briefly by Alce, La Biblioteca, p.150, where it is placed in the late 13th century on liturgical grounds. For mention of the book's provenance see A. Schönherr, 'Codice liturgico della fine del Duecento nel Convento di S. Domenico Bologna', MD, 60 (1943), pp.106-113, 149-158; 64 (1947), pp. 11-27, 97-108.

HoustonDe Menil Foundation: MS.65-62 DJ.

A.J. Dirks OP dates the book to shortly after 1240 on liturgical grounds (draft for De Menil catalogue entry, January 1978, kindly shown to me by E.B. Garrison); Garrison places the work in mid 13th century Tuscany, probably Florence, on stylistic evidence (verbal opinion, 1978); the book is said to have come from a Dominican house in Northern Italy (P. Verdier, letter to E.B. Garrison, 10.5.1978).

MessinaBiblioteca Univesitaria di Messina: Cor.354.

Catalogued briefly in Mostra Storica, p.274, where it is said to have been made for a Dominican convent and the miniature style is described as probably Sicilian, with strong French influence and some reflections of Bologna.

ModenaBiblioteca Estense: MS.a.Q.1.4 (Lat.1016).

Catalogued and disoussed in D. Fava and M. Salmi, I Manoscritti Miniati della Biblioteca Estense di Modena, 1 (Florence, 1950), pp.26-9, who attribute the miniatures to three or four Bolognese artists of the late 13th or early 14th century. Fava and Salmi say the book came from S. Domenico, Bologna, but Mostra Storica, p.128 is probably correct in saying that it was made for Dominican nuns.

Palermo.Biblioteca Nazionale, Palermo: Cor.9,11.

Catalogued and disoussed in A.D. Lattanzi, Biblioteca Nazionale di Palermo, I Manoscritti ed Incunaboli miniati della Sicilia, 1 (Rome, 1965), pp.58-62, who gives the provenance as the Dominican house in Palermo and attributes the work to Sicilian artists of the late 13th or early 14th century.

VeniceMuseo Correr: MS.V, 131.

Discussed in Venezia e Bisanzio (exhibition catalogue), (Venice, 1974), n.103 (catalogue entry by Lino Moretti). The lay donor represented on f.1r, Doge Marino Zorzi (d.1312), left the bulk of his estate for a Dominican foundation at Castello, finished 1317, so miniatures are c.1317. Presumably this book was originally one of a series, since f.1r shows Doge Zorzi with a pile of books, of which he actually presents one. Moretti attributes the miniatures to a Venetian artist who shows the influence of Bologna in his style and of Byzantium in his iconography. See also B. Degenhart and A. Schmitt, 'Marino Sanudo und Paolino Veneto: Zwei Literaten des 14. Jahrhunderts in ihrer Wirkung auf Buchillustrierung und Kartographie in Venedig, Avignon und Neapel', Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte, 14 (1973), p.47, figs.4,9.

- (o) Leaves and Cuttings from Illuminated Choir Books decorated by Italian Artists and probably intended for Dominican Use.

Cini Foundation, Venice.

The Cini Foundation includes a variety of cuttings from Dominican choir books, which previously formed part of the Hoepli Collection, Milan. Three catalogues including reproductions of some of these items have been published, but none of the catalogues presents the full collection: P. Toesca, La Collezione di Ulrico Hoepli, Monumenti e Studi per la Storia della Miniatura Italiana, 1 (Milan, 1930); Id., Miniature di Una Collezione Veneziana, (Venice, 1958); Id., Miniature Italiana della Fondazione Giorgio Cini, (Venice, 1968). Since some of the items appear to come from the same book or set of books, they are grouped together here by school (as given by Toesca); the date in brackets indicates the catalogue in which they are published:

Bologna.

- Cutting, (1958, No.XXXVIII, p.18, plate 13):
Vision of apocalyptic Christ with kneeling friar.
Leaf, (1958, No.XXXIII, p.17, plate 11):
Aquinas teaching.
Leaf, (1958, No.XXXIV, p.17, plate 12):
Aquinas preaching and performing miracles.
Leaf, (1958, No.XXVIII, p.16, plate 8):
Dominic(?) reaching up towards the Redeemer, and holding open book.
Leaf, (1968, inv.2153, p.16, fig.4):
Dominic(?) kneels before Christ.

Florence.

- Cutting (1968, inv.2079, p.26, fig.31):
Dominican friar and nun kneel before two haloed Dominican popes(?).

Perugia.

- Leaf, (1968, inv.2075), p.28, fig.38):
Death of St. Peter Martyr (with another leaf in the collection, showing the Maries at the Tomb, inv.2073, probably comes from the Dominican choir books now in the Biblioteca Augusta, Perugia).

Central Italy.

- Cutting (1930, No.XV, p.23, plate 10):
St. Peter Martyr preaching.

Siena(?)

- Cutting (1930, No.L, p.58, plate 43):
Friars and laymen kneel before the Redeemer.

Abruzzo(?)

Cutting (1930, No.XCI, p.89, plate 84):

Friar kneels before Redeemer, with prophets, apostles, saints and St. Dominic.

Museum of Fine Arts, Montreal.

Leaf with miniature of St. Peter Martyr lying in state.

The leaf is discussed in P. Verdier, 'The Medieval Collection (Montreal Museum of Fine Arts)', Apollo, 171 (1976), pp.364-6, figs.14,15, where it is identified as the missing folio 171 from Perugia, Biblioteca Augusta, Cor.G. 8 (= MS.2788(?)).

National Gallery of Art, Washington, (B-13,522).

Leaf with full-page illumination of Nativity with six kneeling friars, catalogued and discussed in Medieval and Renaissance Miniatures from the National Gallery of Art, Washington, ed. G. Vikan, (Washington, 1975), pp.12-14, figs. 3a,b,c, colour plate 1, where it is identified as Italian, q.1275.

Sotheby's Holford Sale, 12.7.1927. Lot 3.

A set of four cuttings, one of which shows two friars kneeling before Aquinas. Bolognese, first half 14th century.

- (d) Dominican Supplicants represented in Illuminated Choir Books decorated by Italian Artists.

Provincia Romana.

Florence, S. Maria Novella.

Cor.A (inv.1350), f.77r: four friars kneel below annunciate angel.

Lucca, Biblioteca Statale.

MS.2648 (Cor.D), p.235: lay(?) woman kneels before enthroned Redeemer.

Perugia, Biblioteca Augusta.

MS.2791(H), f.62r: friar kneels before representation of trial of St. Catherine of Alexandria, and is depicted assisting at her burial.

MS.2794(F), f.90r: two friars kneel before the Virgin, singing.

MS.2797(I), f.191r: layman kneels before St. Peter as apostle, above is St. Peter as pope, enthroned.

MS.2798(L), f.32r: layman kneels before Christ.

f.190r: layman kneels before St. Martin.

Outside Provincia Romana.

Bologna, S. Domenico.

Cor.26, f.103r: friar kneeling before St. Mary Magdalen (inserted leaf.)

Cor.27, f.55r: bishop Teodorico (Borgognoni) presenting book to St. Dominic.

f.108r: friar (Teodorico Borgognoni?) presenting book to Trinity.

Bologna, Museo Civico.

Cor.516, f.229r: St. Dominic(?) presents kneeling nun to Virgin and Child.

Cor.522, f.160v: friar kneels before St. Nicholas.

Cor.523, f.125r: a group of friars and of nuns kneel on either side of St. Dominic who shelters them under his cloak.

Cor.524, f.281r: friar and nun kneel on either side of St. Dominic.

Cologne/Sotheby's/Stockholm.

Busts of friars and nuns, their hands in gestures of prayer, appear in various bas-de-page roundels and, occasionally, flanking the scene depicted in an initial. The number of figures varies, but both nuns and friars are always represented. See, for example, the Stockholm volume, ff.3r,71v,98r, the Cologne volume, f.38r. (Since I have not seen any of the books I am unable to give a complete list.)

Modena, Biblioteca Estense.

MS.a.Q.1.4 (Lat.1016), f.60v: nun kneels before blessing St. Dominic.

Venice, Museo Correr.

MS.V, 131, f.1r: Doge Marino Zorzi kneels with pile of books, presenting one of them to St. Dominic; to the right, a Dominican friar; above, Christ steps from the tomb.

Leaves and Cuttings.Cini Foundation, Venice.

(Cat. 1958) No.XXXVIII: friar kneels before vision of apocalyptic Christ.

(Cat. 1968) Inv.2079: friar and nun kneel before two haloed Dominican popes(?).

(Cat. 1930) No.L: friars and laymen kneel before the Redeemer.

(Cat. 1930) No.XCI: friar kneels before the Redeemer, with prophets, apostles, saints and St. Dominic.

Sotheby, Holford Sale, 12.7.1927.

Lot 3: two friars kneel before Aquinas.

National Gallery of Art, Washington.

B-13, 522: six friars, holding scrolls, kneel below representation of Nativity.

(e) Known Patrons of Illuminated Books probably decorated by Italian Artists.

Cardinal Latino Malabranca (d.1294).

Gave liturgical books to S. Sabina, including two illuminated choir books (discussed above, section (a).) See Berthier, Église, pp.387-8, who says that the two choir books were made under Malabranca's supervision, but were partially paid for by a certain Donna Mannucia, mentioned in an inscription on the first folio of one of the books as having given, '... provedimentum pro isto libro ...'.

Bishop Teodorico Borgognoni (d.1298).

Depicted as suppliant presenting book to St. Dominic in one of a series of choir books from S. Domenico, Bologna (Cor.27, f.55r.) and presumably also the kneeling figure shown presenting a choir book to the Trinity on f.108r. of the same book. (figs.67,68) Alce dates the choir books to between 1307 and 1324 on liturgical grounds and suggests that Borgognoni was represented in one of the books at the request of the grateful friars, who had put some of the money which he had left them towards the cost of making books (Alce, La Biblioteca, pp.167-8, note 9.) Perhaps a more satisfactory interpretation would be that Borgognoni initiated the project before his death in 1298, and that the length of time taken to produce the books explains the inclusion of S. Alessio who, as Alce has pointed out, would not be expected to appear in a choir book before 1307. (The book in which Borgognoni's representation appears, seems stylistically to be near the beginning of the group.)

Cardinal Niccolò da Prato (will of 1321).

Owned an illuminated bible. See Fineschi, Supplemento, p.34.

(Cardinal Hugues Aycelin (d.1297) owned an illustrated missal which is now Clermont-Ferrand, Bib. Municipale, MS.62, which Berthier (Église, pp.387,545) incoorectly identified as Italian. The French style of the illumination is pointed out by Leroquais, Sacramentaires, pp.120-21.)

APPENDIX 5: PANEL PAINTINGS AND CRUCIFIXES

Almost all the works listed here are discussed in the text. References given generally refer to the text footnote giving measurements (where available), and basic bibliography. Brief information on attribution and provenance is also supplied in the notes, if not discussed in the main body of the text. The subject matter of paintings is listed here in abbreviated form.

N.B. In all the following lists the term Provincia Romana refers to the province in its post-1294 form.

(a) Panel Paintings from Dominican Houses within the Provincia Romana up to c.1320.

<u>Location and Subject</u>	<u>Artist and/or date</u>	<u>Patron</u>	<u>Reference</u>
<u>CITTÀ DI CASTELLO</u> M&C enthroned, angels	Maestro di Città di Castello	Dominican donor fig.	ch.7, note 241.
<u>FLORENCE, SMN</u> St. Dominio	? (13th C.)	?	ch.4, note 49.
<u>Rucellai Madonna</u>	Duccio (attrib.) 1285	<u>Laudesi</u> confraternity	ch.7, note 18.
High altarpiece, polyptych(?) (lost)	Ugolino da Siena(?) c.1324	Fra Baro Sasseti arranged commission	ch.7, pp.264 ff.
(Possibly also lost panel, or fresco, of St. Louis & two donors	Said to be by Giotto	Ardinghelli family?	See Paatz, III, p.736 and p.828, note 400.)
<u>ORVIETO</u> Polyptych: M&C, SSP&P, SMMag, SD.	Simone Martini 132...	Trasmondo Monaldeschi OP.	ch.7, note 145.
<u>PERUGIA</u> M&C (originally part of polyptych?)	Duccio (attrib.)	?	ch.7, note 80.
S. Elizabeth of Hungary	?	Taddeo di Giacomo dei Giacomi	ch.3, p.148.

(A polyptych attributed to Meo da Siena, possibly dating from before 1320, now in the Galleria Nazionale, Perugia, is said to have come from S. Domenico, Perugia. This seems unlikely. See ch.7, note 89.)

