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ASPECTS OF FRANCISCAN PATRONAGE OF THE ARTS IN THE VENETO
DURING THE LATER MIDDLE AGES

one volume and one microfilm

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Summary

Religious life in the later middle ages was increasingly dominated by the mendicant Orders, notably the Franciscans. Their dominance also extended to the artistic life of the day.

The initial artistic campaigns of the Franciscans centred on the native province of the founder, most notably in the Upper and Lower churches of S. Francesco in Assisi. With the expansion of the Order and the death and canonization of the second Franciscan saint, Anthony of Padua, his adopted province, the Veneto, became an important centre for theological and artistic activity. The Basilica del Santo, built to enshrine the new saint's relics, rivalled the mother church at Assisi in both scale and lavishness of decoration. The fourteenth century in particular was marked by a succession of decorative programmes, a large part of which has survived. Soon the other Franciscan churches in the Veneto were similarly patronized.

Unlike Umbria and Tuscany, areas where Franciscan churches are ridden with problems of dating and attribution, the Order's churches in the Veneto are probably the best documented of Italy. They provided a unique opportunity to set up a control of Franciscan patronage of the arts during the later middle ages. This thesis touches on all types of Franciscan patronage: conventual, and lay, communal and ecclesiastical. This research relied on a newly published Franciscan archive of over 27,000 documents, and is the first extensive survey of its kind for the Franciscan Order.

It is hoped that this contribution has filled some gaps in our knowledge of artistic patronage. Firstly it has thrown light on the role played by the Order of friars minor in artistic projects, from the initial planning stages to the commissioning, execution and supervision of works. It has been shown that Franciscans were not always involved in artistic projects; at times they cooperated with individuals, or families, and at other times they played no part at all. Whether actively involved or more inactive, the friars were open to all sorts of artistic experiments, which means that the Franciscan church was an ideal environment for creativity.

Abbreviations

<u>AB</u>	The Art Bulletin
<u>AFH</u>	Archivum Franciscanum Historicum
<u>AIVE</u>	<u>Atti dell'Istituto Veneto di S. L. ed Arti, Classe di Scienze Morali e Lettere</u>
<u>AM</u>	<u>Annales Minorum</u> , compiled by L. WADDING, 7 vols, (Lyon, 1625) 2nd ed. J.M. FONSECA, 19 vols, (Rome, 1731) 3rd ed. Quaracchi, 17 vols, 1931-35.
<u>Assidua</u>	Anonymus O. Min., Beati Antonii vita prima seu legenda "Assidua", in <u>Vita prima di S. Antonio o "Assidua" (c.1232)</u> , ed. V. Gamboso, <u>Fonti agiografiche antoniane I</u> , (Padua, 1981).
<u>ArSartori I</u>	<u>Archivio Sartori. Documenti di Storia e Arte Francescane, I, Basilica e Convento del Santo</u> , ed. G. LUISETTO, (Padua, 1983)
<u>ArSartori II/1</u>	<u>Archivio Sartori. Documenti di Storia e Arte Francescane, II, La Provincia del Santo dei Frati Minori Conventuali</u> , 2 vols, ed. G. LUISETTO, (Padua, 1986) vol. 1.
<u>ArSartoriII/2</u>	<u>Archivio Sartori. Documenti di Storia e Arte Francescane, II, La Provincia del Santo dei Frati Minori Conventuali</u> , 2 vols, ed. G. LUISETTO, (Padua, 1986) vol. 2.
<u>ArSartori III</u>	<u>Archivio Sartori. Documenti di Storia e Arte Francescane, III, Evoluzione del Francescanesimo nelle tre Venenie. Monasteri, contrade, localita, abitanti di Padova medioevale</u> , 2 vols, ed. G. LUISETTO (Padua, 1988)
<u>AV</u>	<u>Archivio Veneto</u>
<u>Benignitas</u>	Iohanne Peckham, O. Min., `Legendae Sancti Antonii presbyteri et confessoris "Benignitas" nuncupatae fragmina quae supersunt', in <u>Vita del "Dialogus" e "Benignitas"</u> , ed. V. Gamboso, <u>Fonti agiografiche antonianae III</u> , (Padua, 1986).
<u>BF</u>	<u>Bullarium Franciscanum</u> , Vols i-iv, ed. J.H. Sbaralea, (Rome, 1759-68); vols v-vii, ed. C. Eubel, (Rome, 1898-1904).
<u>BM</u>	<u>Burlington Magazine</u>
1 Cel	Thomas of Celano, <u>Vita Prima S. Francisci</u>

2 Cel	Thomas of Celano, <u>Vita Secunda S. Francisci</u>
Gratien	P. Gratien, <u>Histoire de la fondation et de l'evolution de l'Ordre des frères mineurs au XIII^e siècle</u> , (Paris, 1928) revised (Rome 1982).
<u>DBI</u>	<u>Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani</u>
<u>JWCI</u>	<u>Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes</u>
<u>MF</u>	<u>Miscellanea Francescana</u>
<u>MKIF</u>	<u>Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz</u>
<u>RIS</u>	<u>Rerum Italicum Scriptores</u>
Moorman, <u>Houses</u>	<u>Medieval Franciscan Houses</u>
<u>ZfK</u>	<u>Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte</u>

Introduction

Religious life in the fourteenth century was increasingly dominated by the mendicant orders, notably Franciscans and Dominicans, dominance which also extended to the artistic life of the day. After an austere and almost iconoclastic start, there followed a relaxation of the Franciscan rule in the mid-thirteenth century, in that the friars no longer took over pre-existing buildings but began to commission their own foundations in a new style of architecture. The first decorative cycles used the didactic values of painting to disseminate the Order's official teachings and to encourage the devotion of both friars and the laity. But the Order was quickly shaken by internal conflicts, accusations of laxity, spiritual and moral decline, and threatened by division between those friars who wished to remain faithful to S. Francis of Assisi's austerity and mendicant way of life (spirituals), and the majority who had grown to like life in large convents, celebrate mass in spectacular churches and enjoy the use of property (conventuals). Despite these inner troubles, this period was marked by intense artistic activity in the Order's churches.

The initial artistic campaigns of the Franciscans centered on the native province of the founder, most notably in the Upper and Lower Churches of S. Francesco in Assisi.¹ With the expansion of the Order and following the death of the second Franciscan saint, Anthony of Padua, the Veneto became an important centre for theological and artistic activity. The Basilica del Santo in Padua, where Anthony's remains were enshrined, was second only to the founder church at Assisi and emulated it in both scale and lavishness of decoration. The fourteenth century in particular was marked by a succession of decorative programmes, a large part of which have survived. The other Franciscan churches in the Veneto, in Verona, Vicenza, Venice, and Treviso were also similarly patronized.

The paintings and sculpture of these churches have at times been singled out for their stylistic and iconographic characteristics but they have not to date been viewed in their original Franciscan context. This thesis seeks to study the processes

by which painting and sculpture were produced in the Franciscan churches of the Veneto during the fourteenth century. Firstly in an attempt to discover the exact role played by the Order of friars minor in artistic projects; the planning, the commission, the execution and the supervision. In those instances where the friars were not involved, to investigate who the responsible parties were; and in cases where Franciscans and lay persons cooperated, to discuss their association in detail. This study thus sheds light on the relationship between the friars, the patrons and the artistic workshops of the most important and popular Franciscan churches of the Veneto during the later middle ages.

The thesis has been divided into six chapters: the first, second, third, fourth and fifth chapters survey the settlement of friars and the patronage of the arts in the Franciscan churches of Padua, Verona, Vicenza, Treviso and Venice respectively. Chapter 6 discusses the development of the arts in the Franciscan Veneto and concludes this thesis. The study also includes three short appendices: appendix 1 summarizes the history and patronage of chapels and altars in the Basilica del Santo in Padua; appendix 2 treats the church of S. Fermo Maggiore in Verona in the same way and lists the income of the friars there and finally appendix 3 consists of plans indicating the location of chapels, patronage and approximate location of tombs in S. Lorenzo, Vicenza.

Geographical and Chronological limits

Although this research began as a study of an entire Franciscan province, known in the fourteenth-century as the Province of S. Anthony of Padua, it became necessary to limit it to a smaller area and chronological scope. The five largest Franciscan churches of the region were therefore chosen as detailed case studies. This was done for reasons of conciseness as well as accessibility. The territory of the province of S. Anthony of Padua in the later middle ages stretched in a west/east direction from Mantua to the Istrian peninsula; on a north/south axis from Bolzano at the foot of the Alps to Rovigo. Eighty-six churches are documented and twenty-

five survive, most in an altered or heavily restored state.² Paintings and/or sculpture from the fourteenth century have survived in thirteen of these. However, these could not all be easily studied since two churches in the Friuli were heavily damaged by an earthquake in 1976 and one was destroyed,³ while three more churches on the Istrian peninsula are currently in a war zone; their state of repair is unknown.⁴

It was desirable therefore to streamline my research and concentrate on the better documented and easily accessible churches in the Veneto. The Franciscan churches of Padua, Verona, Vicenza, Treviso and Venice are beyond doubt the best documented of Italy since the recent publication of a Franciscan archive for the province of S. Anthony of Padua, the life work of Padre Antonio Sartori (d. 8 June 1970). This archive consists of over 7000 pages of documents and extracts, wills, business transactions, building and artistic contracts, and nominal lists of friars.⁵ The publication of this corpus of untapped material came at an opportune moment and offered a unique opportunity to carry out an investigation of the rapport between Franciscan friars, lay patrons and artists.

The chronological scope was kept fairly large in order to sample around one hundred years of artistic activity from c. 1300 to c. 1400. The period corresponds roughly with the second centenary of the Franciscan Order, a phase in which the Order was internally shaken but one in which the friaries had no difficulty in attracting the patronage of com^munes and families.

Although all forms of art were produced in this Franciscan environment, this thesis deals primarily with monumental paintings (wall and panel), and large sculptural projects (tombs, decorative and free standing sculpture). The architecture of the Order will be considered only insofar as it can serve to illuminate problems involving the frescoes.⁶ Small scale works, church vessels such as chalices, reliquaries and vestments have rarely survived but appear periodically in the documentation. Glass has suffered the same fate. Manuscripts, which survive in innumerable examples, have been excluded for reasons of conciseness, and problems

of production and transmission.⁷

Towards a Definition of Franciscan Patronage

I decided to define Franciscan patronage of the arts in this thesis as simply all forms of visual art produced in a Franciscan milieu. Whilst this research began as an investigation of the friars' contribution to the arts in the Veneto, it soon became clear that not all artistic commissions were the product of direct Franciscan involvement. Communes, families, ecclesiastics, confraternities, individuals and friars were found to be patrons at times.⁸

The Franciscans and Poverty

Any discussion of Franciscan involvement in the arts must include a few comments on Franciscan attitudes to poverty and property. The most recent publications dealing with the Franciscan Order still concentrate on the question franciscaine, the divisions of the Order and the fate of the Spirituals. Only one book attempts to give an overall picture of the majority of friars who are most often called Conventuals.⁹ The Archivio Sartori is rich in detail and, although its documentation cannot sketch a daily picture of life in a Conventual friary, it nonetheless illustrate the friars' positions on poverty and property.

Since the issue of Franciscan poverty is so confusing, it is worth summarizing whilst placing the Veneto evidence in context. The Franciscans were forbidden by the Rule to touch or accept money, and were therefore required to conduct all business transactions through a third party.¹⁰ In 1283, Martin IV defined the position of these procurators or syndics who represented the friars with his bull Exultantes in Domino.¹¹ They were now given full administrative powers over Franciscan property, including the right to buy, sell, exchange or sue at law. Previously, the syndics had been in turn deputies of the benefactors, and the Holy See. Now the friars appointed them directly, supervised their activities and dismissed them at will. As one historian has put it, 'this was to make friars owners of what they used in all but name.'¹²

The reputation of the Conventuals at the end of the thirteenth century was severely shaken by a number of irregularities committed by the syndics. They were responsible for storing gifts and legacies and establishing barns and storehouses. Some even went as far as accepting properties which carried a rent. This type of behaviour was contrary to the Rule and papal pronouncements.¹³ In the Veneto some convents observed the Rule, others did not. The syndic of S. Fermo Maggiore in Verona, brother Porceto Pistore, took possessions of many plots, gardens and vineyards for the Order and even leased properties to individuals.¹⁴ The same happened in Padua.¹⁵ On the other hand the friars of S. Lorenzo in Vicenza and S. Anthony in Padua, were obliged by the Provincial Minister, Giovannino di Cremona, to sell a large number of inherited properties which carried rent.¹⁶ In this same instance the friars do not appear to have renounced bequests to individual members of the Order, which were also forbidden since this supposed a right of personal property by the recipient.¹⁷ The Provincial Chapter of Venice held in 1290 declared that the, 'friars must not ask for money for themselves or for any individual friar, and any money which they receive they musn't keep for themselves but must hand over to their guardian within two days'.¹⁸ To be fair to the Franciscans, perhaps one of the biggest problems they faced was the lack of cooperation of benefactors. Zilborga da Malo, whose bequeathed properties had been sold in 1300, had explicitly specified that her properties should not be sold by the friars.¹⁹

In the hope of solving the Franciscan problems of persecutions of Spirituals and controlling the excesses of the more lax wing, Clement V launched a two-year investigation into the affairs of the Franciscan Order from 1310. Interestingly it is precisely in that year that the Provincial Chapter of Padua attempted to reform its houses by publishing a new set of constitutions. In particular by prohibiting the acceptance of donations by private benefactors. This appeal was heard by at least one convent, S. Lorenzo in Vicenza.

Clement V's next move was the publication of the bull Exivi de paradiso in

May 1312. It followed the lines of Exiit qui seminat and Exultantes in Domino but blocked the loopholes. This attempt at conciliation tackled many problems.²⁰ One of these was the usus pauper, the uses of poverty, but the pope omitted to define exactly what were the standards of use. This crucial decision was left to individual interpretation; thus the friars or their superiors could enlarge or restrict the areas at their discretion. This carried implications for buildings which were singled out in Exivi. 'Buildings', we are told, were not to be 'excessive in multitude or magnitude'. Church vessels were required to be 'decent and fully adequate in number and size', but were to avoid 'superfluity or excessive value or any untoward embellishment'.²¹ Thus it was left up to the guardian or his superior to interpret this statement and effectively judge what 'excessive' meant. The majority of churches in the Veneto were either projected or approaching completion date by 1312. Despite what might appear to some modern viewers as exceedingly large, it is worth pointing out that none of the Franciscan churches in the Veneto were ever accused of being 'excessive in multitude or magnitude'; and neither were their vessels. The only critics of Franciscan churches in Italy were members of the Spiritual faction of the Order, who themselves believed that buildings ought to be small and poor in contents,²² or built of mud and wattles.²³ The rest of the Order never uttered a word of complaint. Perhaps this had to do with the 'relative' simplicity of Franciscan churches in the Veneto, more modest in fact than Dominican churches. A juxtaposition between the church of S. Francesco and S. Nicolò in Treviso will prove my point.²⁴ Even the largest and most lavishly decorated church under study, the basilica of S. Anthony of Padua, is dwarfed by the opulence of the basilica of S. Marco in Venice. Franciscan churches, unlike cathedrals and early Christian basilicas were decorated using relatively cheap materials, fresco, as opposed to expensive mosaic and colourful, rare marbles. Let us not forget the model of Franciscan churches in the Veneto and the most lavish, S. Francesco in Assisi. Even this building strikes a note of simplicity when placed next to S. Marco, Venice, or S. Maria Maggiore in Rome.

With regards to money matters, Franciscan friars were not allowed any power or rights over money. Therefore they were forbidden to keep collecting boxes in churches or actively seek money with the use of a box or receptacle.²⁵ The relationship between the friars and their procurators was further elaborated and opened itself to even more abuse. Now the friars were unable to order how money was spent, nor could they demand an account of expenses after the event.²⁶ But the convents were still forbidden to accept property with a permanent income.²⁷ Franciscans were not allowed to sue, nor be executors (but could give advice on such matters). They could neither receive an inheritance or a legacy, a rule which went unobserved in the Veneto. Appendix 2 B lists the private income of friars in the church of S. Fermo Maggiore, Verona from 1287 to c. 1400. Even guardians who should have enforced the Rule were guilty of this breach of the Rule.

Pope Clement V had tried to trace a middle way between the two extreme positions of the Order. But the majority of friars in general went their own way on a path which made their claim to be entirely poor quite a farce. The approach of John XXII was a 'no-nonsense' one. With Ad conditorem canonum, published in December 1322, he denied the validity of the distinction between use and ownership in Franciscan practice; in future the Holy See would retain no right of ownership over Franciscan property, save over churches and the necessities of worship. In other words the Franciscans were 'owners' of goods and no longer just 'users'. What this did to the internal politics of the Order has been explained in detail elsewhere.²⁸ On a practical level, this most recent 'mess' in the Order did not manifest itself in any of the churches' documents. It was 'business as usual' for the Franciscan churches of the Veneto, throughout the entire fourteenth century.

In fact, only the constitutions of the General Chapter of Assisi held in 1354, the Farineriana, commented on the arts.²⁹ The brothers were forbidden to 'have or borrow' gold or silver vessels or other valuable ornaments, and the excessive value of buildings and ecclesiastical ornaments were condemned.³⁰ It is important to point out that despite this repetitive condemnation, no Franciscan church was ever

demolished, whitewashed, nor were vessels or ecclesiastical ornaments confiscated during the period in question. The decoration of Franciscan churches on the contrary was continuously being updated in at times daring ways, and using the Santo as an example, its treasury was amassing more and more vessels.

Medieval Exchange in the Veneto

The accounting system at use in the later middle ages in the Veneto is diverse and extremely complex.³¹ The system of pounds and shillings was in use, here called denari and soldi. There was larger money too, the lira and the largest, the ducat. But at least two systems of money of account was in use; one can be defined as small money, the denaro piccolo (or den. parv.) and the other system was based on the denaro grosso.³² Cities as close as Padua, Venice and Verona had different moneys and coins. For example the lira used in Verona and Vicenza was larger than the Venetian lira di piccoli; thus 4 lire ven. = 3 lire ver.³³ I have not attempted to convert all the moneys into a single currency simply because the lists of exchange are incomplete. All prices reported in this thesis are therefore in the local currency.³⁴

Notes to the Introduction

1 The Italian spelling of all names of churches has been retained throughout this thesis.

2 Angarano, S. Donato; Bassano, S. Francesco; Bolzano, S. Francesco (frescoes in cloister); Brescia, S. Francesco; Camurà, S. Stefano (baroque church); Chioggia, S. Francesco Nuovo; Cividale, S. Francesco; Costozza, S. Antonio Abate (quattrocento church); Curtarolo, S. Francesco (apse with painting now a private house); Mantua, S. Francesco (apse bombed, nave restored); Montagnana, S. Francesco (fourteenth-century shell, no adornment); Muggia, S. Francesco (restored to original state in 1958); Padua, church of S. Anthony of Padua; Parenzo, S. Francesco (divided in two, top is museum, bottom is a cellar); Pola, S. Francesco; Polcenigo, S. Giacomo (18th-century shell with 14th-century fragmentary frescoes); Pordenone, S. Francesco (bare shell); Rovigo, S. Francesco Nuovo (15th-century nave, 19th-century facade); Serravalle, S. Giovanni Battista e S. Nicolò (14th-century shell, 15th-century paintings); Treviso, S. Francesco; Trieste, B. Vergine del Soccorso (many alterations, lastly in 1864); Udine, S. Francesco; Venice, S. Francesco della Vigna (16th-century remodelling); Venice, S. Maria Gloriosa degli Frari; Vicenza, S. Lorenzo; Verona, S. Fermo Maggiore.

3 The church of S. Francesco in Udine, is closed to the public; I had the opportunity of spending one hour on the premises in 1989. Although restored, some paintings could not be seen because they were obscured by other detached paintings currently stored there. The church of S. Francesco in Cividale is now used as a concert hall and is therefore not opened to the public. I managed to spend one hour there as well in 1988, while it was used for a conference and made observations under difficult light conditions; some paintings were obscured by audio-visual equipment, the chapter hall was closed and a number of detached frescoes were unaccounted for (the Soprintendenza could not find them either). The biggest lost in the region was the oratory of S. Anthony in Gemona which was totally destroyed by the earthquake. Some of its 'spoils' will be reused for the post-modern

reconstruction currently underway.

4 These include the churches of S. Francesco, in Porec; S. Francesco, Pola; and S. Francesco, Muggia.

5 ArSartori, I, II, and III.

6 The architecture of the Franciscan Order including the Veneto churches has been the subject of much research, most recently, H. Dellwing, Die Kirchenbaukunst des späten Mittelalters in Venetien, (Worms, 1990); A. Cadei, 'Si può scrivere una storia dell'architettura mendicante? Appunti per l'area Padano-Veneta', in Tomaso da Modena e il suo Tempo, Atti del convegno internazionale di studi per il 6^o centenario della morte, (Treviso, 1980); H. Dellwing, Studien zur Baukunst der Bettelorden im Veneto, (Kunstwissenschaftliche Studien Band XLIII), (Munich, 1970), (= Dellwing). Still invaluable is R. Wagner-Rieger, 'Zur typologie italienischer bettelordenskirchen', Römische Historische Mitteilungen, 2 (1957/58), pp. 266-98, (= Wagner-Rieger).

7 See G. Abate, G. Luisetto, Codici e Manoscritti della Biblioteca Antoniana, Fonti e Studi per la Storia del Santo a Padova Fonti 1, 2 vols, (Vicenza, 1975). Review by B. Pagnin, Archivio Veneto, 5 ser., 110, (1978), pp. 127-9.

8 I will use the word patron as a gender non-specific term throughout this thesis.

9 Still useful if a little outdated is Moorman, History.

10 This had been arranged by Gregory IX in his bull, Quo elongati, 1230. In 1279, Nicolas III clarified the position by declaring that the papacy was the legal owner of most goods and thus the Franciscans had no rights to anything they used (Exiit qui seminat). The pope delegated the rights of ownership to the procurator. For the best discussion of poverty and property see M. Lambert, Franciscan Poverty. The Doctrine of the Absolute Poverty of Christ and the Apostles in the Franciscan Order, 1210-1323, (London, 1961), (= Lambert), and D. Nimmo, Reform and Division in the Medieval Franciscan Order. From Saint Francis to the Foundation of the Capuchins, (Rome, 1986), (= Nimmo).

11 BF III, 501.

12 Nimmo, p.65.

13 These properties should have been sold off and the proceeds used immediately.

14 Land leased on 14 May 1299, to Bellino and his brother Francesco for twenty-nine years for three lire veronesi per year. ArSartori II/2, p. 2110 n. 53. For brother Porceto's activities see *ibid*, pp. 2109-10 n.46, 47, 49, 51.

15 The guardian, brother Prosperino, leased inherited goods situated in Este on 14 November 1285. *Ibid*, I, p. 13 n. 136.

16 Bequeathed by Zilborga, the widow of Guido count of Vicenza and sold on 15 September 1300, in *ibid*, pp.2285-7 n.27-8. There are no such transactions for the friaries of Venice and Treviso, two towns in which there is however a shortage of early documents.

17 On 31 July 1290, Zilborga had also bequeathed four soldi grossi to fra Barnaba da Vicenza each year while he was alive and a non-renewable gift of ten lire di piccoli to fra Bartolomeo. *Ibid*, p. 2281 n. 10. There is however the possibility that the refusal document has not survived. Of the documents studied there are always far more testaments than responses. It is therefore important to treat these issues with caution. In Verona, Guillelmo de Anglari, a friar of S. Fermo Maggiore, was bequeathed 100 solidos den.ver.parv. by Zilia, widow of Ubertino de Zaccariis on 24 May 1287. See *ibid*, p. 2109 n. 43. In Padua, there are too many bequests to individual friars to enumerate. See *ibid*, I, p. 12 n. 121 (1283), p. 13 n. 138 (1286), n. 139 (1286), etc.

18 Moorman, History, p. 187.

19 Note 16 above.

20 Explained most clearly in Nimmo, pp. 121-9.

21 As cited in *ibid*, p. 124.

22 According to Ubertino da Casale, cited in *ibid*, p. 98.

23 From the 'Vernacular Perugian Tract' (bet.1379-82), cited in *ibid*, p. 291.

24 Discussed in chapter 4.

25 Cited in Nimmo, p. 126.

26 They could not try to recover sums of money, nor keep it in a safe place, nor have keys to gain access to money. Ibid, p. 126.

27 Exception made for gardens, as long as they were not market gardens or vineyards. Ibid, p. 127.

28 Nimmo, pp. 192-204. Moorman, History, pp. 317-9. Nimmo's remark, p. 209, that the Conventuals did not accept an official dispensation from the Rule's prohibition of property until 1430, comes as a bit of a surprise.

29 Named after the Minister General William Farinier.

30 Cited in Nimmo, p. 213, who also remarks that these were drawn from Bonaventure's earlier comments, and Exivi de paradiso. The Farineriana also forbade the wearing of excessive or idiosyncratic clothing. One wonders if this restriction applied to friars who practised a trade such as brother Nicola, sculptor at S. Lorenzo, Vicenza, who wore special clothes. See chapter 3, of this thesis.

31 For all tables, graphs and rates of exchange see P. Spufford, Handbook of Medieval Exchange, (London, 1986), (= Spufford); F. C. Lane, R.C. Mueller, Money and Banking in Medieval and Renaissance Venice, vol. 1 Coins and Moneys of Account, (Baltimore and London, 1985), (= Lane and Mueller).

32 This is a very simplistic explanation. Venetians in the mid-fourteenth century began using at least a half-dozen different moneys of account. Lane and Mueller, p. 489.

33 Ibid, p. 569.

34 The tables in Lane and Mueller, pp. 573-97 can be used to a certain extent.

Chapter 1 Patronage at the Basilica del Santo

The basilica of S. Anthony of Padua, known simply to Paduans as the 'Santo' was and is the largest and most important establishment of the friars, not only in the city but in the Veneto. (fig. 1) Second only to the mother church at Assisi, the Santo emulated it in both scale and lavishness of decoration. The fourteenth century in particular was marked by a succession of elaborate decorative programmes, both sculptural and two-dimensional. The extant decoration has received the attention of architectural and art historians but mostly in the form of stylistic and iconographic analysis.¹ And in the process it has been extracted from its original context, the Franciscan headquarters of the Veneto.²

Arrival of Friars in Padua

Opinions vary as to the arrival of the first friars in Padua. Traditions narrate that S. Francis himself founded a house there, probably around 1220-21 on the return leg of his voyage to the Holy Land.³ The earliest recorded Franciscan settlement in the Paduan area was situated outside the city walls, north of the canal of Codalunga near the Ponte dei Molini; it was known as S. Maria de Cella or simply Arcella.⁴ The earliest document pertaining to it is the nomination act of its protector, Cardinal Rinaldo Conti, dated 1228.⁵ While this document represents an eight year gap between the legendary account and documented proof, Franciscan expansion in this region around 1220 was thriving, with communities of friars at Treviso and Trento.⁶

S. Maria de Cella was from the beginning a double monastery where friars lived in separate quarters from their female counterpart, the Clares. An exhaustive amount of documentation shows that this arrangement was retained until 1509, the year in which the convent was abandoned.⁷ Although the men's role at the Arcella was a minor one, in that it consisted mainly of the administration of the sacraments to the women, Sartori insists that the friars lived in a convent of their own and were not affiliated to another Franciscan house in the vicinity.

Within a decade of their arrival, Franciscan friars settled closer to the city centre perhaps at the request of the bishop. Their new dwelling was the conventino of S. Maria Mater Domini near the canal of Pontecorvo. The exact date of arrival there is once again subject to debate. According to the legend, the friars received a grant of land from Bishop Jacopo Corrado in 1228. In fact Corrado was elected to the office in April 1229.⁸ This has led some to suggest that the site was donated by this predecessor Giordano (d. 5 Nov 1228).⁹ On the other hand, much evidence has been presented to suggest that the first church was pre-existing.¹⁰ It is probable that the friars who moved to S. Maria Mater Domini came from S. Maria de Cella; S. Anthony of Padua would probably have had something to do with the new settlement, for he was Provincial minister. He is said to have resided at the Arcella during the winter of 1227 and preached at S. Maria Mater Domini probably after his retirement from the office of minister in 1230.¹¹

The holy man died at the Arcella on 13 June 1231 and his body was moved to S. Maria Mater Domini, but only after several days of rioting generated by the suspected translation of the popular saint.¹² Miracles were granted that very day: the sick who touched his tomb were freed from whatever malady afflicted them, even the multitude who remained outside the door regained their health in the square.¹³ These miracles aroused the devotion of the people who came in great numbers from all regions. They marched towards S. Maria Mater Domini in long processions carrying great candles which had to be trimmed upon entrance into the tiny church for fear of fire.¹⁴

Within a year on 30 May 1232, Anthony was canonized and the building enterprise of a noble basilica to enshrine his remains had begun. Work began at the west end with the façade and moved across the nave towards the east. Such an unusual sequence of construction permitted the almost continued use of S. Maria Mater Domini.¹⁵ It is not easy to reconstruct the exact building progression of the Santo, not only because of the scarce notices,¹⁶ but also because of the little attention it has received. Architectural historians generally agree that its finalised

aspect was not realized in one trial; the oldest parts are found in the nave and west transept. As for the sequence and progression of construction, there seem to be two distinct opinions: the year 1263 seems to have been a turning point, either a year in which the new church (the first one built by the Franciscans) was deemed finished or a point of transition, when it was decided that the plan ought to be modified.¹⁷ The first theory would seem to be confirmed by a six year indulgence granted by pope Alexander IV in 1256 for building works.¹⁸ On the other hand the translation of the body of S. Anthony in 1263 might only suggest that a portion of the church was ready to receive him. A crucial development in corporate patronage certainly improved the affairs of the friary. An annual income of 4000 lire was provided by the Paduan commune from 1265 onward. To some architectural historians this grant financed the modifications observed in the structure. The radical change of organisation and aspect of the basilica indeed coincides with the take-over by the civil authorities.¹⁹ Unfortunately, architectural historians cannot agree on the exact nature of these changes. The new building campaign certainly consisted of the building of the transept, ambulatory, gallery, radial chapels and the two campanile.²⁰ M. Salvatori has tackled the problem of the early vaulting of the whole basilica, which would have represented a serious breach of Franciscan building regulations established at Narbonne in 1260, by proposing that the first Santo was a single nave basilica with transept, covered with a conventional wooden roof with a simple lantern over the crossing.²¹ This recent analysis implies that the initial Santo's proportions and dimensions would be almost identical to those of the Upper Church of S. Francis of Assisi, the Franciscan motherhouse, of almost contemporary construction.²² As for the date of completion, it is generally believed to have been in 1310, year in which S. Anthony's body was placed in the north arm of the transept, where he is still to this day. Interestingly, the year 1310 also coincides with the General Chapter of the Franciscan Order held in Padua on June 7.²³ No major modifications occurred for almost a century, until the fire of 1394, which caused notable damage, 'notabiliter destructa'.²⁴ This probably led to a

reordering of the east end, the raising of the ambulatory and the reconstruction of the dome of the choir. The façade loggia was only raised in the mid-fifteenth century.²⁵

One cannot search for one architect when at least two distinct plans exist. Dellwing suggested a Lombard, because of this region's long tradition and experience in vault construction, and a sound knowledge of French architecture.²⁶ A friar, Iacobus de Pola is recorded as, 'suprastans deputatus ad fabricam ecclesiae S. Antonii de Padua', but he could not have designed the church given the date, 1302.²⁷ This does not however rule out the possibility that a Franciscan architect could have been employed earlier. Franciscan engineers were not a oddity and were employed on the communal palace, the bridge over the Piave, the church of S. Francesco Treviso, and other connected works.²⁸ Franciscan friars were not only architects and directors of work but administrators and manual labourers. They remained nameless but appeared alongside the labourers, Benedicto and Zambono on 30 August 1264.²⁹ Franciscan sculptors were active as well and sometimes requested by name to conduct special tasks. Donato Salomone in 1292, asked brother Clarello or another friar sculptor to carve his tomb.³⁰

Funding

Although we do not know the costs involved in the building enterprise, the administration procedures are documented. A friar known as the custode administrated the money and goods.³¹ Cash offerings from the devout laity, donations or estates and properties with an annual income or resale potential were converted into building materials and other necessities. Buffono Bertholoto for example bequeathed 'solidos centum laborerio ecclesie Sancti Antoni', in 1238.³² But bequests to the Santo were apparently modest in the mid-thirteenth century; indeed the friars minor were not the most popular receivers of benefits.³³ How then was the project realised? In the year in which Padua was liberated from Ezzelino da Romano, Alexander IV requested in a papal bull of 1256 a 'helping

hand' in the construction in return for an indulgence of 100 days; however we do not know what type of response this generated.³⁴

After the liberation of the commune in 1256, and to emphasize the miraculous character of the victory over the tyrant Ezzelino da Romano thanks to S. Anthony of Padua, the Paduan commune carried out a number of public processions during the week of his anniversary.³⁵ During the siege of Padua in 1256, on the night of the feast of S. Anthony, the guardian of the Santo, brother Bartolomeo da Corradino, and a number of friars were praying for the liberation of the city on the tomb of the saint. Suddenly, a voice emanating from the tomb reassured them by announcing that Padua would be reconquered on the eighth day of Anthony's anniversary.³⁶ As a further thank offering for the liberation, 4000 lire were donated annually from 1265 by the commune to help finance the construction of the church. Two massari laici helped the custode administer the funds.³⁷ This example of corporate patronage elevated the prestige of the Franciscan Order and marked the beginning of a privileged relationship between it and the Paduan commune.³⁸

Confraternity Patronage

Confraternities were an essential part of the basilica del Santo at an early date. The confraternity of **S. Antonio Confessore** or **S. Antonio della Nogara** was founded by 1298 and was already praised by the Minister general of the Order, Geraldus Odonis, in 1334, for the large number of good deeds it had done for the friars.³⁹ It was also in that year that new statutes were drawn up.⁴⁰ These help retrace the activities of the women and men who were closely tied to the fate of the convent and its organisation. The confraternity of S. Anthony performed various tasks. It provided help to the community when religious problems arose, and performed charitable works; namely by distributing a monthly amount of money to the sick and needy. It also offered funeral and burial service to its members, if required; the deceased was guaranteed twenty-five orations and 100 masses for their soul.⁴¹ Another benefit was its membership affiliations, to the cordigerii of Assisi

and the Santissima Trinità in Rome.⁴²

In return the members were required to participate in liturgical exercises at the Santo. The male members participated in the mass on the first Sunday of the month at the altar of S. Anthony, while the women gathered at the altar of S. Ursula. Both altars were in the chapel where S. Anthony's body rested. All women were expected to give an offering of one denarium or candles in honour of Christ, the Virgin and S. Anthony.⁴³ After the celebration, the men held a meeting in the friar's chapter hall; women do not appear to have taken part.⁴⁴ Sometime before 1364, the men's monthly mass was celebrated in the chapel of Mary, (now Madonna Mora) located next to the chapel of S. Anthony.⁴⁵ The women remained at the altar of S. Ursula. Permission to gather in the Chapter Hall was renewed in 1402.⁴⁶ The confraternity moved out of the basilica in 1427 to a building of its own next to the oratory of S. George. The Scuola del Santo was rebuilt and divided into two levels, as it still stands, in 1504. Women occupied the ground floor whilst men gathered on the first floor.⁴⁷

The statutes of 1334 specify that one of the confraternity's responsibility was to ensure that two lamps were lit day and night at the ark containing the body of S. Anthony and at the altarpiece with a figure of the Blessed Anthony the confessor.⁴⁸ This might have been the surviving panel of S. Anthony with two kneeling donors to which we will return. Certain liturgical accessories also had to be kept by the massarius of the group when not in use during the mass. These were two duplerii magni which were lit during the elevation of the host, and two ciroti (candlesticks?) each weighing half a pound, to light during the mass.⁴⁹ Other items were required for funerals, namely two great candles and a beautiful and proper cover or cloth to cover the body of the deceased.⁵⁰ Although the statutes do not specify the need for such an object, a large silver figure of S. Anthony was recorded in an inventory compiled between 1397 and 1430. This figure was also kept by the confraternity.⁵¹

The confraternity's patronage of the arts was not limited to small objects but included at least one large scale sculptural commission. The documented altar of

the Virgin Mary known as Madonna Mora because of its black colour is the only confirmed result of the confraternity's patronage.⁵² It consists of an elaborately carved baldacchino with three pinnacles, supported on columns which in turn rest on altar. (figs 2-3) Under this canopy stands a statue of the Virgin Mary holding the Christ Child. The tabernacle is crowned by a Christ Saviour, with a Man of Sorrows underneath on the tympanum. The Annunciation is divided into the archangel Gabriel and the Virgin standing on each side pinnacles. A group of angels stand in the niche below.

The inscription carved into the base records the confraternity of S. Anthony, Domenico Lanio, the man who met the costs and a date, 4 June 1396.⁵³ Domenico Lanio is not recorded anywhere else; it has been suggested that he might have been the massarius of the confraternity.⁵⁴ The identity of the sculptor has been established through a document published in 1881.⁵⁵ Rinaldino da Francia, who had previously sculpted the altar figures for the chapel of S. James Major commissioned by Bonifacio Lupi, was once again working for the Santo. The cost of the project had been funded by alms offered to the altar.⁵⁶

A more tentative attribution to the confraternity is the anchona mentioned in the statutes of 1334. A. Sartori has tentatively identified it as the surviving tempera on wood panel representing S. Anthony with two kneeling donors.⁵⁷ (fig.4) The panel, presently attached to the first pilaster left of the presbytery, has been trimmed down the sides and could have been part of a larger votive composition, perhaps an altarpiece. A nimbed S. Anthony stands frozen in an iconic fashion, holds the scriptures close to him with his left hand and blesses an imaginary audience with his right. The artist has attempted to achieve a likeness to traditional descriptions of the holy man, middle-aged, wearing the tonsure and rather plump. His name has been painted at shoulder level in two parts. Two tiny male figures, about one third of the saint's size kneel on either side, hands joined in prayer. Their features are nearly identical, they wear a short bowl-shaped haircut and a grey robe. The background is a faded blue and an attempt at depicting solid ground has been made; all three

figures make solid contact with the brownish ground.⁵⁸ There are no identifying marks to suggest the identity of the donors, save the grey robe. Whether this garment was the standard issue of dress of the confraternity of S. Anthony remains to be found. There are too many missing links to support an attribution to the confraternity of S. Anthony, such as the unknown original location or the date.⁵⁹

The confraternity has also been credited with the frescoes in the Chapter Hall, painted by a Giottesque follower c. 1320.⁶⁰ (figs 7-8) Part of this cycle survives in a more or less precarious state: a Stigmatization of S. Francis, the Martyrdom of Franciscans, a very fragmentary Crucifixion, and a row of six niches with a standing saint underneath. (fig. 5) Another scene representing several friars grouped around a lectern has since disappeared. This was perhaps the Miracle at Greccio.⁶¹ The monthly use of the Chapter Hall by the confraternity recorded in the statutes and confirmed in 1402, prompted Sartori to make it responsible for the commission of this undocumented cycle. However he seems to have forgotten that the convent of friars gathered there everyday for a chapter of faults, and that the choice of scenes reflects a far more 'Franciscan' perspective than an 'Antonian' one. Indeed it would seem strange for an association of lay men and women, committed to handing over ten soldi per month to the sick and needy,⁶² to commission such a militant display of missionary zeal and self-sacrifice as the Martyrdom of the Franciscans; a scene which focused on one of the highest ideals of the Order and appeared again slightly later in another Franciscan Chapter Hall at S. Francesco, Siena.⁶³ A comparison with the iconography chosen for the confraternity's new oratory should end Sartori's speculations once and for all. The space is dedicated to eighteen paintings illustrating the life and miracles of S. Anthony of Padua.⁶⁴ That the Chapter Hall frescoes were a result of conventual patronage is a far more likely possibility.