<u>Location and Subject</u>	<u>Artist and/or date</u>	<u>Patron</u>	<u>Reference</u>
<u>PISA</u> Dossal: M&C, SSP&P, SJ Major, SD	Deodato Orlandi 1301	?	ch.7, note 61.
Polyptych: M&C, SMMag, SCata, SJB, SJE, SD, SPM, aps., prophs., ss. etc.	Simone Martini 1319	Fra Pietro, sacristan, on behalf of convent	ch.7, note 92.
<u>PRATO</u> ? (lost)	Giotto	Riccuccio di Puccio	ch.3, p.146.
Three panels (lost)	?	Niccolò da Prato OP.	ch.7, note 222.
<u>ROME, S. SISTO VECCHIO</u> <u>Madonna Avvocata</u>	Roman(?) 8/9th C.	Ancient possession of nuns of <u>Monasterium</u> <u>Tempuli</u>	ch.4, note 43.
<u>SIENA</u> <u>Palazzo Pubblico</u> <u>Madonna</u>	Guido da Siena	?	ch.7, notes 16,17.
Scenes from life of B. Andrea Gallerani, etc.	School of Guido da Siena	?	ch.4, note 45.
<u>VITERBO</u> 'Yoonam' (polyp? folding panels?), six panels, historiated. (lost)	?	Benedict of Montefiascone	ch.3, p.145.

(b) Panel Paintings from Dominican Houses in Italy outside the
Provincia Romana, up to c.1320.

<u>BOLOGNA, SM DELLA</u> <u>PURIFICAZIONE</u> SD's Miracle of Loaves	Bolognese(?) 13th C.	?	ch.4, note 50.
<u>NAPLES, S. DOMENICO</u> <u>MAGGIORE</u> St. Dominic	Neapolitan master, c.1300	?	ch.5, note 40.

<u>Location and Subject</u>	<u>Artist and/or date</u>	<u>Patron</u>	<u>Reference</u>
<u>NAPLES, S. DOMENICO MAGGIORE</u> Crucifixion scene	Campanian(?) 13th C.	Prior & sub-prior on behalf of convent?	ch.6, note 27.
<u>NAPLES, EX S. PIETRO MARTIRE</u> St. Dominic	Campanian(?) 13th C.	Prior & sub- prior on behalf of convent?	ch.5, note 43.

- (c) Panel Paintings apparently connected with the Dominican Order, but without a firm connection with a specific house, executed before c.1320, by artists whose artistic origins were within the area of the Provincia Romana.

Paintings having a Dominican Donor Figure:

<u>BOSTON, GARDNER MUSEUM</u> M&C; in arcade below: S. Helena, S. Paul, SD, SSte(?), donor Dom. nun	Lippo Memmi (attrib.)	ch.7, note 214
<u>CHICAGO, ART INSTITUTE</u> M&C enthroned, SSP&P, SJB, SD, donor Dom. friar	Duccio school	ch.7, note 215

Paintings considered probably Dominican, because of choice of Saints:

<u>CAMBRIDGE (MASS.), FOGG ART MUSEUM</u> St. Dominic	School of Guido da Siena & earlier 13th C.	ch.4, note 44.
<u>CASCIANA ALTA, S. NICCOLÒ</u> Polyptych: M&C, SJE, Apostle, S.Ste(?) Aquinas.	Lippo Memmi (attrib.)	ch.7, note 164.
<u>LONDON, NATIONAL GALLERY</u> Triptych: M&C, SD, S. Aurea, prophets on gable.	Duccio (attrib.)	ch.7, note 219.
<u>MONTALCINO, MUSEO CIVICO</u> Polyptych: M&C, S. Nic(?), SD.	Duccio school	ch.7, note 74.

<u>Location and Subject</u>	<u>Artist and/or date</u>	<u>Reference</u>
<u>NEW HAVEN, YALE UNIV.</u> <u>ART GAL., JARVES COLL.</u> Triptych: M&C, SD, SF; Xion, BVM, SJE; SMarch, SPM, SCatA(?)	Florentine(?) 3/4 13th C.(?)	ch.4, note 47.
<u>SIENA, PINACOTECA,</u> <u>NO.28</u> Polyptych: M&C, SAug, SSP&P, SD; pinnacles: 4 angels, Redeemer.	Duccio (attrib.)/ Duccio school	ch.7, note 65.
<u>SIENA, PINACOTECA,</u> <u>NO.35</u> Triptych: Coronation, M&C enthroned, SJB, SJE, SSP&P; arcade below: SD, SF, S.Amb.Sansedoni etc.; wings: Nat., Flag., carrying Cross, Xion, Descent, Lamentation	Duccio (attrib.)/ Duccio school	ch.7, note 218.
<u>VOLTERRA COLL.(FLORENCE)</u> M&C enthroned, SJB, S Peter, SD, female St., angels.	Goodhart Master	ch.7, note 221.
<u>Present location unknown</u> M&C enthroned, angels, SD, SMaximinus of Provence	Magdalen Master	ch.4, note 48.
<u>Present location unknown</u> <u>(ex Reinach Coll.)</u> M&C enthroned, angels, SCatA, SLucy, spandrels: SAug(?), SJE(?), arcade below: SPM, SMMag(?), female St., SELiz., SD.	Goodhart Master	ch.7, note 220.
(d) <u>Painted Crucifixes from Dominican Houses, executed before c.1320,</u> <u>by artists whose artistic origins were within the area of the</u> <u>Provincia Romana.</u>		
AREZZO, S. DOMENICO	Cimabue (attrib.)	ch.6, note 16.
BOLOGNA, S. DOMENICO	Giunta Pisano	ch.6, note 12.
FLORENCE, EX S. JACOPO A RIPOLI	Tuscan, 13th C.	Garrison no.518.
FLORENCE, S. MARIA NOVELLA	Giotto (attrib. by some)	ch.6, note 28.
ROME, EX S. SISTO VECCHIO	Central Italian, 13th C.	ch.6, note 27.

<u>Location and Subject</u>	<u>Artist and/or date</u>	<u>Reference</u>
The following crucifixes may also belong in this list:		
FLORENCE, ACCADEMIA COLOMBARIA (portable crucifix)	Pacino da Bonaguida (attrib.)	ch.7, note 239.
MILAN, MUSEO POLDI- PEZZOLI (portable crucifix)	Florentine, 14th C.	ch.7, note 239.
SPOLETO, S. DOMENICO	Umbrian, 2nd $\frac{1}{2}$ 14th C.	ch.6, note 27.
TODI, DUOMO (with Dom. donor?)	Central Italian, 13th C.	ch.6, note 27

451

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Arezzo, S. Domenico, ground-plan (after Biebrach).
2. Arezzo, S. Domenico, interior to east.
3. Pisa, S. Caterina, ground-plan (after Biebrach).
4. Pistoia, S. Domenico, ground-plan (after Leo).
5. Pistoia, S. Domenico, south-west corner of north transept.
6. Pistoia, S. Domenico, interior to east.
7. Pistoia, S. Domenico, north-western section of nave.
8. Pistoia, S. Domenico, north transept.
9. Lucca, S. Romano, plan of church and part of convent, from Martirologio e Terrilogio dell'anno 1692, Lucca, Archivio della Commissione Ecclesiastica, no. 3394.
10. Lucca, S. Romano, interior to east.
11. Lucca, S. Romano, north transept.
12. Lucca, S. Romano, traces of original entrance arch to south transept.
13. Lucca, S. Romano, north-eastern section of nave.
14. Rieti, S. Domenico, interior to east.
15. Rieti, S. Domenico, north-east corner of north transept.
16. Rieti, S. Domenico, south-eastern section of nave.
17. Spoleto, S. Domenico, ground-plan (after Biebrach).
18. Spoleto, S. Domenico, interior to east.
19. Spoleto, S. Domenico, south transept and south-eastern section of nave.
20. S. Martino al Cimino (Lazio), interior to east.
21. Perugia, S. Domenico, view of chiostro grande to north-east showing obscured façade of earlier church of S. Domenico.
22. Perugia, former church of S. Domenico, capital of pier at south-east corner of nave (now embedded in later building).
23. Orvieto, S. Domenico, reconstruction, plan and elevation (after Bonelli).
24. Orvieto, S. Domenico, reconstruction of transverse section of nave (after Bonelli).

25. Orvieto, S. Domenico, exterior from west, showing remains of crossing.
26. Orvieto, S. Domenico, north-western crossing pier.
27. Florence, S. Maria Novella, interior to east.
28. Rome, S. Maria Sopra Minerva, present plan and reconstruction of original form.
29. Rome, S. Maria Sopra Minerva, interior to east (after Fontana).
30. Perugia, S. Domenico, reconstruction of interior to east (after Tarchi).
31. Pisa, S. Caterina, façade.
32. Perugia, Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria, chalice 'of Benedict XI', base (detail).
33. Perugia, S. Domenico, vestments 'of Benedict XI'.
34. Perugia, S. Domenico, vestments 'of Benedict XI', orphrey from a cope (detail).
35. Perugia, S. Domenico, vestments 'of Benedict XI', mitre.
36. Perugia, S. Domenico, vestments 'of Benedict XI', fragment of orphrey from chasuble(?).
37. Velletri, Museo Capitolino, orphrey from chasuble 'of Benedict XI' (detail).
38. Velletri, Museo Capitolino, orphrey from chasuble 'of Benedict XI' (detail).
39. Lucca, S. Romano, tomb slab of Cardinal Leonardo da Guarcino.
40. Lucca, S. Romano, tomb slab of the Contessa Capuana Donoratico.
41. Florence, S. Maria Novella, tomb of Bishop Aldobrandino Cavalcanti.
42. Arezzo, S. Domenico, tomb of Bishop Ranieri degli Ubertini.
43. Arezzo, S. Domenico, tomb of Bishop Ranieri degli Ubertini (detail).
44. Florence, S. Maria Novella, tomb of Bishop Corrado della Penna.
45. Lucca, S. Romano, tomb of member of the del Mancino family.
46. Perugia, S. Domenico, tomb of Benedict XI.
47. Perugia, S. Domenico, tomb of Benedict XI (detail).
48. Perugia, S. Domenico, tomb of Benedict XI (detail).
49. Arezzo, S. Domenico, tomb of Bishop Ranieri degli Ubertini (detail).

50. Prato, S. Domenico, exterior from north-west.
51. Bologna, S. Domenico, Cor.6, f.107v. (detail).
52. Bologna, S. Domenico, Cor.23, f.112v. (detail).
53. Zara, S. Francesco, Cod.B, Ascension miniature.
54. Florence, S. Maria Novella, Cor.F (inv.1355), f.20v. (detail).
55. Sotheby's Sale, 8 July 1974, lot 85, f.62v. (detail).
56. Florence, S. Maria Novella, Cor.F (inv.1355), f.167v. (detail).
57. Sotheby's Sale, 8 July 1974, lot 85, f.112r. (detail).
58. Cologne, Sammlung Ludwig, Dominican Gradual, f.38r.
59. Houston, De Menil Foundation, MS.65-62 DJ, f.197v. (detail).
60. Houston, De Menil Foundation, MS.65-62 DJ, f.65r. (detail).
61. Bologna, S. Domenico, Cor.36, f.125v. (detail).
62. Bologna, S. Domenico, Cor.36, f.1r. (detail).
63. Florence, S. Maria Novella, Cor.E (inv.1354), f.234v. (detail).
64. Lucca, Biblioteca Statale, MS.2654, p.440 (detail).
65. Florence, S. Marco, Grad.F, f.37r. (detail).
66. Florence, S. Marco, Grad.G, f.16r. (detail).
67. Bologna, S. Domenico, Cor.27, f.55r. (detail).
68. Bologna, S. Domenico, Cor.27, f.108r. (detail).
69. Bologna, S. Domenico, Cor.26, f.103r. (detail).
70. Orvieto, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Polyptych, ex S. Domenico,
Orvieto, formerly signed by Simone Martini, dated 132...
(detail).
71. Prato, S. Domenico, Sacristy, fresco fragment.
72. Prato, S. Domenico, Sacristy, fresco fragment (detail).
73. Arezzo, S. Domenico, south nave wall, Dragomanni Chapel.
74. Arca di S. Domenico, conjectural reconstruction (after Pope-
Hennessy).
75. Bologna, S. Domenico, Arca di S. Domenico, 'right' side of tomb
chest (detail).
76. Bologna, S. Domenico, Arca di S. Domenico, 'back' of tomb chest
(detail).