Later paintings dating from the last quarter of the Trecento to the mid-fifteenth century in the chapel of Mary (known as Madonna Mora) have also been linked to the confraternity.⁶⁵ However these eight votive paintings do not appear to

have been devised as a programme.⁶⁶ And it is possible that these paintings could have been commissioned by the two Paduan families who also maintained the chapel, the Negri and the Obizzi. Although the documents and paintings take us beyond our chronological scope into the fifteenth century, they are worthy of mention since they suggest a certain involvement on behalf of the friars with regards to decoration. At some point in time, a dispute had occurred between the convent and the confraternity over the ownership rights of their chapel and the adjoining sacristy. However, a compromise was reached and confirmed in 1403 by the provincial Minister, Zeno Sanzeno. He confirmed the rights and privileges of the confraternity but demanded that an agreement be reached between them and a friar, Uguccione to determine '*picturas ornamenta reparationes et queque fienda in dicta capella*'.⁶⁷

Another confraternity is believed to have commissioned a painting of the Virgin and Child, now much altered and found on the first pilaster upon entering the church through the left door. (fig. 6) This panel known as the Madonna del Pilastro is an interesting example ^{of} changes of taste, fashion and devotion over a 200 year period. In its original form dated c. 1350 and attributed to Stefano da Ferrara, the image consisted only of the standing Mother holding the Christ child who pressed his cheek against his mother's; an image emphasizing the humanity of Christ and motherhood of the Virgin.⁶⁸

The Madonna del Pilastro was associated with the confraternity of the Blind (fraglia dei Ciechi) from 25 January 1413 when it was recorded as the 'Madonna dei Ciechi'.⁶⁹ The confraternity of the Blind was certainly in existence by 1358, and perhaps as early as 1348. Their patron was the 'Vergine della Concezione'.⁷⁰ The panel however is undocumented, but has been credited to the confraternity's good works again on the sole basis of an oil lamp which they kept lit in front of an image of the Virgin.⁷¹ Yet again the location and type of image is not specified. For all we know the Madonna del Pilastro could have been anywhere in the basilica, as a single panel or as part of a larger altarpiece. It could also have been transferred

from another church.⁷² The inventory of 1396 at the Santo records no less than three anchonae of the Virgin without specifying their location nor their donor.⁷³

Lay Patronage

Individual benefactors contributed actively to the artistic commissions of the Santo. These people came from all walks of life. Rich nobles were important for the first Franciscan settlements in Padua as elsewhere, and documentary evidence shows that Paduan ^rFranciscans maintained links with socially elevated families, such as the Camposampiero, Enselmini, Belludi and Bertholoto in the thirteenth century and Carrara, Conti and Lupi families in the fourteenth. They also mixed with the lower and middle classes; an early example is attested by the presence of Bellotus calegarius at S. Maria Mater Domini on 15 June 1322, while many later gifts were made by magistri, tinctori, doctors of law and medicine.⁷⁴ Patrons were free from constraints of loyalty to a particular neighbourhood, unlike the wealthy Florentines who sought to establish financial, political and marital ties within their neighbourhood.⁷⁵ Paduan benefactors came from the contrada of S. Antonio, Ponte Molino, S. Fermo, S. Cecilia, the Duomo and elsewhere. There were also foreigners such as the Manii family from Florence, the Scala from Verona and even the princes of Salerno.⁷⁶

All forms of art were patronized at the Santo: painting on a large or small scale, sculpture, metalwork, and needlework. Family chapels were built or remodelled, narrative and votive paintings covered the walls and ceilings, elaborately carved tombs, some with painted lunettes were on the walls, and the treasury enriched its contents. Unfortunately the overall extent of these decorative projects will never be known due to a redecoration campaign initiated in 1727. The remodelling of the ambulatory chapels meant that new altars and windows were installed resulting in the loss of all traces of painting on glass, walls and vaults.⁷⁷

Mechanisms of Lay Patronage

When lay patrons wanted to build a chapel they provided all the equipment

necessary to celebrate mass: an altar, a chalice with paten, a missal usually with its cushion, some sort of altar frontal (paramento) for the altar, and vestments for the celebrant. In return, the donor was given a receipt for these items by the guardian of the friary.⁷⁸ This pattern was consistent in the wills of lay benefactors as early as 1285, when Ailice the widow of Giovanni Mauro wished to found an altar dedicated to S. Prodiscimo.⁷⁹ This trend continues well into the fourteenth century with the Lançaroto, Turchetto, Zabarella and Lupi and Conti families.⁸⁰ Furthermore, surviving inventories describe the objects more precisely and it is evident that the family coat of arms or emblem was placed on each one of these objects, save the paten sometimes, or a minor vestment.⁸¹ Thus there was no way of mistaking the identity of the patron of the chapel; the officiating priest sported the donor's emblem on his pluvial, read from a lectern displaying the patron's arms and was surrounded by painted or sculpted family shields on the walls or entrance arch of the chapel.⁸²

Before a chapel could be built, an altar dedicated or a family tomb be placed in the Santo, certain procedures had to be followed. One did not simply send in the builders. Some sort of permission first had to be obtained from the community of friars. The documented cases of the Negri, Turchetti and Lupi family make this clear. The Negri family is our earliest documented example in 1364. Sometime before 29 October 1364, Gerardo Negri requested the right to maintain the chapel and altar dedicated to Saint Mary.⁸³ The friars meeting at a general chapter granted his wish but refused a request for burial in the chapel, possibly because of the proximity to the tomb of S. Anthony, located in the adjacent chapel. Authorization to sculpt or paint the family's emblem on the walls of the chapel was however granted in return for an endowment.⁸⁴ Seven years later, and without any explanation, the chapter decided to allow the patron one tomb in the chapel in a specific location, next to the pillar on the left side of the chapel.⁸⁵ The family complied with these instructions and placed a red marble sarcophagus against the north wall. It is still in place.⁸⁶ Interestingly, the confraternity of S. Anthony

which shared the chapel still retained the right to celebrate masses and hold services on the premises but its members were forbidden to bury their dead there.⁸⁷

Gerardo Negri in return promised to give to the convent within three months a number of buildings in Padua or its district which carried an annual rent of fifty lire. This was designated, 'pro ornatu cappelle', and for the salvation of his soul and his family's.⁸⁸ The chapel was passed on to his descendants until 13 April 1458 when it fell into the hands of the Obizzi family, through a legacy.⁸⁹

Another chapel, dedicated to S. Francis (now the entrance corridor to the chapel of the Treasury) was conceded and assigned to Francesco Turchetto during a chapter meeting on 8 December 1378. The concession document minutely recorded the chapel's position and dedication, behind the high altar, the fifth chapel beginning from the sacristy.⁹⁰ The chapel's maintenance was the responsibility of the Turchetto family and was to remain in their possession for perpetuity or until the money ran out. The friars were required to celebrate one daily mass at the altar for the patron and his descendants' souls. Burial rights were granted but only for the family,⁹¹ as was permission to paint or sculpt the family's emblem inside or outside the chapel.⁹²

The documentation suggests that families were primarily concerned with the assurances of masses said for the benefit of their souls, whilst the friars were preoccupied with endowment formalities. Very little is said about paintings, except coat of arms. The Franciscans were however concerned about the placement of tombs and their structure, at least in the Turchetto case.⁹³ As for paintings, the only document which suggests involvement by the friary is the arrangement with the confraternity of S. Anthony in 1403.⁹⁴ That entry in itself is far from being self-explanatory; since there is a mention of repairs, one wonders whether the friars and confraternity only agreed on what paintings ought to have been repaired.

Once the initial promise of mass in return for cash, land, rent income, animal or food stocks was granted, there was still work to be done. The privileges had to be confirmed a number of times, by superiors of the Order, such as the

provincial chapter and even the Minister general himself. The Negri and Turchetto families followed this procedure, the latter still obtaining reconfirmation in 1444, sixty-six years after the initial grant.⁹⁵ The Lupi family case, which follows illustrates this long history of procedures.

The Lupi Family. A Case Study of Lay Patronage

Two surviving chapels commissioned by members of the Lupi di Soragna family provide a case study of the rapport between friars, patrons and artists during the second half of the fourteenth century. The chapel of S. James Major (rededicated to S. Felix in 1503) and the oratory of S. George are amongst the best documented and preserved in fourteenth-century Italy.⁹⁶

Bonifacio and Raimondino Lupi were Parmesan and had held the village of Soragna for generations as a fief. In 1305 the family was driven out by Ghiberto da Coreggio because of its associations with the Este family. The Lupi re-entered Soragna, only to be expelled again in 1308. After more fighting against the tyrant himself, they were driven out of Parma and Soragna altogether.⁹⁷ Upon reaching maturity, Bonifacio and Raimondino remained away from Parma because of their Guelf convictions and became soldiers of fortune. Their military life followed parallel paths and brought them success, wealth and contact with the Carrara family; Bonifacio remaining close to the Paduan family for over thirty years. It is thus surprising to find that we are still without an adequate study of Bonifacio Lupi, marquis of Soragna, who is reported to have participated in all noteworthy politico-military events of the second half of the fourteenth century in central and northern Italy.⁹⁸ As is often the case during this period, a great deal of confusion surrounds his name, the date of his birth, his early upbringing and his death. From 1360 to 1390, Bonifacio Lupi was tied to the fate of the Carraresi as capitano during wars and political councillor and ambassador the rest of the time. He distinguished himself as chief of the Florentine Militia against Pisa when sent there by Francesco Il Vecchio in 1362-63.⁹⁹ His chronology becomes especially complicated towards

the end of his life when his nephew, and heir, also named Bonifacio, makes his appearance in the documentation. The circumstances surrounding his death are therefore not securely established. Some believe him dead by 23 January 1389, a date corresponding to an inscription on his tomb; others find him alive in June 1390. The most likely end seems to have occurred towards the end of June 1390 when he was probably mistaken for a traitor and killed by the Carrara mob who entered the city.¹⁰⁰

While his biographical details remain unclear, Bonifacio's good works, devotion and patronage in the two cities of Padua and Florence are well known. Bonifacio's patronage of the arts cannot be separated from that of his wife, Caterina dei Francesi de Staggia, a town near Siena. (fig. 7) Lupi had met the daughter of a Florentine count in Florence, possibly during the 1362 campaign against the Pisans. Despite the fact that Caterina is very present in the documentation of the Lupi foundations, her role in these foundations, like so many other women, has been neglected.¹⁰¹ Bonifacio seems to have been absent much of the time; in peaceful periods Francesco il Vecchio dispatched him on diplomatic missions to Venice, Mantua, Austria, even as far away as Hungary and in war he was on the battlefield. Clearly the man was not in a position to devote a great deal of time to supervise the buildings and paintings he commissioned. As the couple remained childless, Caterina would have been free from the traditional obligations of motherhood and able to oversee the commissions.¹⁰² (fig. 8) Caterina possessed money and land of her own, patronized the family's hospital and private chapel and independently befriended the proto-humanist circle in Padua.¹⁰³

The commission of the chapel of S. James Major was a bit of an accident. Having failed to obtain burial rights in the cathedral of Florence, Bonifacio Lupi opted for the basilica del Santo.¹⁰⁴ In electing to patronize the Franciscan Order, he emulated his father, Ugolotto Lupi (d. 1351) who was buried not once but twice, in the Franciscan church of Casalmaggiore and finally in S. Francesco, Parma.¹⁰⁵ Caterina di Staggia was also devoted to a member of the second order of

Franciscans, B. Elena Enselmini, a Clare from the Arcella, Padua. While Bonifacio was lying in agony, stricken by an apparently mortal illness, Caterina devoutly prayed to her. The recovery was attributed to the local intercessor.¹⁰⁶ Perhaps Bonifacio felt an indebtedness to the Franciscans.

Raimondino Lupi, son of Rolandino and a cousin of Bonifacio also patronized the arts at the Santo. Like his cousin, he too was a soldier of fortune. Charles IV knighted him in recognition for his brilliant military services in 1332. He is also said to have fought for the Carrara family although the exact details escape us. He was captain of the Florentines some ten years ahead of his cousin in 1352. As ambassador to Charles IV he was instrumental in forming a league between the Emperor and the Venetian republic in 1353. Towards the end of this life he was still in the company of the Emperor in Udine.¹⁰⁷ His will, drawn up on 11 May 1372, reveals that he owned several properties, was a wealthy man and a citizen of Mantua, residing at S. Aegidius. He had been richly rewarded by the lord of Mantua for his services as condottiero.¹⁰⁸ He retired to Padua and is documented as living near Ponte Molino in 1376.¹⁰⁹

On 12 February 1372, Bonifacio Lupi commissioned Andriolo de' Santi to remodel the chapel of S. James Major which was situated directly opposite S. Anthony's shrine. (fig. 9) The space was partly modelled on the saint's place of rest and used the latest decorative trends and artists in Padua, namely the services of Altichiero who painted a cycle illustrating the life of the titular saint, S. James of Compostela. Thus the chapel became a focal point for the liturgy and pilgrimage, while performing a funerary function. The narrative cycle of frescoes must have also attracted more secular attention as it cleverly referred to political events with a subtle use of portraits and disguised imagery.¹¹⁰ No expense was spared for this decoration and an unusually large and costly amount of furnishings was supplied: a silver chalice with sixteen enamels, a missal with its cushion, and many silk hangings and vestments, all prominently displaying the Lupi coat of arms, a rampant wolf.¹¹¹

While Bonifacio and Caterina were overlooking the construction of their chapel at Padua, Raimondino was drawing up his will in Mantua. By 1372, he had already built a hospital in this city which he endowed in his will. His first pious foundation, dedicated to SS. Lucy and Catherine, was built to accommodate the pilgrims, orphans and all poor persons of Mantua. Unfortunately, Raimondino's original hospital building was substituted for a greater one in the following centuries and not a trace survives.¹¹²

Raimondino may have conceived of building the oratory of S. George when he purchased properties in Brusegana, near Padua on 26 April 1376. These he acquired from no other than Francesco il Vecchio da Carrara. By 3 May 1378, the oratory of S. George had been built on the cemetery to the west of the basilica near the refectory. The building costs were met by Raimondino, and the Brusegana estates would finance the celebration of masses twice daily during his life time and after his death.¹¹³ Raimondino died on 30 November 1379, but not before commissioning Altichiero to fresco the walls and ceiling of his oratory with scenes from the lives of S. George and SS. Lucy and Catherine, who must have held special importance for the patron. Altichiero and his workshop were also responsible for the painting and gilding of the donor's tomb. As to the identity of the architect and sculptor the lack of documentation has left the field wide open for debate and conjecture.

By 30 May 1384 all the decoration and sculpture was finished.¹¹⁴ Raimondino Lupi's tomb, an imposing monument to his family, probably conceived by his executors, became the subject of a fiery debate, but only later.¹¹⁵ (figs 11-12) By the sixteenth century, friars and their superiors were angry and concerned about the devotion of simple people, who thought the tomb was the shrine of a saint.¹¹⁶ It was an imposing structure, consisting of a marble bier supported by four columns on a raised plinth. One could climb up from all sides by stairwells with three steps. A tall baldacchino topped by two great wolves rested on six columns of istrian stone. The tomb was surrounded by ten large statues, nine of

which were soldiers in armour and the tenth a woman. Its unusual position right in the middle of the oratory, its great height and size, its abundance of columns, steps and statues could understandably confuse the simple minds who came in, venerated it, kissed it and knelt above the steps.¹¹⁷ As a first solution, the oratory was closed except for the celebration of the feast of S. George and other obligatory anniversaries. All other daily functions were performed in the chapel of S. James. The tomb was eventually dismantled after 1592. Raimondino's other gifts were less provoking: a missal, a gilt silver chalice with six enamels, hangings and vestments, all bearing his coat of arms.¹¹⁸

The building progression of both family chapels is a perplexing problem.¹¹⁹ Here follows a summary of the recent solutions and a few criticisms. The chapel of S. James Major, rededicated to S. Felix in 1503, occupies the south transept of the basilica and faces the chapel of S. Anthony of Padua. On 12 February 1372, Lombardo della Seta drew a contract between Bonifacio Lupi and Andriolo de' Santi to undertake some building works in a chapel Bonifacio wanted to build in the church of S. Anthony. The chapel was to fill a pre-existing space: the right transept of the original ground-plan built from 1232 to c. 1310, where there had been an altar dedicated to S. Michael.¹²⁰ Work began not long after the date of the contract as payments began on 20 February 1372. There do not seem to have been significant interruptions in the construction, until September 1376 when payments stopped until March 1377.¹²¹

The most sensible analysis of the decoration places the period of painting from after March 1377 to 1379.¹²² But it is not without problems which need to be addressed here. In an essay written in 1977, Robin Simon summarized the Altichiero-Avanzo controversy after offering his own version of the building and painting sequence in the chapel of S. James and the oratory of S. George. He rightly dismissed Mellini's obscure reasoning that five rush mats mentioned in March 1377 corresponded to the five bays of the altar wall and that author's ensuing unfounded chronology of painting. He then proceeded to demolish Sartori's

progression which was based on a correlation between painting and purchases of vestments and celebration of masses.¹²³ Simon's own version of the events was more attentive to the documentation but was not without errors. He placed too much emphasis on four cursory references to scaffolding, without mentioning the fact that many payments were recorded without specifying the task undertaken, and could therefore allude to additional scaffolding. His translations were also erroneous: he believed that in March 1377, the main timber frame was dismantled and was replaced by a lighter structure for painting in January 1378.¹²⁴ In fact, the entry in March records that scaffolding was 'lowered' (abasare); a different word from the previous entry in July 1376 which recorded disfare. In this same entry five rush mats were purchased for the painter. One could easily argue that the painter and his workshop used this lowered scaffolding to begin their work.

He further suggested that the scaffolding recorded in the payment of January 1378 was, 'a large structure... which would accord with the start of major fresco decoration in 1377'.¹²⁵ Through his erroneous reading, Simon concluded that there were two major distinct operations: an armature for building and sculpture and separate scaffolding for the frescoes. This conclusion was based on a comparison of prices between the amounts spent in March 1377 and in January 1378: 'ducati II soldi XII denari VI', vs. 'ducati VII soldi LVII'.¹²⁶ Simon overlooked the fact that the first and smaller payment was to lower an already existing structure, while the second was to purchase wood. Studies of the Orvieto cathedral building site in this period have shown that materials were far more costly than labour.¹²⁷ Simon's painting chronology was probably not too far from the actual course of event, but his misreading of the documents and over emphasis on scaffolding payments weakens his conclusions.

To return to the frescoes of the chapel of S. James, the focal point of the decoration by Altichiero and his workshop is the back wall, a Crucifixion which has been turned into a gigantic triptych through a clever use of the wall columns. (fig. 13) It is flanked by two more scenes from the life of Christ: an Entombment and a

Resurrection each positioned immediately above hanging wall tombs. (fig. 14) The upper registers of this wall and other walls are filled with scenes from the life of the titular saint S. James of Compostela, as well as a devotional scene wherein the patrons are presented to the Madonna and Child. Medallions of Franciscan and local saints occupy the spandrels of the arches. (figs 15-18) They are the only conspicuous Franciscan images in the chapel, aside from a kneeling friar, added later.

The building history of the oratory of S. George is not as well documented. The earliest record, a stone inscription on the exterior bears the date November 1377.¹²⁸ This is by no means a conclusive date for it could refer to a number of events; the laying of the foundation stone, the completion of the oratory or the date of an important document linked to it.¹²⁹ There are, on the other hand, indications that the building was finished by 3 May 1378, in a document in which the provincial chapter of Franciscans ratified the earlier conventions agreed to by the friars of Padua regarding the celebration of masses in the oratory of S. George.¹³⁰

Documentary evidence proves that Altichiero received and completed the commission to paint the oratory. The concluding contracts between Bonifacio Lupi who acted on behalf of his cousin Raimondino and Altichiero, dated 30 May 1384, have survived. It is clear from these that Raimondino Lupi had contracted Altichiero to paint his chapel before his death.¹³¹ There is a possibility that painting may have begun in 1379, after Altichiero had finished his work in the chapel of S. James. But this remains only one hypothesis.¹³² Altichiero could just as well have started earlier. On the other hand, we can be sure that work was finished by 30 May 1384, date of the final contracts between Lupi and the painter.¹³³ Raimondino Lupi's tomb, also painted by Altichiero, was also completed by this date.¹³⁴

The frescoes of the oratory of S. George depict the Life of Christ and some saints to whom the donor was particularly devoted. A large Crucifixion fills most of the altar wall and is topped by a Coronation of the Virgin; episodes from the

Infancy of Christ are found on the opposing wall; a cycle of the Life of S. George occupies the left wall, while the right wall is divided into episodes from the Life of S. Catherine of Alexandria and S. Lucy. (figs 19-22) The iconography of the oratory is not exceedingly Franciscan. While it can be said that the central image, the Coronation of the Virgin was particular popular in Franciscan churches, it was by no means exclusively reserved for this Order. The choice of the SS. Lucy and Catherine narrative on the other hand were motivated by Raimondino Lupi; he had previously endowed a hospital in Mantua dedicated to those saints. As for S. George, he was an ideal choice for a family of condottieri. The only Franciscan images are busts of the four saints of the Order on the intrados of the window arches.¹³⁵

The copious amount of published documentation particularly for the chapel of S. James, the initial building contract, one decade of payments, and acts of Franciscan chapter meetings and correspondance between the Order and the patrons provide an ideal and rare study of a Paduan noble family's involvement with the Franciscan Order.

The contract for the architectural and sculptural detailing of S. James is minutely detailed and provides step by step instructions.¹³⁶ There are a number of models to imitate including the high altar, the chapel of S. Anthony, the Chapter Hall, the chapel of the Lançaroto family and the house of Lombardo della Seta. The general configuration of the chapel was modelled on the opposite chapel of S. Anthony; the stones on the façade had to be like, 'el compimento nela sumita del detta faça al modo ch'è ne la capella designata...'[chapel of S. Anthony] and with tabernacles, 'sopra il capo dei deti sancti, come fue mostrato ne la deta capella dipincta...' ¹³⁷ The vault had to conform to, 'una capella di santo Antonio di Padoa la quale è deputata a Lançaroto da Treviso'.¹³⁸ The five arches of the chapel were made of a 'pietra bianche e pietra forte de Vesentina', and were to be built in the same fashion as those, 'ch'è in certi volti che sono in uno bancho il quale è nela staçone di Domenicho e di Lombardo a mano drita a l'entrata'.¹³⁹ A white stone

used in various parts of the construction had to match the one used, 'overo due pegi de due fenestre grandi del capitolo de la chiesa di santo Antonio di Padoa'.¹⁴⁰ Finally the five saints destined for the chapel façade were to be made of the same stone or marble, 'ch'è una ancona cominciata suso l'altare grande de la chiesa di Santo Antonio di Padoa...'¹⁴¹ The borrowings suggest an interest in making the chapel fit in with its surrounding decoration while at the same time displaying the latest trends in domestic experiments.¹⁴² More importantly, through conscious imitation of the most important area of the basilica, where the body of S. Anthony was venerated, the focus of the devotion could be eased visually right across the nave into the important pilgrimage chapel of S. James of Compostela.¹⁴³

The drafting of the contract was the work of a leading Paduan humanist, Lombardo della Seta.¹⁴⁴ It is tempting to attribute the entire conception of the chapel to him: after all, no friar has left his name in the contract and the patron, Bonifacio Lupi, seems to have spent most of his lifetime on a battle field. The sophisticated architectural language of the contract raises questions. The simplicity of Andriolo de Santi's contract of 1364 for a chapel at the Eremitani commissioned by the confraternity of S. Nicolas of Tolentino, shows that the use of technical jargon was not one of his idiosyncracies.¹⁴⁵ Lombardo della Seta the author, was a keen collector of antiques and was commissioned by Francesco da Carrara to complete writing the Lives that Petrarch left unfinished at his death. He may well have been versed in architectural terminology. However, it is impossible to ascertain his individual contribution, or that of the Lupi family or the Franciscan friars with any degree of certainty. One could easily imagine a Franciscan suggestion of repeating elements from the Chapter Hall, or the chapel of S. Anthony. It seems less likely that the friars would propose imitating features from the recently refurbished house of the della Seta brothers.¹⁴⁶

The payment records for the chapel of S. James pose a number of problems.¹⁴⁷ Unlike the earlier records for the portal of S. Lorenzo in Vicenza, also executed by Andriolo de' Santi, the Paduan documents make no mention of

friars, not even as intermediaries.¹⁴⁸ All steps are carried out by lay-persons. The initial payments are made via Domenico della Seta, Lombardo's brother, already encountered as witness in the contract.¹⁴⁹ Domenico thus handles the money from 20 February 1372 until July 21 1374.¹⁵⁰ The next entry, 21 July 1374 to 28 September 1374, records the services of Coradin Lovo as intermediary; possibly a nephew of Raimondino Lupi, he is nominated by the Padoan.¹⁵¹ From 1 October 1374 until the end of July 1375, Coradin Lovo handles the payments on behalf of Caterina Lupi, recorded here as 'madona Catelina'.¹⁵² The steady pattern of meticulous dating and wording is broken after this date. Expenses for Andrea, Zoane, master Andriolo or simply for tasks, such as lowering the scaffolding follow; no intermediary appears.¹⁵³ Altichiero and Rainaldino seem to have received the money directly, but the entries are problematic.¹⁵⁴ Domenico returns to the scene receiving money for the three successive entries in 1380 and 1381 to pay for additional furnishings.¹⁵⁵

Yet the Order is involved with the patrons. We find Bonifacio Lupi in contact with the friars on a number of occasions, through his procurator Andrea da Codagnelli. However the surviving correspondence deals with spiritual matters, the establishment of the chantry, the endowment proceedings and the reconfirmation of privileges over the years. The earliest documented exchange is the approval of a request for masses by the guardian and the friars of the Santo gathered for a local chapter on 19 October 1376. By way of his procurator, the notary Andrea Codagnelli, Bonifacio Lupi forwarded a petition to the friars expressing his intention to leave 104 ducats after his death in exchange for the celebration of three daily masses in the chapel of S. James which he had built.¹⁵⁶ The guardian and the thirty friars present praised, approved and confirmed the request for the masses.¹⁵⁷

Further confirmation of this concession was requested and obtained on 3 May 1378, at the provincial chapter meeting in Padua. During the same meeting, Raimondino Lupi also obtained ratification of earlier conventions which were granted at an unknown time by the local chapter of friars. The proceedings

regarding Raimondino's request are quite detailed: Raimondino offered during his lifetime 100 libras parvorum for the friars' upkeep and promised the friars an unspecified amount of rent income in Volta Brudigana after his death, in exchange for the celebration of two daily masses at the oratory of S. George.¹⁵⁸ Raimondino died without finalizing the endowment formalities. These were completed on 1 December 1379 (the day after his death) by his commissioners.¹⁵⁹ It is interesting to note that the bequest of land was donated to the Clares of the Arcella Nuova of Padua and not the friars.¹⁶⁰

Bonifacio Lupi sought further confirmations. The general chapter of the Franciscan Order held in Padua on 4 June 1384, approved all earlier concessions for both the chapel of S. James and the oratory of S. George, which was now Bonifacio's responsibility.¹⁶¹ By 29 September 1384, Bonifacio had arranged his endowment; he too channelled the money through the Clares of the Arcella.¹⁶²

On 17 July 1385, Bonifacio Lupi dictated his will in the chapel of S. James and confirmed his earlier donation to the Poor Clares.¹⁶³ Not long thereafter Bonifacio was given written permission by the Minister general of the Order, Martin of Rivarolo, to nominate or change one or two friars to serve in his chapel from whatever rank in the order.¹⁶⁴ The final documented exchange between the patron and the Franciscans occurred four years later. Enrico Alfieri da Asti, the new Minister general confirmed all previous concessions and privileges.¹⁶⁵ All these actions, from the exclusion of the friars from the commission, to the endowment given to the Clares were perhaps a deliberate gesture by the Lupi family to stand between the Franciscans handling of lucra. They were probably not the only family to do this.¹⁶⁶

The Patronage of the 'Carrara Inner Circle'

The surviving decoration in the Santo leads one to believe that the basilica by the year 1400 must have been as astonishing as S. Francesco at Assisi. The following projects from the Trecento, the chapel of S. James Major, the oratory of

S. George, the chapel of SS. Philip and James the Less (B. Luca Belludi), the Lavellongo, and Vigonza tombs were promoted by private patrons who formed an intimately tied group. They shared great wealth and close ties with the Carrara ruling family, either as professional soldiers, civil servants or in blood or marital ties. For this reason they have been nicknamed the 'Carrara inner circle'.¹⁶⁷ The works of art they commissioned also shared the following features: execution by top workshops of the day and civic and politico-military undertones in their iconography. Fealty to the Paduan Lord was also reflected in some of the chapels. When the Lupi and Conti families erected their chapels to the glory of God, they did not forget their terrestrial lord, Francesco il Vecchio. The Carrara coat of arms was placed alongside the patron's own, edifying remarks were engraved on epitaphs, even portraits appeared on the walls.¹⁶⁸

It was not so much the Carrara family who patronized the Franciscans but their circle of friends and admirers. The court of Francesco il Vecchio and Fina Buzzacarini, a centre which promoted learning and all forms of artistic activity, provided the stimulus and backdrop to this network of patronage. The Franciscan Order in turn made its premises available to all types of visual experimentation. The Trecento decoration of the Santo was not an engineered and unified programme devised by some ingenious adviser in the Carrara court or the friars. Each chapel was conceived as a unit and its decoration resulted from a desire by patrons, who were after all friends, relatives, or co-workers, to give expression to their power and riches and to outshine the contribution of the previous benefactor.

The patronage of the Carrara innercircle is surprisingly well documented and represented by many surviving works in situ.

Carrara Patronage

Marsilio da Carrara, signore of Padua, (d. 21 March 1338) improved the city of Padua greatly, reconsolidating the city walls, building a palace, initiating the construction and decoration of the Reggia.¹⁶⁹ His provisional funeral was a

magnificent and expensive display, costing no less than 3000 florins, held in the basilica of S. Anthony.¹⁷⁰ He was eventually laid to rest by his successor Ubertino, in a splendid tomb in the abbey church of S. Stefano, a Carrara foundation. It is not clear whether or not Marsilio chose his last place of rest, nor do we know who commissioned his tomb, nor its sculptor. Marsilio did leave an annual amount of money to the Franciscan friars of Padua to celebrate masses for his soul; probably fifty lire.¹⁷¹

Interestingly, the tomb of Marsilio's spouse, Bartolomea Scrovegni (d. 1333), sister of Enrico, was placed in the chapel of S. James beneath the Crucifixion after the completion of the frescoes.¹⁷² It had been in the chapel before the Lupi remodelling when the chapel was still dedicated to S. Michael.¹⁷³ The Lupi family saw no objections to its re-insertion; after all the Scrovegni seem to have been on good terms with the Lupi family, who were themselves friendly with the Carrara.¹⁷⁴

Ubertino (d. 1345) and Jacopo da Carrara (d. 1350) do not seem to have shared the same enthusiasm for the Franciscan order as Marsilio. Ubertino chose the Dominican church of S. Agostino as his final place of rest, while Jacopo's remains went to the Eremitani, an Augustinian foundation.¹⁷⁵ The sculptor was Andriolo de' Santi, who appears to have worked in all the Mendicant churches. The next ruler, Marsilio Papafava da Carrara, known as Marsilietto reigned for only a few days and was killed on 24 April 1345. The following day he was buried at the Santo on the north side of the piazza.¹⁷⁶

Carrara patronage of the Franciscan Order improved during the rule of Francesco il Vecchio and Fina Buzzacarini. The General Chapter of the Order was held in Padua in 1384 probably following an invitation by Francesco il Vecchio. This seems to have been the custom of rulers and Francesco's gesture was perhaps in emulation of the Estensi who had hosted the General Chapter in Ferrara in 1382.¹⁷⁷ Fina Buzzacarini is often credited with the family's artistic contribution in Padua. Like other women, she was the member of the family who performed the

religious duties of the household. She was personally devoted to a Franciscan saint, Louis of Toulouse and she commissioned a cycle depicting his life in the church of S. Benedetto, a female Benedictine nunnery. What seems to be an odd location for a Franciscan cycle at first, makes perfect sense once we learn that Fina chose to patronize the nunnery in which her sister Anna was abbess.¹⁷⁸

However, the biggest contribution to the arts in the Santo by the Carrara were liturgical vessels. The minutely detailed inventory drawn up in 1396 reveals that the friars were in possession of no less than sixteen chalices displaying the Carrara coat of arms with an extra three bearing the plaustro, the familiar cart emblem used by the Carrara. These nineteen chalices accounted for more than half the total number. Two reliquaries also bore the arms of the Carrara.¹⁷⁹ These however have not survived the test of time and most were requisitioned by Francesco il Novello da Carrara in 1405 to be melted down and finance the war against Venice.¹⁸⁰ Historians have assumed that the objects taken by Francesco had all been donated by the Carrara family. This was not the case as a reliquary displaying the arms of Nicolai de Curtarodulo was among the lot.¹⁸¹ Evidently, it would not have been difficult for Francesco to obtain permission from his subjects to put their silver vessels to more heroic uses. This took the form of new sets of coins. This episode was in fact behind an unprecedented 'Franciscan' image; the bust of S. Anthony of Padua appeared on at least two coins struck by the Paduan mint around 1405.¹⁸² Could Francesco il Novello have sought to honour the saint in reparation of his authoritative move, or was it simply another continuing display of veneration by the Carrara family, or perhaps an invocation of the saint's intercession in these difficult times?

Conti Family Patronage. The Chapel of SS. Philip and James the Less (B. Luca Belludi)

The chapel of SS. Philip and James the Less (now B. Luca Belludi) situated next to the chapel of the Madonna Mora is undocumented, but the dedicatory inscription preserved in the chapel records the name of the donors, its consecration

date, 22 September 1382, and the fact that it was of recent construction.¹⁸³ (fig. 23) Giusto de' Menabuoi, the unrecorded painter has been credited with this work since c. 1446. Since Giusto had worked for the Carrara circle since 1370 for the Cortellieri, Spisser (Eremitani) and Vigonza family, he was continuing his employment with other members of the circle. While modern criticism dates the cycle before the consecration in September 1382, the intonaco around the walled inscription which curls over the dedicatory plaque suggests that the area above at least was frescoed after the insertion of the plaque, thus after 22 September 1382. Brother Paolo, the Vicar general of the Bishop of Padua granted an indulgence of forty days to those who visited the chapel on 12 February 1383.¹⁸⁴ One presumes painting would have been completed by this day as scaffolding would have made access to the chapel difficult.

The donors Naimerio and Manfredino Conti belonged to an ancient and noble Paduan family. Manfredino, was a wealthy land owner, with properties at Creola and his main residence at S. Agatha. He was invested by the bishop of Padua and received as fiefs Creola, Pieve, Abano, Theolo, Corte and Campolungo; these privileges were passed down to his descendants. He is credited with the building of a sumptuous palace at Creola which could still be seen in 1605.¹⁸⁵ He was also procurator to Francesco il Vecchio and Fina Buzzacarini and frequently lent money to the Carrara.¹⁸⁶ He was last recorded in 1388. Naimerio was as rich as his brother and was the daciaro (collector of a tax known as the dadia) of the Carrara. He lived near the Duomo. He had an eventful end of life; in 1388 he was chosen to deliberate on what measures to adopt before the Visconti menace but was captured, imprisoned, pillaged and returned only to Padua in 1392. He dictated his will in 1394 and apparently died the following year.

The Conti chapel and its adjoining sacristy (demolished) were built as an extension to the basilica. The location of the chapel was no doubt carefully chosen; it adjoins the original church of S Maria Mater Domini (first burial place of S. Anthony and presumably Luca Belludi's) and is close to the chapel of S. Anthony.

However it is impossible to know who had the idea to build it on that spot.¹⁸⁷ The Conti brothers certainly followed the usual pattern of providing the chapel with furnishings, vestments, hangings, missals and chalice all displaying the family arms.¹⁸⁸

The style, iconography and theology of the paintings has received extensive coverage recently and will therefore only be updated.¹⁸⁹ A surprising number of figures fill the small space: a genealogy of Christ occupies sixty-eight scenes on the vaults, window arches, spandrels and every available space between episodes from the lives of SS. Philip, James the Less and B. Luca Belludi.¹⁹⁰ The focal point of the decoration is votive, an enthroned Madonna and Child surrounded by SS. Louis of Toulouse and Francis on the left, and S. Anthony of Padua and fra Luca Belludi, who is depicted with a halo. The four saints present the two kneeling donors. (fig. 24) Two more unusual, unprecedented and unrepeated scenes are slipped in: in the left corner of the chapel towards the altar, Blessed Luca Belludi has a vision of S. Anthony who announces the eminent victory of Padua from the tyrant Ezzelino da Romano, an event to which we shall return. (fig. 25) In the corresponding position on the opposite wall, B. Luca who kneels before a Christ in glory, is hit by two rays of light emanating from Christ's halo.¹⁹¹ Below, a crowd of healthy and lame citizens gathers around Luca's tomb, touch it in the hope of a miraculous cure. (fig. 26)

Despite recent restoration and research, the motivation behind the actual choice of particular scenes from the lives of S. James the Less, S. Philip and the promotion of brother Luca Belludi to saintly status, still awaits full exposition. The emphasis on justice, imprisonment and delivery which occurs in the chapel are also difficult to explain.¹⁹² These are emphasized in visual term or by inscriptions in the Vision of S. Anthony to Luca announcing the liberation of Padua, the Liberation of a prisoner by S. James, and the Apparition of S. James in a dream to a lost merchant. The two episodes from the life of Luca Belludi placed nearest the altar and his depiction as a saint in the votive scene were unconventional. It was an

extremely rare event to depict a friar with a halo and receiving the special grace of Christ five hundred years before his process of canonization.¹⁹³

The cycle of painting and its inscriptions which narrate the event in latin, promote the unofficial cult of Luca Belludi. Brother Luca was first described as companion to Anthony of Padua in the Benignitas (c. 1246-7), when Luca asked Anthony to cure the handicapped child. The friar was only praised as a viro bonitate famoso.¹⁹⁴ He had previously appeared in the convent's documentation in a variety of positions, from simple friar, lectore, guardian even provincial Minister.¹⁹⁵ Belludi's position changed in the second half of the thirteenth century (21 April 1260); he was now identified as socius of Saint Anthony.¹⁹⁶ He died probably around 1286.¹⁹⁷ The fourteenth century saw the consolidation of his privileged position. Firstly, Albertino Mussato had him confronting Ezzelino da Romano, in the early fashion of Anthony of Padua around 1315.¹⁹⁸ Brother Paolino da Venezia then credited Luca with many miracles.¹⁹⁹ The thaumaturgic powers of Luca were reiterated in the last quarter of the century, in the paintings of the Conti chapel and in the painted inscriptions beneath the so-called episodes from his life. These reattributed a miracle, the Vision by S. Anthony to the guardian Bartolomeo da Corradino, and a number of friars to announce the liberation of Padua, to B. Luca Belludi.²⁰⁰ The miracles occurring at his tomb had no prior written tradition. There is no doubt the Conti chapel had quite an effect on the cult of Luca which was recorded c. 1385-90 and repeated by brother Bartholomeo of Pisa (c. 1401). Mass was celebrated over his body which was greatly revered and he had even become the author of the sermones Dominicales.²⁰¹ By 1420 he was recorded as beato Luca.²⁰² His tomb was recorded by Sanseverino before its demolition: 'In the chapel of the B. Luca Belludi... the altar was isolated, and four marble columns supported an Arca di pietra viva which served as mensa to this same altar, in which the body of the said Beato was found; one climbed to the mensa by ascending five small steps made of istrian marble, while holding on to iron balustrades. Three white marble statues rested on top: in the centre the Virgin

Mary and on either side the two named apostles'.²⁰³

It is impossible to determine who was responsible for the change in Luca Belludi's position, the Franciscans, the patrons or the Paduans. On the one hand, the Conti brothers may have wished to establish links with the Belludi family for the two had much in common. No doubt Naimerio and Manfredino Conti were familiar with the belief that the ancestor of Luca Belludi had built the Franciscan church of S. Maria Mater Domini to be redeemed from his sins of usury.²⁰⁴ The reputation of the Belludi family was redeemed by brother Luca's good works in the political and spiritual spheres. Since the sin of usury was taken quite seriously at the time one wonders if Manfredino Conti, who was a money lender, feared for the fate of his soul and thought he could perhaps be forgiven by not only financing the construction of a painted chapel, but one which promoted the Belludi family and elevated one of its members to a saintly status.²⁰⁵ Moreover Blessed Luca Belludi, whilst alive, was not only appreciated as an adept of peace, justice, repayment of debt, all qualities which would have appealed to the Conti, but he was also counsellor of the rich.²⁰⁶

Unlike the Lupi commissions, there are no documents to tell whether the Franciscan Order was involved in the Conti chapel paintings. What might appear to be controversial Franciscan iconography was however never complained about by the friars, nor was it removed. This surely must show an openness to decoration on behalf of the friars, or else indifference.

Tombs at the Santo

Fresco cycles were not the only form of art at the Santo. The large number of fourteenth-century tombs enumerated by Gonzati attests to the popularity of the Santo as a final place of rest in Padua.²⁰⁷ Reading Gonzati's list of donors is not unlike compiling a list of the most famous families in trecento Padua. They are almost all represented; the Capodivacca, Peraga, Sala, Papafava, Carrara, etc. The arrangements for commissioning funeral monuments varied. Documents have

shown that the Lupi family commissioned their tombs directly from the artisans. But some wills on the other hand left this decision to the friars.²⁰⁸ Not all tombs were identical; some consisted of a simple bier resting on columns or fixed to a wall, others were floor tomb slabs. The most outstanding were wall mounted, a bier supported by brackets with tabernacle above with a painted lunette and further paintings on the intrados of the arch. Four of these have retained part of their painted decoration and of these, three contain the body of Carrara soldiers. They are however undocumented. The tomb of Federico Lavellongo, datable to 1373 from its inscription, is located in the corridor leading from the basilica to the cloister of the Magnolia. Its decoration makes it one of the most interesting of the basilica.²⁰⁹ (fig. 27) Lavellongo's sarcophagus and lunette emphasize the public and military offices of the man. A Virgin in glory with crescent moon at her feet hovers above two groups of saints: on the left, Saints Francis, James and Anthony Abbot present the kneeling donor. On the right, Saints Peter, an unknown bishop and Paul present the helmet which acts as a reminder of his military role. Six half busts of saints, much repainted, fill the underside of the arch. The recumbent effigy is a warrior dressed for battle while the five figurines perhaps allude to family members.²¹⁰

Lavellongo came from an illustrious Brescian family and distinguished himself in feats of arms and in various public offices. He was senator of Rome and Siena for a time and was re-elected three times as podestà of Padua between September 1371 and 1 September 1373, when he died of wounds sustained in battle for the glory of the city. He was carried into the Santo for burial accompanied by the lords and nobles of Padua.²¹¹

A votive Coronation of the Virgin fills the lunette of another tomb in the same corridor, that of Bonzanello and Nicolò Vigonza. (fig. 28) There is no concrete evidence to support Gonzati's dating of 1380 except stylistic analysis which links it to the Belludi chapel. Little is known of Nicolò, save that he was

celeberrimo as claims the epitaph. Bonzanello was an asset to Francesco Carrara militarily and diplomatically and held a prominent place in his court. He was alive in 1374, year in which Petrarch bequeathed him a horse.²¹² The inscription states that Bonzanello followed his brother to the grave. It is generally agreed that Giusto de' Menabuoi painted the lunette; whether this was before or after the Belludi chapel is anybody's guess. The sculptor has remained anonymous; however, there is excellent integration between its structure and the painting. The iconography is common; the enthroned Christ crowns the Virgin Mary using one hand.²¹³ Surrounding them, two groups of saints, Francis and Anthony of Padua closest to Christ, present one of the brothers who is actually on a higher platform and closer to the saints than his sibling; whilst on the left side, Saints James, Jerome, Louis of Toulouse and John the Baptist attend to the other brother. An Annunciation, reminiscent of the Belludi chapel version, complete with the Redeemer above, occupies the exterior of the arch.