77. Bologna, S. Domenico, Arca di S. Domenico, 'back' of tomb chest (detail).
78. Assisi, S. Francesco, Lower Church, left nave wall, fresco.
79. Bologna, S. Domenico, Arca di S. Domenico, 'left' side of tomb chest (detail).
80. Bologna, S. Domenico, Arca di S. Domenico, 'front' of tomb chest (detail).
81. Bologna, S. Domenico, Arca di S. Domenico, 'front' of tomb chest (detail).
82. Panel, Virgin and Child enthroned with Sts. Dominic and Maximinus of Provence, present location unknown.
83. Sotheby's, Von Hirsch Sale, 22 June 1978, lot 263, wooden painted casket, front and sides.
84. Cambridge, Massachusetts, Fogg Art Museum, Panel, St. Dominic.
85. Engraving after lost panel of St. Dominic, S. Maria Novella, Florence, from V. Fineschi OP, Memorie istoriche degli uomini illustri del Convento di S. Maria Novella di Firenze, (Florence, 1790), p.xxviii.
86. Naples, S. Domenico Maggiore, Panel, St. Dominic.
87. Naples, Museo di Capodimonte, Panel, St. Dominic, ex S. Pietro Maggiore, Naples.
88. Bologna, S. Domenico, Cor.24-1, f.75r. (detail).
89. Bologna, S. Domenico, Cor.12, f.1r. (detail).
90. Bologna, S. Domenico, Cor.25, f.1r.
91. Bologna, S. Domenico, Cor.27, f.109v. (detail).
92. Bologna, Museo Civico, Cor.524, f.281r. (detail).
93. Bologna, S. Domenico, Cor.5, f.81r.
94. Pistoia, S. Domenico, north wall of north transept, fresco fragment.
95. Gubbio, Archivio Comunale, Cor.C, f.76v.
96. Gubbio, Archivio Comunale, Cor.D, f.153v. (detail).
97. Perugia, Biblioteca Augusta, MS.2795(A), f.46v.
98. Perugia, Biblioteca Augusta, MS.2795(A), f.46v. (detail).
99. Arezzo, S. Domenico, section of north nave wall.
100. Arezzo, S. Domenico, north nave wall, fresco fragment (detail).
101. Bevagna, S. Giacomo, cappella maggiore, north wall.

102. Bevagna, S. Giacomo, cappella maggiore, north wall, fresco fragment.
103. Bevagna, S. Giacomo, cappella maggiore, north wall, fresco fragment.
104. Bologna, S. Domenico, Cor.12, f.1r. (detail).
105. Florence, S. Maria Novella, Cor.E (inv.1354), f.151v. (detail).
106. Gubbio, Archivio Comunale, Cor.O, f.30v. (detail).
107. Bologna, S. Domenico, Cor.12, f.21v. (detail).
108. Perugia, Biblioteca Augusta, MS.2797(I), f.235r. (detail).
109. Perugia, Biblioteca Augusta, MS.2797(I), f.237r. (detail).
110. Lucca, Biblioteca Statale, MS.2654, p.127 (detail).
111. Bologna, S. Maria della Purificazione, Panels, Miracle of the Loaves (detail).
112. Siena, Pinacoteca, painted wooden shutters from shrine of Beato Andrea Gallerani, ex S. Domenico, Siena, exterior faces.
113. Siena, Pinacoteca, painted wooden shutters from shrine of Beato Andrea Gallerani, ex S. Domenico, Siena, interior faces.
114. Bologna, Museo Civico, Cor.522, f.234r. (detail).
115. Perugia, Biblioteca Augusta, MS.2797(I), f.165r. (detail).
116. Bologna, S. Domenico, Cor.5, f.124r. (detail).
117. Gubbio, Archivio Comunale, Cor.E, f.136r. (detail).
118. Gubbio, Archivio Comunale, Cor.D, f.151r. (detail).
119. London, British Library, Harley MS.2356, f.7r.
120. Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 8541, f.90r.
121. Florence, S. Maria Novella, Cor.F (inv.1355), f.62r. (detail).
122. Lucca, Biblioteca Statale, MS.2654, p.1 (detail).
123. Gubbio, Archivio Comunale, Cor.G, f.59v. (detail).
124. Florence, S. Maria Novella, Cor.A (inv.1350), f.2r. (detail).
125. Florence, S. Maria Novella, Cor.B (inv.1351), f.237r. (detail).
126. Florence, S. Maria Novella, Cor.B (inv.1351), f.90r. (detail).
127. Bologna, Museo Civico, Cor.523, f.152r. (detail).
128. Perugia, Biblioteca Augusta, MS.2785(A), f.44v. (detail).

129. Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica, Codex Rossianus 3, f.9r.
130. Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica, Codex Rossianus 3, f.10r.
131. London, British Library, Add. MS.28784B, f.2r.
132. Gubbio, Archivio Comunale, Cor.C, f.43r. (detail).
133. Perugia, Biblioteca Augusta, MS.2797(I), f.140v. (detail).
134. Bologna, S. Domenico, Cor.14, f.28r.
135. Gubbio, Archivio Comunale, Cor.I, f.209v. (detail).
136. Montreal, Museum of Fine Arts, detached leaf from Dominican choir book (detail).
137. Perugia, Biblioteca Augusta, MS.2797(I), f.137v. (detail).
138. Bologna, Museo Civico, Cor.524, f.252v. (detail).
139. Bologna, S. Domenico, Cor.14, f.21r. (detail).
140. Lucca, Biblioteca Statale, MS.2648, p.367 (detail).
141. Florence, SS. Stefano e Cecilia, Panel, St. Peter Martyr.
142. Spoleto, S. Domenico, Panel, St. Peter Martyr.
143. London, British Library, Add. MS.21926, f.14r.
144. Formerly New York, Jonas Collection, Panel, Virgin and Child enthroned with Sts. Bartholomew and Peter Martyr and two lay supplicants, present location unknown.
145. Perugia, Biblioteca Augusta, MS.2797(I), f.220v. (detail).
146. Pistoia, S. Domenico, detached fresco fragment.
147. Treviso, S. Nicolò, Chapter House, south-east corner, two layers of fresco decoration, later layer signed by Tomaso da Modena, dated 1352.
148. Treviso, S. Nicolò, Chapter House, east wall, fragmentary fresco.
149. Treviso, S. Nicolò, Chapter House, north-west corner, two layers of fresco decoration, later layer signed by Tomaso da Modena, dated 1352.
150. Treviso, S. Nicolò, Chapter House, north wall, two layers of fresco decoration, later layer signed by Tomaso da Modena, dated 1352 (detail).
151. Treviso, S. Nicolò, Chapter House, west wall to south of entrance, two layers of fresco decoration, later layer signed by Tomaso da Modena, dated 1352 (detail).

152. Treviso, S. Nicolò, Chapter House, interior to east, showing fragmentary fresco and painted wooden roof (detail).
153. Treviso, S. Nicolò, Chapter House, painted wooden roof above east wall (detail).
154. Treviso, S. Nicolò, Chapter House, painted wooden roof above east wall (detail).
155. Treviso, S. Nicolò, Chapter House, painted wooden roof above east wall (detail).
156. Pistoia, S. Domenico, Chapter House, interior to east.
157. Pistoia, S. Domenico, Chapter House, east wall, fragmentary fresco (detail).
158. Pistoia, S. Domenico, Chapter House, east wall, fragmentary fresco (detail).
159. Bologna, S. Domenico, Crucifix, signed by Giunta Pisano.
160. Arezzo, S. Domenico, Crucifix.
161. Perugia, Galleria Nazionale d'Umbria, Crucifix, dated 1272.
162. Florence, S. Maria Novella, Crucifix, now displayed in sacristy.
163. Arezzo, S. Domenico, Crucifix (detail).
164. Florence, S. Maria Novella, Crucifix (detail).
165. Arezzo, S. Domenico, Crucifix (detail).
166. Florence, S. Maria Novella, Crucifix (detail).
167. Orvieto, S. Domenico, Wooden Crucifix.
168. Lille, Archives du Nord, Abbaye de Marciennes, Seal of Munio de Zamora, 1285.
169. Perugia, Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria, chalice 'of Benedict XI', base (detail).
170. Tivoli, S. Biagio, detached fresco.
171. Naples, S. Domenico Maggiore, 'Brancacci' Chapel, east wall, Crucifixion fresco.
172. Pistoia, S. Domenico, Chapter House, east wall, Crucifixion fresco (pre-war condition).
173. Assisi, S. Francesco, Upper Church, right transept, Crucifixion fresco.
174. Pistoia, S. Domenico, Chapter House, east wall, sinopia of Crucifixion fresco.
175. Pistoia, S. Domenico, Chapter House, east wall, sinopia of Crucifixion fresco (detail).

176. Rome, SS. Domenico e Sisto, Crucifix, ex S. Sisto Vecchio, Rome.
177. Rome, SS. Domenico e Sisto, Crucifix, ex S. Sisto Vecchio, Rome (detail).
178. Naples, S. Domenico Maggiore, Panel, the Crucifixion with two Dominican supplicants.
179. Perugia, Biblioteca Augusta, MS.2797(I), f.150v. (detail).
180. Lucca, Biblioteca Statale, MS.2654, p.269 (detail).
181. Rome, Monte Mario, Convent of the Rosario, Panel, Madonna Avvocata, ex S. Sisto Vecchio, Rome.
182. New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery, Jarves Collection, Triptych.
183. Siena, Palazzo Pubblico, Panel, Virgin and Child enthroned with angels, ex S. Domenico, Siena, signed by Guido da Siena, inscription gives the date 1221.
184. Florence, Uffizi, Panel, Virgin and Child enthroned with angels, ex S. Maria Novella, Florence.
185. Florence, Uffizi, Panel, Virgin and Child enthroned with angels, ex S. Maria Novella, Florence (detail).
186. Chartres, Cathedral, south ambulatory, stained glass window, Notre Dame de la Belle Verrière.
187. Siena, Cathedral, stained glass window, oculus above choir (detail).
188. Florence, Uffizi, Panel, Virgin and Child enthroned with angels, ex S. Maria Novella, Florence, diagram showing numbering system for frame roundels.
189. Florence, Uffizi, Panel, Virgin and Child enthroned with angels, ex S. Maria Novella, Florence, frame roundel no.3.
190. Florence, Uffizi, Panel, Virgin and Child enthroned with angels, ex S. Maria Novella, Florence, frame roundel no.6.
191. Florence, Uffizi, Panel, Virgin and Child enthroned with angels, ex S. Maria Novella, Florence, frame roundel no.2.
192. Florence, Uffizi, Panel, Virgin and Child enthroned with angels, ex S. Maria Novella, Florence, frame roundel no.4.
193. Florence, Uffizi, Panel, Virgin and Child enthroned with angels, ex S. Maria Novella, Florence, frame roundel no.5.
194. Florence, Uffizi, Panel, Virgin and Child enthroned with angels, ex S. Maria Novella, Florence, frame roundel no.9.
195. Florence, Uffizi, Panel, Virgin and Child enthroned with angels, ex S. Maria Novella, Florence, frame roundel no.26.
196. Florence, Uffizi, Panel, Virgin and Child enthroned with angels, ex S. Maria Novella, Florence, frame roundel no.12.

197. Florence, Uffizi, Panel, Virgin and Child enthroned with angels,
ex S. Maria Novella, Florence, frame roundel no.11.
198. London, British Library, Arundel MS.83, f.12r.
199. Pisa, Museo Nazionale di S. Matteo, Dossal, signed by Deodato
Orlandi, dated 1301.
200. Siena, Pinacoteca, No.28, Polyptych.
201. Montalcino, Museo Civico, Polyptych.
202. Montalcino, Museo Civico, Polyptych, left end (detail).
203. Perugia, Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria, Panel, Virgin and Child
with angels, ex S. Domenico, Perugia.
204. Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Panel, Virgin and Child
with angels.
205. Perugia, Museo Capitolare, Polyptych, ex S. Lorenzo, Perugia.
206. Williamstown, Clark Art Institute, Polyptych.
207. Siena, Pinacoteca, No.33, Polyptych.
208. Monterongriffoli, S. Lorenzo, Polyptych.
209. Olena, S. Pietro, Polyptych.
210. Cleveland, Museum of Art, Leonard C. Hanna Jr. Bequest, Polyptych.
211. Siena, Pinacoteca, No.47, Polyptych.
212. Perugia, Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria, Polyptych, ex
Montelabate, signed by Meo da Siena.
213. Pisa, Museo Nazionale di S. Matteo, Polyptych, ex S. Caterina,
Pisa, signed by Simone Martini.
214. Pisa, Museo Nazionale di S. Matteo, Polyptych, ex S. Caterina,
Pisa, signed by Simone Martini, predella (detail).
215. Pisa, Museo Nazionale di S. Matteo, Polyptych, ex S. Caterina,
Pisa, signed by Simone Martini, predella (detail).
216. Pisa, Museo Nazionale di S. Matteo, Polyptych, ex S. Caterina,
Pisa, signed by Simone Martini, central panel (detail).
217. Chicago, Art Institute, Diptych wing, Virgin and Child enthroned.
218. Pisa, Museo Nazionale di S. Matteo, Polyptych, ex S. Caterina,
Pisa, signed by Simone Martini, predella (detail).
219. Pisa, Museo Nazionale di S. Matteo, Polyptych, ex S. Caterina,
Pisa, signed by Simone Martini, main panel with St. Peter
Martyr (detail).
220. Pisa, Museo Nazionale di S. Matteo, Polyptych, ex S. Caterina,
Pisa, signed by Simone Martini, back of main panel with St.
Dominic.