The Basilica del Santo is by far the best documented and most lavishly decorated church of the Franciscan Order in the Veneto. This is partly because of its excellent survival record, but also because the Franciscan Order was definitely the most popular in this city. This popularity was motivated by the Santo's special status, a pilgrimage church holding relics of a new fashionable 'local' saint, Anthony who was also the second Franciscan saint; in addition there were relics of older, well-established saints such as James of Compostela. Credit must be given to the cultural venue that was Padua, a primary seat of learning, of appreciation of antiquity, and of artistic activity during the second half of the fourteenth century. The patronage of the Santo was multi-faceted. It included the friars, on an individual and corporate level, certainly during the construction of the church. It is also possibly for the Chapter Hall frescoes to have been commissioned by the friars themselves. Altar hangings were at times presented to the church by individual friars.²¹⁴ Confraternities such as that of S. Anthony of Padua, commissioned the altar decoration of the chapel of the Madonna Mora in 1396, and vessels for the

mass. The driving force behind the arts during the second half of the fourteenth century was the 'Carrara inner circle'. The patronage of some members of this circle, the Carrara, Lupi, Conti, Lavellongo, and Vigonza family has been discussed in detail. It has been observed that when families obtained the juspatronatus of a chapel, or an altar, they provided at least all the necessary items to celebrate the mass. Those with decorated chapels commissioned architects and painters, supervised the work and handled the payments. Perhaps they did so deliberately to stand between the Franciscans and the handling of property and money.

Notes to Chapter 1

1 The standard work on the basilica is the nineteenth-century text by B. Gonzati, La Basilica di Sant' Antonio di Padova, 2 vols, (Padua, 1852), (= Gonzati). Some recent updates are G. Abate, G. Luisetto, eds., Codici e manoscritti della Biblioteca Antoniana, 2 vols, (Vicenza, 1975); A. Poppi, ed., Storia e cultura al Santo, (Vicenza, 1976); A. Poppi, ed., Liturgia, pietà e ministeri al Santo, (Vicenza, 1978); G. Lorenzoni, ed., L'edificio del Santo di Padova, (Vicenza, 1981); G. Lorenzoni, ed., Le Sculture del Santo di Padova, (Vicenza, 1984); C. Semenzato, ed., Le Pitture del Santo di Padova, (Vicenza, 1984).

2 And indeed of the province of S. Anthony of Padua.

3 This tradition is recorded by nearly all early chroniclers and historians: Mantissa, in the second half of the fourteenth century, in R.I.S. VIII, (Milan, 1726), col. 736; Bartholomew of Pisa, AF, IV, 358; Scardeone (1560); Portenari (1623); Wadding, AM, an. 1242, n. 4., as cited in Sartori, Provincia, p. 224. Even in this century (1931), the painter Oppi depicted S. Francis at work on the construction of the site in the basilica.

4 AM II, 732; A. Sartori, 'Il Santuario dall' Arcella a Padova', MF LVI (1956), pp. 538-82, (= Sartori, 'Arcella'). Moorman, Houses, p. 362.

5 Sartori, 'Arcella', p. 543.

6 Moorman, Houses, p. 98. For Treviso see chapter 4 of this thesis.

7 Sartori, 'Arcella', p. 545.

8 Ibid, p. 545.

9 C. Gasparotto, 'S. Maria Mater Domini', Il Santo 5 (1965), pp. 149-56, p. 152. See also Sartori, Provincia, p.86.

10 C. Gasparotto, 'Sull' ipotesi da un tempio a Giunone nell' arca della basilica del Santo', Il Santo IV, II (1931), pp. 94-105.

11 Moorman, Houses, p. 362.

12 Assidua, cap. 22-4, pp. 386-402.

13 Ibid, cap. 25, pp. 402-4.

14 Ibid, cap. 26, 11-14, pp. 410-2. Although processional candles could be quite long this shows just how small the first Franciscan church was. Presumably the roof was made of flammable materials.

15 The church of S. Maria Gloriosa dei Frari in Venice was built in a reverse order, yet without demolition of the first church, in order not to interrupt services.

16 R. Zanocco, 'L'archivio del Santo di Padova e la sorte toccata ai suoi documenti', Le Venezie Francescane I (1932), pp. 17-32.

17 M. Salvatori, 'Costruzione della basilica dall' origine al secolo XIV', L'edificio del Santo di Padova, ed. G. Lorenzoni, (Vicenza, 1981), pp. 31-81, (= Salvatori, 'Costruzione'), p. 67.

18 The indulgence is printed in Gonzati, I, doc. X, p. X.

19 M. Salvatori, 'Nacque "francescane" la seconda basilica del Santo?', Il Santo, 17 (1977), pp. 307-21, (= Salvatori, 'Basilica'), p. 318.

20 Salvatori, 'Costruzione', pp. 71-2, summarizes the debate.

21 Salvatori, 'Basilica', p. 316.

22 Ibid, p. 316.

23 ArSartori I, p. 106.

24 Gonzati, I, doc. XXV, p. XXIV.

25 Salvatori, 'Basilica', p.320.

26 H. Dellwing, 'La costruzione del coro del Santo a Padova', Il Santo 19 (1979), pp. 37-51, p.39. See also R. Wagner-Rieger, 'Zur Typologie italienischer Bettelordenskirchen', Römische Historische Mitteilungen, 2 (1957-8), pp. 266-98.

27 Gonzati, I, doc. XIX, p. XIX.

28 Brother Benvenuto de la Cella worked on the palace in 1307. In 1314 he worked on the bridge over the Piave. The designs of the churches of S. Margherita and S. Francesco, Treviso are also attributed to his hand. In 1318, another Franciscan engineer, brother Giovanni, was superintendent of work on the bridge over the Piave. See C. Cenci, 'Verona minore ai tempi di Dante', Le Venezie

Francescane, (1967), pp. 3-44, (= Cenci, 'Verona'), p. 14.

29 '...presentibus Benedicto murario...Zambono murario...qui laborat cum fratribus minoribus et aliis'. Gonzati, I, doc. XIV, p. XIII.

30 In his will dated 11 May. ArSartori I, p. 16 n. 93 and 182.

31 B. Bordin, 'Profilo storico-spirituale della Comunità del Santo', Storia e cultura al Santo di Padova, ed. A. Poppi, (Vicenza, 1976), pp. 15-115, (= Bordin), p. 19. Gonzati, I, doc. XIV, p. XIII.

32 Buffono's will was published together with a critical commentary by A. Bartoli Langeli, 'Il testamento di Buffono padovano (1238). Edizione e leggibilità di un testo documento', Le Venezie Francescane n.s. A.III, (1986), 2, pp. 105-24.

33 According to A. Rigon, 'Francescanesimo e società a Padova nel Duecento', Minoritismo e centri veneti nel Duecento, ed. G. Cracco, (Trento, 1983), pp. 8-40, (= Rigon), p.28. The Franciscan Order shared with the others the preference of testators in the destination of sepulture and bequests, and often found itself behind the others.

34 See note 18 above.

35 Rigon, p. 29.

36 Benignitas, cap. 23, II, 8-11, pp. 584-6.

37 Bordin, p. 19.

38 Rigon, p. 29.

39 G. De Sandre Gasparini, 'La Confratèrnita di S. Antonio Confessore', Statuti di confraternite religiose di Padova nel Medio Evo. Fonti e Ricerche di storia ecclesiastica Padovana, ed. G. De Sandre Gasparini, (Padua, 1974), pp. 91-153, (= Gasparini, 'Confratèrnita'), p. 91. For Dominican confraternities see G.G. Meerseman, Ordo Fraternitatis, (Rome, 1977).

40 Gasparini, 'Confratèrnita', pp. 97-103.

41 Ibid, p. 100.

42 Gonzati, II, p. 444.

43 Gasparini, 'Confratèrnita', pp. 97-8. The men's contribution is not recorded.

44 'Post cuius celebrationem debeant fratres in capitulo fratrum minorum quiet convenire', in *ibid*, p. 98 n. 5. This implies that the chapter hall was not as restricted to outsiders as is often remarked.

45 They shared the altar with the Negri family before 29 October 1364. See M. Ganguzza Billanovich, 'Per la storia religiosa ed edilizia della basilica antoniana: la capella della Madonna Mora e dell' Arca in un nuovo documento del XIV secolo', *Il Santo* 19 (1979), pp. 67-79, (= Billanovich, 'Madonna Mora'), pp. 77 and 79.

46 *ArSartori* I, p. 539 n. 70 and p. 540 n.77.

47 Gasparini, 'Confratèrnita', p. 99.

48 '...cum figura beati Antonii confessoris in dicta ecclesia Sancti Antonii'. *Ibid*, p. 102.

49 These were presumably large torches and wax candles.

50 'Cirii' and 'palium vel cultra pulcrum et decens' in Gasparini, 'Confratèrnita', p. 102.

51 *ArSartori* I, p. 780.

52 Apart from the inscription which will be discussed, a document of 1402 drawn up by the friars confirms that the confraternity had commissioned the work. See *ArSartori* I, p. 540 n. 77. The altar is located in the chapel of the Madonna Mora where the men participated in the mass. For a discussion of this work and its place in the context of Paduan sculpture see W. Wolters, *La Scultura veneziana gotica <1300-1460>*, 2 vols, (Venice, 1976), (= Wolters, *Scultura*), vol. 1, p. 61 and pp. 209-10 cat. 30. It is heavily repainted.

53 'FRATALEA ANTONII CELEBRANTES VOTA DEO GENS / EFFIGIEM
POSVERE SACRAM SVB HONORE BEATE / VIRGINIS IMPENSE PLVS
CONTVLIT ATQUE LABORIS DOMINICVS LANIO REDDENDI MVNERIS
AVTOR / M CCC LXXXX VI DIE IIII JVNII', as correctly published by Gonzati
I, p. 242.

54 Ibid I, p. 242.

55 H. Simonsfeld, Zur deutschen Geschichte aus Venedig, (1881) p. 517, IV, as cited in ArSartori I, p. 536 n. 32. Wolters, Scultura, p. 61, remarked that without this documented proof, it would be difficult to attribute this work to Rinaldino because of the astonishing transformation in style from the earlier saints executed for the Lupi chapel in 1379. Wolters suggests that this new departure might have been brought on during a session spent at Orvieto cathedral as capomaestro and another campaign on the façade sculpture of the cathedral of Florence. Also useful is L. Guidaldi, 'Contributi alla storia dell' arte antoniana: 3, Rinaldino de Francia', Il Santo IV, III (1931), pp. 180-7.

56 'Item quod Capella predicta Imago Beate marie finistra (sic) capitelli et façade altaris adornentur hedificentur et expictentur per oblationem daturam in capsetina ponenda cum pallo uno ficto penes dictum altare et que oblatio dabitur super dictum altare in denarii candellis et alijs sine Termino aliquo que capsetina habeat claves II'; document dated 2 February 1402, in ArSartori I, p. 540 n. 77. The term finistra is puzzling. It is perhaps a reference to the iron grille which encloses the front; one wonders if it ever contained glass.

57 Ibid, p. 539 n. 70.

58 There is however an unexplained area of red paint on the left bottom corner behind the donor.

59 It is also strange that no women donors appear in the painting.

60 ArSartori I, p. 539 n. 70. For a recent discussion of the paintings and attributions see F. d'Arcais, 'La presenza di Giotto al Santo', Le pitture del Santo di Padova, ed. C. Semenzato, (Vicenza, 1984), pp. 3-13. Also of interest is M. Boskovits, 'Insegnare per immagini: dipinti e sculture nelle sale capitolari', Arte Cristiana, 78 fasc. 737-8 (1990), pp. 123-42.

61 The fragments were recorded by Selvatico in 1836. The identification as the Miracle at Greccio was suggested by J. Gardner, 'Andrea Bonaiuto and the

Chapterhouse Frescoes in Santa Maria Novella', *Art History* 2, (1979), pp. 107-38, (= Gardner, 'Chapterhouse'), p. 137 n. 133. The scene was painted later on the vault of the Chapter Hall of S. Francesco, Pistoia. See *ibid*, p. 128 and p. 137 n. 143. Also L. Gai, 'Nuove proposte e nuovi documenti sui maestri che hanno affrescato la cappella del Tau a Pistoia', *Bullettino Storico Pistoiese*, s.III, 5 (1970), pp. 75-94.

62 Gasparini, 'Confraternita', p. 103.

63 Gardner, 'Chapterhouse', p. 137 n. 135. G. Milanesi, 'Gli avanzi delle pitture di Ambrogio Lorenzetti nel Capitolo di S. Francesco di Siena', *Sulla storia dell'arte toscana*, (Siena, 1873), pp. 357-61. M. Seidel, 'Wiedergefunden Fragmente eines Hauptwerks von Ambrogio Lorenzetti', *Pantheon* 36 (1978), pp. 119-27.

64 S. Anthony of Padua is conspicuously absent in the Chapter Hall. Unless a few scenes occupied the walls now deprived of their decoration.

65 *ArSartori* I, p. 539 n. 70. Sartori uses two documents to support his claim that the confraternity had commissioned all of them. First a donation to the confraternity on 19 January 1402 which suggests that repairs to the chapel were currently taking place or in the planning stages: 'Reliquid Fratalee Sancti Antonij confessoris de padua soldo centum parvorum pro reparation capelle Sancte Marie de dicto loco', in *ibid*, p. 535 n. 3. The second document is the first confirmation of privileges by Gaspare of Mantua, Minister Provincial dated 6 February 1402; *ibid*, pp. 540-1 n. 77. And the last is the reconfirmation of privileges on 22 January 1403 by the new Minister Provincial. No further comments regarding the planned decoration appear in the documentation until 4 December 1472 when 1000 gold leaves and three pounds of blue pigment are purchased to guild and paint the chapel. Five days later the painter Uguccone paints or retouches the chapel; *ibid*, p. 535 n. 8. To interpret these scattered notices and attempt to match them with the eight surviving votive frescoes in the chapel is an impossible task, given their deteriorated state and lack of visual clues linking them to the confraternity.

66 A. Ferrari, 'Sugli affreschi della cappella della Madonna Mora al Santo', Il Santo IV, II (1931), pp. 55-67, p. 55. These scenes depict: Saints Francis and Catherine of Alexandria and a male donor; Christ and a female saint (Mary ?) with two donors; S. Louis of Toulouse; and unidentified female martyr saint; two prophets holding scrolls, three angels holding a crown, with an Eternal Father at the top; a bishop saint, a fragmentary Virgin with Child and saints; Saints Prosdocimo, Anthony, Michael, Louis of Toulouse and a donor; Christ surrounded by three male saints.

67 ArSartori I, p. 541 n. 78. 22 January 1403. Indeed this is the only documented instance where friars had to meet with confraternity members and determine together what paintings and ornaments needed repairs.

68 G. Bresciani-Alvarez, 'Stefano da Ferrara', Memorie Accad. Patavina SSLA, 75 (1962-3), pp. 309-36, (= Bresciani-Alvarez, 'Stefano'). At some point, the panel was cut at the Virgin's waist level. This probably occurred after adding the smaller figures of Saints John the Evangelist and the Baptist left and right of the Virgin. Stylistic analysis links then to the first half of the fifteenth century. Their feet and the Baptist's left half have been sliced out of the composition. In 1498, a Franciscan archbishop, Antonio Trombetta updated the panel by inserting cut stones, gold ornaments and marble figures. Less than a century later in 1586, Matteo Cumano, a Paduan knight, removed the 'antique ornaments of the altar' and the marble figures except the two marble columns and 'modernized' it by painting two kneeling angels which emerge from clouds carrying a crown and two cherub heads. The marble frame received two angels sliding down the sides of the arch and two more who straddle garlands underneath the picture. An ironic touch is the inscription underneath which reads: 'sine labe originali concepta'.

69 Folcarino Buzzacarini bequeathes money to build an altar in front of the Madonna dei Ciechi. ArSartori I, p. 55 n.1.

70 Bresciani-Alvarez, 'Stefano', p. 318.

71 '...quod ante figuram virginis mariae omni mane ardeat una lampas et pro remedio omnium animarum nobis benefacientium,' in *ibid*, p. 318.

72 Bresciani-Alvarez notes that the confraternity also had an altar in the Cathedral of Padua.

73 *ArSartori* I, p. 772. Fortunately no one has yet tried to attribute images to patronage of the fraia de Boari who made just one appearance in the documentation to keep a lamp lit at the altar of Corpus Christi in 1366. *Ibid*, p. 101.

74 Rigon, p. 25.

75 R. Goffen, Piety and Patronage in Renaissance Venice, (New Haven and London, 1986), (= Goffen, Piety), p. 27.

76 *ArSartori* I, pp. 773, 775, 778.

77 Gonzati, I, pp. 248-52, for details.

78 Francesco Turchetto had provided for his chapel a gilt silver chalice with enamels at the base, with paten and cup, a missal, a green velvet altar frontal, a stole, and an alb, on 2 April 1379. *ArSartori* I, p. 566 n. 8. For these items he was given a receipt by the guardian father Bartolomeo da San Giorgio on the same day. *Ibid*, p. 567 n. 16.

79 In the chapel of S. Boniface. *ArSartori* I, p. 557 n. 1.

80 Lançaroto documents and objects in *ibid*, p. 773, p. 777 n. 13 and p. 782; Turchetto on p. 565 n. 2, 4, p. 566 n. 5-8 and p. 777 n. 6; Zabarella on p. 554 n. 2, 4, p. 774 and p. 781.

81 The objects provided by the Lupi family were published along with their costs in A. Sartori, 'Nota su Altichiero', Il Santo 3 (1963), pp. 291-326, (= Sartori, 'Altichiero'), doc. XII; reprinted in *ArSartori* I, pp. 471-2 n. 106. For the Conti inventory see L. Guidaldi, 'Documenti', Il Santo I (1928-9), pp. 358-64.

82 'Item dui camissi, dui amitti, II manipuli, una stuola, dui cordoni,... forniti de cendale rosso a la sua arma...; ... un palio de zendalo azuro, con uno compaso in meço e un lovo e con una franca bianco e vermiglia...; duo lectorilia de ligno, cum

lupis;...duae tobaleae a lectorile, cum arma lupi...', and many more in ArSartori I, pp. 471-2 n. 106.

83 'unam capellam...cum altari...vocabuli et nominis Sancte Marie...', cited in Billanovich, *Madonna Mora*, p. 77.

84 '...quod nullus de domo dicti domini Gerardi propter presentem concessionem et assignationem possit nec debeat infra dictam cappellam facere sepulturam aut facturam seu novitatem aliquam infra vel circa cappellam sine consensu voluntate et licencia sepedicti capituli Sancti Antonii conventus fratrum minorum de Padua. Possint autem in dicta cappella vel extra sua insignia vel arma sculpiri facere et depingi', in *ibid*, p. 77.

85 '...iuxta pilare a latere sinistro cappelle Beati Antonii supradicti versus tantum aquilonem in angulo ipsius cappelle Sancte Marie', on 23 April 1371. *Ibid*, p. 78.

86 W. Wolters, 'Appunti per una storia della scultura padovana del Trecento', Da Giotto al Mantegna, ed. L. Grossato, (Milan, 1974), pp. 36-42.

87 '...quod nullus de fratalea antedicta possit unquam in huiusmodi cappella aliquam sepulturam habere aut aliquod ius ibidem preter sibi supra reservatum pretendere...', in *ibid*, p. 79.

88 *Ibid*, p. 79.

89 Negra Negri had married the father of Antonio Obizzi.

90 '...in seried aliarum capellarum, quae est quinta numero incipiendo inclusive a capella posita iuxta hostium sacristiae', in ArSartori, p. 565 n. 4.

91 'Possint quoque ipse ser Franciscus et successores sui intra dictam capellam facere sepulcrum...' *Ibid*, p. 565 n. 4. But the type of tomb had to be approved by the friars. See note 93 below.

92 'Possint quoque post concessionem praesentem in dicta capella et extra sua insignia vel arm sculpiri facere et depingi'. ArSartori I, p. 565 n. 4.

93 What is exactly meant by the following, a clause which is never repeated in other concession document is still puzzling: 'Possint quoque ipse ser Franciscus et

successores sui intra dictam capellam facere sepulcrum, *fracturam sive monimentum* (sic), *prout suae fuerit placitum voluntati, obtenta prius voluntate et licencia*

saepedicti capituli et conventus fratrum minorum de Padua.' (my italics) Ibid, p.

565 n. 4. Gerardo Negri also had problems with his family tomb. See above n. 87.

94 See above n. 67.

95 ArSartori I, p. 566 n. 7.

96 The patronage of these chapels has received scant attention save the following:

C. Cenci, 'Bonifacio Lupi di Soragna e i Frati Minori', AFH 57 (1964), pp. 90-

109, (= Cenci, 'Lupi'); Sartori, 'Altichiero'; A. Sartori, 'La cappella di S.

Giacomo al Santo', Il Santo, VI (1966) pp. 267-359, (= Sartori, 'S. Giacomo');

M.D. Edwards, 'The Tomb of Raimondino de'Lupi, its Form and its Meaning',

Konsthistorisk tidskrift 52 (1983) no.3, pp. 95-105, (= Edwards, 'Raimondino').

97 Edwards, 'Raimondino', p. 95.

98 Cenci, 'Lupi', pp. 90-109, focused on the contacts between the family and the Franciscan Order. Sartori, 'Altichiero', pp. 321-2 doc. XV, published a number of useful documents concerning Bonifacio's career and a summary of his military activities.

99 Ibid, p. 322 doc. XV.

100 Ibid, p. 322 doc. XV.

101 Aside from meeting the costs of the work in the chapel of S. James, she commissioned a large number of liturgical vestments in 1395-6. See *ibid*, p. 317 doc. XII-XII and p. 319 n. 13-21.

102 Indeed she is portrayed in the fresco representing the council of the King.

103 Lombardo della Seta, witnessed a procura of Caterina on November 21 1382, in Sartori, 'Altichiero', p. 321 doc. XIV. Caterina bequeathed an estate in Staggia for the family hospital in Florence on May 12 1385, in *ibid*, p. 321 doc. XIV. G. Fiocco, '"Storia e storie" della cappella di S. Giacomo al Santo', Il Santo 6 (1966), pp. 261-66, p. 261 and p. 265, suggested that Caterina might have asked Rinaldino

of Gasconne to come down to Padua to carve the altar figures of the chapel. He also proposed that she could have played an important role in commissioning Altichiero.

104 Cenci, 'Lupi', p. 91.

105 Ibid, p. 92 n. 1.

106 Ibid, p. 91 n. 4. The Arcella was later rewarded.

107 Edwards, 'Raimondino', p. 95.

108 His will is published in Sartori, 'Altichiero', pp. 309-11 doc. IX.

109 On April 21 1376. ArSartori I, p. 547 n. 50.

110 For example Lupi sought to establish an antique lineage with Queen Lupa who had been converted and baptized after witnessing miracles of S. James of Compostela. (fig. 10) For a more in-depth discussion see M. Plant, 'Portraits and Politics in Late Trecento Padua: Altichiero's Frescoes in the S. Felice Chapel, S. Antonio', AB 63, n. 3, (1981), pp. 406-25, (= Plant, 'Portraits').

111 See above n. 84.

112 Sartori, 'Altichiero', p. 310 doc. IX. His second wish was to bequeath his Mantuan house with its adjacent chapel to the Clares of the area, who were residing outside the city walls. If the women agreed to move into the house in the city, the house and many rich estates would be theirs.

113 Ibid, pp. 307-8 doc. V.

114 Date of the concluding contracts between the sculptor and the patron.

115 The descriptions suggest that this tomb was by far the largest in the Santo. One wonders why the friars did not suspect there would be confusion in devotion.

Unless the chapel was not fully accessible to the public in its early days, or the friars didn't worry about it.

116 Description in Gonzati II, doc. XXLVII and repeated in ArSartori I, pp. 858-9 n. 25. Edwards, 'Raimondino', pp. 97-100, attempted a reconstruction but it is not terribly adequate.

117 The venerated tomb of B. Luca Belludi, discussed later was much simpler and smaller.

118 ArSartori I, p. 773, p. 777 n. 16, p. 782. None have survived.

119 The most recent attempt is R. Simon, 'Altichiero versus Avanzo', Papers of the British School at Rome, vol. XLV, N.S. vol. XXXII (1977), pp. 252-71, (= Simon, 'Altichiero').

120 Ita del Sole bequeathed on August 29 1293, 'libras centum parvorum et viginti den. parv. pro ornamentis altaris sancti michaelis...', ArSartori I, p. 466 n. 95.

Assisi also had an altar dedicated to S. Michael; Francis had a special devotion to this saint. The chapel of S. Michael in the Santo was apparently dedicated to S. James in 1300.

121 For payment sequence see Sartori, 'Altichiero', pp. 305-26; Sartori, 'S. Giacomo', pp. 303-7; for a complete edition of documents cf. ArSartori, pp. 456-75. The published documents appear to be later notes drawn from a lost chapel book, which is referred to in 1379 as 'libro del cappella' or 'libro de la catelina.' Sartori, 'Altichiero', p. 320 n. 37, uses the first name while ArSartori I, p. 301, uses the second. Catelina can mean no other than Caterina Lupi, who handled payments for a long period. However, the entries are not recorded in the same manner throughout, not surprisingly as payments stretch over a ten-year period and so could have involved more than one scribe. Thus from September 1376 onwards, there are fewer entries which are not as meticulously kept as had been the case previously. An example of this is the record of Altichiero's payment entered as 792 ducats for, 'all that he had to do with Bonifacio in the painting of the chapel of S. James and the sacristy'. It is doubtful that Altichiero received a lump sum of 792 ducats; it is more likely a total of the payments made to Altichiero during the course of this work as recorded in the 'libro de la cappella/catelina'. The payment immediately following is also interesting. 'Maestro Raynaldin' received 'ducati 196, libre 1 soldi 3 denari 8', for some figures on the altar and for work on a pedestal

begun by another master. These figures are without a doubt the four (possibly five) standing saints which stood on the altar and are now in the Museo Antoniano, and must have been an afterthought as they are not mentioned in the 1372 contract (unless they can be identified as the ancona which had already been started in 1372 and is mentioned in the contract). See Sartori, 'Altichiero', p. 320 n. 38. The last four payments are for minor expenses: iron and rope to hold the curtains which surrounded the altar and unnamed works, the last entry dated 1382.

122 Year in which Altichiero received a large payment for his work. Simon, 'Altichiero', pp. 252-71.

123 Ibid, p. 253 n. 7.

124 Ibid, pp. 253.

125 Ibid, p. 254.

126 Ibid, p. 254.

127 C. Harding, 'Economic Dimensions in Art: Mosaic Versus Wall Painting in Trecento Orvieto', in Florence and Italy. Renaissance Studies in Honour of Nicolai Rubinstein, ed. P. Denley, C. Elam, (London, 1988), pp. 503-14.

128 + ORATHORIUM.HOC.SUB.AUSPICIIS / BEATI.GEORGII.UBIL.
CHONDENTIS.EST / SEPULCRUM.PRO EIUS.PARENTUMQUE.AC
FRATRUM.ET. NEPOTUM / INCELEND.A.MEMORIA.MILES /
EUREGIUS.RAIMONDINUS.DE.LU / PIS.PARMENSIS.SORANEE.MARCHIO
/ EDIFECIT.ANO.DNI.M.CCC.LXX / VII. DE MENSE.NOVENBRIS.

129 For further discussion see Simon, 'Altichiero', p. 257.

130 '...Cum dnus Raymondinus extrui fecerit unam capellam sub vocabulo s. Georgii...; ...sub cuius vocabulo dicta capella est constructa,...' in Sartori, 'Altichiero', p. 307 doc. V.

131 '...occasione aliquorum pactorum seu aliquarum conventionum et transactionum promissionum, vel cuiusvis modi obligationum, factorum et factarum inter ipsum magistrum Alticherium depictorem ex una parte et praefatum d.

Raymondinum dum vivebat ex altera parte, et post ipsius d. Raymondini obitum inter ipsum d. Bonifacium, tanquam commissarium ut praedicitur, ex parte una et dictum magistrum Alticherium ex parte altera,...' in *ibid*, p. 305 doc. I.

132 The painter's contract probably contained a penalty clause, to prohibit him from undertaking additional work before completion, as had been the case with Andriolo de Santi's contract. But there is no way of knowing whether Altichiero followed the rules.

133 '...dicendo et asserendo idem d. Bonifacius quod dictus magister Alticherius fideliter bene et ordinate perfecit complevit et explevit omnia et singula per ipsum magistrum Alticherium promissa ordinata inita per ipsum ac perficienda et effectui demandanda, sicut tenebatur et debebat et obligatus fuerat...', in *ibid*, p. 306 doc. I.

134 '...et maxime occasione et causa depicturarum factarum per eundem mag. Alticherium in capella quam construi fecit idem d. Raymondinus...et etiam occasione archae et ornamentorum, vel causa colorum quam auri, in qua archa corpus q. d. Raymondini praedicti tumulatum est,' in *ibid*, p. 306 doc. II.

135 Unfortunately due to their great height and difficult lighting conditions I was unable to photograph them. They are also unpublished.

136 *Ibid*, pp. 311-4 doc. X.

137 *Ibid*, p. 313 n. 14 and n. 16.

138 *Ibid*, p. 313 n. 17.

139 *Ibid*, p. 312 n. 9.

140 *Ibid*, p. 312 n. 6, 8, 11. These instructions also imply that whoever drew the contract knew the Chapter Hall very well.

141 *Ibid*, p. 313 n. 15. This is our only reference to a stone altarpiece on the high altar of the Santo. This would be in keeping with other Franciscan churches such as S. Francesco at Pisa, with an altarpiece by Tommaso Pisano and the later altarpiece of S. Francesco Bologna by the Della Masegne brothers.

142 The house of the della Seta brothers had been refurbished recently. See G.

Mardersteig, 'I ritratti del Petrarca e dei suoi amici di Padova', Italia medioevale e umanistica 17, (1974), pp. 251-80, (= Mardersteig), p. 265.

143 The indulgence worth one year and forty days for pilgrims who visited the chapel of S. James on his feast day granted by Urban VI on 12 February 1386, acknowledges the importance of this chapel. ArSartori I, p. 473 n. 10. Simon, 'Altichiero', p. 258, incorrectly recorded it as 140 days.

144 'Lombardo di Iacopo da Seta de la contrà di santo Andrea di Padoa scriss questi pacti'. Witnessing the event were, 'Domenego de Quaendro de ser Iacopo da la Seta...Zoane de Quaendro de messer Pavino di Sbughi da Ferrara...Pacino di messer Apardo di Donati da Fiorença'. Sartori, 'Altichiero', p. 314 doc. X.

145 The contract is dated 15 October 1364. Published in A. Moschetti, 'Studi e memorie di arte trecentesca padovana. Andriolo de Santi scultore veneziano', Bollettino Museo Civico di Padova A. IV, 21, (1928), VI, pp. 281-97, p. 293. The contract simply specifies that Andriolo will perform the work according to the model presented.

146 The Lupi family were close friends of the brothers della Seta. The patrons might have wished to emulate their friends' taste. It would also be a flattering comment for the brothers to find their personal taste reflected in the Santo.

147 The lack of documentation with regards to the commission of the paintings in both the chapel of S. James and the oratory of S. George prevents us from understanding the processes involved. It is however unthinkable that after such a minutely detailed architectural layout the frescoes had not been discussed. Although the concluding contract for the oratory's painted decoration survives, it merely refers to parts of the initial contract, the 'conventionem et transactionum promissionum', between Altichiero and Raimondino Lupi. We neither know the author of the contract, the payment schedule, nor the degree of Franciscan presence or involvement. The documents only attest that Bonifacio Lupi, who has taken over Raimondino's role, is satisfied with Altichiero's work at the oratory and vice-versa.

There are recurring visual references to the family in both commissions and probably portraits of their friends and relations as well. Raimondino's tomb, a lavish monument edifying the members of the Lupi family, points to a certain involvement on the part of the family. The Franciscan presence, apart from a few medallions of saints and inclusion in votive scenes is conspicuously minimal.

148 The commission in Vicenza is discussed in chapter 4.

149 One assumes the money came from Bonifacio Lupi's purse; only the words, 'lo dito Padoan' are used.

150 Sartori, 'Altichiero', p. 318 n. 2-7.

151 Ibid, p. 318 n. 12.

152 Ibid, p. 319 n. 13-21.

153 'Magistro Andriolo' and 'magistro Zoane', his son Giovanni, receive 500 ducats for the tombs made between 20 Novemer 1374 and 20 March 1376. Ibid, p. 319 n. 27.

154 See n. 101 above.

155 Sartori, 'Altichiero', p. 320 n. 39-41.

156 This request is a breach of the Rule. Francis had declared that no more than one mass per day, per altar could be celebrated.

157 Cenci, 'Lupi', pp. 99-101, first summarized the contents of the act and printed the list of friars present. Sartori, 'Altichiero', pp. 314-5, printed the contents but not the nominal lists.

158 Ibid, pp. 307-8 doc. V.

159 Antonio and Simone, sons of Guido and Bonifacio Lupi.

160 Ibid, pp. 308-9 doc. VI. The sisters were expected to give a perpetual income to the friars as follows: each month two gold ducats for two daily masses for Raimondino's soul in the oratory of S. Giorgio; fifteen ducats per year to convert into wax and candles and to pay for repairs and conservation; four ducats given on the anniversary of Raimondino to convert into wax and candles; four ducats for the

feast of S. George; four ducats on the anniversary of the patron's death; and finally twelve ducats yearly to keep and maintain one friar to serve in the oratory, for a total of sixty-one ducats per year. The actual land donation to the Clares via their syndic took place on 1 March 1390. The act repeated the conditions listed above with one addition: that the Clares should receive ten ducats per year for their merit and labour. On the following 5 May, the syndic took possession of the said land in the name of Raimondino Lupi. *ArSartori* I, p. 857 n. 4 and p. 858 n. 5-6.

161 '...et de totius capituli generalis beneplacito conscientia et commissione, omnia et singula approbata ratificata confirmata et promissa tam per fratres capitulum et conventum dictorum fratrum minorum de Padua quam etiam per fratres et capitulum provinciale fratrum praemissorum et dictum ministrum provinciae approbamus confirmamus et ratificamus et de novo plenarie concedimus ita et taliter quod quaecumque ordinata et sic pie disposita sunt per d. Bonifacium...' Printed partly by Cenci, 'Lupi', pp. 104-108 doc. 3, and in full in Sartori, 'S. Giacomo', pp. 303-4 doc. I.

162 On this day the sisters elected a representative to take possession of land assigned by Lupi. The donation occurred the next day in Bonifacio's house. The plots were located in Mandria Abano and Torreglia; the conditions attached were as follows: during Bonifacio's lifetime, the Clares would give each year twenty-four ducats to the friars for the daily celebration of masses in the chapel of S. James, and one ducat every month for the services of a friar. After the donor's death, the friars would receive 104 ducats per year: two ducats per month for the three daily masses; twenty ducats annually for candles and all that was necessary as the friars saw fit; ten ducats yearly for repairs and maintenance, especially 'if the window glass should break or be too old'; fifteen ducats on the anniversary of Bonifacio's death for candles and candleholders; fifteen ducats for nourishment of the friars on the feast of All Saints; and one ducat monthly for the friar who would serve and administrate the chapel; not forgetting the ten ducats annually for the sisters attention and

execution of the prescriptions. Sartori, 'S. Giacomo', pp. 305-6 doc. I.

163 His will is still unpublished.

164 'Sacerdotes, clericos seu laycos'. Letter dated 20 August 1385, first printed in Cenci, 'Lupi', p. 108 n.4. Sartori, 'S. Giacomo', p. 306 doc. I, reprinted it, but with an error in the opening date.

165 30 August 1389. First published by Cenci, 'Lupi', pp. 108-9, and again by Sartori, 'S. Giacomo', pp. 307-8 doc. I. Documents regarding Bonifacio's pious foundations ended up in the Florentine archives while Raimondino's stayed in Padua. On 26 August 1388, Andrea Codagnelli consigned to the Clares of the Arcella Nuova, on behalf of Lupi, a book containing all the documents pertaining to the oratory of S. George. To my knowledge this book has never been found. Cited in ArSartori I, p. 858 n. 9. Other members of the family were buried at the Santo in the Trecento; Antonio (d. 1338), Montin-Giovanni (d. 1364), Folco (d. 1367), and Simone Lupi (d. 1385), all nephews of Raimondino, were placed in a tomb on the south wall of the cloister of the Chapterhouse. Simone, podestà and executor of Raimondino also donated a chalice to the friars. ArSartori I, p. 778.

166 This is explained further in chapter 6.

167 A phrase coined by B. Delaney Jr., *Giusto de' Menabuoi: Iconography and Style*, Ph.D. Dissertation, Columbia University, 1972, (= Delaney), p. 264.

168 G. Salici, Historia della famiglia Conti di Padova, (Vicenza, 1605), (= Salici), p. 175. Mardersteig, pp. 251-80. Plant, 'Portraits', pp. 406-25.

169 M. Plant, 'Patronage in the Circle of the Carrara Family: Padua, 1337-1405', in Patronage, Art, and Society in Renaissance Italy, ed. F.W. Kent and P. Simons, (Canberra, 1987), pp. 177-99, (= Plant, 'Patronage'), p. 177.

170 Gonzati I, p. 34, saw the provisional funeral of Marsilio as a mark of affection for the Franciscans by Ubertino da Carrara.

171 '...pro anima magnifici et generosi militis domini Marsilii de Carraria qui reliquit conventui annuatim llibras quinquaginta...' Marsilio's annual contribution

is supported by surviving fragments of a Franciscan account book for the year 1338, which records that the guardian and procurator of the Santo rented a boat to travel to Venice to collect the donor's money, which was stored there for safety. The sum must have been quite substantial since the friars hired a bodyguard to accompany them. D. Cortese, 'Il burchiello e l'eredità di Marsilio da Carrara', Il Santo 19 (1979), pp. 81-4, (= Cortese), p. 81.

172 Its design is similar to the Negri tomb in the chapel of Madonna Mora. The damage done to the frescoes around it confirms its late insertion.

173 Wolters, Scultura, 1, p. 159.

174 Henrico and Peter, the sons of Ugolino Scrovegni witnessed the presentation of Bonifacio Lupi's emblem to his nephew on 25 January 1386. Sartori, 'Altichiero', p. 309 doc. VIII. Perhaps Bonifacio accepted to house the tomb in his chapel as a favour to the Carrara.

175 Wolters, 'Appunti', p. 38. His tomba is now at the Eremitani.

176 Gonzati, II, pp. 16-7. His tomb has perished.

177 Cenci, 'Lupi', p. 97.

178 Anna was abbess from 1355 to 1396. The paintings were destroyed during World War II. S. Bettini, Giusto de' Menabuoi e l'arte del Trecento (Padua, 1944), p. 138.

179 From a total of fifty items. The inventory is published in ArSartori I, pp. 770-6; chalices listed on pp. 773-7; reliquaries on p. 771.

180 Sixteen chalices with paten, two censers, one navicella, one reliquary, two ampulla, one figure of S. Louis, one city of Padua made of gold, another censer and its navicella and four chalices for the feast of S. Anthony of Padua. Gonzati, I, pp. XXVIII-XXXII, doc. XXVIII.

181 ArSartori I, p. 771.

182 L. Rizzoli, 'Le due sole monete padovane del periodo carrarese con l'effigie di S. Antonio', Il Santo I (1928-9), pp. 31-4, describes them in detail. Only one

survives in the R. Museo Archeologico in Cividale: silver dia. mm 15; weight gr. 0,45. The other is known only through a drawing and a description of 1851.

183 The inscription was most recently published in C. Semenzato, ed., La cappella del Beato Luca e Giusto de' Menabuoi nella Basilica di Sant' Antonio (Padua, 1988), (= La cappella del Beato Luca), p. 139. It is also the most useful text for a complete bibliography.

184 ArSartori I, p. 542 n. 1.

185 Salici, p. 168, records that the palace was filled with sculpture.

186 It is worth noting that the Conti brothers decided to show their dedication to the Carrara not only in the dedicatory plaque (an homage to the lord), but also by placing the Carrara heraldic emblem on the chapel walls (which were vandalised) and by the additional presence of painted portraits.

187 One assumes that the friars and local chapter conceded the land to the brothers and gave permission to build in return for land or rent income, as in the Lupi case. The Conti brothers might have wished to be close to the Negri family, who held patronage of the cappella della Madonna Mora. They were distant relative through an earlier marriage of Ugone Conti and a daughter of Guidone de' Negri. See Salici, p. 164 n. 144.

188 See above n. 81.

189 F. Flores d'Arcais, 'La decorazione a fresco', in La capella del Beato Luca, pp. 51-75; C. Bellinati, 'Iconografia e teologia negli affreschi di Giusto de' Menabuoi', in *ibid*, pp. 77-101. It is worth pointing out that the Conti chapel has received far less attention than the Altichiero commissions at the Santo. This is no doubt due to its bad state of preservation until recently, and the general unpopularity of Giusto's work, an unfair situation since he was the court painter.

190 For a thorough description of the layout of the frescoes see A. Moschetti, 'Gli affreschi della cappella del B. Luca', Il Santo I (1928-9), pp. 295-312.

191 This is in effect very close to a 'stigmatization'.

192 C. Bellinati, 'Iconologia e teologia negli affreschi di Giusto de' Menabuoi' in La Cappella del Beato Luca, pp. 77-101, p.80, has rightly pointed out that the legends beneath the images are not found in any version of the Golden Legend, but he could not offer an explanation for the choice of the dedication.

193 A close parallel is the depiction of Louis of Toulouse before he was a saint; the date of his canonization remains a controversial dating tool for the frescoes in the church of S. Croce, Florence and the chapel of S. Martin in the lower church of S. Francesco at Assisi. H.B.J. Maginnis, 'Assisi revisited. Notes on recent Observations', B.M., 117 (1975), pp. 511-7. Another parallel is the depiction of Nicolas of Tolentino in the cappellone of S. Nicolo at Tolentino. See J. Gardner, 'The Cappellone di San Nicola at Tolentino: Some Functions of a Fourteenth-Century Fresco Cycle', in Italian Church Decoration of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance. Functions, Forms and Regional Traditions, ed., W. Tronzo, (Bologna, 1989), pp. 101-7, (= Gardner, 'Tolentino').

194 Benignitas 17, 11, p. 522.

195 V. Gamboso, 'Profilo storico del beato Luca "socius" di s. Antonio', La Cappella del Beato Luca, pp. 127-169, (= Gamboso, 'Luca').

196 Ibid, p. 128 n. 7.

197 Ibid, p. 155 n.8.

198 Ibid, p. 134 n. 33.

199 Ibid, p. 134 n. 34.

200 See above n. 36.

201 Ibid, p. 137 n. 41.

202 Ibid, p. 140 n. 47.

203 Cited in G. Bresciani-Alvarez, 'L'architettura e l'arredo della cappella', in La cappella del Beato Luca, pp. 15-23, p. 21.

204 C. 1335-44 in ibid, pp. 134-5 n. 36.

205 The conti chapel was also joined to the original church of S. Maria Mater

Domini, now the chapel of the Madonna Mora.

206 A document of 6 March 1275, records that fra Luca begged for a year and a number of months Ponzia da Camposampiero to pay a debt to another widow. On another occasion Luca advises a number of rich nobles on how to distribute bequests. Cf. Gamboso, 'Luca', p. 131 n. 20.

207 Some sixty-nine monuments were recorded by Gonzati, I, pp. 26-105.

208 The will of Donato Salomone (11 May 1292) suggests the presence of Franciscan sculptors at the Santo, who execute tombs on request: 'Que archa fieri debeat per fratrem clarellum ordinis predicti vel per aliud (sic) fratrem dicti loci ad hoc per guardianum deputandum, que archa fieri debeat secundum quod ipsi guardiano et fratri qui supererit videbitur convenire,' Gonzati I, p. XIV doc. XV. The later case of Guido q. Gabrielis de Nigro (16 June 1309) points to part involvement by the friars: 'Item reliquit quod libre trecente denariorum parvorum expendantur in deauracione et ornamento dicte arce cum capitello, secundum quod videbitur conveniens guardiano dicti loci qui pro tempore fuerit et fratribus Iuliano de Padua, Iacobo de Polla et Paulino de Mediolano...', *ArSartori* I, p. 34 n. 415.

209 It has been variably attributed to Giusto, Avanzo, to a follower of Guariento, to a painter of Paduan education close to the author of left wall decoration of the Spisser chapel. For a summary see C. Semenzato, 'Le pitture del Trecento al Santo' in *La Cappella del Beato Luca*, pp. 103-25, (= Semenzato, 'Pitture'), p.

111. Inscription in Gonzati, I, p.70 n. XLVI. The sculpture is a cross between Venetian recumbent figure types (cf. Frari's lying warrior) and an English frontal sarcophagus (cf. Norfolk, Kerdeston knight).

210 Gonzati II, p. 7, identified them simply as 'les cinqs pleureurs'. Above them six shields in poor state of conservation once bore coat of arms.

211 Galeazzo Gattari, 'Chronicle,' *RIS* XVII, col. 189, records the event as 25 August. His tomb bears the date 1 September 1373.

212 Semenzato, 'Pitture', p. 111.

213 Delaney, p. 260, names two non-Franciscan precedents, the tomb of Iacopo da Carrara in the Eremitani (1351) and the Dotto tomb in the same church. (1371-5 or early 1380s).

214 The following was recorded in the 1396 inventory as coming from guardian Bartholomeo da Sancto Georgio: 'Item una alia planeta de Camocha rubeo foderata tella açura cum frixis solempnibus laboratis et rechamatis cum figuris decem septem que fuit qu. fratris Bartholamei a Sancto Georgio cum una toalea cum capitibus de serico cum uno schuto albo cum una stricha nigra in media cum tribus leonibus nigris et unum f de auro in medio schuti.

Chapter 2 The Church of S. Fermo Maggiore in Verona

The Franciscan Order settled in Verona at the beginning of the thirteenth century and lived outside the city walls. The middle of the century witnessed their move in the city centre and into a Benedictine double church. Soon thereafter the premises were restructured and rebuilt to give S. Fermo Maggiore a 'Franciscan' look in imitation of the mother church of S. Francesco at Assisi. Virtually all the documentation pertaining to S. Fermo has been destroyed. The few documents which have survived deal with real estate transactions. There are a number of wills which have however little to say about artistic commissions. Patrons have left only their coat of arms on individual objects, tombs and votive paintings. The church is painted almost in its entirety but none of the paintings are documented.

Several phases of decoration survive in more or less fragmentary form. First, a late thirteenth-century series of Franciscan and non-mendicant saints in the lower church, which has escaped the attention of most art historians, who have always assumed it belonged to the Benedictine period of occupation. In the upper church, various layers of frescoes, dated on stylistic grounds from c. 1319/20 up to the fifteenth century. Painted portraits, coat of arms and inscriptions, suggest that Guglielmo Castelbarco, ex-podestà, rich and important ally of the Scala signoria, together with the guardian of the convent, brother Daniele Gusmario were responsible for the Franciscan rebuilding campaign. The painted decoration related to the friar and patron survives in the top sections of the main apse, part of the triumphal arch and the intrados of the two transept arches, and in a side chapel which one reaches through a door in the south wall of the main apse.

A short break occurred and a new campaign of decoration was begun. Narrative cycles of frescoes span the entire wall surface of the upper church and might have been conceived as one programme. They were however executed by several workshops. It consisted of episodes from the life of Christ in the main apse, the life of S. Francis and S. Louis of Toulouse in the north and south transept, the Martyrdom of Franciscans in India on the south nave wall and an Annunciation on

the same wall and a Lignum Vitae. This decorative phase was conceived between 1330, year in which Odorico da Pordenone returned from the far east and narrated the tale of the martyrdom, and the middle of the century when a number of changes were made to the primary decoration.

Modifications or modernization characterize the second half of the fourteenth century; two new scenes on the triumphal arch, a coronation of the Virgin and adoration of the Magi by a Venetian painter, and two Crucifixion scenes offered as votive panels.

Apart from narrative imagery lay patrons commissioned votive paintings, hanging wall tombs with or without painted lunettes, and free standing sculpture. The contribution of one man, Barnaba da Morano, lawyer, diplomat, and councillor in Verona at the end of the century was particularly noteworthy. He donated a monumental pulpit surrounded with its own programme of decoration, and a no less grandiose hanging wall tomb complete with paintings which occupied one half of the inner façade wall. His patronage of the arts ends our survey.

Early Settlement of Friars

The early settlement of Franciscan friars in and around Verona was not due to the presence of Francis himself in this locality. Verona did not claim that the founder of the Order had built an oratory or had meditated in a nearby hermitage. The desire for a simple return to evangelical life manifested itself in various orders in the veronese region. A comunitas Humiliatorum was established outside the walls near the church of Santa Maria della Ghia in the twelfth century.¹ In 1212 the podestà, on behalf of the commune gave Forzano del Castello and other friars (members of an unspecified order) six campi of land in Campomarzo to build a monastery and church dedicated to the Magdalen.² Dominican friars were present in Verona in 1220 and received a substantial donation of 900 lire towards the construction of the church and convent of Santa Maria Mater Domini.³ A group of priests from the church of S. Leonardo requested the right to live according to the

rule of S. Augustine in 1224. Their prayers were answered in 1229 with the gift of the church of S. Felice in Monte and estate in loco Battiyorus outside porta Episcopi.⁴ Franciscan communities were also numerous and varied. Parisius de Cereta records that the podestà Guillelmis Rangonus, welcomed the Order in 1219.⁵ Brother Cesar of Spire may have stopped at Verona on the way to Trento. Of the three early missionaries to Germany a brother Emmanuele da Verona is recorded.⁶ Franciscan women were residing near the church of S. Agatha prior to the building in 1224 of Santa Maria delle Vergini.⁷ They might have been the same women who lived 'sub Acquario non multum longo ab Ecclesia S. Jacobi a Tumba', in 1224. During that same year, frate Luca da Baone received on behalf of the women a grant of land near the monastery of the Trinity. This friar was perhaps one of a few male Franciscans who were attached to the community, administered the sacraments, and performed administrative duties for the sisters.⁸

The order was officially assigned dwellings by the Veronese bishop Jacopo Braganze in 1225. Having been chosen to arbitrate a controversy involving lepers from S. Croce and S. Giacomo, Braganze merged the two settlements into S. Giacomo and assigned all the movable goods of the other site to it. Part of the leprosario of S. Croce, the garden, the infirmary, kitchen, oven and part of the garden of the conversi was loaned to the Franciscan community in order to respect their wish of poverty. The concession excluded the actual church of S. Croce and the collegio, which were left in the hands of rectors.⁹

The commune thereafter built a small church for the use of the friars in 1230. This event is recorded on an inscription which is still legible on the wall of the reconstructed church of S. Francesco al Corso.¹⁰ The church was first documented in 1249.¹¹ S. Francesco al Corso was situated outside the city walls like most early Franciscan settlements, such as the Arcella in Padua. The desire to transfer the convent into the city centre was a growing concern, not only in Verona, but in the Veneto and elsewhere. So common was this move (and so criticized) that Bonaventure as Minister General came to the defence of the Order and explained the

need for it. Based in a central location, friars could better serve the community; performing the works of mercy, collecting alms for the poor and finding their subsistence by begging. Within the city walls the convent and friars were also protected against road attacks and pillage.¹²

The preliminary stages of acquiring a central location are undocumented. It must have occurred well before 10 May 1248, the day on which Innocent IV ordered the Benedictine monks of S. Fermo Maggiore to leave the premises and make way for the Franciscans.¹³ Not surprisingly the papal disposition was not followed, but the Franciscans did not lose heart and continued the proceedings. Although the Benedictine Order on the whole encouraged and helped the Franciscan settlements by donating land, buildings and abbeys, some monasteries were not always as accommodating. The few monks of S. Fermo were not at all interested in losing their double church. Their Roman brothers from Santa Maria on the Capitoline Hill were contesting a similar expulsion.¹⁴ S. Fermo Maggiore was a prestigious establishment dating back to the time of king Desiderius. It had more recently been renovated in 1065. Leaving the abbey also meant leaving behind the relics of two highly venerated saints, SS. Fermo and Rustico. The bodies of the two saints had been returned to Verona by the bishop saint Annone in 751 into a church dedicated to them outside the walls. The translation into the Benedictine inner city church occurred in 1065.¹⁵ The central location, size and prestige of the abbey were not the only factors which made S. Fermo Maggiore appealing to the Franciscans. S. Fermo was above all a double church. The rare opportunity of acquiring a church very similar to the mother church of the Order, S. Francesco at Assisi, must have been an attractive prospect. This was the only building of its kind in Verona (and rare enough elsewhere),¹⁶ and the early friars were no doubt aware that they would never be able to finance the construction of a church along similar lines, let alone obtain permission from their superiors to attempt such a project. During this early stage of Franciscan history, to move into a pre-existing building was highly desirable.

The Benedictines tenaciously held on to their church until the election of pope Alexander IV. Rainaldo dei Segni, ex-cardinal-protector of the Franciscan Order, quickly searched for a solution and delegated the bishops of Verona and Ravenna, (Gerardo Cassadoca and Filippo) to procure and provide a substitute monastery to the Benedictines of S. Fermo Maggiore, and to ensure the recognition of full rights of ownership by the Franciscan friars.¹⁷ A year later in the palace of the patriarch in Venice, the Provincial Minister of the Franciscans brother Giacomo, received official ownership of S. Fermo Maggiore from the hands of the bishop of Verona.¹⁸ What should have been the final settlement of a long standing controversy was further delayed by the fall of both bishops at the hands of Ezzelino da Romano in August 1258. On 3 August 1259, the friars had not yet moved into the abbey. Alexander IV, in answer to the request of the Provincial Minister, ordered bishop Alberto of Treviso (himself a Franciscan) to assign to the Veronese friars in addition to the monastery, church and adjacent buildings, all the land which they might require in the future for possible enlargements.¹⁹ The actual move must have taken place not long thereafter. A document of 2 March 1260, recorded that on this date the Franciscans of S. Fermo Maggiore conducted business in their cloister; brother Florasio was recorded as the guardian of the convent.²⁰ This evidence makes it clear once and for all that the Franciscans were living and exercising rights over adjacent properties by 1260, one year earlier than the traditional date given by Da Lisca, Da Persico, Simeoni, Sartori and other contemporary historians.

Building Works

It appears that the community of friars decided to renovate their place of worship soon after settling in. This decision as well as the entire planning process and construction is undocumented and therefore impossible to date securely. The desire to modify the premises by the Franciscans seems on the one hand superfluous if one considers that the Benedictine church was of fairly recent construction and

already decorated. Yet the friars minor perhaps felt the need to modernize the premises and the outdated paintings and give the church a Franciscan character by displaying their own saints. The double church of S. Francesco in Assisi was chosen as a natural model and the builders did not hesitate to disrupt the harmonious romanesque ensemble.

The extensive Franciscan rebuilding campaign was in fact one of deconstruction: the reduction of a three-aisled nave plan into a single one; and the demolition of the narthex; the substitution of full arch windows by thin ones, the transformation of the circular main apse to a polygonal shape in the upper church and the diminution of light in the lower church achieved by blocking the windows.²¹ Not only did these modifications provide additional space to accommodate large crowds but S. Fermo Maggiore became more in-line with the building regulations instituted at Narbonne in 1260,²² and imitated S. Francesco at Assisi. (fig. 29) Although we do not know the answer, it is worth asking whether the friars were obliged to follow the Constitutions of Narbonne rigidly, or simply imitated the mother church of their own accord.

Funding

The costs involved in remodelling a double church are unknown; neither is the source of income. Therefore all our suggestions must remain hypothetical. In order to rebuild, the Franciscans either received enough gifts and benefits to enable them to commission the project themselves or found lay patrons willing to subsidize the lot. Judging from other early Franciscan experiences in Italy, it is doubtful that the money raised from the bequests given by the population before 1300 would have been sufficient to cover the exorbitant price of reconstruction of a double church.²³

Like Padua, papal indulgences were granted specifically to encourage and reward lay support of the construction of S. Fermo Maggiore.²⁴ On 20 August 1265, Clement IV granted one year and forty days' indulgence during the feast of

SS. Fermo and Rustico whose relics were venerated in the lower church until the eighteenth century.²⁵ Nicholas IV enlarged the scope of indulgences at S. Fermo on 27 September 1291: one year and forty days for the additional feast days of the Virgin, SS. Fermo and Rustico, S. Francis, S. Anthony of Padua, S. Lazarus, S. Apollinaris, S. Primo and S. Mark,²⁶ whose relics were all venerated in the lower church.

The election of a local Franciscan bishop in Verona before August 1275 must have boosted the popularity of the Order. Described as a pious man, with a talent for explaining the sacred letters, brother Temidio Spongati succeeded in reordering the ecclesiastical structures in Verona, which had been disrupted by Ezzelino da Romano's tyranny.²⁷ His membership in the Franciscan Order may have also facilitated negotiations and ensuing peace treaty with the city of Mantua, at that time a Bonacolsi signoria. Peace and accord with Rome also became a reality during his term in office, no doubt a reward for the extermination of seventy of the 178 Patarines captured in Sirmione in 1276.²⁸ However the lack of documentation surrounding his term of office prevents us from assessing his contribution, and possible participation in the affairs of the convent.

Decoration

The role of the Franciscans in the decoration of the lower church has never been adequately discussed. One of a number of reasons for this omission is the poor state of preservation of the frescoes. The importance of the decoration has also been overshadowed by the coexistence of earlier strata, dating from the Benedictine occupation.²⁹ The earliest Franciscan phase of decoration has until now been identified as those frescoes of the upper church, the portraits of Castelbarco and Gusmerio on the triumphal arch, the main apse decoration, the south apsidal chapel and the prophets on the intrados of both transept arches, dated variably from 1314 to 1320s. (figs 30-31)

The lower church meanwhile preserves in a more or less fragmentary form

traces of an earlier Franciscan decoration. A series of full-length saints was painted on the square columns and piers, each framed by a simple border with foliage.³⁰ The remaining decoration suggests that each face of the columns (except those facing the aisles) held a saint. These consisted of a mixture of older well-established saints intermingled with the newly canonized Franciscan saints: Francis, Anthony of Padua and Clare, all clearly recognizable.³¹ (figs 32-34) Although the paintings have been dated variably between 1230 and 1300, S. Francis in particular, echoes works by Umbrian artists of the 1280s especially those in the main apse of S. Francesco, Gubbio. (figs 35-37) These similarities would imply a date around the turn of the fourteenth century, some forty years after the establishment of the Franciscans. Furthermore it is inconceivable to believe that they could have been executed during the final Benedictine occupation of S. Fermo, a period marked by declining numbers (six monks) plus the actual eviction order in 1248. Although Benedictines did place images of Francis of Assisi in their churches,³² I do not believe that the Benedictines of Verona would have wished to paint Franciscan saints in their crypt, especially after contesting so strongly the friars' take-over. These paintings should therefore be considered amongst the earliest surviving example of wall paintings in a Franciscan church in the Veneto.

Patronage

Although little documentation regarding the benefactors of S. Fermo Maggiore has survived, a number of inscriptions and family arms does record a sample of patrons.³³ Although it is difficult to interpret the social status of all the donors, we can ascertain that they held varying positions from artisans to grammar masters, soldiers, widows and civil servants. The published wills reveal the variety of arrangements which were taken when burial was requested. Burials and masses were paid off in cash, endowments of land, or rent income from buildings, wheat, wine and even capons.

Many socially elevated Veronese families patronized the Franciscan convent;

the Bona, Ciserchi, Banda, Bevilacqua, Menabuoi, Montorio, Rinaldi, Sartori, Zordano, Dalla Torre.³⁴ While a number of patrons played a role in the Scala government one cannot define them as an intimate group, like the 'Carrara inner circle' at the Santo. There were as many members of the Scaligeri court who took their money to the Dominican church of S. Anastasia, the Augustinians of S. Eufemia and the Servites of S. Maria della Scala: the Cavalli, Pellegrini, Cipolla, Nichelosa, Pastrengo, and above all, the Scala are a few examples.³⁵ Giovanni della Scala was the only member of the family to be buried in S. Fermo Maggiore. Unfortunately there is little information available on Giovanni, nor on his rapport with the Franciscans. His tomb was already crumbling in the eighteenth century, was removed and transferred to S. Maria Antica by 1831. All that remains is the lower part, a recumbent effigy of the deceased on a bier, of venetian design with sculptures in niches on the front and corners of the bier.³⁶ As was the case in Padua, patronage of the Franciscans was not dictated nor limited by the vicinity of the convent. Patrons came from all neighbourhoods. Foreigners were also welcome; the Castelbarco and Morano family, from Trento and Modena respectively, were by far the largest benefactors.

Castelbarco/ Gusmerio Patronage

The most substantial contribution to the fabric and painted decoration of S. Fermo Maggiore appears to have been the result of combined efforts by a layman and a friar, Guglielmo Castelbarco and Daniele Gusmerio. Both traditional accounts and visual evidence, painted portraits together with coat of arms and inscriptions suggest that the two men were involved in the commission. But Castelbarco ought to be remembered as far more than an average Franciscan benefactor who worked behind the scene. He was the ideal patron of the new orders.³⁷ His name and fame was well known in Dominican circles in Verona but most of all in the Tridentine area where he patronized an astonishing number of churches during his lifetime and after his death. Castelbarco's generosity and piety is well illustrated in his lengthy

testament where he made provision for at least fifteen churches, monasteries and hospitals in the Tridentine region, and no less than 5000 lire to the Duomo of Trent to build a family chapel with altar.³⁸ Guglielmo wished dearly to see Franciscans established in his homeland and left money for the foundation of a new convent to be built near the church of S. Maria in Valle Lagarina, between Rovereto and Lizzano. Eight Franciscan friars were destined to benefit from 3000 lire to spend on, 'domibus, libris, apparamentis,' in addition to annual measures of good wheat and good wine and other necessities as the executors saw fit. These unfortunately took the liberty of changing the essence of the bequest with the result that Carmelites were installed in the convent.³⁹

Guglielmo Castelbarco can best be described as a diplomat and soldier who fought for other republics in the hope of gaining allies to return the favour on the home front. Castelbarco was first called to the service of the Scaligeri as podestà,⁴⁰ but once his term of office was over he continued to divide his time between his native city and Verona. His patronage of the arts and architecture was equally divided between the two cities. His motives, undocumented, may have been amongst the following: hope of recognition and acceptance for fear of being considered a foreigner, a gesture of fealty to the new lord or solidarity with his new allies, a display of riches to impress his colleagues, friends and relatives, or else a genuinely pious gesture, a tribute to God and the saints, with the hope of gaining a place of paradise.

Guglielmo's patronage of ecclesiastical institutions during his lifetime focused on the Dominican and Franciscan Orders in Verona. He was responsible for a large portion of the construction and refurbishment of both the churches of S. Anastasia and S. Fermo Maggiore. Traditional accounts allude to his fluctuating patronage, firstly three years of uninterrupted support of the building of S. Anastasia, from 1307-1310, which made possible the completion of the first part of the church (up to and including the two pairs of columns near the main altar where the Castelbarco arms appear, as well as the pontile, which has not survived). Then

after an apparent quarrel, he supported the Franciscans, but in 1317 he resumed his support of the Dominicans until his death in January 1320.⁴¹ He elected burial on Dominican ground, left 1500 lire (500 lire had been previously spent on the project) to complete his double-sided tomb placed above the entrance of the convent, and 2000 lire for a magnificent funeral.⁴² (fig. 38) He also bequeathed to the Dominican community his best horse, helmet and shield and a silver belt to be melted and converted into a chalice.⁴³

Castelbarco's patronage of the Franciscan Order is not as well documented. Biancolini traced an assignment of Florentine credits in 1295. In June 1319, another assignment from his Florentine creditors was passed on to the convent of S. Fermo with the condition that part of this credit be destined to the Dominicans of S. Anastasia. This never reached its Dominican destination.⁴⁴ Thus the extent of Guglielmo's patronage of the arts at S. Fermo Maggiore will probably never be known. The few sums spent on other projects, 5000 lire for a family chapel and 1500 lire for a tomb suggest that he was wealthy enough to finance a large cycle of frescoes, if he did not actually finance the entire renovation of the church. His painted profile holding a model of the church situated on the right side of the triumphal arch confirms his importance. Castelbarco however was not acting alone, since visual evidence points to an equally important contribution by the guardian of the convent Daniele Gusmerio.

Daniele, son of the local burgher Bonaventura Gusmeri (d. 31 August 1300), came from a religious family which yielded numerous vocations.⁴⁵ Virtually nothing is known of his early life. He first appeared in the documentation on 24 August 1318 as guardian of S. Fermo, and acts as executor for a will in March 1319.⁴⁶ On 13 August he was at Castelbarco's side to hear him dictate his last wishes.⁴⁷ Following his death, Gusmerio was chosen in 1321 as procurator of the nephew of the deceased, Aldrighetto di Federico Castelbarco. He travelled to Venice with the other two procurators, (Dietrico, commander of the Teutonic friars of Bolzano and Bonincontro prior of the Dominicans of Trento) to seek restitution of

20,000 florins previously lent to the Doge by Castelbarco.⁴⁸ The outcome of this mission is not clear, nor whether the recovered amount was used in part or in total, to finance the decoration of S. Fermo Maggiore. Three years later Gusmerio was appointed vicar to the Franciscan inquisitor Ugo d'Arquà.⁴⁹ He was still attached to the convent of S. Fermo and involved in real estate transactions on behalf of the convent. He also represented the Poor Clares of Campomarzo and received land on their behalf on 25 January 1332.⁵⁰ He died a few months later on 25 May as it is recorded on his tomb stone.⁵¹ (fig. 39)

The precise nature of the Castelbarco/ Gusmerio connection is difficult to assess; there are just not enough documents. Visual evidence however suggests a primary role. The portraits of the donor and friar occupy a most unusual and prominent position in the upper church, on either sides of the triumphal arch. On the right Guglielmo Castelbarco kneels and offers a model of S. Fermo Maggiore. (figs 31, 40) We are immediately reminded of the kneeling profile of Enrico Scrovegni on the west wall of the Arena chapel in Padua, painted a few years earlier. (fig 41) In this instance Enrico kneels before the Virgin Mary and offers a model of his chapel with the help of a canon. But Castelbarco is the sole figure of the composition. His caricatured profile is well defined against a blue background; his painted coat-of-arms, a white rampant lion on red ground, appears next to him with a metric inscription that alludes to his munificence and modesty: 'SUSCIPE SANCTE DEUS MUNUSCULA QUE PATER MEUS DE MEI FISCO GULIELMI DAT TIBI CRISTO'.⁵² On the opposite side, brother Daniele Gusmerio joins hands in prayer and kneels. He is also seen in profile, his features well defined, wearing tonsure and habit. (fig. 42) Interestingly no knotted rope appears, but this probably disappeared during repainting. An illegible inscription painted next to him once read: 'MILLE TRECENTE QUATORDA'; another above his head reads: 'VITRAS, PICTURAM, N/AVEM, CORUM ET ALIA PLURA OFERT TIBI CRISTE DANI/EL PAUPERCULUS/ISTE'. The two portraits are all that remains of an early pictorial cycle on the triumphal arch. One scene above

was repainted or replaced in the sixteenth-century with the Eternal Father, while four scenes below (two on either side) were replaced or updated by a Coronation of the Virgin and Adoration of the Magi towards the middle of the fourteenth century.⁵³

To have one's profile portrayed on the right side of the triumphal arch of a church is not only a great privilege but a rarity in Italian art. If we again compare S. Fermo Maggiore with the Arena chapel, it is evident that although Enrico Scrovegni's portrait is one of the most outstanding and well known donor portrait, it is only one detail of a large composition (a Last Judgement), and situated not on the triumphal arch but on the inner façade wall of a family chapel. In a large mendicant church in Verona, Guglielmo Castelbarco and brother Daniele Gusmerio have usurped the place of the Virgin Annunciate and the archangel Gabriel (fig. 43).⁵⁴ This new departure from what was becoming traditional iconography is striking for a number of reasons: it is one of the earliest successful attempts at portraiture in Trecento Italian painting and to my knowledge it was never repeated. One would think that the triumphal arch motif would have drawn attention and criticism from very early onwards. This does not seem to have been the case.⁵⁵ This silence may simply reflect the lack of surviving material from the period, or alternatively show that nobody really minded. If the latter was the case it would be worth asking whether such a lack of interest in the deviation of iconography reflects tolerance on the part of the friars or the kind of laxity already complained about by Alverius Pelagius in 1335.⁵⁶

Assuming brother Gusmerio was still alive when his portrait was painted on the triumphal arch, one might argue that it was not exactly befitting for a Franciscan friar, even if he had been a guardian and vicar to the inquisitor, to be remembered in such a way. What exactly did the friar mean by the words: 'Vitras, picturam, navem, corum et alia plura...'?⁵⁷ No doubt the friar was involved in the execution of the windows, paintings, nave, choir, and other works he offered to Christ. But his exact contribution, possibly financial, artistic or as an adviser will probably

never be known. To take the first point, surprising as it may seem, friars could finance artistic projects. It was common for individual friars to have personal and private incomes. Many joined the Order with money of their own, earned it or received it through relatives and friends. Gusmerio himself inherited 100 soldi in remuneration for his services as a confessor while his convent obtained less from the testator.⁵⁸ Some friars amassed great fortunes; the case of Vital du Four who left around 20,000 florins in his will is a well cited one.⁵⁹

It does seem more logical however for the guardian to be the mind behind the structural modifications of the upper and lower churches and some of the extant pictorial decoration, for it reflects Franciscan thinking.⁶⁰ The programme of windows alluded to in the painted inscription was otherwise never recorded but it is thought that the shape of the Benedictine window frames was changed.⁶¹ As for the paintings, although some of the Benedictine themes were taken up again, namely the titular saints of the south apsidal chapel, SS. Lucillo, Lupicino, Crescenziario, a new programme seems to have been conceived.⁶² Symbols of the four evangelists were painted on the severies of the main apse vault, the ribs decorated with a cosmatesque border common to the triumphal arch. The intrados of the arch separating the vault from the segments of the conch is decorated with eight busts of prophets holding scrolls.⁶³ A Deesis, flanked by SS. Fermo and Rustico (the titular saints of the church), appears on the segments of the back vault. (fig. 30) Half-length images of the four Franciscan saints and an unidentified female martyr, each occupy a lunette underneath.⁶⁴ There are prophets holding scrolls underneath the arch of the south transept and Franciscan saints located in the same position on the opposite arch which belong stylistically to the main apse group.⁶⁵

Towards a Date

The dating of this second phase of Franciscan decoration, the triumphal arch portraits, the top half of the main apse and the intrados of the transept arches is still unresolved. As it is undocumented, stylistic observations have served as basis for

the current attribution, between 1320-1330.⁶⁶ Few historians now believe the decoration began in 1314, date of the now illegible inscription next to Gusmerio's portrait.⁶⁷ If in fact the date was indeed read correctly, this could be a reference to any event in the history of S. Fermo Maggiore, such as the consecration of the main altar, a special donation, the date of an important document now lost, or any one stage reached in the decoration.⁶⁸ The presence of the nimbed figure of S. Louis of Toulouse in the apse suggests a terminus post quem of 1317.⁶⁹ Logically one should focus on the years in which Gusmerio and Castelbarco were in contact, in 1319, year in which the friar was also guardian.⁷⁰ As guardian he would have overseen the works, presumably much like Pace da Lugo in Vicenza.⁷¹ There is however a possibility that the scheme could have been conceived and executed after Castelbarco's death. The patron's profile could have been copied from his realistic tomb at S. Anastasia.

Extent of Castelbarco/ Gusmerio Patronage

One of the most difficult tasks for the art historian is to guess the extent of the Castelbarco/ Gusmerio project. The painted inscription next to the friar suggests that he was associated with the nave and choir. The lower parts of the main apse however were executed by another workshop and feature episodes from the life of Christ.⁷² It has always been assumed that this section and the paintings in both transepts belonged to another moment in the history of the convent. But the decoration is so well integrated that it seems possible that this area might be the continuation of a pre-conceived programme. Only a complete stratigraphy would help to clarify these problems.⁷³

What was probably a large narrative cycle in the main apse is now reduced to a few fragments. The upper sections of the walls are painted with geometric patterns and illusionistic marbling effect. A horizontal band of rampant foliage divides the north and south wall in two unequal parts. Below this band are the fragmentary narrative scenes. On the north wall, part of a Nativity with the

addition of a female donor who kneels and prays and the remaining sinopia of a large throne. (fig. 44) On the south wall, part of a Crucifixion with the swooning Virgin Mary and the profile of a large figure dressed in a brown habit, possibly a friar. Below this there are remnants of an Adoration of the Magi.

The cycle continues in both transepts, the nave walls and the interior façade wall, and in part of the lower church.⁷⁴ A wide horizontal band of vine scroll inhabited by half-length figures of prophets and saints spans the north, south and inner façade wall without interruption. (fig. 45) There is a second strip on the interior façade wall.⁷⁵ This decorative feature is closely linked to the wooden ceiling and its decoration. (figs 46-47) In the north and south transepts the same workshop has painted Christ and two evangelists (at the top); below in the south transept, the investiture of Louis of Toulouse (fig. 48) and an Annunciation above the side chapel on the south nave wall. In the north transept are poorly preserved frescoes (cycle of S. Francis), probably painted by another workshop but again as part of the same iconographic campaign.⁷⁶

The iconography of this decorative phase is exclusively Franciscan. Indeed it is the only programme of its kind in the Veneto, and only equalled by the Franciscan cycles of Assisi, Gubbio, Rieti, Pistoia, Pisa and Constantinople.⁷⁷ However there is no other Franciscan church displaying an identical choice of themes. Like the choir area of the upper church of S. Francis in Assisi, the main apse of S. Fermo Maggiore is devoted to the life of Christ. Episodes from the lives of S. Francis, S. Louis of Toulouse and S. John the Evangelist occupy the transepts. The south nave wall holds a cycle of the Martyrdom of Four Franciscans at Thana and a Lignum Vitae.

Life of S. Francis

The north transept which was once filled with a large cycle of the life of S. Francis, is now a shadow of its former self. In a spatially restricted area not ideally suited to a narrative cycle of paintings with unaligned windows and apsidola, the

artist had to squeeze in a dense cycle.⁷⁸ (fig. 49) Ten compartments can be identified, which represents about one third of the area available. (fig. 50) This suggests a very large cycle indeed. The paintings have received very little attention.⁷⁹ The north wall is the least fragmentary. (fig. 51) The uppermost area has three roundels; Christ surrounded by light blesses while two evangelists sitting at their desk look up to him on either side.⁸⁰ The narrative below is separated by a thick band of rampant foliage. The perimeters of the wall and the compartments are framed by a painted cosmatesque band.⁸¹ The wall was probably divided into four registers, three of which are subdivided into compartments, whilst the fourth and lowest consists of a hanging curtain decoration. In the first register from left to right; Francis gives his cloak to the man fallen in misery. (II Cel.5; Bon. I.2) (fig. 53) What was probably the dream of Innocent III, now reduced to a bed post follows. (III.10) Francis prays to the talking Crucifix of S. Damiano (II Cel.10; Bon. I.2) (fig. 54), followed by his renunciation of worldly goods. (fig. 55) The second register begins with the vision of S. Francis in a cart in the sky (I Cel.33; Bon. IV.4) (fig. 57); one or two lost scenes follow; the head of a Franciscan looking up towards the east wall ends the row. In the next register, a very fragmentary stigmatization. The other scenes have perished except the last on the right, a sinopia of S. Francis, recognizable only by his halo and chest wound, holding a book. A hanging curtain decoration runs along the bottom.

The upper region of the west wall is difficult to read because of its layers of superimposed painting. (fig. 52) Part of a coloured circle and a blue background suggest that a similar image of Christ towered above. Two fragmented episodes from the life of S. Francis reveal an earlier strata depicting horses, trees, and warriors.⁸² A cosmatesque border again frames the scenes. Beginning with the left is the Approval of the Rule by Innocent III (I Cel.33; Bon.III,10), next to an allegorical representation of Francis handing the rule over to the Poor Clares. (figs 56, 58)

The last and most confusing section is the eastern wall. The upper region

holds fragments of a circle of light and a cosmatesque band beneath. Slightly lower on the left are remains of a larger composition: three women, one of whom joins her hands in prayer look down at a naked friar (with tonsure and halo) who kneels and prays. (fig. 56) Could this be the investiture of S. Francis?⁸³ There is a gap underneath then more fragments; two votive scenes of undecipherable date, part of a S. Christopher (feet in water with fish swimming), with a Madonna and child enthroned, with byzantine rays of gold on her mantle.⁸⁴ The apsidola also bears images, albeit smaller: another stigmatization and the death of S. Francis are recognizable amongst the fragments. (figs 59-60)

The Veronese cycle has very little to do with its Assisi or Bologna precedents, either stylistically, nor compositionally. The cycle in the upper church of S. Francesco in Assisi is in general reduced to simpler elements, less crowded and events happen outdoors. The cycle in S. Fermo displays a more intimate connection between the figures and their architectural background. Most episodes are located in interior spaces and there are challenging and innovative perspectives here, which ones usually associates only with the mid-century works of Guariento.

Martyrdom of Franciscans

The fragmentary cycle representing the martyrdom of four Franciscans at Thanah, Thomaso da Tolentino, Iacopo da Padova, Demedre da Tafelicio, and Pietro da Siena is unusually found on the south nave wall.⁸⁵ Its source has been established as the account narrated by Odorico da Pordenone in Padua to brother Guglielmo da Solagna in 1330, with the terminus post quem in the same year.⁸⁶ The cycle must have been originally quite extensive and could have occupied the whole south wall from the inner façade wall all the way to the lignum vitae. (fig. 61) There are fragments of a throne where the ihman usually sits. Only three scenes of a much larger cycle have survived: these are the last two events associated with the tale. Following the martyrdom of the four friars, they appeared in a vision to the Chadi to seek vengeance. (fig. 62) The painter has depicted them about to strike

the Chadi with swords while he sleeps. The emperor, fearing a riot, called him and condemned him for having put to death the friars. He appears before the emperor, hands tied and pushed by guards. (fig. 63) The last scene records the punishment of the Chadi and his family who were cut in half. (fig. 64) In front of the seated emperor, a guard has just finished cutting the last body. The top halves of the five family members hang by their neck; naked souls escape from their mouths, whilst demons gnaw at the bottom half of the bodies which lay on the ground. The painters seem to have relied on their imagination rather than on established iconography.⁸⁷ What we see here is closer in spirit to a public execution, which could be best observed at first hand, than to model books. The presence of a martyrdom cycle is all the more unusual since there is no record of a local cult for the four friars in Verona unlike its large scale Sienese contemporary which occupied the eastern wall of the cloister of S. Francesco, Siena.⁸⁸ The Sienese frescoes placed much emphasis on Pietro da Siena, the local friar, who was given a more prominent role in painting than in real life. Perhaps the key to understanding the presence of the martyrdom cycle in Verona lies in either Jacopo da Padova's past (was he once a resident of S. Fermo Maggiore?), or in the proximity of the Santo where Odorico recited his story. The event made quite an impression on the Verona friars; usually scenes of martyrdom are hidden in the more private parts of the convent, the chapter hall or the cloister.⁸⁹

The Lignum Vitae

What seems to be a standard Tree of Life painted in the middle of the south nave wall yields more surprise upon closer examination.⁹⁰ (figs 65-67) The prophets who usually appear in the roundels of intertwining foliage have been replaced by Franciscans holding and pointing to their scrolls, possibly the Rule. (fig. 68) Seven of these survive, five on the left side of the chapel entrance and two on the right.⁹¹ (fig. 69) Only the friar on the top left has a halo. The friars are tonsured and wear brown habits with the exception of the second friar from the top

left who wears a grey habit and hood. Their features are individualized; some smile, others frown, some are young, others old.

Almost all the central part of the composition has perished during the opening of the entrance arch of the side chapel.⁹² But the upper sections and some fragments from the centre survive: two angels floating towards each other carry scrolls. A little to the right a six-winged seraph is the only remnant of a stigmatization.⁹³ Immediately below are narrative scenes framed by smaller roundels of foliage. (fig. 65) These usually correspond to the fruits hanging from the branches of Bonaventure's tree of life and depict episodes from the life of Christ, as in the panel by Pacino di Bonaguida in the Accademia in Florence.⁹⁴ (fig. 70) However, in Verona they deviate from the norm and represent events from the life of S. Francis. Beginning from left to right are eight friars who surround the deathbed of Francis. Four friars and two bishops appear next to his deathbed in the adjoining scene. A vision follows in which the saint flies down towards two women.⁹⁵ The next two roundels are missing.⁹⁶ The last roundel on the right depicts S. Francis raising a woman from her bed while two women look on. Another register of roundels are found beneath the foliage of a branch. Only one scene survives in which S. Francis accepts a book from the hands of a friar.⁹⁷

The source of this composition was certainly not Bonaventure's Lignum Vitae. Here was a new iconographic invention which was, to my knowledge unparalleled in art and never repeated. In this new adaptation of the Tree of Life one would almost expect to see Francis himself replacing Christ on the cross, or else a large Francis receiving the stigmata from the seraph at the top. On the other hand there is also a possibility that the roundels illustrating episodes from the life of S. Francis were additions to the more usual Christian iconography. The scene is too fragmentary to establish whether the foliage was connected to branches or stood on its own.⁹⁸ Lignum Vitae were commonly found in Franciscan churches and elsewhere in the region. S. Francesco in Udine has the more usual version on the south wall of the main apse.⁹⁹ (fig. 71) The novelty of the S. Fermo Tree of Life

again demonstrates that careful thinking went on before painting, by the Franciscans.

The Patronage of Barnaba da Morano

During the last quarter of the fourteenth century the upper church of S. Fermo was further decorated as a result of the patronage of one man, an illustrious member of a Modena family, Barnaba da Morano.¹⁰⁰ Summoned to Verona by the Scaligeri court, the jurist chose to settle down permanently in the city and died there in 1411. He is remembered primarily for the monumental pulpit he donated to the Franciscans in 1396 but he had also endowed an altar and probably donated its precious relic,¹⁰¹ and finally commissioned a monumental tomb which hung on the inner south façade wall.