221. Pisa, Museo Nazionale di S. Matteo, Polyptych, ex S. Caterina, Pisa, signed by Simone Martini, main panel with St. Dominic (detail).
222. Pisa, Museo Nazionale di S. Matteo, Polyptych, ex S. Caterina, Pisa, signed by Simone Martini, predella (detail).
223. Pisa, Museo Nazionale di S. Matteo, Polyptych, ex S. Caterina, Pisa, signed by Simone Martini, main panel with St. John the Baptist, upper arcade (detail).
224. Pisa, Museo Nazionale di S. Matteo, Polyptych, ex S. Caterina, Pisa, signed by Simone Martini, main panel with St. John the Baptist, pinnacle (detail).
225. Naples, Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte, Panel, St. Louis of Toulouse crowning Robert of Anjou, with scenes from the saint's life, signed by Simone Martini.
226. Orvieto, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Polyptych, ex S. Domenico, Orvieto, formerly signed by Simone Martini, dated 132..., (author's reconstruction).
227. Boston, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Polyptych.
228. Siena, Pinacoteca, Nos.29-32, panels from a Polyptych.
229. Brolio, Ricasoli Collection, Polyptych.
230. Pisa, Museo Nazionale di S. Matteo, Polyptych, ex S. Caterina, Pisa, signed by Simone Martini, main panel with St. Mary Magdalen (detail).
231. Orvieto, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Polyptych, ex S. Domenico, Orvieto, formerly signed by Simone Martini, dated 132... (detail).
232. Pisa, Museo Nazionale di S. Matteo, Polyptych, ex S. Caterina, Pisa, signed by Simone Martini, main panel with St. Catherine of Alexandria (detail).
233. Pisa, Museo Nazionale di S. Matteo, Polyptych, ex S. Caterina, Pisa, signed by Simone Martini, main panel with St. Mary Magdalen, pinnacle.
234. Boston, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Polyptych (detail).
235. Orvieto, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Polyptych, ex S. Domenico, Orvieto, formerly signed by Simone Martini, dated 132... (detail).
236. Orvieto, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Polyptych, ex S. Domenico, Orvieto, formerly signed by Simone Martini, dated 132... (detail).
237. Pisa, Museo Nazionale di S. Matteo, Polyptych, ex S. Caterina, Pisa, signed by Simone Martini, predella (detail).

238. Pisa, Museo Nazionale di S. Matteo, Polyptych, ex S. Caterina, Pisa, signed by Simone Martini, main panel with St. Peter Martyr (detail).
239. Pisa, Museo Nazionale di S. Matteo, Polyptych, ex S. Caterina, Pisa, signed by Simone Martini, main panel with St. Dominio (detail).
240. Orvieto, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Polyptych, ex S. Domenico, Orvieto, formerly signed by Simone Martini, dated 132... (detail).
241. Siena, Pinacoteca, No.48, panel from Polyptych, ex S. Francesco, Colle di Val d'Elsa.
242. Casciana Alta, S. Niccolò, Polyptych.
243. Casciana Alta, S. Niccolò, Polyptych (detail).
244. Casciana Alta, S. Niccolò, Polyptych (detail).
245. Orvieto, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Polyptych, ex S. Domenico, Orvieto, formerly signed by Simone Martini, dated 132... (detail).
246. Pisa, Museo Nazionale di S. Matteo, Polyptych, ex S. Caterina, Pisa, signed by Simone Martini, central panel (detail).
247. Orvieto, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Polyptych, ex S. Domenico, Orvieto, formerly signed by Simone Martini, dated 132... (detail).
248. ex Florence, S. Croce, Polyptych, formerly signed by Ugolino da Siena, reconstruction (after Loyrette).
249. Besançon, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Predella.
250. Arezzo, Pieve, Polyptych, signed by Pietro Lorenzetti, commissioned 17 April 1320, completed by 1 January 1324.
251. London, National Gallery, Triptych.
252. London, British Museum, Ivory Polyptych.
253. Chicago, Art Institute, Panel, Virgin and Child enthroned with saints and Dominican suppliant, wing of diptych(?).
254. Florence, Volterra Collection, Panel, Virgin and Child enthroned with saints and angels.
255. New York, Frick Collection, Panel, Christ carrying the cross, with Dominican suppliant, wing of diptych(?).
256. Berlin, Museum Dahlem, Panel, Annunciation with Dominican suppliant and saints, wing of diptych.
257. Siena, Pinacoteca, No.35, Triptych.
258. Formerly Paris, Reinach Collection, Panel, Virgin and Child enthroned with saints and angels, central panel of triptych(?).

259. Boston, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Panel, Virgin and Child with saints, wing of diptych(?).
260. New York, Metropolitan Museum, Triptych.
261. New York, Metropolitan Museum, formerly Griggs Collection, Panel, Virgin and Child with saints.
262. Città del Vaticano, Pinacoteca, Panel, Crucifixion with saints.
263. Florence, Uffizi, formerly Fiesole, Museo Bandini, Panel, Crucifixion with saints.
264. Florence, S. Maria Maggiore, Panel, Virgin and Child with saints.
265. Siena, Pinacoteca, No.35, Triptych (detail).
266. Città di Castello, Pinacoteca, Panel, Virgin and Child enthroned with angels and Dominican suppliant.
267. Città di Castello, Pinacoteca, Panel, Virgin and Child enthroned with angels and Dominican suppliant (detail).
268. Città di Castello, Pinacoteca, Panel, Virgin and Child enthroned with angels and Dominican suppliant (detail).
269. The Hague, Kleinweg de Zwaan Collection, on temporary loan to Simon van Gijn Museum, Dordrecht, Triptych, obverse.
270. The Hague, Kleinweg de Zwaan Collection, on temporary loan to Simon van Gijn Museum, Dordrecht, Triptych, reverse.
271. Springfield, Massachusetts, Museum of Art, Panel, Virgin and Child with Man of Sorrows and saints.
272. New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery, Panel, Virgin and Child with Man of Sorrows and saints.
273. Korčula, All Saints, Polyptych.
274. Providence, Rhode Island School of Design, Panel, Virgin and Child with Man of Sorrows and saints.
275. Formerly Florence, S. Maria Novella, Chiostro Verde, east walk, fresco (detail).
276. Arezzo, S. Domenico, south nave wall, fresco fragment.
277. Rieti, Museo Civico, Polyptych, ex S. Domenico, Rieti, signed by Luca di Tommè, dated 1370.
278. Siena, S. Domenico, Cloister, fresco, formerly signed by Lippo Memmi.
279. Siena, S. Domenico, detached fresco.
280. Rome, SS. Domenico e Sisto, Triptych, signed by Lippo Vanni, dated 1358.
281. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, Reliquary Triptych.

282. Città del Vaticano, Pinacoteca, Reliquary Triptych.
283. Perugia, Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria, Panel, Virgin and Child,
ex S. Domenico, Perugia.
284. Florida, Coral Gables, on loan from Kress Foundation, Triptych.
285. Siena, Archivio di Stato, Patrimonio dei Resti, 682,
Confraternity of S. Domenico, Statute Book of 1344, f.4r.
(detail).
286. Siena, Archivio di Stato, Patrimonio dei Resti, 682,
Confraternity of S. Domenico, Statute Book of 1344, f.5r.
(detail).
287. Siena, Archivio di Stato, Patrimonio dei Resti, 682,
Confraternity of S. Domenico, Statute Book of 1344, f.9r.
(detail).
288. Siena, Archivio di Stato, Patrimonio dei Resti, 682,
Confraternity of S. Domenico, Statute Book of 1344, f.18r.
(detail).
289. Sotheby's, Dyson Perrins Sale, 1 January 1959, lot 61, f.1r.
(detail).
290. Sotheby's, Dyson Perrins Sale, 1 January 1959, lot 61, f.224r.
(detail).
291. Pisa, S. Caterina, Panel, Glorification of St. Thomas.
292. Florence, S. Maria Novella, Chapter House, (liturgical) north
wall, fresco.
293. Florence, S. Marco, cell 3, fresco.
294. Florence, S. Marco, cell 7, fresco.
295. Formerly Florence, S. Maria Novella, Chiostro Verde, fresco
(detail).
296. Formerly Florence, S. Maria Novella, Chiostro Verde, fresco
(detail).
297. Florence, S. Maria Novella, Chapter House, (liturgical) south
wall, fresco.
298. Florence, S. Marco, Chapter House, altar wall, fresco.

210

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF CITED PRINTED WORKS

Works referred to only in the catalogue, appendix 1, are not included in this bibliography.

Abbrescia, D. OP and Lera, G., Chiesa di S. Romano, (Lucca, 1966).

Acta Canonizationis S. Dominici, ed. A. Walz OP, MOPH, 16 (Rome, 1935), pp.91-194.

Acta Capitulorum Generalium Ordinis Praedicatorum, ed. B.M. Reichert OP, MOPH, 3-4, 8-14 (1898 ff.).

'Acta Capitulorum Provinciae Lombardiae (1254-1293) et Lombardiae Inferioris (1309-12)', ed. T. Kaeppli OP, AFP, 11 (1941), pp.138-72.

Acta Capitulorum Provincialium Provinciae Romanae (1243-1344), eds. T. Kaeppli OP and A. Dondaine OP, MOPH, 20 (1941).

Acta Sanctorum, (Antwerp, 1643 ff.).

Alce, V. OP, Il Convento di S. Domenico in Bologna nel secolo XIII, (Bologna, 1973).

_____, Il Reliquario del capo di S. Domenico, (Bologna, 1971), (extract from Culta Bononia, Rivista di Studi Bolognesi, 3 (1971), 1).

Alce, V. OP and d'Amato, A. OP, La Biblioteca di S. Domenico in Bologna, (Florence, 1961).

'A. P.', 'Un Inventario dei dipinti della chiesa di S. Domenico in Siena', BSSP, 16 (1909), pp.346-7.

Baccheschi, E., L'Opera Completa di Duccio, (Milan, 1972).

Bacci, P., Fonti e Commenti per la storia dell'arte Senese, (Siena, 1944).

_____, 'Il Maestro del Beato Gallerani', in Dipinti Inediti e Sconosciuti di Pietro Lorenzetti, Bernardo Daddi ecc., (Siena, 1939), pp.1-32.

_____, '"Juncta Pisanus Pictor": Note e documenti editi e inediti (1229-1254)', BA, n.s.2 (1922-23), pp.145-61.

Baldinucci, F., La Veglia, dialogo di Sincero Veri, (Florence, 1690).

Bargellini, P., Morozzi, G. and Batini, G., Santa Reparata: La Cattedrale Risorta, (Florence, 1970).

Bartholomew of Trent, Vita S. Patris Dominici, AASS, August, I, pp.398-416.

Battisti, E., Cimabue, (London, 1967).

Bellosi, L., Buffalmacco e il Trionfo della Morte, (Turin, 1974).

- Berenson, B., 'Due Nuovi Dipinti di Lippo Vanni', Rassegna d'Arte, 17 (1917), pp.97-100.
- Bernard of Clairvaux, Apologia ad Guillelmum, Sancti Theodoric Remensis abbatem, PL, CLXXXII.
- Bernard Gui, Manuel de l'Inquisiteur, ed. and trans. G. Mollat, 2 vols., (Paris, 1926).
- Bertelli, C., 'Opus Romanum', Kunsthistorische Forschungen Otto Pächt zu Ehren, (Salzburg, 1972), pp.99-117.
- _____, 'L'immagine del "Monasterium Tempuli" dopo il restauro', AFP, 31 (1961), pp.82-111.
- _____, 'Vetri, e altre cose della Napoli Angioina', Paragone, 263 (1972), pp.89-106.
- Berthier, J.J. OP, Le Chapitre de San Nicolò de Trévise, (Rome, 1912).
- _____, L'Eglise de Sainte Sabine à Rome, (Rome, 1910).
- _____, Le Tombeau de Saint Dominique, (Paris, 1895).
- Biebrach, K., Die Holzgedeckten Franziskaner- und Dominikanerkirchen in Umbrien und Toskana, (Berlin, 1908).
- Biscioni, A.M., Lettere di santi e beati Fiorentini, (Florence, 1736).
- Boccolini, G., La Madonna e il crocifisso di Bevagna. Sculture lignee medioevali, (Urbino, 1968).
- Bologna, F., I Pittori alla Corte Angioina di Napoli, 1266-1414, (Rome, 1969).
- Bombe, W., Geschichte der Peruginer Malerei, (Berlin, 1912).
- Bonaini, F., 'Di una tavola attribuita a Simone e Lippo Memmi', Memorie inedite intorno alla vita e ai dipinti di Francesco Traini, (Pisa, 1846).
- Bonelli, R., Il Duomo di Orvieto e l'Architettura Italiana del Duecento, Trecento, (Rome, 1972).
- Borenus, T., St. Thomas Becket in Art, (London, 1932).
- Borghesi, S. and Banchi, L., Nuovi Documenti per la Storia dell'Arte Senese, (Siena, 1898).
- Boskovits, M., Early Italian Paintings in Hungarian Museums, (Budapest, 1966).
- _____, Pittura Umbra e Marchigiana fra Medioevo e Rinascimento, (Florence, 1973).
- Bottari, S., 'L'Arca di S. Domenico in Bologna', Scritti di Storia dell'Arte in Onore di Mario Salmi, (Rome, 1961), I, pp.391-415.