Barnaba da Morano became an extremely important citizen in Verona and was instrumental in keeping the administrative machine rolling throughout four changes of government. He is first mentioned in Veronese documents on 16 May 1371, as vicar to the podestà;¹⁰² he then held the same position in Vicenza during the second half of the year. The next year he replaced Alberto della Legge in Vicenza as vicar then became vice-podestà until 3 December. In 1378 he exercised the office of judge in a civil tribunal in Verona and his family arms could still be seen on the wall of the great hall in the seventeenth century.¹⁰³ Some historians have suggested that he was fiscal advocate of the Scaligeri court. He certainly remained impartial to the political upheaval of the end of the century, continued his work under Visconti rule and was appointed as one of the twelve sapienti who governed the city with the gastaldi in 1388.¹⁰⁴ The arrival of the Carrara in 1404 was an occasion for new and important offices. The following year when Verona surrendered to Venice, Barnaba was chosen to be one of the twelve deputati ad utilia. He suggested that the 'twelve' elect fifty citizens from all social backgrounds to exercise the function of the major council. This was his last nomination in public offices. He died towards the end of 1411.¹⁰⁵

He dictated his will, a lengthy text, in his house in S. Pietro in Carnario on 21 September 1411. The next day he added a codicil.¹⁰⁶ His first and foremost wish was to be buried in the church of S. Fermo Maggiore in a tomb he had previously commissioned and was now completed. He asked to be dressed in a Franciscan habit after being carried in procession on a mat.¹⁰⁷ His belongings, including a rich library was divided between his nephews, as he remained childless.

The monumental pulpit and its painted decoration donated by da Morano is undocumented but an inscription and the Morano arms identify the donor and the date of the pulpit, 1396.¹⁰⁸ (fig. 65) This is also our first record of a pulpit at S. Fermo. It is of course quite probable that preaching was performed from an ambo on the pontile which stood until the sixteenth century.¹⁰⁹ The south wall had to be chosen naturally because the north wall was already taken up by the side entrance. Preaching from the middle of the nave is more acoustically efficient, it is also easier for both the congregation and the preacher to see one another.¹¹⁰ The pulpit was cleverly inserted between the Lignum Vitae and the Martyrdom of Franciscans cycle without disturbing the pre-existing decoration.¹¹¹ In fact the pulpit paintings only look balanced when viewed next to the earlier works. The asymmetric row of prophets on the far right of the pulpit would have been balanced by the row of saints belonging to the Lignum Vitae.¹¹²

The pulpit area can only be described as a three-dimensional preaching centre: a colourful stone and wood ensemble made of three parts, balcony, canopy and pinnacle, leans onto a painted backdrop. A central crucifixion (tucked in behind the preacher) is framed by Evangelists and Doctors of the Church at work in their individual studiolo. Twelve prophets hold scrolls on which their prophecies were once painted, while Moses and Elijah each meet God above. Twenty profiles of bishops, theologians, sapienti and illustrious men are inserted in the spaces between the prophets. (figs 72-74) The iconographic significance of this scheme still awaits full investigation. It has been suggested that the decoration referred to knowledge (through the writers) as a qualifying aspect of preaching.¹¹³ This

however does not explain the presence of twenty-two uomini famosi on the right side, who include Boetius, Seneca, Fulgentius, Athanasius, Casiodorus senator, Origen doctor, Eusebius Cesariensis, Hugh of St. Victor, Cesarius bishop, and Prudentius the bishop.¹¹⁴ Their inclusion might have had something to do with Barnaba da Morano. He owned quite a few of their works in his library.¹¹⁵

Barnaba da Morano's tomb was completed and already in situ before 21 September 1411, day on which his testament was dictated. A correct reading of the document makes this fact very clear. Barnaba refers to the tomb, 'quam ipse testator fabricari fecit in corpore dicte ecclesie in sponda muri anterioris dicte ecclesie in hunc modum videlicet'.¹¹⁶ A later passage again attests to the completed state of the tomb; Barnaba wants to be buried dressed like the effigy on his bier. (fig. 75) Since Morano had carefully taken care of pre-funeral arrangements, it is likely that the frescoes surrounding his tomb were completed by this date. Although they are not signed they have been attributed to Martino da Verona for stylistic reasons and indirect documentary reference in Barnaba's will. Indeed, Martinus pictor was to receive five gold ducats as final payment for all the work he had carried out for the testator.¹¹⁷ This of course could refer to either pulpit or tomb paintings.¹¹⁸

An effigy of the deceased slightly raised on the inner side, lies on a bier. He wears a Franciscan habit and a knotted rope, his head is covered by a beret and rests on a cushion placed on two books. His hands are crossed over another book and he is barefoot. Immediately below the effigy a band of four angels are seen frontally and pray. The bier is carved with oak leaf motifs and figures. In a central niche lined with foliage the Virgin seated on a throne holds the Christ child. On her right, a detached group, S. Francis presenting the kneeling donor; on the other side S. Anthony Abbot with his attribute, a pig. In the corner niches stand S. Barnaba and the archangel Raphael who holds Tobias. A tabernacle, separated from the bier is attached to the wall above. The Morano arms appear four times, on each of the supporting brackets of the tabernacle and bier.¹¹⁹

The tomb is made of Istrian stone and recalls the Venetian tombs produced by Andriolo de'Santi and his workshop from the middle of the century onwards. It repeats many features from the tomb of Giovanni della Scala (d. 1359), not surprisingly as it stood in S. Fermo Maggiore, but it is more similar to the two Carrara tombs in the church of the Eremitani in Padua. The three share an intermediate band with angels.¹²⁰ There are however some substantial differences; the flatness of the recumbent figure is characteristic of a large body of work in Verona dating from the last years of the century such as the tomb of Federico Cavalli, dated c. 1390 in the Dominican church of S. Anastasia, which I would attribute to the same sculptor.

Morano's tomb is attributed to Antonio da Mestre, a Venetian sculptor documented in Verona in 1409 and 1418, who is believed to have sculpted the pulpit.¹²¹ The attribution was based on a bequest to the sculptor's daughter by the testator.¹²² The tomb originally occupied a large part of the south inner façade wall. (fig. 76) Two windows of the blind gallery which divides the upper and lower part of the façade were blocked off to accommodate the structure. The decision taken in 1814 to reopen the windows resulted in the removal of the tomb and transfer to the Brenzoni chapel.¹²³ The paintings suffered extensive and irreparable damage in the process. The lunette frescoes were destroyed and the surrounding ones were whitewashed. These were uncovered fairly recently. The Last Judgement was detached in 1958 and replaced around the tomb, while another fragment, the Meeting of the Three Living and the Three Dead was transferred to canvas and currently hangs on the north wall of the nave, totally removed from its context. Two standing saints, Bartolomeo and Gemignano, have retained their original position on the inner façade wall on either side of the tomb.¹²⁴

The surviving descriptions of the lunette painting are conflicting. It was either a Christ in glory or Christ the Judge between the sun and the moon, with the Blessed Virgin, and S. Joseph who knelt in a supplicating pose. Further below on either sides, SS. Francis and Anthony Abbot introduced two kneeling donors

dressed in togas. On the intrados of the arch of the tabernacle were the twelve apostles two by two in six equal tabernacle-shape frames.¹²⁵ Da Lisca was sceptical of the latter observations believing there had been some confusion between the paintings and the sculpted motifs. Indeed the sculpted figures on the front of the bier feature S. Francis who presents a donor and S. Anthony Abbot. But there is no reason why a similar theme could not have been repeated in the lunette paintings. It seems to me an ideal location for an image of Christ the Judge who would dominate the Last Judgement below. As for the kneeling figures presented by their intercessors, there are countless precedents in the lunettes of Veronese tombs of the fourteenth century.¹²⁶

The Last Judgement scene is now in three pieces and has been transferred onto canvas.¹²⁷ It is poorly preserved which makes it extremely difficult to identify the characters. On the left five rows of men and women await the Second Coming in prayer. From the top down stand Old Testament figures,¹²⁸ bishops and high ranking ecclesiastics, mendicant friars and monks, lay people and naked men who come out of their sepulture. The men and women are painted precisely with attention to detail and portrait-like rendering of the faces, like the figures surrounding the pulpit.

On the right side an angel in armour extends his left hand to the damned, a large group of men and women. (fig. 78) This is no doubt S. Michael. Soldiers and members of the clergy look resigned or clutch their hands and faces in terror. A usurer still clutches his bag of coins and stares intently above, while winged demons shove a group of horrified women towards the depths of hell. Hell is represented in the foreground by a series of pouches cut through the rock. In these, a demon held a flag which spelled out the sin committed.¹²⁹ All but one are illegible; it reads Lusuria. The seven venial sins are scribbled on the points of the flag; Amabilitas, Amoris Hodium and Incontinentia were tentatively read in 1910 and can be deciphered from old photographs.¹³⁰ There a group of naked humans are pushed against their will by monsters. The lowest part of the scene is filled by

an enormous dark Satan who eats humans.¹³¹

The Meeting of the Three Living and the Three Dead, a rare representation in this region, is difficult to replace in its original context. According to early descriptions it was placed below the Last Judgement.¹³² Photographs show that it was framed by fleur-de-lys motifs. One of the three princes takes his companion by the shoulder and invites him to look at the first corpse, a man fully dressed. The three corpses are in various stages of decomposition. A young attendant stands nearby.

The role of Barnaba da Morano in all these commissions eludes us. He was certainly capable of devising programmes of decoration and indeed his library contained text written by some of the uomini famosi, but the preservation of the earlier Franciscan decoration might have been due to the intervention of the friars.¹³³ The painting of the Last Judgement, although part of a layman's tomb, still managed to occupy its traditional site on the west wall of the church.

Conclusion

The church of S. Fermo Maggiore in Verona shines by its 'Franciscanism', next to its Franciscan neighbours. Remodelled on the mother church in Assisi, it is closer in spirit, both architecturally and pictorially, to the Order's churches in Umbria. However it is not a carbon copy of any Franciscan church; it has its own iconographic programme of narrative frescoes and was painted by a variety of workshops who did not exclusively paint in Franciscan churches. Although it is undocumented, visual evidence suggests that at least one friar was involved in the decoration. Whilst much of the planning might have been carried out by the friars, the funds for the projects came from a few lay benefactors who left their portraits and coat of arms for posterity.

Notes to Chapter 2

- 1 G. Sancassini, ed., Scritti di Gino Sandri, (Verona, 1969), (= Sandri), p. 98.
- 2 Ibid, p. 98.
- 3 From Rodolfo Malavolta, as recorded on an inscription put up on the new convent of S. Anastasia when S. M. Mater Domini was demolished in 1517. C. Cipolla, 'Ricerche storiche intorno alla chiesa di S. Anastasia in Verona', AV 18, n.36, (1879), pp. 274-314, (= Cipolla, 'S.Anastasia'), p. 279.
- 4 Sandri, p. 98.
- 5 Parisius de Cereta, 'Chronica', in R.I.S., vol. 8, col. 633.
- 6 ARSartori II/2, p. 2095.
- 7 G.M. Varanini, 'Per la storia dei Minori a Verona nel Duecento', in Minoritismo e Centri veneti ed. G. Cracco, pp. 92-125, p. 93.
- 8 G. Sandri, 'Il vescovo Jacopo di Breganze e la prima sistemazione dell'ordine dei Minori in Verona,' in Le Venezie Francescane I, (1932), pp. 5-25, p. 11. Very much in the same fashion as the Arcella in Padua.
- 9 Ibid, p. 13.
- 10 '+ ANNO.DNI.MCCXX/ X.DNS RANERIVS ZE/ NO. POTESTAS. VERO/ NE..PCOI VERONE FE/ CIT FIERI HAC ECLAM/ BEATI FRANCISCI', recorded in G. Sandri, 'Sant'Antonio a Verona,' Il Santo 3, III (1930), pp. 189-196, (= Sandri, 'Sant'Antonio'), p. 189 n. 1; he notes the later addition of the last line by a less skilled hand.
- 11 2 March 1249: The notary Giovanni detto Bivaqua sells to 'fr. Corrado teutonicus de ordine fratrum penitencie', who lived with the Franciscans of S. Croce in Verona, a plot situated 'extra muros civitatis Verone, in loco quod dicitur circulas ante ecclesiam sancti Francisci'. See Sandri, 'Sant'Antonio', p. 189 n. 1; Roberto Scoto of Conegliano requested burial in the church of S. Croce on 7 October 1253 and bequeathed 40 sol. den. to the friars, in ArSartori, II/2, p. 2106 n. 11; the convent was ceded to the Humiliati in 1276. See Sartori, Provincia, p. 201.
- 12 St. Bonaventure. Question V. Réponses à quelques objections touchant la règle

de Saint François. 'Pourquoi les frères mineurs ne demeurent pas dans la solitude.'

13 BF t.1. c. 530.

14 Gratien, Histoire, pp. 163-164.

15 G.B.G. Biancolini, Notizie storiche delle chiese di Verona, 8 vols, (Verona, 1749-1771), (= Biancolini, Chiese), vol.1, pp. 321-331.

16 Other examples of undercrofts where relics were kept were found in S. Croce, Florence and S. Francesco in Arezzo.

17 C. Perez-Pompei, 'Una data e un documento nella storia di San Fermo Maggiore', in Studi Storici Veronesi "Luigi Simeoni", vol. VI-VII, (Verona, 1955-56), pp. 119-125, (= Perez-Pompei), p. 120.

18 11 April 1257. See *ibid*, p. 120.

19 Brief of 3 August 1259. See *ibid*, p. 120.

20 The document was described in the register of the State Archives in Verona alongside the others from 1259-73 which were lost. See *ibid*, p. 121.

21 M.T. Cuppini, 'L'arte gotica a Verona nei secoli XIV-XV,' in Verona e il suo Territorio, (Verona, 1969), pp. 213-366, (= Cuppini, 'Verona'), p. 228. No historian has discovered if the Benedictine choir was moved at this stage.

22 M. Bihl, 'Statuta Generalia Ordinis edita in Capitulis Generalibus Celebratis Narbonae an.1260, Assisi an. 1279 atque Parisiis an.1292', in AFH 34 (1941), pp. 13-94 and 284-358, (= Bihl, 'Statuta'), esp. pp. 47-48 for architecture. Thus the churches of S. Anthony in Padua and S. Fermo Maggiore had similar beginnings.

23 Franciscans were not the only ones seeking alms either. Local competition by the other mendicant orders, especially the Dominicans must have been fierce. They had received in 1260 a gift of land in addition to two churches from the bishop right in the city centre. Verona may have been more of a 'Dominican' than a 'Franciscan' city. Unlike Padua and Assisi, the Franciscan community in Verona did not have the relics of an Anthony of Padua or Francis to attract pilgrims and prospective patrons; only the relics of SS. Fermo and Rustico which were divided

up between a few churches in Verona. The Dominicans on the other hand could boast of having bred their first martyr saint in their convent. Whilst he was not buried at S. Anastasia but in S. Eustorgio, Milan, S. Peter Martyr (d. 1252) was a native of Verona. One assumes that his benevolence and ideals of conversion of heretics without violence, coupled with his speedy canonisation on 25 March 1253, would have given a serious head start to the Dominicans of Verona. Their popularity is attested by the early patronage of the city's bishop, Manfredo Roberti da Reggio, who donated a large plot on which to build a new, more spacious church. Their first convent, S. Maria Mater Domini, situated outside the porta S. Georgio was big enough to host the General Chapter of the Order in 1244 but decidedly too small to accommodate the growing crowds. With the sale in 1269 of the convent of S. Maria Mater Domini to the sisters of S. Cassiano di Valpantena for 1500 lire, came the thoughts of raising the great convent of S. Anastasia. The actual construction took place around 1290. As for other mendicant Orders, the Augustinians had also been called into the city from their previous location in Montorio and had been given the church of S. Eufemia. See Cipolla, 'S. Anastasia', p. 281.

24 Once again it is difficult to judge the income generated by these indulgences.

25 BF III, p. 28, n. 30. ArSartori II/2, p. 2196, n. 6. Previously, the papal legate in Lombardy under Urban IV (recorded as a mysterious Cardinal Agappito who does not appear in Eubel), granted an indulgence of 100 days to those who visited the church of S. Fermo Maggiore on principal feast days of the year and also for those who helped finance the building. *Ibid*, p. 2195 n. 3.

26 *Ibid*, p. 2196 n.9.

27 G. De Sandre Gasparini, 'Istituzioni ecclesiastiche, religiose e assistenziali nella Verona Scaligera tra potere signorile e società', in Gli Scaligeri 1277-1387 ed. G.M. Varanini, (Verona, 1988), pp. 393-404, p. 393.

28 One of the conditions imposed on the city of Verona by pope Nicolas III as part

of the absolution deal was to spend 4000 libre to build a Franciscan church at Sirmione: 'Quibus omnibus...solempniter adimpletis, quatuor millia librarum Veronensium, quas in aliqua tuto loco, nostro et Ecclesie Romane nomine deponi volumus in constructionem loci ad opus Fratrum Minorum in Sermione Veronen...' ArSartori II/2, p. 2196 n. 7.

29 E. Sandberg-Vavalà, La pittura Veronese, (Verona, 1926), (= Sandberg-Vavalà) is still the most perceptive discussion. See her list of paintings on pp. 366-375.

30 Sandberg-Vavalà, pp. 366-75.

31 S. Francis has the stigmata wounds in his side and hands. Anthony holds a book.

32 What is perhaps the earliest representation of Francis was painted in the Sacro Speco, Subiaco.

33 Sartori enumerated two hundred and sixteen notices, from 1186 to 1451 recording land transactions, gifts, bequests and burials. ArSartori II/2. pp. 2106-98.

34 Ibid, pp. 2111-7.

35 Their family arms and tombs are still in situ. The Scala family did not focus exclusively on S. Fermo Maggiore. Alberto della Scala donated 1000 lire for the building, the largest cash gift recorded at the time in 1301; the Dominicans and Augustinians received a similar donation. Cangrande was less devoted to the Franciscans but did solicit Henry VII to sustain them in their fights. This however, may have been prompted by Guglielmo Castelbarco, who had much influence on the lord. Biancolini, Chiese, I, p. 341. Cangrande is best remembered for his continuous support of the Servite Order, the foundation and care of the church of S. Maria della Scala. F. Dal Pino, 'I Servi di Maria in eta Scaligera', in Gli Scaligeri, pp. 431-40. Cangrande II repeated the pattern of his great-grandfather, 1000 lire to the Dominicans, Franciscans and Augustinians and further bequests to the other two mendicant Orders and to four Benedictine monasteries. ArSartori II/2, p. 2114 n.

117. Cansignorio, in 1375, also wished to have prayers said for his soul and remission of his sins, but only donated 100 lire for this purpose. Ibid, p. 2115 n. 132.

36 Wolters, Scultura, I, cat. 84, pp. 55 and 96.

37 G. Gerola, 'Guglielmo Castelbarco', Annuario degli Studenti Trentini, A.VII, (Trento, 1901), pp. 167-201, (= Gerola), is still the best study. See also Cenci, 'Verona Minore'; E. Occhipinti, 'Castelbarco Guglielmo', D.B.I., XXI, (Rome, 1978), pp. 570-4.

38 Published in I. Hormayr, Geschichte der gefürsteten Grafschaft Tirol (Tübingen, 1808), t.II, doc. 247, pp. 600-620 (= Hormayr, Geschichte). See the catalogue entry by G.M. Varanini, 'Il testamento di Guglielmo Castelbarco 'il grande'', in Gli Scaligeri 1277-1387, p. 197.

39 At the request of Elisabetta da Coreggio, the wife of Azzone Castelbarco, nephew, heir and executor. See Gerola, p. 195.

40 He was appointed by Alberto della Scala in 1265. Ibid, p. 175.

41 Cipolla, 'S. Anastasia', p. 285. There remain traces of the pontile in the pavement in the bay between the second and third pair of columns.

42 For a description of the tomb see Gerola, pp. 192-3. See also G.L. Mellini, Scultori Veronesi del Trecento, (Milan, 1971), (= Mellini, Scultori), pp. 22-3; I disagree however with the author's attribution to 'Regino di Enrico'. In fact all his attributions are overly simplified and inaccurate. C. Baroni, Scultura Gotica Lombarda (Milan, 1944), is far more sensible.

43 Hormayr, Geschichte, p. 601.

44 '...di sua ragione da Bartolomeo Girardi e compagni mercanti in Firenze', for a total of L.156:5. It is not clear whether or not this sum was converted into its value of 1749. Biancolini, Chiese I, p. 342. The second amount was dated 13 June 1319, again from Girardi. Biancolini did not publish nor cite his source.

45 His sister Giacoma was a Benedictine nun at S. Michele in Campagna for over

thirty years, while Gosmario, (possibly an older brother) was a friar of S. Fermo Maggiore in 1286, and is documented until 1309. Cenci, 'Verona Minore', pp. 7-17. G.F. Viviani, 'Culti e luoghi di culto nei libri,' in G. Borelli, ed. Chiese e monasteri a Verona (Verona, 1980), pp. 651-706, p. 666 and the bibliography. A.S. Bianchi, 'Frate Daniele Gusmerio: cenno biografico,' in Gli Scaligeri 1277-1387, p. 462.

46 He is recorded as guardian and confessor of Lidonia, the wife of Brazaliano q. Avancio Lazencana. ArSartori II/2, p. 2111, n. 66. Cenci, 'Verona Minore', p. 8.

47 'Fratris Danielis de Gusmariis de Verona ordinis minorum Guardiani Conventus Verone', with 'fratris Tomasii', also present from the same convent. Hormayr, Geschichte, p. 600.

48 Gusmerio was no longer guardian. Cenci, 'Verona Minore', pp. 9-10.

49 Ibid, pp. 10-1.

50 Ibid, p. 12.

51 Cenci, 'Verona Minore', p. 13, transcribed it correctly: 'Hic iacet Daniel de Gusmariis qui mortuus est XXV madii MCCCXXXII'. The date 1333 given by Biancolini who cites the lost Necrologio of S. Michele in Campagna is probably a scribal error. A. Malavolta, 'Il sigillo sepolcrale di Daniel Gusmerio', in Gli Scaligeri 1277-1387, p. 462, gives dimensions and offers stylistic observations but wrongly transcribes the inscription.

52 G. Gerola, 'Il ritratto di Guglielmo di Castelbarco', Madonna Verona I, (1907), pp. 86-93.

53 The triumphal arch decoration was conceived in close unity with the wooden shipskeel roof also painted. The space is surrounded by a cosmatesque border in red and blue on white back which follows the curvature of the wooden ceiling and disappears under the sixteenth-century Eternal Father. The arch was originally divided into four scenes, two underneath each portrait. Sandberg-Vavalà, p. 46, first observed that the border passed above the two lower scenes but not around and

seemed to go down vertically. A. Da Lisca, Studi e ricerche originali sulla chiesa di S. Fermo Maggiore di Verona (Verona, 1909), (= Da Lisca), p. 50, thought the roof had been built before 1314. This assumption was entirely founded on the date painted on the triumphal arch.

54 Today the two portraits appear to be the only deviation to an otherwise ordinary triumphal arch scheme depicting scenes from the life of Christ and the Virgin Mary. But the Coronation of the Virgin and Adoration of the Magi are later additions from the second half of the fourteenth century. We do not know what originally lay underneath.

55 It is worth noting that the General Chapter of the Order was hosted in the church of S. Fermo Maggiore in Verona in 1348. Although the proceedings of the chapter have not been found, an encyclic letter reflecting on the event was sent to the friars in January 1349 by the Minister General William Farinier. No mention of the decoration was made (unlike the Constitutions of Narbonne in 1266) but a call to the friars was expressed. They were required to be examples of 'peaceful humility and humble peace'. R. Pratesi, 'Una lettera enciclica del Ministro generale dei Frati Minori Guglielmo Farinier (25 gennaio 1349)', AFH 50, (1957), pp. 348-63.

56 On the criticism of the friars see the excellent articles by C. Erickson, 'The Fourteenth-Century Franciscans and Their Critics', Franciscan Studies, 35, (1975), pp. 107-35; 36, (1976), pp. 108-47.

57 Francis becomes pauperculus himself in Celano and Bonaventure.

58 Cenci, 'Verona Minore', p. 8; ArSartori II/2, p. 2111 n. 66.

59 Moorman, History, p. 356. Just as they were rich friars, there were 'poor friars', who were defined as those without friends or relatives to support them in 1325; they were to receive one habit a year. Chapters which tried to prevent friars from holding money were all in vain. One province admitted defeat in 1375 when it decreed that a friar should at least show his jewels, money and alms to his guardian once a year. And finally the case of the French friars who are told to wear the

habits of those who died sums up the situation. Ibid, p. 358.

60 We can be quite certain that Gusmerio was not the painter for he is never recorded as such in the documentation.

61 Of course we cannot prove that this change was to accommodate historiated glass.

62 M.T. Cuppini, Pitture murali restaurate (Verona, 1970), p. 41.

63 Five of these are in relatively good condition.

64 From left to right, Clare, Anthony of Padua, Francis, Louis of Toulouse and Agnes?

65 The workshop responsible for this phase unjustly identified by Cuppini as one man, the 'Maestro del Redentore'. For a recent biography see M. Lucco, 'Maestro del Redentore', in La pittura in Italia, II, p. 616.

66 For a recent summary see M. Lucco, 'Pittura del Duecento e del Trecento nelle province venete', in E. Castelnuovo, ed., La pittura in Italia. Il Duecento e il Trecento, 2 vols, (Milan, 1985), pp. 113-49, p. 114; M.T. Cuppini, 'La pittura e la scultura in Verona al tempo di Dante', in Dante e Verona per il VII centenario della nascita, (catalogo della mostra), (Verona, 1965), pp. 175-98, (= Cuppini), pp. 186-7, proposed 1319/20 on the basis of Gusmerio's year as guardian and the death of Castelbarco; F. Zuliani, 'Il Maestro del Redentore', in Maestri della pittura veronese (Verona, 1974), pp. 23-30, p. 28, believes Cuppini's attribution of 1319-20 most convincing and the terminus post quem as 1319 when fra Daniele was the guardian. But he believes the choir frescoes are earlier, from c. 1314; Sandberg-Vavalà, pp. 46-8, favoured c. 1320; see also F. Flores D'Arcais, 'La pittura nelle chiese e nei monasteri di Verona', in Chiese e Monasteri a Verona, ed., G. Borelli, (Verona, 1980), pp. 442-532.

67 Read by Gerola, and already illegible by the time Sandberg-Vavalà studied it in 1926.

68 Mellini, Scultori, p. 21, believed that 1314 was the consecration date of San

Fermo. Biancolini, Chiese, IV, pp. 591-592, published a document recorded the consecration of the main altar of the church of San Francesco (by bishop Thebaldus of Verona) in 1314. This obviously refers to the church of San Francesco al Corso (ex S. Croce) which was ceded to the Humiliati in 1276, but kept its dedication.

69 I am aware that there are exceptions to this rule. The case of Luca Belludi in Padua is a reminder of this.

70 As Cuppini had done in 1965. See note 61 above.

71 See chapter 4 of this thesis.

72 Generally known as Cuppini's 'Maestro dell' Annunciazione'.

73 My observations were undertaken in poor light conditions and from a great distance.

74 Painted by the same workshop.

75 Cuppini believes these are by a Venetian painter close to Lorenzo Veneziano (c. 1360). I actually see stronger connections with the author of the Nativity scene in the main apse and the Annunciation on the north nave wall (Cuppini's 'Maestro dell'Annunciazione'). The figure of Christ illustrated by Cuppini is different in style and appears to have been added in. The additional band on the façade differs: it is framed by rectangles rather than the more elaborate checkerboard pattern of the other decorative bands and contains four mitred men instead of the usual prophets and saints. A row of arcades runs underneath.

76 I believe that the two scenes underneath the Investiture of Louis, tentatively identified as an event in the life of Louis IX (on the left) by Kaftal, pp. 621-2, and S. John raising Druisiana (on the right), belong to the same moment but not the same hand. There are striking similarities especially in the architecture and framing devices between these two scenes and the opposite representing the life of S. Francis of Assisi. The fragmentary cycle depicting the martyrdom of Franciscans on the south nave wall, contrary to what has been written, reminds me of the investiture scene, especially the construction of the throne and the excessive folds of the

drapery.

77 These cycles are all discussed in Blume.

78 The north wall is interrupted by three lancet windows, one in the centre portion and two in the middle. The lower windows are not aligned on the same horizontal. The east and west walls also pose problems with a small window on the top left hand side and an apsidola.

79 F. Bisogni, 'Iconografia e propaganda religiosa: due cicli veronesi del trecento', in *Scritti di storia dell'arte in onore di Ugo Procacci*, ed. G. Spadolini, vol. 1, (Milan, 1977), pp. 157-68, (= Bisogni, 'Iconografia'), p. 163; Blume, pp. 66-8 and 85-6; Kaftal, pp. 330-4; Sandberg-Vavalà, p. 56.

80 The evangelist on the right is fragmentary.

81 Although there were instances of cosmati work in the Castelbarco/Gusmerio phase, on the ribs of the main chapel vault and around the triumphal arch, this type is different. Perhaps not coincidentally it is the same motif as the border surrounding the Virgin Mary on the inner façade of the upper church of S. Francis in Assisi.

82 This probably belongs to the Benedictine phase of decoration.

83 Blume, p. 67, fig.7, believes this to be the investiture of S. Francis. Nothing remains of the scene next to this.

84 There is also a fragmentary S. Christopher in the chapel of S. Giacomo, in the basilica del Santo in Padua, in S. Francesco, Treviso and S. Francesco in Udine.

85 Above votive panels painted towards the end of the fourteenth century.

86 Bisogni, 'Iconografia', pp. 160-1. The author first observed that the three painted inscriptions, 'CHADI EPISCOPUS SARACENORUM', and 'IMPERATOR DELDELI', (repeated twice), correspond to Odorico's wording in the text.

Bisogni, p. 161, suggested the work was carried out between 1334 and 1342, years in which Benedict IX was pope and proclaimed the four friars beati. But the Luca Belludi in the Santo imagery proves one did not need official beatification to paint

illustrious friars. See chapter 1 of this thesis, pp. 34-6.

87 Indeed this is perhaps the earliest monumental representation of the event.

88 Described by Ghiberti and recently reconstructed by M. Seidel, 'Wiedergefunden Fragmente eines Hauptwerks von Ambrogio Lorenzetti', Pantheon, II, XXXVI, (1978), pp.119-27; idem, 'Gli affreschi di Ambrogio Lorenzetti nel Chiostro di San Francesco di Siena: ricostruzione e datazione', Prospettiva, 18, (1979), pp. 10-20.

89 Unless S. Fermo Maggiore was a training centre for hopeful missionaries, but one would think this would have been recorded.

90 Only the friar at the bottom right was published by Cuppini, fig. 31. She erroneously believed he was a saint, but he wears no halo. I attempted to photograph them with amateur equipment under impossible lighting conditions and achieved only limited success.

91 There are usually twelve prophets around a *lignum vitae*.

92 The chapel is first mentioned in 1424.

93 He appears as the crucified Christ according to Bonaventure's Legenda Maior, XIII, 3.

94 Pacino's painting was originally in the convent of Monticelli and is dated before 1339. M. Boskovits, A Critical and Historical Corpus of Florentine Painting, III/IX, The Painters of the Miniaturist Tendency, (Florence, 1984), pp. 48-54, 254-79.

95 In fragmentary condition.

96 One of them perhaps represented S. Francis receiving the stigmata, for the seraph above corresponds perfectly.

97 An image all the more striking when one considers Francis' negative attitude towards books.

98 There is another hypothesis as to the subject matter of this painting. It could be a Franciscan variation of the Dominican chapter house of the church of S. Nicolò in

Treviso; Franciscan writers and prominent members of the Order would present the life of S. Francis. There is also a possibility that there was no large central figure, just a succession of roundels filled with narrative scenes.

99 It is closer in style and iconography to the Benedictine example of S. Maria in Sylvis at Sesto al Reghena, or the fresco by Taddeo Gaddi in the refectory of the church of S. Croce in Florence. See F. Zuliani, 'Per la diffusione del giottismo nelle Venezie e in Friuli: gli affreschi dell' abbazia di Sesto al Reghena', Arte Veneta, (1970), pp. 9-25. A. Ladis, Taddeo Gaddi. Critical Reappraisal and Catalogue Raisonné, (Columbia and London, 1982), pp. 66-73, 171-3.

100 L. Simeoni, 'Il giurista Barnaba da Morano e gli artisti Martino da Verona e Antonio da Mestre', N.A.V. N.S. 19 (1910), pp. 216-236, (= Simeoni, 'Barnaba'). See also G.M. Varanini, 'Una sentenza di Barnaba da Morano vicario generale del commune', Gli Scaligeri 1277-1387, p. 212.

101 Barnaba endowed an altar during his life time. He asked his executors in his will to go on providing three and a half pounds of good oil per month to light the lamp in front of it. ArSartori II/2, p. 2137 n. 5. An early description recorded its position; leaning on the rood screen roughly where the Saraina altar now stands. The altar perished along with the screen when the latter was substituted before 1575. The patron probably provided the venerated relic kept in a lead cassetina at the altar; a consecrated host which was incorrupt for 130 years. Cited in Simeoni, 'Barnaba', p. 230.

102 Simeoni, 'Barnaba', p. 216.

103 Ibid, p. 217.

104 Ibid, p. 217.

105 Ibid, p. 219.

106 The will is published in ArSartori II/2, pp. 2136-7 n. 5. See also G.M. Varanini, 'Il testamento di Barnaba da Morano', Gli Scaligeri 1277-1387, p. 212.

107 '...quam ipse testator fabricari fecit in corpore dicte ecclesie in sponda muri

anterioris dicte ecclesie in hunc modum videlicet... quod dictum corpus suum debeat vestiri panno beretino coloris frateschi, cum capa in forma fratris minoris cum cordula et Bireto, ac nudo pede et in ea forma qua ipse testator est sculptus super dicta Arca, et portari super uno storio absque aliqua copertura aliquorum pannorum quando portabitur ad sepulturam seu ad ecclesiam predictam,' in ArSartori II/2, p. 2136 n. 5.

108 'Hoc ubi sacra patent nobis praeconia coeli / Quae Cristus peperit Banaba iussit opus / Hic utrique sacer legi censore verendus / Moranum genuit cui patria est Mutina, / Bisque novem lustris anni sex mille trecentis / Pujedibus fulvos Phoebus agebat equos '. Da Lisca, p.74, recorded the presence of a fragment from an earlier tomb re-used for the middle stairs in the pulpit on which was inscribed the following in gothic script: 'sororis...// tonio...// CCCXX...// e.set.'

109 Such a shift in position is not unusual. See J. Longère, La prédication médiévale, (Paris, 1983), pp. 171-2.

110 Pulpits of neighbouring churches lean against the north wall, as do the two pulpits in S. Francesco in Assisi. There is a precedent however in the Basilica del Santo, Padua. This pulpit is attributed to Andriolo de'Santi (d. 1375) and consists of a balcony resting on a foliate capital; it is reached via a staircase. It also has frescoes around it (a Madonna and Child), stands roughly in the middle of the nave and leans on the last south pier before the choir.

111 Only the Morano arms were painted at the summit of the wall on to earlier decoration.

112 Something which is difficult to appreciate today since most of the Lignum Vitae has perished.

113 Da Lisca, p. 75.

114 The remainder cannot be identified because of the loss of their accompanying inscription.

115 Simeoni, 'Barnaba', p. 220.

116 See note 106 above.

117 '...pro integra solutione totius eius quod a dicto testatore habere deberet pro omnibus laborerijis per ipsum dicto testatori factis et sub hac conditione quod teneatur', in ArSartori II/2, p. 2137 n. 5.

118 If Martino is indeed the painter, his death in 1412 is our terminus ante quem.

119 The following inscription also appears on the brackets: 'Dni Barnabei de Morano de Mutina'.

120 For the tomb of Jacopo da Carrara see Wolters, Scultura, vol. 1, cat. 41, and vol. 2, figs 138-9, 141, 143, 145, 147-8; for Ubertino da Carrara see *ibid*, vol. 1 cat. 40, vol. 2, figs 140, 142, 144, 146.

121 Simeoni, 'Barnaba', pp. 226-30. The career of Antonio da Mestre has, I believe, not received due attention. We know virtually nothing of the man, nor of his career but he was very successful and in demand. Francesco Gonzaga, lord of Mantua, had nothing but praise for him and was interested in acquiring his services for the façade of the duomo of Mantua in a letter to Jacopo dal Verme printed in Wolters, Scultura, vol. 1, p. 209. This important detail has been overlooked by art historians who have rejected all his attributed works including the Morano tomb; especially Mellini, Sculptori, p. 188, who claimed that the sculptor responsible for the Morano and Cavalli tomb, 'held the field in Verona between 1300-1400'. Apart from the absurdity of his statement given the 100 year time span, he has overlooked Gonzaga's praise. It is unlikely that the lord would have requested the services of a mediocre sculptor; more probably he would ^{have}sought the services of a sculptor who 'held the field'. Gonzaga's letter also mentions Rainaldino da Francia, a sculptor already involved in numerous projects for the Franciscan church in Padua. A fresh look at the two sculptors' working relationship might yield some interesting discoveries.

109 '...filie magistri Antonij lapicide de Mestris seu de Venetijs Quinque libras denariorum veronensium in auxilium eam maritandi...' First cited in *ibid*, p. 226 n.

1; reprinted in ArSartori II/2, p. 2137 n. 5.

123 The first which opens into the south nave wall. Da Lisca, p. 77.

124 One can barely recognize the underdrawing of a few characters formerly on the elect side of the Last Judgement.

125 First observed in 1804 by Dalla Rosa and cited by Sandberg-Vavalà, p. 224 n.

3. Zannandreis made the more thorough description cited in Da Lisca, p. 77.

126 For examples the Pellegrini tomb in the family chapel in S. Anastasia; the tomb of Giovanni Salerni and the Cavalli family in the same church.

127 Part of the elect remain on the inner façade wall in extremely precarious condition. (fig. 77).

128 Moses with his tablets can be recognized.

129 The general crumbling state of the painting and the large gaps now make it impossible to describe each chamber. Da Lisca, p. 78, observed that the banners had seven points; he believed that one cardinal sin was written on the banner and the venial sins on the points.

130 By Simeoni, 'Barnaba', p. 222 n. 3.

131 Similar to the Last Judgement in the Baptistery of Florence or the Arena chapel in Padua.

132 Da Lisca, p. 78. For an introduction to this iconographic theme see C. Settis Frugoni, 'Il tema dell'Incontro dei tre vivi e dei tre morti nella tradizione medioevale italiana', Accademia dei Lincei, Atti e Memorie della Classe di Scienze, ser. VIII, 13, (1967/68), pp. 145-251.

133 I do not wish to imply by this that Barnaba was an iconoclast.

Chapter 3 The Church of S. Lorenzo in Vicenza

The church of S. Lorenzo in Vicenza despite its bare interior featured some of the most innovative painted and sculptural works of fourteenth-century Italy. The earliest painted panel depicting a narrative scene in the Veneto stood on one of its altars in 1333. Even more significant is the portal, not only the first in the Veneto to carry votive sculpture on its tympanum, but the first Franciscan sculpted façade. Built between 1342-44 by Andriolo de' Santi, its almost complete documentation and excellent state make it an ideal and rare case study of Franciscan involvement in the organisation, supervision and construction of a major sculptural project.

Arrival of Friars

Although it was traditionally believed that S. Francis himself founded a community of brethren in Vicenza in 1216, it seems that a native bishop Nicolò Maltraversi invited the Franciscans in this city around 1219. He apparently ceded the church of S. Salvatore to the friars.¹ The friars celebrated the Eucharist in their own church by 1221.² Franciscan tertiaries were also actively involved in Vicenza as early as c. 1222 and maintained the church of S. Francesco Vecchio.³

In Vicenza as in other towns in the Veneto, the friars moved into the city centre from their original settlement in the periphery, in this case from S. Salvatore to S. Lorenzo.⁴ On 13 July 1280, the friars minor exchanged the church of S. Francesco, its sagrato, chiostro and piazza for the small church of S. Lorenzo in Portanova (one of seven chapels annexed to the cathedral) and the buildings surrounding it, the sagrato, piazza and other properties.⁵ Apparently the Franciscans were relocated in this particular contrada to be moral examples to a number of 'bad' women (donne di mal affare) who had settled there.⁶ This move also provided an opportunity of acquiring the venerated relics of S. Lorenzo, S. Quirico, S. Margherita and others.⁷ Two years later the community of S. Lorenzo numbered twelve friars, an average size for the province.⁸ In the same year the guardian bought more land and the convent began receiving bequests specially

designated for the construction of a new church.⁹ Thus the same pattern of building a new church soon after arrival was repeated in Vicenza. No documents pertaining to the construction have come down to us; a few wills record the wishes of benefactors to build and maintain an altar but they seldom indicate whether or not the task was carried out. An altar dedicated to S. Francesco was mentioned as early as 17 July 1282 but perhaps only built in 1289.¹⁰ Domina Ymia, spouse of the captain of Lendinara had financed the construction of the altar of S. John the Evangelist before 11 November 1288.¹¹ The high altar was consecrated in 1289.¹² A provincial chapter was hosted at S. Lorenzo in 1294, even though the church was not completed.¹³

Although altars were built before 1300 construction of the church continued or perhaps these were modifications or renovations. A generous communal subsidy was awarded to the friars from 1290 onwards and building proceeded throughout the fourteenth century. The scarce documentation does not allow a complete chronology of the building progression, but money was still provided for building in 1310 and 1312.¹⁴

The Franciscan community appears to have been in sound financial position even before the fourteenth century. On 29 June 1282, the friars sold one of their subsidiary settlements, S. Antonio di Costozza for a tiny sum, sixty lire, whilst retaining the right to officiate in the church.¹⁵ Federico da Montebello, the syndic who handled the sale, turned out to be a useful contact a few years later. On 9 April 1290, as one of the city councillors, he voted a substantial subsidy, 500 lire d'oro for the construction of the church of S. Lorenzo.¹⁶ Later that year he was reappointed as, 'personis que non sint de ipso ordine ad tractandum et generaliter ad agendum...', by the Provincial Minister Bartolomeo da Padova.¹⁷

Federico however, did not stay in the job very long; he was convicted for heresy and had his property and goods confiscated by his own employers. These were probably turned into capital to fund the construction of the church of S. Lorenzo, an illegal procedure, since all confiscated goods were meant to fill the

coffers of the camera apostolica.¹⁸ Confiscated goods was one way of generating income for Franciscan projects.

Before and immediately after 1303, year in which the Inquisitorial office was lost to the Dominican priory of S. Corona, the convent of S. Lorenzo conducted business transactions and accepted donations from Franciscan Tertiaries who were already under inquiry by the Inquisition. Mabilia, a well-known soror de poenitencia who specialized in trafficking goods belonging to the tribunal of the Inquisition, dictated her last wishes in the sacristy of S. Lorenzo on May 15 1304, with seven friars witnessing the act. The testatrix was an important patron. She elected burial in S. Lorenzo before the altar of S. Peter which she had previously built in the chapel of the same dedication. She also provided an annual five soldos denariorum venetorum grossorum to adorn the altar and light its lamp.¹⁹ Her friend and presumed accomplice, Meltruda, (another Tertiary) also expressed the wish to be buried at S. Lorenzo with a view to make and paint the chapel of the altar of S. Francesco.²⁰

One can see from these examples that the friars won every time; by accepting donations of suspected heretics and by using the confiscated goods should the suspects be convicted. However it seems the Franciscans of S. Lorenzo felt the pressure to reform albeit only for a moment. Whether this was due to the Papacy, the new Dominican Inquisitorial office or internal pressures from the Order isn't known. For whatever reasons the guardian of Vicenza, brother Giacomo da Lisiera, responded obediently to the Constitutions of the general Chapter of Padua in 1310, in particular to the prohibition to accept gifts from private patrons.²¹ In the name of all friars he renounced a generous donation of books bequeathed by a private citizen Gerardino del fu Firmo da Lonigo, on 19 December 1310.²² Four days later the syndic Giacomo da Castelgomberto, sold an annual allocation of fifteen pounds of oil, another gift from a private layman. The sale was confirmed by the guardian on 2 January 1311, stressing that this was in obedience to the Paduan Chapter's orders.²³ This makes it clear that the convent was not allowed to keep

gifts but could sell them. However, this observance did not last long. By 2 August 1312, Diambra the widow of Benvenuto Porto bequeathed to brother Pietro di Sovizzo fifty lire for sung masses and his needs, and five soldi to brother Buono to purchase a habit.²⁴

Despite contrary evidence Mantese believes that the convent of S. Lorenzo followed papal regulations regarding property and poverty and points to the lack of litigation between the secular clergy and Franciscans when it came to questions of parochial rights.²⁵ This is a far too simplistic view. There are numerous examples of individual friars accepting private gifts of money or goods. Despite the fact that S. Lorenzo and its neighbouring Franciscan convents did not observe papal regulations their churches remained central to popular devotion and piety.²⁶ The friars attracted considerable money and artistic patronage.

Patronage

Just like the other Franciscan churches in the Veneto, S. Lorenzo, attracted communal patronage at the beginning of the fourteenth century. Its titular saint was ranked amongst the minor protectors of the city alongside SS. Stefano and Vincenzo. And on 26 July 1311, the consiglio maggiore deliberated to visit the church of S. Lorenzo every year; on the vigil of the feast of S. Lorenzo, the cathedral chapter gathered there at Vespers and returned the next day accompanied by members of other mendicant orders, city corporations, rectors and communal magistrates.²⁷ Their annual offering included a pallio worth ten soldi grossi and ten lire di piccoli for necessary expenses.²⁸

Despite this support it seems the Franciscan Order was probably not the most popular religious movement in the city.²⁹ The Dominicans were powerful rivals and had been invited by bishop Bartolomeo Breganze in the early thirteenth century. Through their own wrong doing the Franciscans lost the prestigious office of the Inquisition at the beginning of the next century. S. Corona, already a privileged site because of its highly venerated relic of the Holy Thorn, became even more

prominent.³⁰ The collegio notarile certainly preferred the Dominicans as their statutes of 1340 indicate: a donation, 'usque ad summam XL librarum', for the feast of S. Corona, whilst the Franciscans received five times less (eight libre) for S. Lorenzo's feast.³¹ Significant burials occurred in S. Corona, including those of the highly venerated men of the locality: B. Giovanni da Schio, B. Isnardo da Chiampo and the bishop himself B. Bartolommeo detto da Breganze. The surviving hanging wall tombs with painted lunettes and the treasury of S. Corona are visual reminders of the thriving patronage of the Dominicans. In 1377 a school of philosophy was opened at S. Corona.³² Even the nominal lists from 1379 describe a stronger friary; there were thirteen friars at S. Corona, which was more than any other convent, male or female in the city.³³

Suffice to say that the Franciscans of S. Lorenzo were experiencing a serious decline in their numbers already in 1360, when only ten friars were recorded. Towards the close of the century the ^mcomune came to the help of all Mendicant houses which suggests that each Order was experiencing difficult times. On 9 August 1392, the ^mcomune deliberated an annual subvention of twenty-five libre to the Franciscans, Dominicans and Augustinians, and ten libre to the newly established Carmelites.³⁴ Despite this help the numbers at S. Lorenzo still decreased to seven brethren in 1411, while two years later six friars were recorded. They were all newcomers which has led Mantese to suggest that the convent underwent some reforms.³⁵

Decoration

The church of S. Lorenzo could not easily have accommodated large narrative cycles of wall painting in its nave since its ground plan is a three-aisled latin cross whose bays have two monofores and one oculus.³⁶ One might expect to find votive paintings on the supporting columns as in the lower church of S. Fermo Maggiore in Verona or the Dominican church of S. Nicolò in Treviso, but there is no trace of either.³⁷ Perhaps this lack of pictorial decoration is the result of the

extensive damage caused by Napoleonic troops,³⁸ since an early source suggests that at least part of the church was painted.³⁹ There remains a fragment of a votive Descent from the Cross in the third bay of the north wall in a niche where a marble tomb lies. It is now reduced to a group of pious women around a cross, is much repainted and in poor state of preservation. The repainting possibly masks a trecento work. The underside of the arch is decorated with medallions reminiscent of many giottesque types from the second half of the century.⁴⁰

The first documented reference to painting in S. Lorenzo during the fourteenth century occurs in the will of Maltruda q. Gerardino de Bellaxoro, dated 14 June 1304; her executors were asked to make and paint the chapel at the altar of S. Francesco.⁴¹ What the testatrix exactly meant by the words, 'capella dell'altare', is not clear, nor do we know if the work was carried out. It seems the capella could have been a tabernacle similar to the later Cappella della Madonna Mora by Rinaldino da Francia in the Santo, Padua. The next reference to painting was made by another woman, Berettina q. S. Ugozzon da Sarego who left money to have the cunaⁱ painted in 1315.⁴²

At least six altars were documented in S. Lorenzo before 1333, year in which the Dormition of the Virgin fragments were signed and dated by Paolo Veneziano. These were dedicated to Saints John the Evangelist (1288), Francis (1289), Peter (1304), Mary Magdalen (1327) and the high altar.⁴³ The altar of S. Catherine was recorded in 1385.⁴⁴ None have survived, save that of Mary Magdalen.⁴⁵

The altar of S. Lorenzo held the relics of the church at least from 1340. On the last day of February, Antonia q. Andrea della Daina presented a donation to the altar of the Holy Relics situated in the altar of S. Lorenzo.⁴⁶ It was located in the last bay before the south transept and was burned by French troops in 1796; in its place stands the old altar dedicated to Mary Magdalen (1327).⁴⁷ Contrary to custom the high altar of the church had a titulus different from that of the church itself. But there was a precedent for this in the church of S. Anthony in Padua,

where the altar of S. Anthony was in a separate chapel.⁴⁸

The Dormition of the Virgin Altarpiece

The most problematic paintings which ironically are the best preserved are the three wooden panels representing the Death of the Virgin, Saints Anthony and Francis, signed and dated, '+ MCCCXXXIII PAVLUS.D.VENECIIS. PIXIT. HOC OPVS', in the Museo Civico in Vicenza. (fig. 79) Their importance also stems from the fact that they are the first documented work of Paolo Veneziano.⁴⁹ It is also the first narrative altarpiece produced for a Franciscan church in the Veneto, and one of the earliest in Italy.⁵⁰ While many historians have assumed this painting stood on the surviving late thirteenth-century mensa of the high altar, others have preferred a side altar location because of the substantial width of the mensa and the presence of S. Francis in the painting.⁵¹ However I have reason to believe that the high altar was dedicated to the Assumption of the Virgin, the subject of the central panel, and not S. Lorenzo.⁵²

The dedication to the Assumption is revealed in two recently published documents dated 7 and 9 November 1534. The first is a concession document given by the Franciscans to Manfredo Porti for the juspatronatus of the chapel and burial rights. It refers to the ancient dedication of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary which was inscribed on the altar lapis.⁵³ The inscription which is carried on the rear edge of the mensa records the name of the donor Guido Porto and a date 1289, but no dedication.⁵⁴ The second document is the investiture of the capella grande which again alludes to long verses that record the ancient privileges of the Porto family and the dedication to the Assumption.⁵⁵

Aside from the fact that the dedication of the high altar and the subject matter of the central panel are identical, an hitherto unnoticed seventeenth-century document describes a polyptych on the high altar before it was dismantled as Paolo Veneziano's. The description cites that, 'the main chapel of the church of S. Lorenzo was built as soon as the friars obtained the church of S. Lorenzo in

exchange in 1280. In it was erected an altar, not where the present one lays, but towards the end of the choir stalls, which were originally in the middle of the church in a similar position to the choir in the church of the Frari in Venice'.⁵⁶ 'The altar's mensa was made of one piece; along it were carved two verses identifying its patrons, the sons of Guido Porto in 1289. But the painting currently preserved in the sacristy, was painted in 1333 by Paolo da Venezia, and represents on one side the passage of Our Lady to Heaven, and on another part (or side?) can be seen the image of the archangel S. Michael, and another nine saints, male and female'.⁵⁷ If the account is genuine, it suggests that the altarpiece on the high altar was perhaps a double-sided altarpiece, and represented the Assumption of the Virgin, the archangel Michael and another nine saints of both sexes.⁵⁸

It has been argued that the surviving fragments would have been too small for an altar block measuring 347 cm, even with two further side panels.⁵⁹ It can be shown however that if the surviving panels formed part of large altarpiece resembling the later polyptych in the Pinacoteca Comunale of S. Severino Marche,⁶⁰ with four standing saints on either side of the central Dormition and allowance was made for the frame, the reconstructed width would be circa 290 cm.⁶¹

The debate about the altarpiece's location has little bearing on its importance for the development of the narrative altarpiece. Dated 1333, the S. Lorenzo painting is one of the earliest narrative altarpieces in the Veneto (if not the first) and like the slightly earlier Stigmatization of S. Francis panels, it was created in a Franciscan environment.⁶² It is not profoundly innovative in that its subject is a narrative of the life of Mary and not that of a saint, but it is a step ahead of Giotto's more advanced polyptychs, in Santa Croce and in Bologna.⁶³ Although the idea of introducing a narrative scene on an altarpiece in the region probably came from the Franciscan friars, the design was probably left to the artist. It has nothing in common with the only other monumental depictions of the Dormition of the Virgin, the apse painting of the Arena chapel or the mosaics in the atrium of S. Marco in

Venice.⁶⁴ Paolo's Dormition seems to be a cross between the Epistolario of Giovanni da Gaibana, dated c. 1259,⁶⁵ and the front of the sarcophagus of B. Odoric of Pordenone, executed between 1331-2 for the church of S. Francesco in Udine.⁶⁶ Next to the Epistolario there are similarities in the way Paolo has arranged his figures; the Virgin in a bed in the foreground, surrounded by apostles and angels at the back. (fig. 80) The main differences between the two images are the attempts at three-dimensionality and the general emotional content of Paolo's panel, wherein all characters look at the Virgin save a few who turn away in grief. There are a few compositional changes; S. Peter holding a censer has moved to the Virgin's side while S. Paul stands by the Virgin's feet and extends his right arm to the deceased. Paolo has also added the Assumption above, where Christ brings the soul of his mother to Heaven.⁶⁷ The model of the deceased Virgin who crosses her hands is the effigy of B. Odoric at Udine.⁶⁸ (fig. 81)

Another lost panel representing the Death of S. Francis, formerly in the collection of Count Gerolamo Gualdo (1650) was also signed and dated 1333 by Paolo Veneziano. It may also have come from the church of S. Lorenzo.⁶⁹ If Muraro is right in suggesting that the Death of S. Francis was one of the panels of a cover similar to the Pala d'Oro, this may well have adorned the altar of S. Francis, situated in the right chapel flanking the main one.⁷⁰

The Façade Portal

Only a decade later S. Lorenzo was the site of the most innovative sculptural project of the Franciscan Order. The figured façade portal sculpted by Andriolo de'Santi and workshop between the years 1342 and 1344 is no doubt one of the best documented sculptural commissions.⁷¹ (fig. 82) It is thus surprising that it has received so little attention.⁷² The façade example is the survivor of two portals commissioned; the second begun in 1344 for a side entrance was demolished to make way for an altar.⁷³ Like Paolo Veneziano's painting, the portal was the first documented project executed by the Andriolo de'Santi for the Franciscans in the

Veneto. Iconographically, it is most significant since it is the first major sculpted Franciscan façade and the first time in the Veneto that a devotional image was placed on a church portal.⁷⁴ Finally it is also the first realistic portrayal of a dwarf in the Veneto.

The portal was conceived as an addition to the façade a capanna which was divided horizontally into two parts. (fig. 84) The upper half built of brick had a large rose window in its centre and five oculi which formed a triangle above. The bottom half consists of a blind arcade with seven tall lancet arches built of brick and istrian stone.⁷⁵ The new portal was no doubt built to outshine the thirteenth-century portal of S. Corona and indeed the guardian boasted that the door was the most beautiful anyone possessed and that no other could ever surpass it.⁷⁶ Indeed he was right as there were no other figured portals throughout the history of his own Order. The most recent answer to the Franciscan façade in the Veneto had been the canopied porch which carried paintings in its vault and the lunette above the door.⁷⁷ (fig. 83) There was no comparison with the innovatory nature of S. Lorenzo in Vicenza.

The portal is flanked by carved jambs articulated with alternating orders of decorated columnettes and rounded and rectangular shafts that correspond to as many archivolt in the surmounting arch. The door jambs rest on stylobates which are divided into rectangular frames decorated with heraldic roses. There is a carved lintel and archivolt above the doorway. The tympanum carries sculpture in the round. A pediment also bearing statues is supported by engaged columns which rest on lions' backs.

The focal point of the portal is the tympanum on which rest a seated Virgin and Child flanked by S. Francis, S. Lorenzo and the donor Pietro da Marano. The archivolt and outer door frame is carved with inhabited vine scrolls featuring ten half-length portraits of prophets and symbols of the evangelists and apostles. The architrave is divided into eight trefoil arches and a central rectangular compartment; Christ occupies the central space and saints surround him. (figs 85-86)

The project was first recorded in the will of Pietro 'Nan' da Marano (the dwarf), a courtier and adviser of the Scala court. He was able to amass a large fortune, not as a result of active combat but in his share of goods expropriated by the Scala. He was also invested by the bishops of Vicenza with numerous signorial and decimal rights, which he shared with his brothers. He was a money lender who also lent consumer goods which brought him interest gains and a considerable cash flow by the first decade of the fourteenth century.⁷⁸ Thus he was a usurer and a grave sinner. He was also accused of practising magic and his talents were put to use in the hope of assassinating pope John XXII between 1319 and 1320.⁷⁹ Despite his small stature Pietro the dwarf climbed the social scale and reached a prestigious position in Verona, Vicenza and Venice. His associations with the Portanova neighbourhood were two-fold. He was presented to the confraternity of notaries in Vicenza as advocate and defender and registered in the Portanova quarter. Portanova was also the site of the ancestral home of the da Marano and the residence of his brother Marco.⁸⁰ Although Pietro resided in Verona he chose to be commemorated in his family's neighbourhood.

In March 1329, Pietro followed the steps of Cangrande and obtained Venetian citizenship. This was the preamble to the deposit of 10,000 ducats in the Camera del frumento of Venice which would fund the portals. Pietro made two wills; in the first instance he left no direct heir but as a gesture of fealty to his lord, made Mastino della Scala his universal heir.⁸¹ But no doubted helped by his Franciscan confessor, Pietro had a change of heart and underwent a last minute conversion and repentance. In a second document which superseded his will he ordered that the 10,000 ducats deposited in Venice be given to the procurators of S. Marco and to Pace da Lugo, guardian of S. Lorenzo and Tomaso de Camerino, the Dominican Inquisitor.⁸² The executors were asked to repay the evils done by Pietro. In particular to give 1000 lire to repair the church of S. Zeno in Verona; 1000 lire to the city of Tregnago to those people who had suffered because of him; 200 ducats for repairs to the Pala d'Oro, Venice; and more importantly for S.

Lorenzo, as many ducats as necessary to make two portals for the church, to be made honorably for his soul.⁸³ Pietro was imitating citizens like Enrico Scrovegni who sought to invest a large sum of money into the church in order to save their soul or their father's. The dwarf was also assured of a place in posterity; each time his contemporaries entered the church of S. Lorenzo they would be reminded of his piety and munificence.

The initial planning stages of the main portal have not been preserved but accounts spreading over two years were published in 1949. Thus we do not know who commissioned the architect and who drew up the contract. Although the work occurred after the patron's death, there remains a slight possibility that he might have planned the project whilst alive and perhaps even suggested Andriolo de'Santi to his executors.⁸⁴ However it was probably the executors, the Franciscan guardian Pace da Lugo and the Dominican inquisitor Tomaso da Camerino, who commissioned the architect/sculptor. If this was indeed the case the project was handled differently from the later commission of the chapel of S. James in Padua where no friars took part in the commission; only the donor, his wife, nephew, architect and craftsmen.⁸⁵ The Franciscan involvement in Vicenza was perhaps due to the fact that the project had a bearing on the whole church, as opposed to a more 'private' one in Padua, a family's funeral chapel; unless of course it was simply because the executors were friars.

An inscription on the right side of the door frame attests that the portal was executed by brother Pace da Lugo and completed in 1344.⁸⁶ The account books of the Venetian procurators shed light on the proceedings and reveal in detail some of the tasks of Pace da Lugo and other friars.⁸⁷ Thus they provide a valuable and rare insight into the weekly activities involved in coordinating a sculptural commission. Aside from brother Elias, few Franciscans are known to have supervised artistic projects closely.⁸⁸

Brother Pace da Lugo was entirely responsible for the successful completion of the commission. His role can best be understood if we compare him to a

twentieth-century contractor. Firstly, he travelled periodically to Venice to receive money from the procurators.⁸⁹ On his journeys he was always accompanied by another friar; both were reimbursed for their expenses.⁹⁰ Then he paid the workers every five days on average; materials and wine were paid separately.⁹¹ The guardian was also responsible for arranging and paying for the transport of materials (usually from Venice by way of ship).⁹² The accounts were carefully controlled by the procurators; they asked the guardian to keep records and produce them.⁹³ The operation ran smoothly except for one dispute between the friars and the Venetian procurators over thirty ducats, which interrupted works from the middle of March to mid-August 1344.⁹⁴ In the end the case was taken to court, the procurators were found guilty and the friars were reimbursed.⁹⁵

Another friar from S. Lorenzo was actively involved in the commission. Documents suggest that brother Nicolo was the right hand man of Pace and a taiapiera who executed periodic and skilled work on the portal. The guardian wrote that Nicolo's work was much admired; for two years he had worked on the portal in all seasons and Pace believed there was no cheaper and more lucrative worker.⁹⁶ Brother Nicolo's contribution was first documented in an entry for the last day of October 1342 when he was paid nine ducats for his travelling expenses.⁹⁷ On 10 November he appears next to Pace da Lugo and both were responsible for the payment of materials and workers.⁹⁸ On 29 April 1343, he is recorded to have paid thirty ducats beyond the approved allowance which led to a dispute between the convent and the procurators.⁹⁹ Work was resumed in mid-August and brother Nicolo again helped Pace with the payments.¹⁰⁰ On the last day of December, Nicolo was paid for 'una sancta maria et uno leone', which he sculpted with his own hand. This includes one of the two lions which support the engaged columns and a Virgin Mary which has since disappeared.¹⁰¹ What is striking here is not so much the presence of a Franciscan sculptor (who is entitled to wear special clothing) but one who is paid, albeit on the cheap, at least one grosso per day.¹⁰²

Iconography

Romanesque portals are thought to have endowed the façade of a church with a sacred character.¹⁰³ Even if this question cannot be answered, it is worth asking whether the portal of S. Lorenzo was a carefully conceived programme designed not only to inform, but to revive earlier examples of portals which symbolized the church's policy. The portal of S. Lorenzo is an adaptation of the painted lunette of a tomb. At S. Lorenzo, the frame is also modelled on an antique 'triumphal arch' but it features an Annunciation, a theme commonly found on the triumphal arch at the sanctuary end of the nave. Additionally this 'triumphal arch' proclaims as in antiquity certain political and historical facts: that a councillor of the Scala court, Pietro Nan da Marano achieved special status. The equivalent of the tomb lunette is the tympanum with carved lintel, archivolt and door frames. As is usually found in the tomb lunette, here sits the Virgin Mary, crowned as the Queen of Heaven. On her lap sits Christ, a child but already the teacher. They are accompanied by Saints Francis and Lorenzo who presents the donor, Pietro da Marano.

This is in fact the first instance of a portal which carries a devotional representation. (fig. 87) Up to now devotional images were confined to paintings above tombs, such as the tomb of doge Francesco Dandolo in the Frari Venice, another Franciscan church (c. 1339), or single wall paintings. (fig. 88) In Vicenza, Pietro's repentance, piety and great gift was rewarded by his close proximity to the Virgin and Child and saints in a most conspicuous and indeed sacred place. For traditionally, a figure under a canopy, (dome, apse, even arch) was endowed with an aura of divinity or of special sanctity.¹⁰⁴ The archivolt is another translation of a hanging wall tomb. The painted quatrefoils usually found under the arch have been transformed into ten half-length portraits of Old Testament figures in inhabited vine scrolls. Below on the lintel, Christ the judge and eight intercessors appear as they would on the front of the bier. The door jambs repeat the pattern of the lunette and archivolt with the symbols of the Evangelist, apostles and saint.

But the portal is not an affected copy of a painted tomb lunette. Andriolo

de'Santi has translated the Dandolo tomb into a far more convincing scene full of movement. (fig. 89) In the lunette S. Francis stands in three-quarter view with a slight contrapposto. He is tall and thin, clean-shaven, and tonsured. He leans back to contemplate the presentation of the donor by S. Lorenzo and rests a cross on his chest next to his large chest wound. With his left hand he appears to present a closed Gospel, with rich binding and large clasps. His knotted rope is well defined against the deep folds of his habit which clings to him suggesting the shape of his right knee. He stares at the seated Madonna. She is larger, appears very stiff next to Francis, and stares straight ahead paying no attention to her child; yet she holds him firmly by the shoulder. She is crowned and holds up her right hand beckoning the worshipper.¹⁰⁵ Christ is very much the four-year old child, well-built with short curly hair; he is perched somewhat precariously on his mother's left knee, one leg up and leans towards the donor, as if in conversation. With his left hand he holds a bird firmly; he blesses the donor with the other hand.¹⁰⁶ He appears as the teaching Christ as is found on numerous early Christian sarcophagi.¹⁰⁷ The donor, Pietro da Marano kneels close to the throne, hands clasped in prayer and gazes intently at the Christ child. He is presented in profile, his features are individualized, more so than the surrounding saints. He is a corpulent dwarf with unusually large head and hands.¹⁰⁸ He wears the cape of his high office, no head gear but he seems to have just taken his hood off. S. Lorenzo dressed as a deacon stands immediately behind him also in profile and holds his left hand over the donor's head. His right hand salutes the Madonna and Child. The background is studded with eight-pointed stars.

Christ appears again immediately underneath Mary on the lintel. Two angels draw curtains to reveal a mature, bearded Christ who blesses the observer while holding a closed book on his left knee. The eight standing saints who flank him are identified by their attributes and carved names underneath. They are from left to right: Vincent, Louis of Toulouse, Francis, John the Evangelist, an angel, Christ, another angel, Laurence, Anthony of Padua, Clare, and finally Stephen. (figs 88-

89) On the archivolt ten Old Testament figures hold scrolls; some are identified by name: (left to right) Daniel, Ezechiel, two unknown males, Moses, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and two unknown males. Finally on both sides of the door, the four symbols of the evangelists, apostles and prophets who are not all identifiable.¹⁰⁹

The key to understanding the design of this commission is the tomb of doge Francesco Dandolo executed c. 1339 for the chapter hall of the Frari in Venice.¹¹⁰ Its tomb lunette has always been attributed to Paolo Veneziano and the sculpture on the bier has been likened to his Dormition panel painted in 1333 for S. Lorenzo in Vicenza. Now the Franciscans have gone full circle. They have used the Venetian tomb as the model for their Vicenza portal.

Tombs

Only a few tombs survive from the twenty-seven recorded by Rumor.¹¹¹ Monuments were found on the façade, inside hung on the nave walls, in chapels, in the cloister and even in the chapter hall.¹¹² Three of the four tombs on the façade were originally destined for this church and are typical of early Trecento venetian hanging tombs; a bier surmounted by a pointed arch.¹¹³ These may have included paintings in the lunette space, although there are no physical or documentary traces that survive. The biers are quite similar and are most simple, almost as if they had been mass produced. The front carries a cross on a round medallion with two identical shields on either side bearing the deceased man's coat of arm. Twisted columns occupy the corners.

Benvenuto Porto was buried in the first tomb from the left.¹¹⁴ (fig. 90) At the top of its façade runs the inscription, '+ S.DOMINI. BENEVENUTI IVDICIS. DE PORTIS'. On either side of a central cross a shield bears his family emblem. Benvenuto was the son of Guido (already encountered) and presumably one of the sons who had built the high altar of S. Lorenzo as reported in the inscription. He was a money lender, a man of law, and one of four doctors elected by the city council in 1285 to defend the city from the Holy See. He is last recorded in

1306.¹¹⁵ His will was dictated in the presence of the guardian of S. Lorenzo, Pace da Lugo and the Dominican prior, Francesco da S. Severinio.¹¹⁶ He died before 2 August 1312, date on which his widow, Diambra dictated her will. She was assisted by her husband's witnesses and two other Franciscans. She requested burial at S. Lorenzo, bequeathed fifty lire di piccoli for sung masses for her soul and that of her husband's, and left money to two of the three Franciscan witnesses.¹¹⁷

The tomb of Lapo di Azzolino degli Uberti of Florence is nearest the portal on the right side and bears his family arms, an imperial eagle on the left half and a checked pattern on the other half, and the following inscription: 'HIC JACET LAPVS DOMINI AZOLINI DE UBERTIS DE FLORENTIA'.¹¹⁸ (fig. 91)

Although there remains no trace of polychromy, Magrini observed the colour scheme, gold and blue. Little is known of Lapo, save that he was captain of Chiusi in 1290, captain of the Whites in Pistoia in 1294 and Imperial Vicar in 1311. His presence in the north was due to his expulsion from Florence as he was ghibelline.¹¹⁹ He died after 1311 in Vicenza.¹²⁰

Marco da Marano's tomb hangs next to the portal. (fig. 92) His family shield is a rampant feline and the running inscription reads: '+ ISTUD EST SEPULCRUM DOMINI MARCHI DE MARANO +'.¹²¹ He is the least known and is overshadowed by his brother Pietro's diplomatic career, and sculpted portrait. However his testament dictated on 29 July 1312 survives. Witnessing the act were four friars, two of them had witnessed Diambra's will.¹²² Marco chose to be buried in the church of S. Lorenzo. His bequest was quite generous and included an altar to be built wherever his heirs saw best. The friars were asked to use part of 200 librarum parvorum to purchase a chalice of twenty soldi and a missal worth forty soldi; the surplus to buy hangings, wax and whatever else was necessary.¹²³ Once again, brother Pietro di Sovizzo featured quite prominently. He was jointly responsible with the bishop's vicar for the distribution of money to the poor, and was to be consulted by the heirs before handing out any money.¹²⁴

The Florentine governor of Vicenza, Gangalando de' Gangalandi was buried

in the chapter hall of S. Lorenzo.¹²⁵ Only the front of his tomb survives as an altar frontal in the fourth chapel of the duomo of Vicenza.¹²⁶ Made of limestone, there is a fragmentary inscription which runs along the top: '...CVS. S.P.S. IN SOLLIS OCCASV M.CCC.LVIII X IANVARI ACCESIT AD DNM'.¹²⁷ Unlike previous tombs discussed, this one is of very good quality, carved in a style reminiscent of the Campione, and features a devotional image. A curtain hangs as a backdrop to the central scene. The donor in full armour kneels and prays beside the seated Virgin Mary; the Christ child blesses the soldier. There are emblems of the family on either side.¹²⁸ The whole is framed by running foliage.

Conclusion

The two major commissions at S. Lorenzo were executed by artists who were employed by the Order on numerous occasions. As it seems to me unlikely that the friars would assign the execution of an altarpiece (probably for the high altar) to an unknown and inexperienced artist I would propose, purely as a hypothesis, that the friars hired Paolo Veneziano after he and his brother Marco had proven their skills in the Franciscan churches of Treviso and Venice.¹²⁹ It is also significant that the pose of the deceased Virgin Mary imitates that of Odoric of Pordenone, a Franciscan friar whose sarcophagus was recently completed and found to be nobler than the arca of the Four Virgins in the basilica of Aquileia.¹³⁰ The presence of Andriolo de' Santi is more difficult to explain. His life and career prior to the Vicenza portal is undocumented, but he was obviously an already established sculptor, master of a workshop.

Viewed in the wider context of the Order the Dormition panel has its place. This painting executed by Paolo Veneziano in 1333 is one of the earliest narrative altarpieces in Italy and like the slightly earlier Stigmatization of S. Francis panels, it was created in a Franciscan environment. The sculptor of the tomb of Francesco Dandolo (d. 1339), also working in Franciscan surroundings incorporated it on the front of the doge's sarcophagus.¹³¹ The whole tomb was then used loosely as the

basic framework for the portal of S. Lorenzo. It may well have been the wish of the patrons to copy the works. The request that a painting or a sculpture, or a church be repeated was very common during the fourteenth century and is a characteristic of many contracts.¹³²

Notes to Chapter 3

- 1 He was bishop of Reggio Emilia and until 1219 Apostolic Administrator of Vicenza. ArSartori II/2, p. 2272.
- 2 Year in which Albertino of Padua heard mass in the friars' church. S. Rumor, Il tempio di S Lorenzo in Vicenza, (Vicenza, 1927), (= Rumor, S Lorenzo), p. 10.
- 3 S. Francesco Vecchio or Piccolo was reserved for the Tertiaries.
- 4 G. Mantese, Memorie storiche della Chiesa Vicentina, vol.2 (Vicenza, 1954), (= Mantese, Memorie), p. 232. See also R.Zanocco, 'I Minori a Vicenza nel secolo XIII,' Le Venezie Francescane, II (1933), pp. 151-5.
- 5 Rumor, S Lorenzo, p. 10. The friars did another exchange to gain land next to the church of July 3 1281. ArSartori II/2, pp. 2278-9.
- 6 Ibid, p. 12.
- 7 Ibid, p.12.
- 8 Jacopo da Monselice was guardian. G. Mantese, '"Fratres et sorores de poenitentia" di S Francesco di Vicenza dal XIII al XV secolo,' (1967), reprinted in G. Mantese, Scritti scelti di storia vicentina I, (Vicenza, 1982), pp. 3-17, (= Mantese, 'Fratres'), p. 4 n. 8.
- 9 One hundred lire di piccoli bequeathed by Vitale q. Pandecampo, giudice for the building of the church. S. Rumor, S Lorenzo, p. 13.
- 10 Antonio da Montenezzo bequeathed four lire, 'in adiutorium altaris sancti Francisci quando fiet', (for when the altar will be built). ArSartori II/2, p. 2315 n. 9. Mantese, 'Fratres', p. 9 n. 29, remarked that the altar existed in 1282. On 7 September 1289, the widow Zilborga da Malo requests, 'Item volo et ordino...duo altaria erigantur...alium vero in Ecclesia sancti laurencij eiusdem ordinis fratrum de Vicentia ad Reverenciam beati francisci.' ArSartori II/2, p. 2316 n. 11.
- 11 On that day, Ymia daughter of Alberto de Pilio dictates her will. Amongst other bequests she makes provision for a lamp, 'que die noctuque debeat ardere omni Anno et in perpetuum coram altari beati iohannis evangeliste...quod altare dicta dna fecit construi et ordinari in dicta ecclesia beati laurondij suis propriis expensis pro

eius anima', in *ibid*, p. 2316 n. 10.

12 See note 43 below.

13 Dellwing, p. 46.

14 For an attempt at building chronology see *ibid*, pp. 45-47.

15 The buyers seem to be Franciscan Tertiaries. The implications of this sale are explained by Mantese, 'Fratres' pp. 4-5 and n. 10. Document printed in *ArSartori* II/1 pp. 622-23 n. 2.

16 Mantese, 'Fratres', p. 5.

17 On 26 October 1290. See *ibid*, p. 6 n. 18.

18 As suggested by *ibid*, p. 5. But this was just one of many irregularities performed by the Franciscan Inquisitorial Office until its dismissal in 1303.

19 Her will is dated 15 May 1304. See the brief account in *ibid*, p. 10 and n. 33-34; document in *ArSartori* II/2, p. 2317 n. 17.

20 14 June 1304; what is exactly meant by chapel of the altar is not clear. See Mantese, 'Fratres', p. 9 and n. 29; *ArSartori* II/2, p. 2318 n. 18. Mantese, *Memorie*, 3, p. 605. Other accusations of acceptance of private gifts were directed to the Franciscan inquisitor himself, Francesco da Trissino. It was rumoured that as guardian of S. Lorenzo, he had enriched his family and himself by accepting (alongside Bernardo da Padova) an annual revenue from a testatrix (14 June 1304). See *ibid*, p. 339.

21 See the restrictions on books in the last article of chapter VI of the Constitutions, 'De libris fratrum', in C. Cenci, 'Le costituzioni padovane del 1310', *AFH*, 76 (1983), pp. 505-88, (= Cenci, 'Costituzioni'), pp. 535-6.

22 '...volentes...parere et obedire mandatis et beneplacitis rev.patris sui...fratris Gonsalvi...publicatis per eum de anno presenti in suo generali capitulo Padue celebrato', in Mantese, *Memorie*, 2, p. 468, who prints the list of books in question.

23 The gift had come from Bartolomeo q. Daina and was sold to Pitocca Pitocchi.

ARSartori II/2, p. 2289 n. 40-41.

24 Ibid, p. 2290 n. 47.

25 He also believes that the regular succession of guardians indicates stability.

26 S. Lorenzo had its own Marian shrine, the oratorio della concezione. It was built behind the church before 1340 and was demolished in 1909. See Mantese, Memorie, 3, p. 340. Sartori dates the event prior to 28 October 1348, when Ordano q. Vitachino de la Costa dictates his will: '...legavit et dari Jusit de suis bonis omni Anno Viginti libras den. parv. Capelle S. Marie situate Juxta ecclesiam Sancti Laurencij fratrum min. de Vincentia...' in ArSartori, II/2, p. 2319 n. 25.

27 Mantese, Memorie, 3, p. 340.

28 This offering continued until the Napoleonic soppression in 1805. Ibid, p. 340 n. 11.

29 A detailed study of the patronage of the other orders awaits treatment. A useful comparison can be made with the Clares in the convent of S. Maria de Cella; in 1304 they numbered 35 sisters. Ibid, p. 342.

30 Louis IX had given a thorn from the Crown of Thorns to the Dominican bishop Bartolomeo in 1255. A. Cadei, 'Si puo scrivere una storia dell'architetture mendicante? Appunti per l'area padano-veneta', in Tomaso da Modena e il suo Tempo. (Atti del convegno internazionale di studi per il 6 centenario della morte), (Venice, 1980), pp. 337-62, p. 344.

31 Mantese, Memorie, 3, p. 351.

32 Ibid, p. 353.

33 In 1388 there were fifteen friars. Ibid, p. 354.

34 Ibid, p. 365.

35 Ibid, p. 341.

36 If paintings had been done on a smaller scale they would have been partly obscured by the five pairs of columns which divide the nave.

37 There are some traces of plaster at the top of the nave walls but no pictorial

remains.

38 E. Arslan, Vicenza. Le Chiese. Catalogo delle cose d'arte e di antichità d'Italia, (Rome, 1956), (= Arslan, Vicenza), p. 119.

39 '...ut faciant depingere curiam ecclesie sancti Laurentii que non est depicta,' from the will of a dame Beretina in her will dated 10 August 1315. Dellwing, p. 46.

40 Barbieri saw in it a clear derivation of giottesque style from the end of the trecento and executed by artist from Padua. F. Barbieri, R. Cevese, L. Magagnato, Guida di Vicenza, (Vicenza, 1953), p. 69.

41 '...sia dai suoi fidei commissari fatta fare e dipinger la capella dell'altare di S. Francesco...', Mantese, 'Fratres', p. 9 n. 29. See also ArSartori II/2, p. 2318 n. 18. There is an earlier reference to a painting by Imigla on November 11 1289: 'In primis dixit, voluit et ordinavit...una Anchona honorifice depicta usque ad summam et quantiatem Viginti soldorum Venetorum grossorum', for the altar of John the Evangelist. Ibid, p. 2316 n. 12.

42 See above, note 39 and ibid, p. 2279.

43 And one of unknown dedication (1312). Ibid, p. 2316 n. 10; p. 2316 n. 11; p. 2317 n. 17; p. 2318 n. 21; p. 2331 n. 115.

44 The altar of S Catherine was situated on the right side of the altar of Mary Magdalen. The notary Nicolo q. Giacomo de Castelgomberto endowed the altar he has had built ('per ipsum constructum') on February 15 1385. Ibid, p. 2319 n. 28. It was in a ruinous state in 1626. Ibid, p. 2333 n. 124.

45 But I have reconstructed their approximate location. See appendix 1.

46 See ibid, p. 2294 n. 90. Antonia's donation is reconfirmed on February 28 1342 in ibid, p. 2295 n. 94. On September 24 1337, Gerardo Solerio q. Otonello Camozzi of Vicenza requested burial in the church and, 'relinquo et dari iubeo ecclesie...meo possessionis de cruculo pro altare reliquiarum dicte ecclesie', in ibid, p. 2294 n. 84.

47 Ibid, p. 2331 n. 115.

48 See chapter 1 of this thesis, p. 18.

49 F. Barbieri, Il Museo Civico di Vicenza. Dipinti e Sculture dal XIV al XV secolo, (Venice, 1962), (= Barbieri) pp. 196-200. M. Muraro, Paolo da Venezia, (University Park, 1970), (= Muraro, Paolo), pp. 31-2 and 131-4.

50 J. Gardner, 'The Louvre Stigmatization and the Problem of the Narrative Altarpiece', ZfK 45 (1982), pp. 217-47, (= Gardner, 'Stigmatization'), pp. 246-7, places the altarpiece in its wider context.

51 Barbieri and Muraro believe this. A side altar location is preferred by J. Gardner, 'Some Franciscan Altars of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries,' in The Vanishing Past. Studies of Medieval Art, Liturgy and Metrology Presented to Christopher Hohler, ed. A. Borg & A. Martindale. BAR International Series, 3, (Oxford, 1981), pp. 29-38, (= Gardner, 'Altars'), p. 36 n. 25.

52 Although the central panel features the Dormition of the Virgin, Muraro, Paolo, p. 133, has already pointed out the inscription painted at the top in red, 'ASVCIO VIRGINIS MARIAE', which confirms its identity as an Assumption.

53 'Con obligo ad d.o Capellano di dover ogn'anno nel giorno dell' Assontione della B.V. Maria ad honor della quale e stato dedicato d. o Altare da SS. Porti loro Antenati come nella iscrizione posta nella lapide dell'Altare stesso de dar a più vecchi de loro e discendenti loro un candellot per cad. di cera di peso de mesa Z con l'arma Porta', ArSartori II/2, p. 2325 n. 56.

54 'DE PROTIS PROLES GUIDONIS CON(DID)IT ARA+ MILLO DVC OCT. NONO SCED IND+ (HA)NC OBVITANDAM PESTEM T(O)RTORIS AMARAM'. I have followed Gardner's reading on p. 31, which corrects Rumor's.

55 '...concederli di grazia speciale la capella grande in la chiesa di S. Lorenzo da Vicenza Intitulata l'assuntione de Maria Vergine, la quale sia sua, et qui quella ne possono disporre, come etiam antiquamente e stata, il che manifestamente si conosce per le lettere, quali longo ordine in versi sono descritte in la pietra, et

tabulla de lo altare grande in detta capella...' in *ArSartori* II/2, p. 2325 n. 57.

56 This implies that the altar was forward of its present location. In this location there would have been room to circulate around the altarpiece and the back would have been visible to the friars in the main chapel.

57 'La Capella Maggior della Chiesa di S. Lorenzo fu eretto da principio, subito che li Frati Minori nel 1280 ebbero in permuta da Signori Canonici la picciola Chiesa, o Capella di S. Lorenzo. Fu in essa eretto un Altare, non già nel sito, ove si vedea negl'anni scorsi, o pur dove si vede al presente, ma dove è adesso la fine del coro, il quale prima era in mezzo alla Chiesa, e apunto come si vede Coro, et altare Maggiore nella Chiesa de' Frari in Venezia. La mensa dell'Altare è tutta d'un pezzo...Lungo essa pietra sono intagliati due versi li quali ci fano sapere, che fu fatto quell'altare dalli Figlioli di Guido Porto nel 1289. Ma il quadro di pittura, ch'attualmente conservasi nella Sagrestia, fu dipinto nel 1333 da Paolo da Venezia, e rappresenta il felicissimo passaggio di nostra Signora al Cielo, e da una parte, e dall'altra si vedono l'Imagini di S. Michele Arcangelo, ed altri nove tra Santi, e Sante. Chi l'abbia fatto fare non si sa, perché quegli avrà voluto avere la mercede in Cielo da Dio.' Published in *ArSartori* II/2 p.2337. I have not yet been able to locate the original in the Archivio di Stato, Vicenza.