- Brandi, C., Duccio, (Florence, 1951).
- _____, 'Il Crocifisso di Giunta Pisano in S. Domenico a Bologna', L'Arte, 39 (1936), pp.71-91.
- _____, La Regia Pinacoteca di Siena, (Rome, 1933).
- _____, 'Relazione sul Restauro della Madonna di Guido da Siena del 1221', BA, 36 (1951), pp.248-60.
- Braun, J., Die liturgischen Paramente in gegenwart und vergangenheit, (Freiburg-i-B., 1924).
- Braunfels, W., Mittelalterliche Stadtbaukunst in der Toskana, (Berlin, 1953).
- Brentano, R., Rome before Avignon, (London, 1974).
- Brooke, R., Early Franciscan Government, (Cambridge, 1959).
- Bullarium Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum, eds. T. Ripoll OP and A. Bremond OP, 8 vols., (Rome, 1729-40).
- Caleca, A., La Biblioteca Capitolare di Perugia, Miniatura in Umbria, 1, (Florence, 1969).
- _____, Mostra del Restauro di Opere delle Provincie di Pisa e Livorno, Soprintendenza ai Monumenti e Gallerie di Pisa, (Pisa, 1971).
- _____, 'Tre polittici di Lippo Memmi, un ipotesi sul Barna e la Bottega di Simone e Lippo', Critica d'Arte, 41 (1976), pp.49-59; 42 (1977), pp.55-80.
- Callus, D.A., The Condemnation of St. Thomas at Oxford, Aquinas Paper, 5 (Oxford, 1946).
- Cames, G., 'Recherches sur les origines du crucifix à trois clous', Cahiers Archéologiques, 16 (1966), pp.185-202.
- ~~Cammerer~~ George, M., Die Rahmung der Toskanischen Altarbilder im Trecento, Zur Kunstgeschichte des Auslands, 139 (Strasbourg, 1966).
- Campini, D., Giunta Pisano e le croci dipinti Romaniche, (Milan, 1966).
- Candidus Fuldensi, Sanoti Egilis Vita, PL, CV.
- Cannon, J., 'Panorama geografico, cronologico e statistico sulla distribuzione degli Studia degli ordini mendicanti: Inghilterra', Le Scuole degli Ordini Mendicanti, Convegni di Studi sulla Spiritualità Medievale, 17 (Todi, 1978), pp.93-126.
- Cappelli, A., Cronologia, Cronografia e Calendario Perpetue, 3rd. ed., (Milan, 1969).

Carli, E., Guide to the Pinacoteca of Siena, (Milan, 1967).

_____, I Pittori Senesi, (Siena, 1971).

_____, Montalcino: Museo Civico, Museo d'Arte Sacra, Musei d'Italia, Meraviglie d'Italia, 3 (Bologna, 1972).

_____, 'Ricuperi e Restauri Senesi', BA, 50 (1965), pp.211-15.

_____, Una Vetrata Duccesca, (Siena, 1946).

Castelfranco, G., 'Contributi alla Storia della miniatura Bolognese del '200', Bologna, 7 (1935), pp.11-22.

_____, 'I corali miniati di S. Domenico di Gubbio', BA, 8 (1929), pp.529-55.

Catalogo della Mostra d'Antica Arte Umbra, (Perugia, 1907).

Catalogue of the National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh, (Edinburgh, 1946).

Cecilia Cesarini, Miracula b. Dominici, ed. A. Walz OP, Miscellanea Pio Paschini, (Rome, 1949), I, pp.293-326.

Cendoya, I.A. OSA, Las Primitivas Constituciones de los Agustinos, (Valladolid, 1966).

Chiarelli, R., I Codici Miniati del Museo di S. Marco a Firenze, (Florence, 1968).

Chiarini, M., Museo Diocesano di Pistoia, (Florence, 1968).

Cipriani, R., dell'Acqua, G.A. and Russoli, F., La Cappella Portinari, (Milan, 1963).

Cohn Goerke, W., 'Scultori Senesi del Trecento', Rivista d'Arte, 20 (1938), pp.242-89; 21 (1939), pp.1-22.

Coletti, M., Tomaso da Modena, (Venice, 1963).

Constitutiones antiquae fratrum Servorum Sanctae Mariae, ed. A. Morini and P. Soulier, Monumenta Ordinis Servorum Sanctae Mariae, 1 (Brussels, 1897).

Constitutiones novae sive ordinamenta facta in capitulis generalibus, ed. P. Soulier, Monumenta Ordinis Servorum Sanctae Mariae, 2 (Brussels, 1898), I, 7.

'Constitutiones Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum', AOP, 3 (1897-98), pp.31-60, 98-122, 162-81.

Conti, A., 'Appunti Pistoiese', Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, ser.III, 1, 1 (1971), pp.109-24.

- Coor, G., 'A neglected work by the Magdalen Master', BM, 89 (1947), pp.119-129.
- _____, 'A new attribution to the Monte Oliveto Master and some observations concerning the chronology of his work', BM, 97 (1955), pp.203-7.
- _____, 'A rare representation of informal Dugento Painting', AQ, 10 (1947), pp.278-82.
- _____, 'A visual basis for the documents relating to Coppo di Marcovaldo and his son Salerno', AB, 28 (1946), pp.233-47.
- _____, 'Contributions to the study of Ugolino di Nerio's Art', AB, 37 (1955), pp.153-65.
- _____, 'Coppo di Marcovaldo, his art in relation to the art of his time', Marsyas, 5 (1949), pp.1-21.
- _____, 'Trecento-Gemälde aus der Sammlung Ramboux', Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch, 18 (1956), pp.111-31.
- _____, 'Two unknown paintings by the Master of the Glorification of St. Thomas and some closely related works', Pantheon, 19 (1961), pp.126-35.
- Corallini, G., La Chiesa di S. Caterina in Pisa, dalle origini ad oggi, (Pisa, 1965).
- Creytens, R., OP, 'Les Constitutions des Frères Prêcheurs dans la rédaction de S. Raymond de Peñafort (1241)', AFP, 18 (1948), pp.5-68.
- Cristiani, E., Nobiltà e Popolo nel Comune di Pisa del Podestariato alla Signoria del Donoratico, Istituto Italiano per gli studi storici, 13 (Naples, 1962).
- Cristofori, F., Le Tombe dei Papi in Viterbo, (Siena, 1887).
- 'Cronaca del Convento di Santa Caterina', ed. F. Bonaini, Archivio Storico Italiano, 6, 11 (1848), pp.399-633.
- D'Amato, A. OP, 'Atti del Capitolo Provinciale della Lombardia inferiore celebrato a Vicenza nel 1307', AFP, 13 (1943), pp.138-48.
- D'Ancona, P., La Miniatura Fiorentina dal sec.XI al sec.XVI, 2 vols., (Florence, 1914).
- Davies, M., The Earlier Italian Schools, National Gallery Catalogue, 2nd ed., (London, 1961).
- De B. Andrea Galleranis Senis in Etruria, AASS, March, III, pp.49-57.

- De Benedotis, C., 'A proposito di un libro su Buffalmacco', Antichità Viva, 13 (1974), 11, pp.3-10.
- _____, 'Sull'attività Orvietana di Simone Martini e del suo seguito', Antichità Viva, 7 (1968), iii, pp.3-9.
- De Bruyne, E., Études d'Esthétique Médiévale, 3 vols., (Bruges, 1946).
- De Francovich, G., 'L'Origine e la diffusione del crocifisso gotico doloroso', Römische Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte, 2 (1938), pp.143-261.
- Degenhart, B. and Schmitt, A., Corpus der Italienischen Zeichnungen, 1300-1450, 4 vols., (Berlin, 1968).
- _____, 'Marino Sanudo und Paolino Veneto: Zwei Literaten des 14. Jahrhunderts in ihrer Wirkung auf Buchillustrierung und Kartographie in Venedig, Avignon und Neapel', Römische Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte, 14 (1973), pp.1-137.
- Delaporte, Y. and Houvet, E., Les Vitraux de la Cathédrale de Chartres, 4 vols., (Chartres, 1926).
- De la Roncière, C.M., 'L'Influence des Franciscains dans la campagne de Florence au XIV^e siècle (1280-1360)', Mélanges de L'École Française de Rome, Moyens Ages, Temps Modernes, 87 (1975), pp.27-103.
- Delcorno, C., Giordano da Pisa e l'antica predicazione volgare, Biblioteca di 'Lettere' Italiane, 14 (Florence, 1975).
- _____, L'Exemplum nella Predicazione Volgare di Giordano da Pisa, Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti. Memorie. Classe di Scienze Morali, Lettere ed Arti, 36, fasc.1, (Venice, 1972).
- _____, 'Predicazione Volgare e Volgarizzamenti', Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome, Moyens Ages, Temps Modernes, 89 (1977), pp.679-89.
- Dellwing, H., Studien zur Baukunst der Bettelorden im Veneto, Kunstwissenschaftliche Studien, 43 (Munich/Berlin, 1970).
- Del Migliore, F.L., Firenze Città Nobilissima. (Florence, 1684).
- Demus, O., Byzantine Art and the West, (London, 1970).
- De Nicola, G., 'L'Affresco di Simone Martini ad Avignone', L'Arte, 9 (1906), pp.336-44.
- _____, 'Ugolino e Simone a San Casciano, Val di Pesa', L'Arte, 19 (1916), pp.13-20.
- Denifle, H., 'Die Constitutionen des Predigerordens vom Jahre 1228', Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters, 1 (1885), pp.162-227.

- Der Nersessian, S., 'Program and Iconography of the Frescoes of the Parecclesion', The Kariye Djami, IV, ed. P. Underwood, (Princeton, 1975), pp.303-49.
- De Wald, E.T., Italian Painting 1200-1600, (New York, 1961).
- De Witt, A., I Mosaii del Battistero di Firenze, 5 vols., (Florence, 1954-59).
- Dictionnaire d'Histoire et Géographie Ecclésiastique, (Paris, 1912 ff.).
- Di Poggio, F.V. OP, 'Monumenta varia ex Archivio Monasterii FF Praedicatorum S. Romani Lucensis', Miscellanea Stephani Baluzii, ed. J.D. Mansi, (Lucca, 1764), IV, pp.600-12.
- Disciplina Ordinis Cartusiensis, tribus libris distributa, ed. I. le Masson, new ed. (Meudon, 1894).
- Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani, (Rome, 1960 ff.).
- Douais, C., Acta Capitulorum Provincialium Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum. (Première Province de Provence, Province Romaine, Province d'Espagne), (Toulouse, 1894).
- Douie, D.L., The conflict between the seculars and the mendicants at the university of Paris in the thirteenth century, Aquinas Paper, 23 (London, 1954).
- Duchesne, F., Histoire des Cardinaux François, 2 vols., (Paris, 1660).
- Durandus, Guillelmus, Rationale Divinorum Officiorum, (Naples, 1859).
- Emery, R.W., 'The second council of Lyons and the mendicant orders', The Catholic Historical Review, 39 (1953), pp.257-71.
- Eubel, C., Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi, I, (Regensburg, 1913).
- Faldi, I., Museo Civico di Viterbo, (Viterbo, 1955).
- Fava, M. and Salmi, M., I Manoscritti della Biblioteca Estense di Modena, (Florence, 1950).
- Fehm, S.A., and Seymour, C., 'Studies in two Sienese altarpieces: the Master of Città di Castello and Ambrogio Lorenzetti', Yale University Art Gallery Bulletin, 31 (1967), pp.14-39.
- Ferrandus, Petrus, Legenda Sancti Dominici, ed. M.-H. Laurent OP, MOPH, 16 (Rome, 1935), pp.195-260.
- Fineschi, V. OP, Il Forestiero Istrutto in S. Maria Novella di Firenze, (Florence, 1790).
- _____, Il Forestiero Istrutto in S. Maria Novella di Firenze, rev. G. Giuliani, (Florence, 1836).
- _____, Memorie Istoriche degli uomini illustri del Convento di S. Maria Novella di Firenze, (Florence, 1790).
- _____, Supplemento alla Vita del Cardinale Niccolò da Prato, (Lucca, 1758).