58 Three more documents shed light on the later fate of the polyptych. On April 18 1586, Maistro Nicolò troni received 0:12:0 in connection with the polyptych: '...in acomodare la ca[s]sa della anchona de l'altare grande'. In 1588 the pala of the high altar was moved to the refectory, where on November 29, six iron bars were purchased to sustain it. The polyptych was later moved to the sacristy where it was recorded in the inventory of 1613 as a polyptych of the great Madonna by Paolo Veneziano : 'Uno polittico di Paolo Veneziano della Madonna grande'. Also recorded were paintings of S. Anthony of Padua, an image of S. Chiara, a quadretto of the Passion, one of the 'Madonna picciolo' and another representing the Crucifixion. See *ibid*, p. 2328 n. 76, p. 2329 n. 77-8, and p. 2331 n. 111. Lanzi's

Cronica cited by Barbieri, p. 196, presumably recorded the demolition of its replacement in 1731.

59 Gardner, 'Stigmatization', p. 246 n. 97.

60 Attributed to Paolo Veneziano by Muraro, Paolo, pp. 120-1 and plate 117.

61 For the suggested reconstructed width, I calculated as follows: cm 23 X 8 = 184 (side panels) + 77 (central panel) + 29.56 (allowance for frame; usually 16% of side panel width) = 290.52 cm. If it was modelled instead on the ^{S.} Giacomo Maggiore polyptych (Bologna) the altarpiece would be considerably smaller: c. 240 cm. From a design point of view, I would like to argue that the fragments in the Museo Civico could not in themselves form a side altarpiece. There is no precedent for this shape in the Veneto and it was not repeated by Paolo or his workshop.

62 In fact there are few extant panel paintings produced in the Veneto before 1333. One of these is the figure of S. Donato at Murano dated 1310.

63 This was first noticed by Gardner, 'Stigmatization', p. 246, who draws an excellent comparison between Paolo's Dormition and Simone Martini's Annunciation of 1333. For Giotto's works see G. Previtali, Giotto e la sua bottega, (Milan, 1967), p. 316. J. Gardner, 'The Decoration of the Baroncelli Chapel in Santa Croce', ZfK, 34 (1971), pp. 89-114.

64 F. Bologna, Novità su Giotto, (Turin, 1976). C. Bellinati, 'La Cappella degli Scrovegni', in Padova. Basiliche e Chiese, (Padua, 1975), pp. 247-68.

65 On f. 66v. See C. Bellinati, S. Bettini, L'Epistolario miniato di Giovanni di Gaibana, (Vicenza, 1968).

66 It is now in the Carmine, Udine, in a reconstructed state. Wolters, Scultura, 1, pp. 157-9.

67 The design of the Dormition was the model for the carved Dormition on the façade of the tomb of Francesco Dandolo in the chapter hall of the Franciscan church in Venice, dated c. 1339.

68 The Virgin however crosses the right hand over left which is the opposite of

Odoric.

69 Muraro, Paolo, pp. 82 and 134. Muraro rightly corrects Walcher Casotti who believed the square panel was part of the Dormition of the Virgin polyptych. The Gualdo family had a tomb dated 1351 in S. Lorenzo in the first bay on the right. See Rumor, S Lorenzo, p. 93 for the inscription. On Gualdo the collector see B. Morsolin, 'Il Museo Gualdo', Nuovo Archivio Veneto, 8 (1894), pp. 173-220, 373-440; L. Puppi, Girolamo Gualdo jr., 1650. Giardino di cha Gualdo, (Florence, 1972); C. Gardner von Teuffel, 'Raphael's Portrait of Valerio Belli: some new Evidence', BM, 129 (1987), pp. 663-6.

70. See note 20 above.

71 The documents were published by R. Gallo, 'Contributi alla storia della scultura veneziana. I - Andriolo de Santi', in Archivio Veneto, 5 s. vol.XLIV-XLV, (1949) pp. 1-40, (= Gallo); for a summary and full bibliography see Wolters, Scultura, 1, p. 136, cat.39, pp. 167-8; Arslan, Vicenza, pp. 120-1.

72 No doubt this is due to the Tuscan bias of many art historians.

73 There are no descriptions or drawings of it either.

74 As noticed by Wolters, Scultura, 1, p. 33.

75 This relatively simple façade has close links with the church of S. Anthony of Padua, and even more with the Dominican church of S. Agostino, Padua.

76 'Opus portarum interim est pulcrum quod nunquam credi posset, sed timeo quod alia porta non possit compleri...', in Gallo, doc. XII p. 38.

77 For example the churches of S. Fermo Maggiore and S. Francesco in Bassano built in 1306.

78 He was appointed miles by Alberto della Scala and singled out in Alberto's will of 1301 as 'dilecto nostro' and received certain gifts and concessions. N.L.

Carlotto, 'Pietro "Nan" da Marano: ritratto di un cortigiano scaligero', in Gli Scaligeri, pp. 143-8, (= Carlotto), with bibliography. Francesco Petrarch records his 'celebre ma anche mordace sapienza', cited in *ibid*, p. 144.

79 G. Biscaro, 'Dante Alighieri e i sortilegi di Matteo e Galeazzo Visconti contro papa Giovanni XXII', in Archivio Storico Lombardo, ser.5 vol.7, An.47, (1920), pp. 446-81.

80 In 1320 he was one of three ambassadors chosen by Cangrande to seek an armistice with the city of Padua. After the death of Cangrande he continued to consolidate the Scala territories by presenting pacts of alliance between the Gonzaga and Scaligeri in August 1329 and was witness to a project to develop a league between the Scala and the Estensi in April 1332. Carlotto, p. 146.

81 He had a daughter but she disappears from documentation in 1321. His sister and brothers predeceased him. Ibid, p.147.

82 Or to the guardians of Verona and Vicenza, should the above named friars die.

83 'Ancora se debia assegnar de questi duc. tanto che le do porte de la glesia de sen lorenzo de Vicenca sia fate honorevolmente per anema mia,' in Gallo, doc. I. He also left 1000 lire for pious works in Venice and the remainder for his soul. The administrators in Venice were Benedetto da Molin and Andrea Morosini.

84 The fact remains that Marano spent little time in Venice; he even sent a representative to accept citizenship on his behalf. And he never mentions an artist by name.

85 See chapter 1 of this thesis, pp. 25-35.

86 Wolters, Scultura, 1, p. 167, offers the following reading: 'HAS SATUS/ EGREGIA VO/ TIVO MUNERE/ PETRUS/ STIRPE MARA/ NENSI CON/ DIDIT URBE/ FORES/ PRATER ET HOC/ VOTO SIBI/ PAX/ AV ORIGI/ NE LUIGI/ CONSULUIT/ NITIDUM QUO/ DUCE FULSIT/ OPUS'; on the left: 'VOLVERAT/ ORBE SUO TUNC/ ANNOS MILLE/ TRECENTOS/ SOLQUATER/ ATQUE DECEM/ QUARTAQUE MES/ SIS ERAT/ CUM TIBI ME/ RIFICIS LAU/ RENTI SPLEN/ DIDA SAXIS/ STRUCTA/ FUIT TEMPLIS/ IANUA BINA/ TUIS..' Gallo, p. 3, sensibly read 'frater' rather than 'prater' and 'suis' rather than 'tuis'. Another inscription appears on the base of the column on

the right: 'PERCHE BOÇO IN SA(N) LORENC/VUOL STARE LA ÇATA DEL LION FE ASIARE', whose meaning was obscure to Wolters was clarified by Magrini. He claims that a member of the Bozzo family once repaired the lion's paw. Cited in ArSartori, II/2, p. 2374 n. 81.

87 Gallo published records of payments made between 1st August to 31 October 1342; 1 November 1342 to 24 January 1343; 31 August 1343 to 24 January 1344; 31 January to 23 April 1344. See *ibid*, p. 6.

88 Elias seems to have been helped by brother Philip of Campanello, who is called a 'clerk of the works', by Moorman, History, p. 87 n. 4.

89 The entries begin as follow: 'In nomine domini nostri Jehsus Christi amen. Iste sunt expense facte pro porta sancti martiris laurentij per fratrem pacem de lugo', Gallo, doc. X p. 33. At the end of the 24 January 1344 entry we read: 'Et recepit frater pax a nobis ducatos CC ...Ita quod restant in manibus fratris pacis libr. VI s.II parvorum.'

90 It is interesting to note that friars still travel in pairs just as Francis had recommended it. 'Item fratri paci quando ivit venetias pro expensis suis lib.VIII...item fratri dominico similiter pro eadem causa lib.VIII', dated between 1-28 August 1342, in Gallo, doc. VII p. 25.

91 There are exceptions when Pace pays the master Andriolo for marble pieces.

92 'Item eodem die dedimus libras ii grossorum in ducati XX fratri Paci pro expensis fiendis in faciendo portare portare (sic) lapides Vincenciam pro dictis portis et pro faciendo caricare et discaricare dictos lapides, et pro aliis expensis.' Entry of 14 November 1342, in Gallo, doc. V p. 23.

93 Entry for 16 November 1342: 'Item eodem Mense die XVI intrante dedimus libras X grossorum in ducatis C fratri paci una nobiscum exequitori dicti depositi pro expensis fiendis in dicti portis de quibus debet nobis facere racionem', *ibid*, doc. V p. 23.

93 It is not clear if the workers went on strike.

95 Ibid, p. 6 and doc. XI.

96 'Miror multum quod aliqui murmuraverunt de fratre Nicola qui provisionem aliquam habuit pro labore suo. Cui duobus annis laboravit pro portis fiendis et continue hyeme et estate. Oportuit enim ipsum habere indumenta et alia necessaria et credo quod non fuit aliquis ita vilis laborator qui non sit lucratur plus quam ipse.', in ibid, doc. XV p.40.

97 Ibid, doc. VII p. 28.

98 '...frater pax cum fratre Nicolao expendit pro quatuor lapidibus...', in ibid, doc. VIII p. 28.

99 'frater nicola de ordine fratrum minorum expendit in portis s. laurencii de Vicencia duchatos triginta auri ultra illud quod habuit', in ibid, doc. XI p. 38.

100 31 August 1343, ibid, doc. IX p. 30.

101 'Item frater Nicolaus pro una sancta maria et uno leone et allis operibus...pro indumentis et expensis libr. XL,' in ibid, doc. IX p. 32. But not the Virgin Annunciate which is obviously a later work. See Wolters, Scultura, 1, p. 167.

Finally on 1 July 1344 Nicolo received five ducats 'pro tribus lapidibus qui laboravit manu propria', in Gallo, doc. X p. 37.

102 'Non credo quod habuit unum grossum in die omni, computacione facta, under non miremini, nam portam hedificavit et muravit et multa alia fecit', in ibid, doc. XV p. 40. See also note 74 above. In fact, I wonder how the friars circumvented the prohibition to touch money, or whether they didn't observe the Rule.

103 M.F. Hearn, Romanesque Sculpture, (Ithaca, 1981), (= Hearn), p. 130.

104 Hearn, p. 137.

105 Or else she held an object which has vanished.

106 The bird is difficult to identify due to the nature of the carving and weathering. It could be a turtledove.

107 A northern example of the type is the marble sarcophagus of Stilicho, S. Ambrogio, Milan, (late fourth century); illustrated in J. Beckwith, Early Christian

and Byzantine Art, 2nd ed. (Harmondsworth, 1970), fig. 30. His pose is a slight modification of the Christ Child on the Adoration of the Magi mosaic on the triumphal arch of S Maria Maggiore Rome. (c. 432-40.)

108 A careful observation on the part of the sculptor.

109 S. Paul appears with his sword second from the bottom on right side; S. Peter opposite (?), S. James holding a staff is fourth from bottom left.

110 It is discussed at length in chapter 5 of this thesis.

111 Rumor, S. Lorenzo. Thirty people wished to be buried in S. Lorenzo between 1296 and 1400 as recorded in ArSartori II/2, pp. 2281-2319.

112 Rumor recorded four tombs dating from the fourteenth century in the chapter hall including the tomb of Ota daughter of Bailardino Nogarola and the Florentine Gangalando de' Gangalandi discussed later. Rumor, S. Lorenzo, p. 96.

113 One of these will not be discussed since it was originally in the atrium of the church of S. Tomaso. This is the tomb of Perdonio dei Repeta located on the right furthest side of the façade.

114 For a full bibliography of this tomb see Arslan, Vicenza, p. 123 n. 822.

115 ArSartori II/2, p. 2374.

116 G.M. Varanini, 'Vicenza nel Trecento. Istituzioni, Classe dirigente, Economia (1312-1404)', Storia di Vicenza II, L'età medievale, ed. G. Cracco, (Vicenza, 1988), p. 208 n. 468.

117 Her will is summarized in ArSartori II/2, pp. 2289-90 n. 47. Her bequests to friars include fifty lire to brother Pietro da Sovizzo, for the same purpose and his own needs and five soldi di veneti grossi to brother Buono del q. Bartolomeo da Thiene for a habit. The dominican and brother Pietro were amongst the executors chosen.

118 For a full bibliography see Arslan, Vicenza, p. 123 n. 823.

119 Magrini, 'Storia della chiesa di S. Lorenzo e delle famiglie che vi ebbero sepolcri', printed in ArSartori, II/2 p. 2374, (= Magrini).

120 There was another Alberti tomb in a neighbouring Franciscan church, the Frari in Venice. The robed effigy of Duccio degli Alberti (d.1336), ambassador for Florence, lies on a sculpted bier underneath a stone canopy. See chapter 5 of this thesis.

121 Full bibliography in Arslan, Vicenza, p. 124 n. 825.

122 The guardian Pace da Lugo, Pietro da Sovizzo, and Petro de Berico and Benedicto de Verona. For a summary of the will see ArSartori II/2, p. 2318 n. 21.

123 The Clares of the city would pass money for the celebration of perpetual masses to the friars. The friars would also receive fifty libre parv. for the remission of the testator's sins.

124 The heirs were the testator's two brothers, Pietro the dwarf and Grailanto.

125 'Quest' anno (1358) passo di quest vita il cavalier Gargalo de Gargalo (sic) fiorentino gia rettore et governatore nella citta di Vicenza con assoluto imperio: il cui corpo con grande onore fu sepolito nella chiesa di s. Lorenzo in un sepolcro di marmo levato in alto nel Capitolo delle Frati', cited in Mantese, Memorie, 3, p. 603 n. 60. Gangalando was a member of the Scaligeri court and government. He was podestà of Vicenza in 1348, and capitano in 1356.

126 Full description, bibliography and illustration in Arslan, Vicenza, n. 144 tav.XII; Storia di Vicenza II. L'età Medievale, ed E. Cracco, (Vicenza, 1988), fig. 57.

127 Rumor, S. Lorenzo, p. 97, cites the full inscription: 'Egregium Florentinum militem Gangalandum de Gangalando comitem cum mero et mixto Imperio religione iustitia caeterisq. virtutib. decoratum, cuius spes in solis occasu MCCLVIII X Ianuarii accessit ad Dominum.'

128 On the right a rampant lion with forked tail on one half and five vertical bands dividing the other half. On the left, a helmet shown frontally topped with branches bearing leaves and acorns.

129 The memorandum of notary Oliviero Forzetta (1335) recorded that Marco had

painted some pictures on cloth for Treviso and windows for Venice. Paolo had made drawings on paper of the Death of S. Francis and the Death of the Virgin. Were these the preparatory sketches for the Dormition? See Muraro, Paolo, pp. 23-4 and 82-3, and chapter 5 of this thesis.

130 Wolters, Scultura, 1, p. 158.

131 Muraro, Paolo, p. 33, proposed as a hypothesis to attribute the sculptural decoration of the bier to Paolo. This seems to me plausible.

132 The new church of the friars in Cividale was an identical yet smaller version of the church of S. Francesco in Udine. On 'modo et forma' characteristic of contracts see H. Glasser, Artists' contracts of the early Renaissance, (New York and London, 1977). For a tomb see J. Gardner, 'The Tomb of Cardinal Annibaldi by Arnolfo di Cambio', BM, 114 (1972), pp. 136-41. I shall return to the problems of imitation and repetition within the Franciscan Order in my conclusive chapter.

Chapter 4 San Francesco, Treviso

The church of S. Francesco in Treviso as it appears today is certainly not the town's major artistic attraction and there is little evidence to suggest that it ever was. In every way possible, the Franciscan church is dwarfed by its rival Dominican foundation, S. Nicolò, situated at the other end of town. No doubt the patronage of a Trevisan Dominican pope, Benedict XI, was crucial for his Order's dominance in this city.¹ Despite the fierce competition, the Franciscans still managed to attract the patronage of the commune, prominent noble families, whilst not forgetting the humble.

The Franciscan convent is also remembered as a political and intellectual centre. A number of illustrious friars received their first training in Treviso, including brothers Giuseppe and Giacomo, respectively Provincial Ministers of Germany (1221) and Saxony (1221 & 1225); Alberto Ricco, bishop of Treviso in 1254; and in the fourteenth century, the guardian who in 1315 was procurator of the canonisation of S. Parisius.²

While Trevisan churches are remembered for their abundance of fresco cycles, S. Francesco's decoration fails to impress. Although some sixteen extant paintings dating from the trecento have been identified,³ (some of very high quality) these do not form a unified programme, nor any intelligible part of a narrative sequence. This absence of substantial narrative can never be fully accounted for given the great unrecorded losses in the church throughout the centuries.⁴ Only one of these sixteen paintings bears an inscription revealing its patron, a Uberti of Florence of whom we know little. Tomb sculpture is also poorly documented with few extant examples.⁵

Early Settlement and Funding

It is now generally believed that the Franciscan friars had settled in Treviso by 1216, which would make it one of the earliest settlements in the Veneto.⁶ The presence of a number of Franciscan friars from Treviso in the 1220s confirms an

early date: brothers Giuseppe and Giacomo of Treviso already discussed above in 1221; the latter or another Giacomo was the first custode of Alsace in 1223, and brother Enrico Misericorde of Treviso was the first guardian of the London convent in 1224.⁷

The Franciscan community had made a good impression on the town before 1231, for in that year the commune decided to donate an annual allowance of 1000 pounds. This revenue would have been enough to meet the cost of building and maintaining a small church, and it may well have been used for this. Indeed, we read in the present structure traces of a modest church, not unlike the first friar's churches of Padua and Angarano.⁸ Both Sartori and Gamboso believe the convent was enlarged during the second half of the thirteenth century on a plot donated in 1255 by brother Francesco Engleschi di Vidor.⁹ His will reveals the location of the plot, near the porta S. Agostino, in the vicinity of today's church.¹⁰ It seems the friars never settled outside the walls. The present location of the church (not exactly in the centre of town) appears to have been the original one.¹¹

The church was no doubt standing and functioning in 1259, year in which the commune deliberated to visit it once a year bearing fifty pounds of wax as offering. The feast day of S. Francis (4 October) was solemnly celebrated by the commune from 1261 onwards, in thanksgiving for the liberation of the city from the tyranny of Alberico da Romano and in memory of the repatriation of exiled citizens which had begun on 4 October.¹² The statutes of 1313 confirm the celebration of this civic feast day and describe the ceremony in detail: on the eve and on the feast day of both SS. Francis and Bartholomew, (when Alberico was captured then executed) the bishop of Treviso accompanied by his clergy led a procession to the churches dedicated to the two saints and a mass was celebrated. The podestà, his court, the council of Three Hundred, the gastaldi of the scuole del popolo and the confratelli attended and presented the commune's offering of wax, worth fifty lire.

Treviso's gesture reminds us immediately of a similar response by the commune of Padua in thanksgiving for the liberation of the city from Ezzelino da

Romano (Alberico's brother); an event which had been predicted by a vision of S. Anthony to the friars. Padua carried out a number of processions during the week of the anniversary of S. Anthony. But unlike Treviso, which chose to build a church dedicated to the Santo Salvatore, Padua donated 4000 lire annually to the Franciscans to finance construction of the Santo.¹³

The commune of Treviso never helped the Franciscans exclusively. The three mendicant orders, Dominicans, Augustinians and Franciscans all received subsidies, such as a grant to purchase habits in 1315.¹⁴ Yet, politically S. Francesco was a site dear to the commune. It was chosen as the meeting ground where the commune clarified its position during the peace treaty between Padua and Venice in 1304. It was also chosen as a secure archive to keep one of the three copies of the city's administrative registers.¹⁵

Construction of the Church

Only two documents refer to phases in the construction. Firstly, that the convent was enlarged in 1255, and the cloister in turn in 1313.¹⁶ Visual evidence suggests that the present church stands on the site of an earlier church, which could be the first ever used by the friars between 1216 and 1231. The third chapel on the right as one enters into the nave, now dedicated to S. Rita probably formed part of the tiny church of S. Maria.¹⁷ Its small dimensions remind us of the early church of S. Maria Mater Domini in Padua, (now chapel of the Madonna Mora within the Santo) and S. Maria della Porziuncola, now sheltered by S. Maria degli Angeli in Assisi. It is not known how S. Maria came into the hands of the friars. In this early period it is likely that it was allocated to the brothers by an established religious order or a lay benefactor.

When the commune subsidized the Franciscans in 1231, a new church was presumably built around S. Maria as had been the case in Padua around the same date and in Venice, slightly later. This larger church was built according to a typical mendicant plan, an aisleless preaching hall with three eastern apses covered

with a wooden roof. The main chapel's end is four-sided, whilst the framing apses terminate in a square.¹⁸ The three apses are vaulted. The nave roof, a carena, is a modern replacement of a fourteenth-century design. Transepts were added later and broke the nave walls; projecting from these, two chapels open to the east. These are not identical in proportion and were perhaps planned separately. A campanile adjoined the south transept; it was demolished in 1860 but was rebuilt in the 1930s in a slightly different form, featuring three rather than the two original bays.¹⁹ A chapter hall is also recorded as adjoining the cloister.²⁰ The fifteenth century was also a thriving period of building activity. The lancet windows of the south nave wall were blocked off and four interconnecting chapels built to form an irregular south aisle.

Chapels and Altars:

The dedication of six chapels is documented before 1459. Their tituli match the other Franciscan churches in the province; the dedication ^{of} the main chapel to Saint Mary was an obvious Franciscan choice, and the south apsidal chapel was reserved for S. Francis.²¹ On the north side of the main chapel was the chapel of S. John the Baptist and next to it that of S. John the Evangelist.²² One of the lateral chapels south of the nave was dedicated to SS. Mary and Christopher.²³ Next to it was the chapel of the Holy Trinity.²⁴ Each chapel had an altar dedicated to the titular saint. There were additional altars elsewhere dedicated to S. Anthony of Padua, located in front of the sacristy on the left side of the church; and in other unknown locations, the altars of S. Mary Magdalen and S. Ursula, S. Anna and the Madonna degli Angeli.²⁵

Lay Patronage

Although none of the extant artistic projects can be linked to their patrons, the convent's documents discuss the contribution of the following benefactors. A long standing tradition, now disproved, recorded that the convent of S. Francesco had been built by Gerardo da Camino, lord of the city.²⁶ His testament dictated on

4 August 1303 records his wish to be buried in S. Francesco, with a bequest of 200 lbs for masses. Seven friars were at his side.²⁷ He was buried in a tomb of fine marble with gilt foliage in the church near the door leading into the sacristy, where the tomb of Pietro Alighieri transferred from S. Margherita, now hangs.²⁸ No previous donations or endowments were confirmed in his will, which to me suggests that Camino was not the most substantial patron. Rizzardo da Camino, his son, did not bequeath large amounts to the friars either, although two Franciscans were at his side when his will was drawn up.²⁹

As was the case for other Franciscan foundations in the Veneto, the church of S. Francesco in Treviso was largely maintained by the generosity of well-to-do families and widows. Tomasia di Limbraga, the widow of Tralusio Pisetta and daughter of Guariento Bragis, is well remembered by chroniclers who record that every four years her two hundred ducats helped restore the church.³⁰ Her will, dated 4 February 1322, contains detailed instructions. First, she requested burial in the tomb of her husband in S. Francesco. She then left money to individual friars in the convent and three bushels of wheat per year to Franciscan tertiaries with the provision that if they were to build a church in Treviso or its district they would receive fifty lire di denari instead of the wheat.³¹ In 1327 she added a codicil in which she cancelled the previous bequests to the friars minor.³² Instead she bequeathed fifty lire di piccoli. Most substantial bequests were made via the poor Clares of the Cella.³³ Their abbess was responsible for buying every two years a habit worth 100 sol. piccoli for each friar. The surplus of Tomasia's income would ensure that the oil and wood for the convent be purchased for two years; in the third year her income was put into the sacristy and in the church for the benefit of her soul and her husband's. And finally in the fourth year the income was reserved for the poveri mendicanti, all the poor people except the friars and the Clares. These provisions were meant to be perpetual, and no doubt were important for the maintenance of the convent, church and friars.³⁴

Although Tomasia died in 1327,³⁵ her endowment continued to benefit the

friars and indeed she is remembered as the benefactor who made possible the commission of the imposing wooden choir stalls, carved with stories from the Old and New Testaments by Pietro Antonio da Modena in 1487.³⁶ Since the stalls were destroyed during the Napoleonic wars, they are known only through Federici's description and careful recording of the dedicatory inscription.³⁷ This late commission is one proof that part of Tomasia's bequest was used by the friars to purchase church furnishings and suggests that perhaps other unknown artistic projects were financed by her before this date.

Caterina da Lozzo (d. after 1377) was another widow who patronized the Franciscan Order. She had been married to Guecello Tempesta (documented 1314; d. before 11 July 1371), an ambassador and member of the Council of Three Hundred.³⁸ She was described in the sixteenth century as a truly good woman who led a holy life and a great alms giver. She built a monastery in Noale from her own possessions; she died in Treviso and was buried in the church of S. Francesco in a beautiful tomb, where around the year 1504 her body was found to be uncorrupt.³⁹ Caterina's generosity was first outlined in a document dated 11 July 1371; unfortunately, none of the objects which follow were ever identified. In the presence of four Franciscan friars she left L.1300 to the Scuola dei Battuti with the following conditions; forty lib.den.parv. for a chalice and a missal to be used by one priest from the Order of friars minor to celebrate a daily mass in the chapel of S. John the Baptist in S. Francesco, Treviso. In addition, an anchona and a pallia for the said altar. Any money left over would be used to paint the chapel.⁴⁰ Five days later Caterina dictated her will and requested burial in S. Francesco.⁴¹

The full contents of her testament were revealed in a second will dated 11 December 1374.⁴² Caterina again expressed the wish to be buried in the church specifically in the chapel of S. John the Baptist. Her first will contained a provision that seventy libras den.parv. were destined to build a chapel with furnished altar, in which there should be made a tomb to hold her remains. Following the death of the lord Nicola (her son), she had had the mandate executed. The testatrix had ordered

the tomb from the master Jacomello de Venetijs, at a cost of 114 ducats; sixteen ducats still had to be paid upon completion to cover labour and travel costs to Treviso to install the tomb.⁴³ The executors and the friars were responsible to find a location for it and see to its gilding and ornamentation. Then the body of Nicola should be deposited there. Any money left over ought to be used to purchase a beautiful silver chalice and paten, valued at forty gold ducats. This should bear the arms of the testatrix's son and letters indicating that this chalice was made for the benefit of his soul. Any surplus was to be spent on this chalice to honour the memory of the house of the lords Advocatorum.

Even though the tomb has perished the documentation reveals that the patron and not the friars had dealt with the sculptor. On the other hand, the friars and executors agreed on a location and were responsible for its gilding and painting.⁴⁴ Caterina was last recorded alive on 17 March 1377.⁴⁵

Our last wealthy family, the Rinaldi, is reported to have done more for the church and convent than any other family. Yet again, the chronicler's testimony omits any dates or sources.⁴⁶ The family held the juspatronatus of the chapel of S. John the Evangelist, the first apsidal chapel on the north side contiguous to the sacristy, towards the end of the fourteenth century.⁴⁷

Rinaldi patronage of the Franciscan Order is firmly documented from 1366 onwards. Florida q. Gerardo da Roveri, wife of Francesco Rinaldi, asked to be buried in S. Francesco (in an unspecified location) and left fifty lib.den.parv., 'ad adornandum dictam Ecclesiam', plus an annual supply of two bushels of wheat.⁴⁸

In 1377, Rainaldo Rainaldi (another spelling), Trevisan judge and ambassador to Venice, requested in his testament two funeral monuments, for himself and his relatives in exchange for a property worth 300 lire, the fruit of which would pay for mass and orations. Until a new site was purchased, the income of a property in Colfosco would be used to that effect. A further 300 lire should have been used to purchase an ancona to place on the altar but this request was not carried out until 1465.⁴⁹ The massive tomb project was certainly

completed by 23 August 1399, day on which Rainaldo's daughter Cecilia, requested burial in her father's tomb.⁵⁰ Cima recorded its position and general layout before its demolition before 1858: 'On the right side of the altar of S. John Evangelist, the noble and antique deposito of the Rinaldi family, with a marble bier (cassa) and a great statue of a sleeping Doctor with the four beasts of the Apocalypse, with no inscription. At the foot of the altar was the sepolcro of the same family, and above 'Molimento de Rinaldi'.⁵¹

Bartolommeo Burchelati claimed that there were more tombs in the church of S. Francesco than in any other church in the city.⁵² Prominent members of the community were buried here along with their descendants in a variety of tombs, some in elaborately carved marble which hung on the wall, such as the Rinaldi tombs already discussed. The tomb of doctor Bonaccursius de Asylo consisted of a bier with effigy above and bore the date 15 October 1388.⁵³ The design must have been quite in demand since Antonio q. Bonincontro ordered a copy of it in the duomo on 9 November 1410.⁵⁴

A number of funeral monuments included paintings. A divina Maestà was ordered by a mysterious fra Alberto on 13 September 1300, to be painted above his tomb.⁵⁵ Brandolino de' Brandolini, count of Gemelle, and ex-captain in Rome was laid to rest in a marble tomb with paintings next to the sacristy; it bore the date 28 October 1396. Cima recorded that the marble bier projected halfway from the wall and had noble intaglio; in the middle was an armed soldier and around it ran an inscription.⁵⁶ Federici further recorded that the marble statue had carvings representing the cardinal virtues.⁵⁷ As for the paintings, little is known save the arms of the count and other beautiful stromenti. In 1404 Ogniben q. Bonifacio da Verona, asked for similar paintings to be made in the church of S. Lorenzo.⁵⁸

On 29 May 1400, Guglielmo da Pederobba requested burial in the tomb of his father; he ordered from his heirs a monument with a new plaque above and requested that his father's bones and his own body be transferred in it. He asked his heirs to commission the following paintings on the wall above his tomb: the images

of the Blessed Virgin Mary, with her son Jesus Christ, Sts. Jerome, Gregory, Augustine and Benedict should be painted. At the foot of these images should be depicted the kneeling figures of the testator, his father and his deceased brothers and sisters for future memory.⁵⁹ This image was perhaps not like the tomb lunette paintings from Verona, but closer to the extant row of saints on the walls of the apsidal chapels in Treviso.

Painting

The documented instances of painting during the Trecento are scarce and the works that are documented have perished. Although a decorative frieze datable to the thirteenth century ran along all nave walls, there is no other suggestion of a continuous sequence of paintings on the nave walls. There are fragmented narrative scenes but no cycle of narrative. The closest the fragments resemble a programme is the main apse decoration of the second half of the fourteenth century; only the vaults and spandrels carry paintings; the walls are devoid of imagery. This overall absence of narrative fresco cycles is in my view not so much the cumulative result of damages and poor restoration campaigns, but perhaps an indication that votive images were more in demand.⁶⁰ It is possible to suggest several reasons for this choice of image. One factor could have been the small size of the apsidal chapels, which may have been judged unsuitable for a sequence of narrative images. Another could be economic; votive images were cheaper than narrative cycles. A third, the presence of what must have been large wall tombs in these chapels. These were no doubt obstacles to narrative but ideal for votive paintings. A tomb could occupy one wall of the chapel and paintings the opposite.

The earliest traces of painting are those of a simple unified decorative type: a key-pattern frieze datable to the thirteenth century which runs along the nave walls just below the ceiling transverse beams, cutting across the triumphal arch; another strip of foliage ran around the base of windows (fig. 93). At the very top of the wall cosmatesque work and fictive timber friezes.⁶¹ The earliest figurative painting is a colossal S. Christopher carrying Christ executed in fresco, located between the

two windows on the north side of the nave. Christopher stands very rigidly, dressed in regal attire, and holds a staff which terminates in stylized foliage and lily. The Christ Child, propped up on the saint's left shoulder, gives his blessing. The frontality and wide-opened eyes of both characters, the illusionistic painted jewel effect on the haloes, and the flat decorative patterns of the cloth is very iconic. A single white band, speckled by foliage frames the sides whilst the top has a different motif of rampant foliage. The lower regions of the painting is missing and the right side also presents large gaps. Its provenance and date is not easy to pinpoint. It is one of those works which to some appear, 'romanesque byzantine', and to others it is simply a product of the Veneto. To me it cannot be described precisely.⁶²

In the first half of the fourteenth century three painters are known to have worked in S. Francesco; the nature of the work however is not specified. It is therefore important not to succumb to the temptation of matching painter with painting, without substantial evidence. The earliest documented artist is the painter Gervasio, who worked and lived at S. Francesco on 7 December 1305. He was possibly a Franciscan.⁶³ However, there are no identifiable extant works by his hand. On 27 January 1337, the painters Tomaso and Mattiolo, received nine lire for a painting above the tomb of a lord Rucerij.⁶⁴ The last painter who appears in the documentation is Marco Veneziano. Sometime before 1335 'magister Marcus pictor', who lived near the Frari in Venice, made some paintings on cloth in a 'teutonic' manner for the church of the friars. These had been modelled on older paintings on cloth in the Franciscan church of Venice. The 'teutonic' friar was never defined precisely, neither in Treviso nor Venice, but we know that these paintings represented at least the Death of S. Francis and the Dormition of the Virgin, since Marco's younger brother, the painter Paolo had made two drawings of them. Marco also made windows in S. Francesco Treviso, again in the style of the 'teutonic' master of Venice but they, together with the paintings on cloth and drawings perished.⁶⁵ The Madonna and Child with two saints in the lunette of the west door (fig. 94) has been recently attributed to Marco or Paolo Veneziano on the

basis of style.⁶⁶ It is in terrible condition, reduced to mere outlines. Nevertheless the composition follows the common practice in Franciscan churches in the Veneto of showing the Madonna and Child flanked by one or two Franciscan saints, in this case S. Francis. More surprising is the presence of S. Ambrose, whose connection with the Franciscan church has not yet been properly explained.⁶⁷

From the early trecento and in extremely poor condition are two fragments; a Stigmatization of S. Francis (fig. 95), on the left side of Christopher, and a Madonna and Saints in the lunette above the exterior west door. In the Stigmatization only the top half of Francis remains; he raises both hands in awe and stares at a Christ-like seraph (a clean-shaven man with a cruciform halo nailed to a cross); Francis is tonsured and bearded and presented in three quarter view, much like the Louvre stigmatization, which leads me to think that the bottom half of Francis was probably similar. But unlike the Louvre panel, the seraph here does not lurch forward; he hovers on a vertical axis, more like the stigmatization in the upper church of S. Francesco, Assisi. The background is too damaged to be read. A simple border, made up of a wide red strip between thin yellow strips frames the sides.⁶⁸

It is not surprising to find that as there are documented painters but no paintings, there are instances of documented paintings but no painters. I have already mentioned the divina Maestà ordered by brother Alberto on 13 September 1300, to be painted above his tomb somewhere in the church. It is not known who the painter was or if the work was ever executed.⁶⁹ On 5 August 1350, Zanino q. Bianchino from Mantua requested that the figures of the Blessed Mary and S. Anthony along with an effigy of himself be painted.⁷⁰

Anonymous painters from the Veneto were actively depicting votive panels, single figures standing beneath arches. Paintings such as this one were often found in Franciscan churches; the Santo in Padua has four on the entrance wall, as does the upper church of S. Fermo Maggiore in Verona. It is striking that although these images span the entire century, painters respected the previous work and squeezed

the new painting right next to the old one. The groups are bunched together and not spread out, which leads me to believe that there were perhaps tombs in the way.

The earliest in the sequence is found next to the entrance pilaster on the north wall of the first southern chapel (Colandri chapel) (fig. 96). S. Lorenzo stands against a blue background, dressed in a red cloak, with green collar and white cuffs and holds the remains of his grid iron. The image is framed by a cosmatesque border at the top and bottom and simple bands of red, white, red and green at the sides. The lower half which is very faded has been repainted. It is a work of poor quality probably executed by a local imitator of Giotto.⁷¹ The finely executed S. Anthony Abbot, on the right of Lorenzo contrasts in both size and skill. Almost twice as tall, S. Anthony stands beneath a detailed arch with its own Annunciation on the spandrels. In addition to the cosmatesque frame, tiny male busts in grisaille fill the top corners and centre of each side and the top.⁷² The origins of this painter are variably defined, from Venetian, Tuscan to Vitalesque. Whether he may be one or the other, his skill at realism and emotional tension is profound and it is unfortunate not to find more of his paintings in the church.⁷³ An abraded S. John Baptist with a donor belongs to this group of early trecento paintings, although it is less typical and more Veronese in style. It is located again under a trefoil arch supported by columns in a frame similar to Anthony's, with cosmatesque detailing but no grisaille busts. The female donor who cannot be identified, kneels and prays and wears an elaborate manicottoli.⁷⁴

The main apse is perhaps the most difficult region to discuss because of the poor state of preservation, visibility and lighting conditions. It is the only area in which there is an ensemble of frescoes consisting of the Evangelists writing at their desks on the vault severies. In the apse severies from left to right, a naked hermit, S. Francis receiving the stigmata, the seraph, and a Madonna and Child. The stigmatization of Francis befits the dedication of the church while the Virgin Mary and Child reflect Franciscan devotion for her. However, the old man, bearded, nimbed and wearing nothing but leaves, finds no precedent in Franciscan churches.

He has been tentatively identified as Job, Honofrius and Adam. Could he be Adam? To my knowledge there is no precedent wherein Francis as alter christus is set next to Adam.⁷⁵ The chapel appears to have been painted by a workshop made up of a mixture of artists, Venetian, Emilian and local who worked around the middle of the century.⁷⁶ The key of the triumphal arch has an abraded head of Christ which is repeated in the same location in S. Francesco, Udine.⁷⁷

The middle of the century saw the arrival of new workshops, amongst them Tomaso da Modena's.⁷⁸ Their task consisted of painting a series of devotional wall paintings systematically placed within the transept chapels. These rows of standing saints framing an enthroned Madonna and Child were not new to the Veneto tradition, as testified by the earlier representations in the Veronese churches of S. Zeno and S. Peter Martyr. But in this case they were carefully arranged on the south wall of the chapel. Perhaps this was to allow a tomb setting on the opposite wall, like the Rinaldi family tomb.⁷⁹

The only painting bearing a date, 1351, is found on the south wall of the north apsidal chapel (figs 97-98). The Madonna and Child with SS. Anthony Abbot, Francis, a bishop and Christopher is frescoed high up on the wall in the centre.⁸⁰ Along the bottom there is a partly restored and incomplete inscription. The first part, a copy now removed read: 'HOC OPUS FECIT FIERI EXPENSIS SUIS LEOPARDUS DE UBERTIS DE FLOR'. The remainder now repainted reads: 'ENCIA DI XVIII, NOVEBRIS.ANO.DNI.MCCCLI'. Leopardo degli Uberti is unfortunately missing from Trevisan records. Presumably he held the juspatronatus of the chapel before the Rinaldi family who were maintaining it in 1377. Interestingly, S. John Evangelist, the titular saint of the chapel is missing from this votive image. Was the dedication of the chapel changed with a Rinaldi take-over?

This scene sets the tone for the others to come in this church and in the city, for example at S. Nicolò. It differs from the commonly observed votive types found in neighbouring Franciscan churches in that the saints are not presenting the

kneeling donor to the Virgin and Child. It is a strictly iconic scene featuring a Madonna of Humility. An additional point of contention is the identity of the bishop saint as S. Bonaventura. Bonaventura was canonized in 1482; he is rarely (if at all) depicted in this early period in this fashion. His habit is not the same colour as that of Francis and there is no evidence of a knotted rope trailing down the front. He doesn't appear to have been the focus of a local cult nor was there an altar dedicated to him in this location.

The painting commonly known as the Giacomelli Madonna is in fact in the chapel dedicated to S. John Baptist, the inside northern apsidal chapel maintained by the Tempesta family during the fourteenth century (fig. 99). The votive scene fills nearly the entire length of the wall and features SS. Anthony Abbot, Catherine (?), a deacon (Nicolas?), John the Baptist, the Madonna and Child, Louis of Toulouse (?), James and Christopher. Although the fresco has been well studied and attributed to Tomaso da Modena, a few additional observations can be made. Few have considered the extent of the painting and whether it was framed by a rectangular illusionistic frame, or had curtains underneath; for the plaster projects beyond the lower framing band. Examples of this latter type are found in S. Nicolò and in earlier Franciscan interiors such as the apses of S. Francesco, Udine.