- Finke, H., 'Zur Geschichte der deutschen Dominkaner im XIII. und XIV. Jahrhundert', Römische Quartalschrift für Christliche Altertumskunde und für Kirchengeschichte, 8 (1894), pp.374-9.
- Forte, S. OP, 'Le Province Domenicane in Italia nel 1650, Conventi e Religiosi', APP, 39 (1969), pp.425-590.
- Franceschini, M., Francescani e società: Problemi di Linguaggio Figurativo come comunicazione di contenuti ideologici nel XIII e XIV secolo, typescript thesis for Università degli Studi di Roma, Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia, (1974-75).
- Francis, H.S., 'An altarpiece by Ugolino da Siena', The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art, 68 (1961), pp.194-205.
- Freed, J.B., The Friars and German Society in the Thirteenth Century, (Cambridge, Mass., 1977).
- The Frick Collection, An Illustrated Catalogue, 4 vols., (New York, 1968 ff.).
- Frinta, M.S., 'Note on the punched decoration of two early painted panels at the Fogg Art Museum: St. Dominic and the Crucifixion', AB, 53 (1971), pp.306-9.
- Galbraith, G.R., The Constitution of the Dominican Order 1216-1360, (Manchester, 1925).
- Galvanno Fiamma, Chronica Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum, ed. B.M. Reichert OP, MOPH, 2, 1 (Rome/Stuttgart, 1897).
- Gamulin, G., Madonna and Child in Old Art of Croatia, (Zagreb, 1971).
- Gardner, J., 'Andrea di Bonaiuto and the chapterhouse frescoes in Santa Maria Novella', Art History, 2 (1979), pp.107-38.
- _____, 'Arnolfo di Cambio and Roman tomb design', BM, 115 (1973), pp.420-39.
- _____, 'Guido da Siena, 1221, and Tommaso da Modena', BM, 121 (1979), pp.107-8.
- _____, 'St. Louis of Toulouse, Robert of Anjou and Simone Martini', ZKg., 39 (1976), pp.12-35.
- _____, 'The tomb of Cardinal Arnibaldi by Arnolfo di Cambio', BM, 114 (1972), pp.136-41.
- Gardner Von Teuffel, C., 'Maeaccio and the Pisa altarpiece: a new approach', Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen, 19 (1977), pp.23-68.
- Garrison, E.B., Italian Romanesque Panel Painting: an illustrated index, (Florence, 1949).
- _____, Studies in the History of Mediaeval Italian Painting, 4 vols., (Florence, 1953-62).

- Garzelli, A., 'Miniature Florentine del Duecento', Arte Illustrata, 59 (1974), pp.339-50.
- _____, Sculture Toscane nel Duecento e nel Trecento, (Florence, 1969).
- Gerard of Frachet, Vitae Fratrum Ordinis Praedicatorum, ed. B.M. Reichert OP, MOPH, 1 (Louvain, 1896).
- Gerspach, E., 'I Tabernacoli delle vie di Firenze', Rassegna Nazionale, 1 December 1904.
- Gillet, L., Histoire Artistique des Ordres Mendiants, (Paris, 1912).
- Ginori Conti, P., Un Antifonario Miniato della Scuola Bolognese, (Florence, 1940).
- Gnoli, U., Pittori e Miniatori nell'Umbria, (Spoleto, 1923).
- Gnudi, C., Nicola Arnolfo Lapo, (Florence, 1948).
- Godwin, F.C., 'An illustration to the de sacramentis of Thomas Aquinas', Speculum, 26 (1951), pp.609-14.
- Gómez-Moreno, C., Jones, E.H., Wheelock, A.K. Jr. and Meiss, M., 'A Sienese St. Dominic modernized twice in the thirteenth century', AB, 51 (1969), pp.363-5.
- Gordon, D.R., Art in Umbria, c.1250-c.1350, typescript Ph.D thesis, (University of London, 1979).
- Gozzoli, M.C., L'Opera Completa di Simone Martini, (Milan, 1970).
- Grabar, A., Les Revêtements des Icônes Byzantines, (Venice, 1975).
- Guibert de Nogent, De Vita Sua, ed. G. Bougin in Guibert de Nogent, histoire de sa vie (1053-1124), Collection de textes pour servir à l'étude et à l'enseignement de l'histoire, (Paris, 1907).
- Guidi, P. and Pellegrinetti, E., Inventari del Vescovato della Cattedrale e di altre chiese di Lucca, Studi e Testi, 34 (Rome, 1921).
- Guidoni, E., Arte e Urbanistica in Toscana, 1000-1315, (Rome, 1970).
- Guignard, P. (ed.), Les monuments primitifs de la règle Cistercienne, Analecta Divionensia, (Dijon, 1878).
- Guigonis, prioris quinti majoris Cartusiae, Epistola seu Tractatus ad fratres de Monte-Dei, in S. Bernardi Opera Omnia, ed. J. Mabillon, 4th ed., (Paris, 1839), II, i.
- Gurrieri, F., Pittura Murale nel San Domenico di Prato, (Florence, 1974).

Hager, H., Die Anfänge des italienischen Altarbildes, Römische Forschungen der Bibliotheca Hertziana, 17 (Munich, 1962).

Hall, M.B., 'The Ponte in S. Maria Novella: The problem of the rood screen in Italy', JWCJ, 37 (1974), pp.157-73.

_____, 'The Tramezzo in S. Croce, Florence, reconstructed', AB, 56 (1974), pp.325-41.

Hautecoeur, Musée National du Louvre, Catalogue des Peintures Exposées dans les Galleries, II, Ecole Italienne et Ecole Espagnole, (Paris, 1926).

Hefele, C.-J., Histoire des Conciles d'après les documents originaux, trans. H. Leclercq, 11 vols., (Paris, 1907 ff.).

Héliot, P., 'Sur les Eglises gothiques des Ordres mendiants en Italie Centrale', Bulletin Monumentale, 130 (1972), pp.231-5.

Hendy, P., European and American paintings in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, (Boston, 1974).

Hinnebusch, W.A. OP, 'Poverty in the Order of Preachers', The Catholic Historical Review, 45 (1960), pp.436-53.

_____, The Early English Friars Preachers, Institutum Historicum FF. Praedicatorum Romae ad S. Sabinae, Dissertationes Historicae, 14 (Rome, 1951).

_____, The History of the Dominican Order, I, (Staten Island, 1965).

Hourlier, J. OSB, L'Age Classique 1140-1378: Les Religieux, Histoire du Droit et des Institutions de l'Eglise en Occident, 10, ed. G. le Bras, (Paris, 1973).

Hueck, I., 'Una crocifissione su marmo del primo Trecento e alcuni smalti Senesi', Antichità Viva, 8 (1969), pp.22-34.

Hugue de Fouilloi, De Claustro Animae, PL, CLXXVI.

Humbert of Romans, Legenda Sancti Dominici, ed. A. Walz OP, MOPH, 16 (Rome, 1935), pp.353-433.

_____, Opera de Vita Regulari, ed. J.J. Berthier OP, 2 vols., (Rome, 1888/1889).

_____, Sermones ad diversos status, (Hagenaw, 1508).

Iacobilli, L., Vita del B. Giacomo da Bevagna dell'Ordine de' Predicatori, (Foligno, 1644).

Jean Mactei Caocia, Chronique du Couvent des Prêcheurs d'Orvieto, ed. A.M. Viel and P.M. Girardin, (Rome/Viterbo, 1907).

- Jedin, H., Latourette, K.S. and Martin, J., Atlas zur Kirchengeschichte, (Freiburg-I-Br., 1970).
- Jerome, Epistolae, PL, XXII.
- Jordan of Saxony, Libellus de principiis Ordinis Praedicatorum, ed. H.C. Scheeben OP, MOPH, 16 (Rome, 1933), pp.1-88.
- Kaeppli, T. OP, 'Dalle Pergamene di S. Domenico di Napoli ...', AFP, 32 (1962), pp.285-326.
- _____, 'Dalle Pergamene di S. Maria in Gradi di Viterbo', AFP, 33 (1963), pp.243-59.
- Kaeppli, T. OP and Schooner H.-V. OP, Les Manuscrits médiévaux de Saint-Dominique de Dubrovnik, Institutum Historicum FF. Praedicatorum Romae ad S. Sabinae, Dissertationes Historicae, 17 (Rome, 1965).
- Kaftal, G., Iconography of the Saints in Central and South Italian Schools of Painting, (Florence, 1965).
- _____, Iconography of the Saints in Tuscan Painting, (Florence, 1952).
- _____, St. Dominic in early Tuscan painting, (Oxford, 1948).
- Kiel, H., Il Museo del Bigallo a Firenze, (Florence, 1977).
- Knowles, D., The Monastic Order in England, 2nd ed., (Cambridge, 1963).
- _____, 'The Primitive Cistercian Documents', Great Historical Enterprises, Problems in Monastic History, (London, 1963), pp.197-222.
- Koechlin, R., Les Ivoires Gothiques Français, 3 vols., (Paris, 1924).
- Koudelka, V.J. OP, 'Le "Monasterium Tempuli" et la fondation Dominicaine de San Sisto', AFP, 31 (1961), pp.5-81.
- Kraus, H.P., Fifty Mediaeval and Renaissance Manuscripts, Catalogue 88, (New York, 1958).
- _____, Monumenta Codicum Manuscriptum, (New York, 1974).
- Krönig, W., 'Caratteri dell'architettura degli Ordini Mendicanti in Umbria', Storia e Arte nell'età comunale, Atti del Sesto Convegno di Studi Umbri, (Perugia, 1971), I, pp. 165-98.
- _____, 'Hallenkirchen in Mittelitalien', Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte, 2 (1938), pp.1-142.
- Laclotte, M., De Giotto a Bellini, (Catalogue of exhibition held at the Orangerie), (Paris, 1956).

- Laclotte, M. and Mognetti, E., Peinture Italienne. Avignon - Musée du Petit Palais, Inventaire des Collections Publiques Françaises, 21, 2nd ed., (Paris, 1977).
- Ladner, G.B., Die Papstbilnisse des altertums und des mittelalters, Monumenti di Antichità Cristiana pubblicato dal Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, ser.II, 4, 2 vols., (Città del Vaticano, 1970).
- Lambermond, H.C. OP, Der Armutsgedanke des Hl. Dominikus und seines Ordens, (Zwolle, 1926).
- Lambert, M.D., Franciscan Poverty, (London, 1961).
- Lattanzi, A.D., Biblioteca Nazionale di Palermo, I Manoscritti ed Incunaboli miniati della Sicilia, 1 (Rome, 1965).
- Laurent, M.-H. OP, I Neorologi di S. Domenico in Camporegio, Fontes vitae Catharinae Senensis historici, 20 (Siena, 1937).
- Lazzareschi, E. OPT, 'L'Ultima Volontà di Fr. Pietro Angiorelli, Vescovo Domenicano di Lucca', MD, 46 (1929), pp.112 ff.
- Leff, G., Heresy in the Later Middle Ages, 2 vols., (Manchester, 1967).
- Le Goff, J., 'Ordres Mendiants et Urbanisation dans la France médiévale: État de l'enquête', Annales. Économies Sociétés Civilisations, 25 (1970), pp.924-46.
- Lera, G., 'La Chiesa di S. Romano a Lucca', Arte Christiana, 51 (1963), pp.253-63.
- Le Registre de Benoît XI, ed. C. Grandjean, Bibliothèque des Écoles d'Athènes et de Rome, ser.2, (Paris, 1905).
- Leroquais, V., Les Sacramentaires et les Missels Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques de France, 4 vols., (Paris, 1924).
- Lesnick, D.R., Popular Dominican preaching in early fourteenth century Florence, Ph.D thesis, (University of Rochester, NY, 1976).
- 'Les Ordres Mendiants et la Ville en Italie Centrale, (v.1220-v.1350)', AAVV., Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome, Moyen Ages, Temps Modernes, 89 (1977), pp. 557-773.
- Lexicon für Theologie und Kirche, (Freiburg-i-Br., 1957 ff.).
- Litterae Encyclicae Magistrorum Generalium Ordinis Praedicatorum, ed. B.M. Reichert, OP, MOPH, 5 (Rome, 1900).
- Little, A.G. (ed.), Franciscan History and Legend in English Mediaeval Art, British Society of Franciscan Studies, 19 (Manchester, 1937).
- Little, L.K., Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe, (London, 1978).

- Longhi, R., 'La pittura umbra della prima metà del Trecento', ed. M. Gregori, Paragone, 282-3 (1973), pp.3-44.
- Loyrette, H., 'Une source pour la reconstruction du polyptyque d'Ugolino da Siena à Santa Croce', Paragone, 343 (1978), pp.15-23.
- Lupattelli, A., Benedetto XI in Perugia: Suo monumento sepolcrale, sue reliquie, (Rome, 1903).
- Lusini, V., 'Catalogo dei Dipinti (della Mostra delle pitture di Duccio di Buoninsegna e della sua Scuola', Rassegna d'Arte Senese, 8 (1912).
- Lutz, J. and Perdriquet, P., Speculum Humanæ Salvationis, 2 vols., (Leipzig, 1907/9).
- Maginnis, H., 'Assisi Revisited: Notes on Recent Observations', BM, 117 (1975), pp.511-17.
- , 'The Literature of Sienese Trecento Painting 1945-1975', ZKg, 10 (1977), pp.276-309.
- , 'The Passion Cycle in the lower church of S. Francesco Assisi. The technical evidence', ZKg, 39 (1976), pp.193-208.
- Mahn, J.-B., L'Ordre Cistercien et son gouvernement des origines au milieu du XIII^e siècle (1098-1265), Bibliothèque des Ecoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 161 (Paris, 1945).
- Mâle, E., Religious Art in France: XIII century, 3rd ed., trans., (London/New York, 1913).
- Mallory, M., 'An altarpiece by Lippo Memmi reconsidered', Metropolitan Museum Journal, 9 (1974), pp.187-202.
- Malvasia, C.C., Le Pitture di Bologna, (1686), photographic reprint, ed. A. Emiliani, Fonti e Studi per la Storia di Bologna e delle Province Emiliane, 1 (Bologna, 1969).
- Mamachi, T.M. OP, Annalium Ordinis Praedicatorum, (Rome, 1756).
- Mancini, A., 'Index codicum latinorum publicae bibliothecae lucensis', Studi italiani di filologia classica, 8 (1900), pp.115-318.
- Mandonnet, P. OP, 'La Canonisation de Saint Thomas d'Aquin, 1317-23', Mélanges Thomistes, Bibliothèque Thomiste, 3 (Paris, 1934), pp.1-48.
- Mandonnet, P. (with Vicaire, M.H. OP), Saint Dominique, L'Idée, L'Homme et L'Oeuvre, 2 vols., (Paris, 1937).
- Mango, C., The Art of the Byzantine Empire, 312-1453, Sources and Documents in the History of Art Series, ed. H.W. Janson, (New Jersey, 1972).

- Mansi, J.D., Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio, (Florence, 1759 ff.).
- Marchese, V. OP, Memorie dei più insigni Pittori, Scultori e Architetti Domenicani, 2 vols., revised ed., (Bologna, 1878).
- Marchini, G., 'Affreschi inediti del Duecento a Prato', Rivista d'Arte, 19 (1937), pp.163-9.
- Marcuoci, L., Gallerie Nazionali di Firenze: I Dipinti Toscani del secolo XIII, (Rome, 1958).
- _____, Gallerie Nazionali di Firenze: I Dipinti Toscani del secolo XIV, (Rome, 1965).
- Margherini-Graziani, G., L'Arte a Città di Castello, (Città di Castello, 1897).
- Mariotti, A., 'Modulo di Progettazione del Polittico di Arezzo di Pietro Lorenzetti', Critica d'Arte, 15 (1968), 100, pp.35-46.
- Martin A. Ryerson Loan Collection of Paintings and Sculpture, typescript catalogue, (Chicago, c.1926).
- Martinelli, V., 'Su una statuetta di San Domenico a Roma, Opera giovanile di Arnolfo', Scritti di Storia dell'Arte in onore di Ugo Precaoci, (Milan, 1977), I, pp.73-81.
- Masetti, P.T. OP, Monumenta et Antiquitates Veteris Disciplinas Ordinis Praedicatorum ab anno 1216 ad anno 1348. Praesertim in Romana Provincia ..., 2 vols., (Rome, 1864).
- Matthiae, G., 'Lavori della Soprintendenza ai Monumenti del Lazio, Affreschi di S. Maria di Vesuvio', BA, 28, ser.III, 2 (1934), pp.86-96.
- _____, Pittura Romana del Medioevo, 2 vols., (Rome, 1966).
- Meditations on the Life of Christ, trans. and ed. I. Ragusa and R. Green, (Princeton, 1961).
- Meersseman, G.G. OP, 'Études sur les anciennes confréries dominicaines'.
 'I. Les confréries de Saint-Dominique', AFP, 20 (1950), pp.5-113.
 'II. Les confréries de Saint-Pierre Martyr', AFP, 21 (1951), pp.51-196.
 'III. Les congrégations de la Vierge', AFP, 22 (1952), pp.5-176.
 'IV. Les Milices de Jésus Christ', AFP, 23 (1953), pp.275-308.
- _____, 'La prédication dominicaine dans les congrégations mariales en Italie au XIIIe siècle', AFP, 18 (1948), pp.131-61.

- Meersseman, G.G. OP, 'L'Architecture dominicaine au XIIIe siècle,
AFP, 16 (1946), pp.136-90.
- _____, Ordo Fraternitatis: Confraternite e Pietà dei laici nel
medioevo, 3 vols., Italia Scara, Studi e Documenti di
Storia ecclesiastica, 24-6 (Rome, 1977).
- _____, 'Origini del tipo di Chiesa Umbrò-Toscano degli Ordini
Mendicanti', Il Gotico a Pistoia nei suoi rapporti con
l'arte gotica Italiana, Atti del 2o Convegno Internazionale
di Studi, (Pistoia, 1972), pp.63-77.
- Meiss, M., Painting in Florence and Siena after the Black Death,
(Princeton, 1951).
- Melnikas, A., The Corpus of the Miniatures in the Manuscripts
of Decretum Gratiani, Studia Gratiana, 16, 3 vols.,
(Rome, 1975).
- Memoriale di curiosità artistiche in Firenze, fatto dal Canonico
Antonio Petrei in Il Libro di Antonio Billi, ed. K. Frey,
(Berlin, 1892).
- Migne, J.-P., Patriologiae Cursus Completus: Series Latina,
21 vols., (Paris, 1844-64).
- Milanesi, G., Documenti per la Storia dell'Arte Senese, 3 vols.,
(Siena, 1854).
- Miller, E.G., The Thirteenth Century Coronation of the Virgin
in the Courtauld Institute Gallery, typescript MA thesis
for Courtauld Institute of Art, (London, 1972).
- Minieri-Riccio, C., Saggio di Codice Diplomatico Supplemento:
parte prima, (Naples, 1882).
- Mollat, M., (ed.), Etudes sur l'histoire de la Pauvreté, Publications
de la Sorbonne, 'Etudes', 8 (Paris, 1974), 2 vols..
- Monumenta Diplomatica S. Dominici, MOPH, 25, ed. V.J. Koudelka OP,
(Rome, 1966).
- Moorman, J., A History of the Franciscan Order, (Oxford, 1968).
- Moran, G., 'Is the name Barna an incorrect transcription of the
name Bartolo?', Paragone, 311 (1976), pp.76-80.
- Morisani, O., Pittura del Trecento in Napoli, (Naples, 1947).
- Mortari, L., Il museo capitolare della Cattedrale di Velletri,
(exhibition catalogue), (Rome, 1959).
- _____, Museo Civico di Rieti, (Rome, 1960).
- Mortier, R.P. OP, Histoire des Maitres Généraux de l'ordre de
Frères Prêcheurs, 8 vols., (Paris, 1903-20).

Mostra Storica Nazionale della Miniatura, (Florence, 1954).

Müntz, E. and Frothingham, A.L. Jr., Il Tesoro della Basilica di S. Pietro in Vaticano, (Rome, 1883).

Murray, A., 'Piety and Impiety in thirteenth century Italy', Popular Belief and Practice, Studies in Church History, 8 (Cambridge, 1972), ed. G.J. Cuming and D. Baker, pp.83-106.

_____, 'Religion among the poor in thirteenth century France', Traditio, 30 (1974), pp.285-324.

Museo Nazionale Villa Guinigi, Lucca, (Catalogue), AAVV., (Lucca, 1968).

Nordenfalk, C., Bokmålningar från medeltid och renessans i Nationalmusei samlingar, (Stockholm, 1979).

_____, 'Miniatyr-samlingen Nyuppställning och Nyförvärv 1948-50', Nationalmusei Årsbok 1949-50, (Uppsala, 1952), pp.71-6.

Oertel, R., Frühe Italienische Malerei in Altenburg, (Berlin, 1961).

_____, 'Giotto-Ausstellung in Florenz', ZKg, 6 (1937), pp.218-38.

Offner, R., A Critical and Historical Corpus of Florentine Painting, (New York, 1930 ff.).

_____, 'Guido da Siena and AD 1221', Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 6 per., 37 (1950), pp.61-90.

Øgilvie, C., The Iconography of the Man of Sorrows, typescript MA thesis for Courtauld Institute of Art, (London, 1970).

Orlandi, S. OP, I Domenicani a Pistoia fino al sec.XV, (Florence, 1957).

_____, 'I Libri Corali di S. Maria Novella con miniature dei secoli XIII e XIV', MD, 82 (1965), pp.129-45, 193-224; 83 (1966), pp.3-61, 73-96.

_____, 'Il VII Centenario della Predicazione di S. Pietro Martire a Firenze (1245-1945)', MD 63 (1946), pp.26-41, 59-87; 64 (1947), pp.31-48, 109-36, 170-211.

_____, 'La Madonna di Duccio di Boninsegna e il suo culto in S. Maria Novella', MD, 74 (1957), pp.205-17.

_____, Necrologio di S. Maria Novella, 2 vols., (Florence, 1955).

Paatz, W. and E., Die Kirchen von Florenz, 6 vols., (Frankfurt, 1940-54).

Paocagnini, G., Simone Martini, (London, 1957).

Padoa Rizzo, A., Benozzo Gozzoli, Pittore Fiorentino, (Florence, 1972).

Paintings in the Art Institute of Chicago: A Catalogue of the Picture Collection, (Chicago, 1961).

Pampaloni, G., Firenze al Tempo di Dante, (Rome, 1973).

Panofsky, E., Early Netherlandish Painting, (Cambridge, Mass., 1953).

Papi, A.J., Origine delle Costituzioni dei Servi di Maria, (Rome, 1949).

Pardi, G., 'Il Catasto d'Orvieto dell'anno 1292', Bolletino della Reale Deputazione di Storia Patria per l'Umbria, 2 (1896), pp.225-320.

Paulinus of Nola, Carminae, PL, LXI.

Pecchiai, P., La Chiesa dello Spirito Santo dei Napoletani, (Rome, 1953).

Pelster, F., 'Die Bibliothek von Santa Caterina zu Pisa, eine Büchersammlung aus den Zeiten des Hl. Thomas von Aquin', reprinted separately from Xenia Thomistica, (Rome, 1924), vol.III.

Perrotta, V., Descrizione Storica della Chiesa e del Monastero di San Domenico Maggiore di Napoli, (Naples, 1830).

Petri Cantoris Verbum Abbreviatum, PL, CCV.

Petrocchi, G., 'La Letteratura Religiosa', Storia della Letteratura Italiana, II, (Milan, 1965), pp.637-80.

Piacenti Aschengreen, C., Il Museo degli Argenti a Firenze, (Milan, 1967).

Piò, M. OP, Delle Vite degli Huomini illustri di S. Domenico, revised ed., (Bologna, 1620).

Pope-Hennessy, J., 'Barna, the pseudo-Barna and Giovanni d'Asciano', BM, 88 (1946), pp.35-7.

_____, San Apollonio, 2nd ed., (London, 1974).

_____, Heptptych: Ugolino da Siena, Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, (Williamstown, Mass., 1962).

_____, 'The Arca of St. Dominic: A Hypothesis', BM, 93 (1951), pp.347-51.

_____, 'Three panels by Simone Martini', BM, 91 (1949), pp.195-6.

Preisner, A., Die Entstehung und die Entwicklung der Predella in der Italienischen Malerei, Studien zur Kunstgeschichte, 2 (Hildesheim/New York, 1973).

- Previtali, G., Giotto e la sua bottega, (Milan, 1967).
- _____, 'Miniature di Memmo di Filippuccio', Paragone, 169 (1964), pp.3-11.
- Procacci, U., 'La tavola di Giotto dell'Altare Maggiore della Chiesa della Badia Fiorentina', Scritti di Storia dell'Arte in Onore di Mario Salmi, (1961), II, pp.9-45.
- Quétif, J. and Échard, J., Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum, 2 vols., (Paris, 1719-21).
- Rackham, B., The Ancient Glass of Canterbury Cathedral, (London, 1949).
- Razzi, S., 'Diario di Viaggio di un Ricercatore (1572)', ed. G. di Agresti OP, MD, n.s.2 (1971).
- Rioci, E., 'Il sepolcro del B. Benedetto XI in S. Domenico di Perugia', Augusta Perusia, 1 (1906), pp.89-91.
- Rosenwein, B.H. and Little, L.K., 'Social meaning in the Monastic and Mendicant Spiritualities', Past and Present, 63 (1974), pp.4-32.
- Ross, M.C., Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Medieval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection, I (Metalwork, Ceramics, Glass, Glyptics, Painting), (Washington DC, 1962).
- Salinger, M., 'An early Sienese Panel in the Griggs Collection', Metropolitan Museum Bulletin, n.s.2 (1943-4), pp.81-3.
- Salmi, M., Emilia e Romagna, Tesori delle Biblioteche d'Italia, 1, ed. D. Fava, (Milan, 1932).
- _____, 'Gli affreschi ricordati dal Vasari in S. Domenico Perugia', BA, n.s.1 (1921/2), pp.403-26.
- _____, La Miniatura Fiorentina Gotica, (Rome, 1954).
- Sancti Gregori Magni Epistolarum, PL, LXXVII.
- Sanconi, D., Il Sepolcro dell'Arcivescovo Ruggieri nella Chiesa di S. Maria in Gradi a Viterbo, (extract from Nuova Antologia, 16 June 1926).
- Santi, F., Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria. Dipinti, Sculture e Oggetti d'Arte di Età Romanica e Gotica, (Rome, 1969).
- _____, 'Ritrovamento di Oreficerie medioevali in S. Domenico di Perugia', BA, 40 (1955), pp.354-8.
- Sassetti, F., Notizie dell'origine e nobiltà della famiglia de' Sassetti, ed. E. Marcucci, in Lettere edite e inedite di Filippo Sassetti, (Florence, 1855).

- Scheeben H.C. OP, Der Heilige Dominikus, (Freiburg-i-Br., 1927).
- _____, Die Konstitutionen des Predigerordens unter Jordan von Sachsen, Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte des Dominikanerordens in Deutschland, 38 (Cologne/Leipzig, 1939).
- Schönauf, D.W., De laatste sporen der Spiritualen in de Italiaanse kunst, typescript doctoraalscriptie for the Kunsthistorisch Instituut, Utrecht (1976).
- Schönherr, A., 'Codice liturgico della fine del Duecento nel Convento di S. Domenico Bologna', MD, 60 (1943), pp.106-113, 149-58; 64 (1947), pp.11-27, 97-108.
- Seidel, M., 'Studien zur Antikenrezeption Nicola Pisanos', MKIF, 19 (1975), pp.307-92.
- Seymour, C. Jr., Early Italian Paintings in the Yale University Art Gallery, (New Haven/London, 1970).
- Shapley, F.R., Paintings from the Samuel H. Kress Collection, Italian Schools XIII-XV century, (London, 1966).
- Simon, R., 'Towards a Relative Chronology of the Frescoes in the Lower Church of San Francesco at Assisi', BM, 118 (1976), pp.361-6.
- Sindona, E., L'Opera Completa di Cimabue e il Momento figurativo pregiottesco, (Milan, 1975).
- Sinibaldi, G. and Brunetti, G., Catalogo della Mostra Giottesca, (Florence, 1943).
- Smalley, B., The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages, (Oxford, 1941).
- _____, 'William of Auvergne, John of La Rochelle and St. Thomas Aquinas on the Old Law', in St. Thomas Aquinas 1274-1974: Commemorative Studies, (Toronto, 1974), II, pp.11-71.
- ~~Sofianou~~, G. and M., Ikônes du Mont Sinai, I (Athens, 1956), II (Athens, 1958).
- Staatliche Museen Berlin, Verzeichnis des Ausgestellten Gemälde der 13 bis 18 Jahrhunderts in Museum Dahlem, (Berlin, 1961).
- Statuta Capitulum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis, ed. J.-M. Canivez, 5 vols., Bibliothèque de la Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, 9-14, (Louvain, 1933 ff.).
- 'Statuta Generalia Ordinis', ed. M. Bihl OFM, Archivum Franciscanum Historicum, 34 (1941), pp.13-94, 284-358.
- Steinweg, K., 'Beiträge zu Simone Martini und seiner Werkstatt', MKIF, 8 (1953), pp.162-8.

Stephens, G., 'Brottstycken av en Dominikaner-Ordens eller Predikare-Brödernas Statuteller Capitel-Bok infran XIII. Århundradet, och gällande för 'Provincia Dacia' eller de Nordiska Riken', Kirkehistoriske Samlinger, 1 (1849-52), pp.545-642; 2 (1853-56), pp.128-9.

Storia di Napoli, 11 vols., (Naples, 1967-78).

Stubblebine, J.H., 'An altarpiece by Guido da Siena', AB, 41 (1959), pp.260-68.

_____, 'Cimabue and Duccio in Santa Maria Novella', Pantheon, 31 (1973), pp.15-21.

_____, 'Duccio and his Collaborators on the Cathedral Maestà', AB, 55 (1973), pp.185-204.

_____, 'Duccio's Maestà of 1302 for the Chapel of the Nove', AQ, 35 (1972), pp.239-68.

_____, Guido da Siena, (Princeton, 1964).

_____, 'Segna di Bonaventura and the Image of the Man of Sorrows', Gesta, 8 (1969), pp.3-13.

_____, 'The Angel Pinnacles on Duccio's Maestà', AQ, 32 (1969), pp.131-52.

Suida, W.E., 'The Altarpiece of Elżbieta Łokietkówna', Gazette des Beaux Arts, 33 (90), (1948), pp.201-8.

Supino, I.B., L'Arte nelle Chiese di Bologna, 2 vols., (Bologna, 1932/1938).

Swan, W., The Gothic Cathedral, (London, 1969).

Taurisano, I. OP, 'I Domenicani a Pisa', MD, 44 (1927), pp.177-232.

_____, I Domenicani in Lucca, (Lucca, 1914).

_____, 'L'Organizzazione delle Scuole Domenicane nel secolo XIII', Miscellanea Lucchese, 45 (1928), pp.93-129.

Taurisano, I. OP et al., Per la riapertura della Chiesa monumentale di S. Caterina in Pisa, (Pisa, 1927).

Tertullian, De Idolatria, ed. and trans. Pieter van der Nat, (Leiden, 1960).

Theodoric of Appoldia, Libellus de Vita et Obitu et Miraculis S. Dominici et de Ordine quem instituit, AASS, August, I, pp.558-628.

Théry, P.G. OP, 'A propos des livres choraux des Dominicains de Gubbio', AFP, 2 (1932), pp.252-83.

- Thieme, U. and Becker, F., Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler, 37 vols., (Leipzig, 1908-50).
- Thode, H., Franz von Assisi und die Anfänge der Kunst der Renaissance in Italien, (Berlin, 1885).
- Thomas, A.H. OP, De Oudste Constituties van de Dominicanen, Bibliothèque de la Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, 42 (Louvain, 1965).
- _____, 'Les Constitutions dominicaines témoins des 'Instituta' de Prémontré au début du XIII^e siècle (1216-20)', Analecta Praemonstratensia, 42, fasc.1-2 (1966), pp.28-47.
- Thompson, C. and Brigstocke, H., National Gallery of Scotland: Shorter Catalogue, 2nd ed., (Edinburgh, 1978).
- Tietze, H., Die Illuminierten Handschriften der Rossiana, in Wien-Linz, (Leipzig, 1911).
- Toesca, P., Il Medioevo, Storia dell'Arte Italiana, 1 (Turin, 1927).
- _____, Il Trecento, (Turin, 1951).
- _____, La Collezione di Ulrico Hoepli, Monumenti e Studi per la Storia della Miniatura Italiana, 1 (Milan, 1930).
- _____, Miniature di Una Collezione Veneziana, (Venice, 1958).
- _____, Miniature Italiane della Fondazione Giorgio Cini, (Venice, 1968).
- Tononi, A.G., 'Gli inventari delle due chiese maggiori Sant'Antonio e Cattedrale di Piacenza dei secoli XII-XIV', Archivio Storico per le Province Parmensi, 1 (1892), pp.97-150.
- Toscana, Guida d'Italia del Touring Club Italiano, (Milan, 1959).
- Trexler, R.C., 'Death and Testament in the Episcopal constitutions of Florence (1327)', Renaissance Studies in honour of Hans Baron, ed. A. Molho and J. Tedeschi, Biblioteca Storica Sansoni, n.s.49 (Florence, 1971), pp.29-74.
- Valentiner, W.R., 'Observations on Sienese and Pisan Trecento Sculpture', AB, 9 (1926-27), pp.177-220.
- Van Marle, R., The development of the Italian Schools of Painting, 19 vols., (The Hague, 1923-38).
- Van Os, H.W., 'A choir-book by Lippo Vanni', Simiolus, 2 (1967-68), pp.117-133.
- _____, 'The discovery of an early Man of Sorrows on a Dominican Triptych', JWCI, 41 (1978), pp.65-75.
- _____, Marias Demut und Verherrlichung in der Sienesischen Malerei 1300-1450, Kunsthistorische Studien van het Nederlands Historisch Instituut te Rome, 1 (The Hague, 1969).

- Vauchez, A., 'La commune de Sienne, les Ordres Mendiants et le culte des Saints. Histoire et enseignements d'une crise (novembre 1328-avril 1329)', Melanges de l'École Française de Rome, 89 (1977), pp.757-67.
- Vasari, G., Le Vite de' Più Eccellenti Pittori, Scultori e Architettori, ed. P. Barocchi and R. Bettarini, 6 vols., (Florence, 1966).
- Venezia e Bizanzio (exhibition catalogue), (Venice, 1974).
- Verani, C., 'Giunta Pisano ha soggiornato a Roma?', L'Arte, n.s.23, (1958), pp.241-2.
- Verdier, P., 'The Medieval Collection (Montreal Museum of Fine Arts)', Apollo, 171 (1976), pp.358-67.
- Vertova, L., 'Un Frammento Duccesco', Arte Illustrata, 2 (1969), 22/23/24, pp.38-47.
- Vioaire, M.H. OP, 'Fondation, Approbation, Confirmation de l'Ordre des Prêcheurs', Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, 47 (1952), pp.123-41, 586-603.
- _____, Histoire de Saint Dominique, 2 vols., (Paris, 1957).
- _____, L'Imitation des apôtres: Moines, Chanoines, Mendiants (IV-XIII siècles), (Paris, 1963).
- _____, Saint Dominique de Caleruega d'après les documents du XIIIe siècle, (Paris, 1955).
- Vigorelli, G. and Baccheschi, E., L'Opera Completa di Giotto, (Milan, 1966).
- Vikan, G., (ed.), Medieval and Renaissance Miniatures from the National Gallery of Art, Washington, (Washington, 1975).
- Volpe, C., 'Precisazioni sul Barna' e sul 'Maestro di Palazzo Venezia'', Arte Antica e Moderna, 10 (1960), pp.149-58.
- Von Saw, A. and Plotzek, J.M., Die Handschriften der Sammlung Ludwig, vol. I (Cologne, 1979).
- Wagner-Rieger, R., Italienische Baukunst zu Beginn der Gotik, 2 vols., (Graz/Cologne, 1957).
- _____, 'Zur typologie italienischer bettelordens-kirchen', Römische Historische Mitteilungen, 2 (1957/58), pp.266-98.
- Waley, D., Mediaeval Orvieto, (Cambridge, 1952).
- Walz, A.M. OP, Compendium historiae Ordinis Praedicatorum, (Rome, 1930).
- _____, I Cardinali Domenicani: Note Bio-Bibliografiche, (Florence/Rome, 1940), (extract from MD).
- _____, 'Papst Johannes XXII und Thomas von Aquin: zur Geschichte der Heiligsprechung des Aquinaten', St. Thomas Aquinas 1274-1974: Commemorative Studies, (Toronto, 1974), I, pp.29-47.

- Wehle, H.B., The Metropolitan Museum of Art: A Catalogue of Italian, Spanish and Byzantine Paintings, (New York, 1940).
- Weigelt, C., Duccio di Boninsegni, (Leipzig, 1911).
- Weisheipl, J.A., OP, Friar Thomas d'Aquino, (Oxford, 1975).
- Weitzmann, K., 'Icon Painting in the Crusader Kingdom', DOP, 20 (1966), pp.49-84.
- , 'Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons on Mount Sinai', AB, 45 (1963), pp.179-203.
- White, J., Art and Architecture in Italy: 1250-1400, (Harmondsworth, 1966).
- , 'Carpentry and design in Duccio's workshop: the London and Boston triptychs', JWCI, 36 (1973), pp.92-105.
- , 'Measurement, Design and Carpentry in Duccio's Maestà', AB, 55 (1973), pp.334-66, 547-69.
- Wilkins, D., 'Early Florentine Frescoes in Santa Maria Novella', AQ, n.s.1 (1978), pp.141-74.
- Wirth, K.A., Die Entstehung des Drei-Nagel Crucifixus, (Frankfurt-a-M., 1953).
- Zeri, F., Italian Paintings in the Walters Art Gallery, (Baltimore, 1976), 2 vols.
- Zimmerman, B. OCarm (ed.), Monumenta Historica Carmelitana, (Lerins, 1905).