The possibility of identifying the patron must also be considered. Caterina da Lozzo ordered in her will of 1371 an anchona and pallia for the altar; in other words some sort of altarpiece and a cloth hanging. An additional clause specified that should there be money left, it ought to be used in painting the chapel. In a second will in 1374, it was revealed that a wall tomb was being prepared.⁸¹ The identity of the saints has been rendered difficult with the disappearance of the attributes painted al secco. The female saint has always been identified as Catherine. It is worth asking whether she might have been chosen in connection with Caterina da Lozzo's patronage of the chapel. Next to this saint stands a deacon who cannot, in my mind, be convincingly said to be S. Lorenzo. If this fresco was the result of da Lozzo/Tempesta patronage, it would be more logical to suggest he is S. Nicolas, the

deacon; for Caterina's beloved son, who died in 1360 and for whom she built a worthy monument, was named Nicolò.

Not long ago it was believed that some figures were added as an afterthought.⁸² Perhaps this was a da Lozzo/Tempesta addition. The date has also been an area of contention. Those who choose to date the painting as an early work of Tomaso confront the female saint's dress with that of S. Agnes on a column in S. Nicolò painted by Tomaso.⁸³ The dresses are similar and made of a pattern which is repeated in the S. Ursula cycle, formerly at S. Margherita, mostly now in the Museo Civico and Ca'Noal and dated by Gibbs to 1355-7.⁸⁴ But dating according to fashion is not a guaranteed means of dating.

The damaged S. Christopher carrying Christ, painted on the pier between the north apsidal chapels, is closely associated to those works attributed to Tomaso elsewhere in the church (fig. 100). It was severely damaged when Christopher's legs were truncated to make room for a niche (in which there is a faded fifteenth-century Pietà). Despite the heavy paint losses it is an interesting experiment in space. The asymmetrical border creates an illusionistic effect so that Christopher seems to be emerging from the round pilaster. It has been suggested there might have been a companion painting on the corresponding south pilaster,⁸⁵ and indeed such an arrangement is observed elsewhere, as in the Franciscan churches of Cividale and Udine.⁸⁶

The second half of the trecento at S. Francesco has left only a few fragmentary paintings executed by diverse workshops, from the Veneto, Venetian and Sienese. I first disagree with Gibbs' attribution of the fragment of a friar before an altar, located on the south transept wall, to a follower of Altichiero (fig. 101). Juxtaposed to a scene such as the funeral of S. Lucy (fig. 21) from the oratory of S. Giorgio (completed in 1384), it is clear that the Trevisan fragment falls short of Altichiero's understanding of objects receding in space. In Treviso the altar table threatens to slip out of the picture; a good imitator would surely avoid this mess. The scale between figure and architecture is also unlike Altichiero. By the late

1370s artists in the Veneto had overcome these problems. If we backdate the fresco by a few decades and look to Guariento for inspiration, the similarities are greater.⁸⁷

A large Crucifixion populated by saints, originally overlapped the figure of S. Anthony Abbot on the north wall of the inner southern chapel. It has since been detached and repositioned on the south wall and its width takes up about 5/6th of the wall space. This composition is slightly less static than the earlier votive frescoes, in that the standing saints appear to converse with each other, while Mary expresses despair and John weeps. The painting thus combines narrative and votive elements. The sequence of saints is as follows (from left to right): an aged bearded monk (Benedict?) James Major, the Virgin Mary, Christ, John, Bartholomew with the knife that flayed him, Francis and Christopher holding the infant Christ. The figures are contained within a rectangle with an off-centre lunette to accommodate the height of Christ crucified. Thin coloured strips of red, white, pink and yellow frame the scene; Coletti observed coat of arms with rampant lions in the bottom corners.⁸⁸ The figures are rendered in a generic Venetian style, which reminds me of Lorenzo Veneziano.⁸⁹

A Coronation of the Virgin (possibly of Humility) and S. Francis occupies the right side of the north transept wall above the tomb of Pietro Alighieri (fig. 100). It is now sadly reduced to the upper parts. Nevertheless it is quite original, especially in the way two angels in mid-flight crown the Madonna. Next to her John the Baptist looks on, while musical angels blow their horns and play string instruments from a stage built up of clouds. S. Francis opens his habit to display the bleeding stigmata in his chest with his right hand and holds a book in his left. He stares intensely at the observer, separated from the neighbouring scene by a band of acanthus leaves and contained within the now familiar edicule. This border also surrounds the Madonna section and is punctuated by heads in quatrefoils.

The date and authorship of the fresco has been the subject of a long debate, from being close to Niccolò di Ser Sozzo and Luca di Tommè's Siena Polyptych

(1362), to Bartolo di Fredi between 1424-8.⁹⁰ Freuler's fantastic claim that the patron was the Franciscan inquisitor Scolaio di Ser Lodovico from Montalcino is not at all convincing. It is as though Freuler has found a likely patron and has constructed an artist's chronology around him.⁹¹ As for the votive painting there is little chance that it formed part of a funeral monument, since the tomb of the Camino family was set beneath it from the early trecento until this last century.⁹²

The third lateral chapel in the nave has also suffered the loss of what might have been a fresco cycle. All that remains of a larger decorative scheme are traces of painting on the outside and underside of the entrance arch and in the top section of the semi-domed round apse. Both borders on the exterior and interior of the arch display a family coat of arms, which has not yet been identified: six alternating red and white horizontal stripes.⁹³ Fragments of S. Christopher holding the Child, S. Francis, and the back of the Madonna's head remain in the apse. The date and attribution of these frescoes have varied substantially; from the middle of the fourteenth century by Tomaso da Modena or through his direct participation,⁹⁴ or in the early fifteenth century.⁹⁵ Recently published documents now shed light on what appears to be an early fifteenth-century commission. The chapel seems to have been reconstructed by Caterina di Rubegano and her husband Tolberto Sinisforte, who contracted magister Franciscus de Rechanato, a muratore, on 21 July 1400.⁹⁶ The chapel was completed by 4 November 1403,⁹⁷ and was dedicated to S. Mary and S. Christopher, the very saints who are depicted in the semi-dome.⁹⁸

Conclusion

The church of S. Francesco in Treviso was not the most popular mendicant church in this city but still attracted a fair share of patrons and artists. The remaining decoration whilst fragmentary consists mainly of votive images which were commissioned separately. A degree of repetition occurred, first in the choice of tituli from one Franciscan church to the next, and in painting and sculpture. The

early key frieze pattern of Treviso was also found in the Order's church in Assisi, Verona, Cividale and Udine. The painter Marco reproduced both paintings on cloth and windows originally found in the Franciscan church of Venice, and the same key decoration of the triumphal arch occurred in S. Francesco at Udine. The façade lunette composition, if not the exact iconography was repeated in the Order's churches in Udine and Cividale. Repetition was not an exclusively Franciscan habit, and the imitation of the decoration of the tombs of Brandolino Brandolini and Bonaccursius de Asylo, in other city churches is a testimony to this popular practice. Nonetheless the Franciscans of Treviso seem to have been particular fond of it.⁹⁹

Despite the cursory information regarding the artistic commissions of S. Francesco in Treviso, a few procedures recorded in the testament of patrons can shed light on what control was exercised by the Franciscan friars over the chapels, tombs and paintings in their churches. In Padua, friars chose the location of chapels and family tombs. On another occasion in 1403 the Franciscans and a confraternity had to agree on what paintings should be repaired or painted; again implying some control by the friars.¹⁰⁰ In Treviso, similar decisions of location were left up to the brothers: on 22 February 1342, Tomasio Coderta asked his executors to spend 200 lib.den.parv. on a chapel 'with walls' in a location judged best by the friars.¹⁰¹ Despite a certain level of involvement in building or commissions, friars had no rights of ownership over movables and did not try to contest their removal. The case of Francesco 'il Novello' Carrara, who took liturgical vessels from the Santo's treasury and melted them is one good example.¹⁰² Procedures in S. Francesco, Treviso reveal that a patron could also remove the family tomb or the anchona if he/she wished to. On 25 November 1344, Avezuto q. Tagliamento Scorzade sold his funeral monument to the goldsmith Andrea for ten lire.¹⁰³ Slightly later on 22 December 1409, Sinisforte Tolberto bequeathed the anchona located on the altar of his family chapel dedicated to SS. Mary and Christopher to the chapel of SS. James and Philip in Peçano.¹⁰⁴ None of these removals appear to have been contested by the friars which to me suggests that the friars did not attempt to claim rights of

property over the contents of the church.

Notes to chapter 4

- 1 R. Gibbs, Tomaso da Modena. Painting in Emilia and the March of Treviso, 1340-80, (Cambridge, 1989), (= Gibbs, Tomaso), p. 99.
- 2 Moorman, Houses, p. 485.
- 3 Gibbs, Tomaso, p. 96, fig. VI, for diagram.
- 4 However, not all Franciscan churches in north-east Italy had narrative cycles; the Order's churches in Venice, Cividale, Udine and Bassano favoured votive rather than narrative decoration.
- 5 However a good number of requests for burials in and around the church of S. Francesco were found in published wills.
- 6 V. Gamboso, Tempio di S. Francesco. Treviso, (Treviso, 1967), (= Gamboso, S. Francesco), p. 4. A. Sartori believed the Trevisan convent must have been founded at the same time as Vicenza's, in the same year in which Jacques de Vitry remarked that Florentine friars had settled in Lombardy. ArSartori II/2, p. 1589.
- 7 Ibid, pp. 1588 and 1607.
- 8 'Nos pro salute, et Communi statu Civitatis Tar. ad ordinem Fratrum Minorum, qui vere sunt pauperes spiritu, misericorditer intuentes, hac clementissima constitutione decernimus, quod Potestas, et Commune Tarvisij infra duos Menses ab introitu sui regiminis teneatur, et debeat dare, et solvere mille libras denariorum de pecunia Communis Tarvisij ipsi Ordini Fratrum Minorum ,aut illis quibus Prior ipsorum, vel eorum conventus, qui est in Civitate ista, dari voluerit, nominatim ad Ecclesiam suam, et domos faciendas, et exturendas in hac Civitate vel suburbijs ubi, et secundum quod illis videbitur expedire, et de hoc Potestas non possit absolvi. Nec ad hoc opus faciendum Potestas possit, vel debeat de pecunia Communis Tarvisij aliquid amplius largiri, salvo eo wuod Domus, et Ecclesia et Edifitia...ubi nunc residentiam videnture habere, et ultra praedicta possint, et debeant ad eorum utilitatem impendi...', from the communal statutes of 1231 published in ibid, p. 1610 n. 15.
- 9 On 16 July 1255, cf. ibid, p. 1588; Gamboso, S. Francesco, p. 4. The second

Order of Franciscans, the Poor Clares are documented in Treviso in a bull issued by Pope Gregory IX on 11 November 1232. BF I. n. CXIX.118. Bishop Tisone da Vidor granted them permission to settle in the convent on 18 October 1233. A. Sartoretto, Cronotassi dei Vescovi di Treviso 569-1564, Treviso, 1970, p. 60; G. Renucci, 'Il monastero di Santa Chiara in Treviso', in Le Venezie Francescane, (1965), pp. 26-31.

10 'Item fratribus Minoribus de tarvisio et loco ubi ipsi morantur mea sedimina, cum brollo, curia, et orto secundum quod de parte mea mihi devenerunt post domos olim nasçinguerre Axoli et henrici fratrum meorum verssus montem apud portam sancti Augustini', in ArSartori II/2, p. 1610 n. 16.

11 Franciscan friars first settled outside the walls in Verona, Padua, Venice, Cividale, Udine and Bassano.

12 N. Cima, Il Chiostro ovvero descrizione della città di Trevigi, ms. 643, (= Cima), printed in ArSartori II/2, p. 1603 n. 1. The first documented act of business was performed by the friars on 12 November 1260. They bought a house with court and gardens in the fondo of S. Bartolomeo at a cost of 167 lire. Ibid, p. 1592 n.3.

13 See chapter 1, p. 11 for details.

14 151 lire picc. to the fifty-one friars of S. Nicolò; 114 lire to the thirty-eight friars of S. Agostino; 102 lire to the thirty-four friars of S. Francesco, which represents 3 lire for each friar. ArSartori II/2, p. 1590.

15 Ibid, p. 1590.

16 See note 7 above.

17 Gibbs, Tomaso, pp. 95-8, fig. VI. For further discussion see R. Gibbs, L'Occhio di Tomaso, (Treviso, 1981), (= Gibbs, L'Occhio), pp. 108-9, figs 123-7.

18 Gibbs, Tomaso, p. 97, finds it an unusual termination. There are however many mendicant churches ending this way: S. Domenico in Bologna; S. Corona in Vicenza; two apses in S. Nicolò, Treviso; S. Francesco in Siena; S. Domenico in Siena; S. Domenico in Pistoia; S. Francesco in Messina; S. Francesco, Brescia.

19 Ibid, p. 97.

20 Before 8 April 1401: '...jubens et ordinans quod per infrascriptos eius heredes fiat ibi in dicta capela et loco una sepultura, in qua reponatur corpus ipsius testatoris et similiter reponantur ossa aliorum suorum parentum et propinquorum, qui sepulti sunt in claustro sancti Francisci in quadam sepultura posita ante capitulum ipsius eclexie,...', in *ArSartori*, II/2, p. 1594 n. 49, and p. 1613 n. 34.

21 Documented respectively on 5 Feb. 1354 and 28 Oct. 1383, in *ibid*, p. 1593 n. 27 and 37.

22 S. John the Baptist recorded before 11 July 1371 in *ibid*, p. 1612 n. 26 and p. 1603 n. 1; S. John the Evangelist on 25 June 1377, in *ibid* pp. 1590, 1603, 1605, and p. 1612 n. 29.

23 Built or rebuilt before 4 November 1403. See below notes 86-8.

24 Documented on 8 April 1401 in *ibid*, p. 1594 n. 49.

25 S. Anthony's foundation date is not recorded. See *ibid*, p. 1604.

26 Bartolomeo Zuccato, *Cronaca di Treviso*, ms. 596. Trev. Bibl.Com. c. 84 v., (= Zuccato), printed in *ArSartori*, II/2, p. 1607 n.2.

27 G.B. Picotti, *I Caminesi e la loro Signoria in Treviso dal 1283 al 1312*, Livorno, 1905, reprinted and edited by G. Netto, (Rome, 1975), (= Picotti), p. 277 doc. XXV; the witness list is printed in *ArSartori* II/2, p. 1637 n. 6.

28 It was removed to make room for the organ. *Ibid*, p. 1607 n. 2 and p. 1637 n. 6.

29 4 April 1312. Picotti, pp. 298-9 doc. LI.; witness list only in *ArSartori* II/2, p. 1637 n. 9. Beatrice da Camino, wife of Enrico II count of Gorizia and Tyrol requested burial at S.Francesco in Treviso on 25 August 1321, but maintained two friars in the convent of Gorizia. See *ibid*, p. 1691.

30 Cima, cited in *ArSartori* II/2, p. 1603 n.1.

31 The following friars received bequests: five sol.gr. each to P. Zanin di Treviso, P. Marco Torre, P. Bonaccorso da Campo, P. Arnaldo da Ceneda, P. Zanino

Bressanin lectore, P. Guidotto di Bassano, Provinciale del Santo, P. Bartolomeo di Lendinara, P. Giovanni da Pederoba, P. Francesco di Piove di Sacco; thirty sol.gr. to P. Donato di Padova, guardian of Treviso. ArSartori II/2, p. 1592 n. 11.

32 Ibid, p. 1592 n. 12. The gifts to the friars Donato di Padua and Giovanni di Pederoba were still valid, and she added twenty soldi grossi to the guardian Ainardo da Ceneda.

33 An arrangement similar to the Lupi family at the Santo, Padua. See chapter 1, p. 29.

34 Her wishes were still carried out in the year 1600. See ArSartori II/2, p. 1592 n. 14.

35 Ibid, p. 1592 n. 12.

36 A commemorative inscription still attached to the pilaster left of the main chapel records her death: 'IN MEMORIAM DNAE THOMASINAE/ DE LIMBRAGA/ R.PATRES S. FRANCISCI POSUERE/ AN.D.MDLV.DIE XX.JUNIJ/ OBIIT MCCCLX./ ORATE FRATRES PRO ANIMA HUIUS GENEROSAE DOMINAE'. It was first recorded in part by B. Burchelati, Epitaphiorum dialogi septem, (Venice, 1583), (= Burchelati, Epitaphiorum), p. 257.

37 D.M. Federici, Memorie Trevigiane sulle Opere di Disegno dal Mille e Cento al Mille Ottocento, 2 vols, (Venice, 1803), (= Federici), vol. 1, p. 231. The choir was located in the middle of the church, in the same position as the extant example in S. Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, Venice. Federici compares it to a similar set made for the Santo in Padua by Lorenzo and Cristoforo Canozio in 1486.

38 Caterina was the daughter of an important Paduan figure, Guido da Lozzo who rebelled and was exiled from Padua in 1312. Documents in ArSartori II/2, pp. 1611-2 n. 26-8; J.K. Hyde, Padua in the Age of Dante and Petrarch, (Oxford, 1966), p. 75. The Tempesta males held the prestigious hereditary post of 'advocates' of the bishop from at least 1322 to 1371. They enjoyed feudal rents from the Trevisan church and owned a castle at Noale. See A. Marchesan, Treviso

Medievale, istituzioni, usi, costumi, aneddoti, curiosità, 2 vols, (Treviso, 1923), (= Marchesan, Treviso), vol.1, pp. 57, 102, 108, 190, 286; vol. 2, pp. 90, 240, 298, 302.

39 Zuccato, cited in ArSartori II/2, p. 1607 n. 2.

40 '...videlicet quadringentas libras denariorum parvorum in emendo unum calicem et unum missale pro uno sacerdote ordinis Fratrum minorum,...et unam anchonam ad altare dicte capelle et unum pallium ante dictum altare, Et si quid supererit de dictis quadringentis libris... faciant pingi ipsam capellam....' In addition, a loan of 80 libras to the Republic of Venice and rents from property in the Trevisan district were to be consigned to the priest celebrated mass and the annual anniversary for the soul of the testatrix and the remaining one hundred lire was reserved for the Battuti. ArSartori, II/2, p. 1611 n. 26.

41 Ibid, p. 1611 n. 26.

42 Ibid, p. 1612 n. 27.

43 'Et pro predictis exequendis et exequitioni mandandi ipsa testatrix fieri fecerit dictam archam a magistro Jacomello de Venetijs, et ipsam conduci fecerit tarvisium, et dederit eidem magistro Jacomello pro suo labore seu pro dicta archa ducatos centum et quatuordecim auri, et restet havere ducatos sexdecim auri pro complemento solutionis dicte arche, et pro quibus debet venire tarvisium ad preparandam et conqandam dictam archam, videlicet pro suo labore sue persone tantum,...' in ibid, p. 1612 n. 27.

44 This commission, like Raimondino Lupi's tomb project, shows that the sculptor was not responsible for gilding and painting the tomb. The editors of the ArSartori, II/2, p. 1612, n. 27, add that the tomb was already ordered before Caterina's will (16 July 1371). They also maintain that an instalment of fifty-three ducats had been given to the sculptor, and the tomb was in Venice near Jacomello; they even suggest that Jacomello della Masegne was the master in question. Typically the will is not fully transcribed nor is any source given to account for the instalment.

45 Ibid, p. 1612 n. 28.

46 Their generosity is believed to have financed most of the enlargements in the church: 'essendogli stato cesso luogo da poter dilatare e il Monastero, e la Chiesa, posciacché ove al presente ritrovasi il Pulpito aveva quella Famiglia una finestra, che cesse ai Padri acciò ne riuscisse di maggior ornamento la fabbrica seguita con licenza, ed ottenuta dalla Famiglia medesima, che piamente interessata, eresse a sue spese quella parte di Chiesa, che dal termine della sua fronte, che si dilata in forma di croce arriva sino alla porta maggiore, ed in memoria del fatto appese l'arma sua Gentilizia marmorea sotto il tetto nel sito istesso, da cui principiò a fabbricare, e col progresso del tempo immurò i sedili di legno, che sono intorno la parte superiore di Chiesa, eriggendovi di più due Pergami di marmo, che servono a cantarvi sopra l'epistola e l'evangelo nelle Messe solenni, et l'Altare dedicato a San Gio.

Evangelista, che è in Capella contigua alla Sacristia.' Cima, cited in ArSartori II/2, p. 1603 n. 1.

47 The altar of S. John Evangelist was completed in 1307 but the lost inscription recorded the patrons as the Da Camino family and not the Rinaldi as Cima believed.

'ANNO DOMINI MCCCVII. INDICT. IV/ DIE VIII. EXEUNTE DECEMB./ COMPLETUM FUIT HOC ALTARE IN DEI GLORIAM/ ET HONOREM B. MARIAE VIRGINIS, ET MATRIS/ SANCTIQ. JOANNIS EVANGELISTAE./ ROGAT SCRIBAT MINIMUS DE CAMINO DOMUS PATRIARCHAE/ QUOD PRIUSQUAM MUTETUR OPUS/ HIC LEVETUR ALTIUS IN AUGMENTO LOCUS/ QUODQ. SIBI LUCEAT STATUS, ET MOTUS'. Ibid, p. 1605. The chapel is still known today as the Rinaldi chapel.

48 Ibid, p. 1611 n. 25.

49 25 1377 June: 'Item iussit, et ordinavit fieri debere in dicta capella...unam archam in uno volto fiendo in muro dictae Capellae versus sacristiam...vel alibi in dicta capella,...in qua archa dictum corpus debeat Sepeliri, et subtus dictam archam fieri debere unum monumentum pro sepeliendo mortuos suos'..., in *ibid*, p. 1612 n.

29. Bartolomeo Rinaldi q. Franceschino in his will of 21 February 1465 ordered: 'quod...eius heredes commissarij fieri faciant de bonis ipsius testatoris,...unam palam pro altari dicte capelle in qua est archa predicta; et hoc pro implemento legati facti de dicta palla ad altare predictum et nondum adimpleti per q. bone memorie d. Rainaldum de Rainaldis eius avi paterni in suo ultimo testamento, In qua pala fienda idem dnus Rainaldus specificavit et voluit expendi debere libras tricentas parvorum', in *ibid*, p. 1614 n. 55. The pala has never been identified.

50 *Ibid*, p. 1594 n. 43.

51 *Ibid*, p. 1603 n. 1; see also Burchelati, Epitaphiorum, pp. 18-9. G.B. Verci, Storia della Marca Trevigiana, 10 vols, (Venice, 1786-91), (= Verci), documents Rinaldi's activities between 1332 and 1355. He was ambassador or special consultant in Venice in 1344, 1345, 1351, 1354, 1355. See Verci, t.xii p.39; t.xiii pp. 10, 26, 36, 37, 44. Other members of the family (whose relationship to Rainaldo cannot be established) patronized S. Francesco. In 1383 Lodovico Rinaldi left a possession in S. Lazzaro to the friars in return for the celebration of two daily masses in the chapel of John Evangelist or S. Francesco. ARSartori II/2 p. 1593 n. 37. In another will dated 27 September 1388, Tiziano Rinaldi left five bushels of wheat and ten barrels of wine per year in exchange for two daily masses, one at the altar of S. Mary Magdalen and the other at the altar of S. Ursula. This is the first account of these altars; their exact location is unknown. See *ibid*, p. 1594 n. 39.

52 Burchelati, Epitaphiorum, pp. 6-7.

53 Around it ran the following inscription: 'HIC JACET CIRCUMSPECTUS VIR/ MAGISTER BONACCURSIUS DE ASYLO/ ARTIUM MEDICINAE DOCTOR/ FILIUS SER FRANCISCI DE ASYLO OBIIT ENIM IN MCCCLXXXVIII.DIE XV. OCTOB.' See ArSartori II/2, p. 1605 and p. 1613 n. 39. In 1858 the tomb was spotted in the cathedral by Federici, vol. 1 p. 203. Its present whereabouts are unknown.

54 '...debeat fieri unus lapis super sepultura suorum predecessorum cum una

ymagine rellevata unius viri antiqui cum fočia (berretto) in capite vel aliter, Et quod debeat fieri ipsa ymago relevata secundum quod est sepultura q. magistri Bonacursij in ecclesia Sancti Francisci de Tarvisio, et cum palestrata bene laborata circumquaque.' ArSartori II/2, p. 1613 n. 39.

55 Ibid, p. 1592 n. 6.

56 Ibid, p. 1603, n. 1. 'HIC.JACET. STRENUUS.VIR/ BRANDOLINUS.DE BRANDOLINIS. DE. BAGNACAVALLO/COMES GEMELLARUM /SANCTAE.ROMANAE.ECCLESIAE. CAPITANEUS/ QUI.OBIIT.ANNO.DOM.MCCCXCVI/DIE.XXVIII.OCTOBRIS CUJUS.ANIMA.REQUIESCAT. IN.PACE.AMEN./' The inscription now hangs in the north transept.

57 The tomb of Cardinal Bulcani in Santa Maria Nuova, Rome, carved by Tino da Camaino also has virtues. Since Brandolini came from Rome, he may have had knowledge of it.

58 'Alcune immagini con diademi ecc. simili alle pitture fatte sul sepolcro del q. Brandolino.' Ibid, p. 1594 n.50. A. Sartori suggested that the image at least had survived and was in the portico of the canoniche of the cathedral. It is no longer there and its present whereabouts are unknown.

59 'Et quod dicti eius heredes teneantur et debeant facere depingi super dictum monumentum in muro ymaginum beatissime marie Virginis cum ymagine yhesu christi eius filij dni nostri et ymagines sanctorum geronimi, gregorij, Augustini, et benedicti. Et similiter ad pedes ipsarum ymaginum depingi facere ymagines patris ipsius testatoris et ipsius magistri guillelmi testantis et suorum fratrum mortuorum genibus flexis pro memoria futurorum', in ibid, p. 1594 n. 44.

60 Judging from the evidence in wills they seem to have been preferred.

61 Gibbs, Tomaso, p. 97. Similar types of frieze are a common feature of many Italian churches in the thirteenth century, and especially Franciscan ones. See S. Francesco in Assisi and closer to home S. Fermo Maggiore in Verona, S. Francesco

in Cividale and Udine.

62 By Coletti and Gibbs respectively. In my opinion, the flat drapery contradicts a byzantine style, it is closer to romanesque Italian. L. Coletti, Treviso. Catalogo delle cose d'arte e di antichità, (Treviso, 1935), (= Coletti, Catalogo), no. 764 p. 380; Gibbs, L'Occhio, fig. 135; idem, Tomaso, p. 97.

63 ArSartori, II/2, p. 1637 n. 8. Sartori summarizes the document and doesn't specify whether Gervasio is a friar. I have not yet seen the original document to confirm his identity.

64 Ibid, p. 1610 n. 18; L. Gargan, Cultura e arte nel Veneto al tempo del Petrarca, (Padua, 1978), (= Gargan, Cultura), pp. 269-70.

65 From a memorandum written by the notary Oliviero Forzetta in 1335. Gargan, Cultura, with full transcription of document on pp. 36-9 and an interpretation on pp. 56-61. See also Muraro, Paolo, pp. 23-4 and 82-3; S. Borla, 'Paolo Veneziano e il fratello Marco', Arte Veneta, a. XXIV (1970), pp. 199-204, p. 200.

66 On the Marco or Paolo attribution see R. Gibbs, 'A fresco by Marco or Paolo Veneziano in Treviso', Studi Trevisani 1 (1984), pp. 27-31. This is repeated in Gibbs, 'Pittura'. The Madonna and Child flanked by SS. Francis and Anthony of Padua scheme is repeated in Udine, in the lunette above the south portal, and on Cividale's west door.

67 M. Muraro, Paolo da Venezia, English edn. (University Park, 1970), p. 24; Gargan, Cultura, p. 39.

68 R. Gibbs discusses this painting in a forthcoming article, 'La pittura del Trecento a Treviso', in La pittura nel Veneto: il Trecento (Milan, 1992), (= Gibbs, 'Pittura'), pp. 23-4, which he has kindly made available to me in typewritten form.

69 See note 52 above.

70 ArSartori II/2, p. 1611 n. 24.

71 Coletti, Catalogo, no. 757, p. 377, found it mediocre and didn't suggest an author although he dated it to the second half of the fourteenth century. Lucco saw

in it the lessons of Giotto and even compared it to the chapter hall frescoes in the Santo and Sesto al Reghena. M. Lucco, 'Pittura del Duecento e del Trecento nelle provincie venete', La Pittura in Italia: il Duecento e il Trecento, 2 vols, (Milan, 1986), vol. 1, pp. 113-49, (= Lucco, 'Pittura'), p. 131. Gibbs, 'La pittura', p. 30. Gibbs also reported a fresco fragment of two saints (one Franciscan) presenting a donor, detached from an unspecified location in S. Francesco, now in the Museo Civico. I have not seen this painting. Characteristically, Gibbs, does not hesitate to describe its author as a, 'technically modest associate of the 'Pseudo-Jacopino'' (active to 1340), which would imply a Bologna connection. He dates the fragment to the 1320s-30s on the basis of fashion design. Ibid, p. 17. I do not share his convictions that fashion is a sound dating method. Gibbs has overlooked the fact that men and women often wore garments for many years and bequeathed them to their children.

72 Gibbs, reports that there were twelve busts originally; *ibid*, pp. 33-4. I don't quite see how he arrives at this number; there could not have been more than eight.

73 Coletti, Catalogo, no. 758 p. 377, thought him a close pupil of Tomaso da Modena, possibly 'il Compagno di Tomaso'. Lucco again turned to Giotto as a source for the arch decoration, but was reminded of Vitale at Udine, thereby suggesting a terminus post quem of 1349; however he recognized the same artist at work in the northern Rinaldi chapel, an observation I do not share. Cf. Lucco, 'Pittura', pp. 133-4. In the eyes of Gibbs, Anthony's derivation is Tuscan, such as Taddeo Gaddi who 'specialised in plastic lantern-jawed figures and grisaille effects'. He further observes that this artist is set apart from his colleagues. Cf. Gibbs, 'La pittura', p. 34.

74 Gibbs, in *ibid*, n. 79, dates the painting to the later 1340s or early 1350s using fashion design which he finds reliable.

75 Coletti, Catalogo, proposes all three. Cf. no. 749 pp. 373-4. Since Christ was regarded as the new Adam could Francis also be considered as such?

76 Gibbs differentiates between a Venetian responsible for S. Francis, an Emilian possibly Giovanni di Pietro da Modena (documented in Treviso in 1339) who paints the Christ Child, and another, native Trevisan whose handling is reminiscent of Guariento, at work on the Evangelists. How Gibbs can be so self-assured when dealing with such faded, and restored works is beyond reason. Cf. Gibbs, 'La pittura', pp. 30-2. To me the most obvious comparison is the main chapel of the Eremitani church, Padua by Guariento and workshop. Compare the frontality of the Evangelist's desk with Mercury's, and similar facial expressions and gestures. On the Eremitani see F. Flores d'Arcais, Guariento, 2nd edn, (Venice, 1974), (= D'Arcais, Guariento) illus. 110 ff.

77 Coletti, Catalogo, no. 759 p. 374.

78 It is important to remember that Tomaso is never documented at S. Francesco.

79 See p. 149 of this chapter.

80. The 'Feltre Master' as he is known to D'Arcais, Zuliani and Gibbs, painted this.

81 See p. ¹⁴⁸ of this chapter.

82 Coletti, Zuliani, and Gibbs. More recently, Memi Botter has assured Gibbs that the giornate overlap from right to left and not from the centre outwards, suggesting the same composition.

83 Second pier from the west of the north nave arcade. Gibbs, Tomaso, p. 267 no.7.

84 I am indebted to Robert Gibbs who pointed out the similarity in dress. However I am cautious of his dates.

85 Gibbs estimated that it originally came down to about one metre from the floor.

86 A fragment of a larger composition, the head and shoulders of a male saint with an arch above, came to the Museo Civico from an unrecorded exterior wall. Known as S. James, but bearing no distinguishing marks, the bearded man looks intensely to his left, thereby suggesting a lost scene next to him. Gibbs' suggestion that it is

vitaesque rather than tomasesque makes perfect sense. Gibbs, Tomaso, pl. 10; Gibbs, 'Pittura', p. 34 and p. 39.

87 A comparison with Guariento's Consecration of African Bishops in the choir chapel of the Eremitani in Padua (c. 1350), illustrates my point. D'Arcais, Guariento, illus. 96.

88 The colour scheme of the border is as follows: red, white, red, pink, white, pink, white, pink, yellow. The surface is now too abraded to discern the shields. Cf. Coletti, Catalogo, no. 759 (illus), pp. 377-8.

89 Gibbs proposes c. 1370-80, but without elaborating. The date very much depends on the chronology of the S. Anthony. Gibbs, Tomaso, p. 96 fig. VI.

90 The painting was first attributed to Bartolo di Fredi by Meiss, subsequently by Gaudenz Freuler but rejected by Lucco and Gibbs. M. Meiss, 'Nuovi dipinti vecchi problemi', Rivista d'Arte, XXX (1955), p. 145; G. Freuler, 'Andrea di Bartolo, Fra Tommaso d'Antonio Caffarini and Sienese Dominicans in Venice', AB, 69 (1987), pp. 570-86 (= Freuler, Andrea), pp. 578 ff. and figs 10-12; Lucco, 'La pittura', p. 141, insists on a trecento date: '...molti particolari, infatti, rivelano una cultura trecentesca, ancora di osservanza martiniana, ed affine a Nicolò di Ser Sozzo, tale da rendere più credibile il suggerimento del Toesca (1951) in favore di Luca di Tommè, ad una data prossima forse al 1370'; Gibbs, 'Pittura', pp. 23-4, calls the resemblances between Bartolo's work and the frescoes 'generic'.

91. Freuler neglected to look at the nominal lists and chronicles pertaining to S. Francesco. Had he done this he would have noticed that fra Scolaio shines by his absence. Tuscan families are however documented, such as Tessa q. Vanni Portenari da Firenze and her late husband Marco Bomben also of Florence. See ArSartori II/2, pp. 1589-1699; esp. p. 1593 n. 32. Freuler is further mistaken by thinking that the tomb of Dante's descendant was in the Franciscan church originally. Pietro Alighieri's tomb was moved from a cloister of S. Margherita and set in its present location beneath the fresco in 1935. Cf. Gamboso, S. Francesco,

p. 30.

92 Ibid, p. 30.

93 For this decoration see Gibbs, *L'Occhio*, figs. 123-5.

94 Gibbs included them in his catalogue of works by Tomaso or with his direct participation with the date c. 1352-7. Cf. *Tomaso*, pp. 273-4.

95 Coletti, *Catalogo*, n. 777 pp. 385-6.

96 At a cost of three hundred ducats. As a deposit the craftsman received two bushels of wheat and two gallons of wine. *ArSartori*, II/2, p. 1612 n. 33. See also *ibid*, p. 1613 n. 43.

97 Day on which his aunt requested burial there. *Ibid*, p. 1612 n. 35.

98 22 December 1409, in *ibid*, p. 1594 n. 53 and p. 1613 n. 38.

99 I shall return to this topic in my concluding chapter.

100 See p. 15 of this thesis.

101 'Item jussit voluit etc. de suis bonis fieri debere per suos commissarios infrascriptos unam capelam de muro apud Ecclesiam S. Francisci de tarvisio in loco ubi melius videbitur fratribus minoribus conventualibus in dicto monasterio et loco existentibus, usque ad summam ducentarum librarum parvorum', in *ibid*, p. 1610 n. 20. In 1459, the friars conceded the chapel of S. John Baptist which adjoined the main apsidal chapel, to Giovanni Tiretta so that he could build a tomb there as he wished. *Ibid*, p. 1597 n. 80.

102 See chapter 1, p. 32.

103 'Nel monumento di S. Francesco di Treviso Avezuto..., per L.10 vende all'orefice Andrea...un suo monumento e sepultura 'murato cum ploda et cannistellis sive capitibus et lateribus lapideis disnodatis circumcirca ipsam plodam, posito et hedificato iuxta Ecclesiam dicti monasterij et loci Sancti Francisci a latere sinistro mayoris porte sive recie dicte Ecclesie in angulo posito iuxta portam qua intratur primo ad locum et monasterium predictum a latere dextero dicte porte extra ipsam portam', in *ibid*, p. 1610 n. 22.

104 'Reliquit anchonam ipsius testatoris que est ad altare ipsius testatoris posita in dicta capella in Ecclesia Santi Francisci dandam...Capelle Sanctorum Jacobi et philipi de peçano...' in ibid, p. 1613 n. 38.

Chapter 5 Franciscan Patronage in Venice

Venetians all agree that S. Francis himself took an active part in the establishment of his Order of friars minor. Throughout the centuries, traces of the saint's passage have been "miraculously" preserved in a number of cities, whether it be a characteristic 'T' (tau), traced on a wall supposedly by his hand (in Cologna Veneta), or a 500 year-old pine tree which sprouted from his walking stick (on the island of S. Francesco Deserto). During the middle ages the official life of S. Francis, Bonaventura's Legenda Maior, gave a boost to the Venetian region since it relocated, the episode in which Francis silences birds who interrupt the Divine Office, from Alviano to the Venetian marshes.¹

This strong sense of tradition has also left a vivid imprint on early chronicles, accounts and local histories and still permeates modern literature. Venice however, has few surviving fourteenth-century records whilst the fifteenth century is well documented. During this period of thriving patronage, earlier buildings and works of art were replaced at a rapid rate and have consequently been dispersed or perished. Venice counted no less than four Franciscan convents and churches during the fourteenth century. They included S. Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, S. Nicoletto della Lattuga (its immediate neighbour), S. Francesco della Vigna and S. Francesco del Deserto. The small church of S. Nicoletto della Lattuga has been totally destroyed while the churches of S. Francesco della Vigna and S. Francesco del Deserto have been so drastically modified that they too preserve no trace of the friars' fourteenth-century occupation.

No study has attempted to explain this unusually high number of Franciscan churches.² Perhaps this phenomena can best be understood by the idiosyncracies of the Venetian patrons of the Franciscan Order. At least two settlements, S. Francesco del Deserto and S. Nicoletto della Lattuga, were paid for and built by one individual. The first wanted to build a retreat house for his personal use in front of a tiny oratory, and the second founded a small church as an ex-voto. The third convent, S. Francesco della Vigna was only meant to accommodate six friars. Thus

the heart of the Franciscan community in Venice was in the Rialto in the church of S. Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, known as the Frari.³

S. Maria Gloriosa dei Frari

Settlement of Friars

The friars minor arrived in the Rivoalto and ministered to the needs of the residents not long after the death of S. Francis. In the early days the brethren probably slept under the porches of the churches of S. Lorenzo, S. Silvestro and S. Marco.⁴ Their presence either on mainland Venice or on one of the islands is first documented in the will of Achillea Signolo who bequeathed them ten lire in 1227.⁵ In October 1234 the friars were settled in S. Tomà and were the beneficiaries of a house and land which conferred with their own convent, a gift from the patrician Giovanni Badoer.⁶ It seems reasonable to believe that the friars occupied the small church mentioned in this document which had been deserted by the Benedictines.⁷ Another adjacent plot was bought by the friars' procurator, Daniele Foscari, on 5 July 1236.⁸ Two years later more property was acquired in the same vicinity.⁹ The friars were expanding their territory to enable the construction of a large church. The first papal indulgence was granted by Innocent IV on 25 March 1249.¹⁰ A year later, the first stone of a new church was laid by the apostolic legate, cardinal Ottaviano Ubaldini; he granted a further one year and forty days.¹¹ The church, one of many dedicated to the Virgin Mary was named Santa Maria Gloriosa (Assunta) to distinguish it from the others. Three years after his first indulgence, Innocent IV conceded another forty days.¹²

The building must have progressed quite rapidly for pilgrims were able to visit the church in the summer of 1255.¹³ Papal support, unsurpassed in Franciscan churches of the region, continued in the 1290s, with one year and forty days' indulgence upon a visit to the Frari on the anniversary week or the feast of the Annunciation and S. Mark's.¹⁴ On 6 October 1306, Clement V added another of the same value for the feast day and anniversary week of all three Franciscan

saints.¹⁵

Building Progression

Little is known of the first Frari, except its location, orientation (opposite the actual basilica) and the fact that it had three apses.¹⁶ Well before its destruction before 1428, donations 'pro capella Ecclesie nove' began to appear, the first in 1330.¹⁷ The new Frari was reoriented and work began at the apses and proceeded towards the façade. This meant that the primitive church could be used during the time of the construction.¹⁸ The building progression is difficult to ascertain. The general layout has affinities with its Florentine predecessors, the churches of S. Croce (begun 1294/5) and the Dominican church of S. Maria Novella (begun 1279); each church ends in a row of smaller chapels on either side of the chancel. The polygonal apse termination of the Frari however, is closer in design to its Franciscan neighbour, S. Lorenzo in Vicenza (built after 1281/2) and the Dominican church of Santi Giovanni e Paolo in Venice (begun c. 1333).

The second apsidal chapel right of the main apse (dedicated to S. Francis) was ready to house the tomb of Duccio degli alberti in 1336.¹⁹ The chapter hall meanwhile must have been completed around 1339 since it accommodated the hanging wall tomb of Doge Francesco Dandolo (d. April 1339).²⁰ In the 1360s building had at least reached the north-east portion of the church. On 1 August 1361, the friars granted rights to the last apsidal chapel on the left, to the confraternity of S. John the Baptist and S. Ambrose and the members were given stones and building materials to repair or build their chapel.²¹ The campanile was begun in the same year by maestro Jacopo Celaga and finished by his son Pietro Paolo some thirty-five years later.²² The main chapel was completed before 1380, year in which Vido lion de messer Zanato requested that his remains be deposited in a new tomb hung on the wall of that chapel and bequeathed 300 ducats for the windows. A stream of bequests destined, 'pro fabrica ecclesia', suggest that construction continued until at least 1415,²³ and the church was finally consecrated on 27 May 1492.²⁴

The Decoration

Apart from the apse area, campanile and chapter hall, much of the Frari appears to have been finished in the early fifteenth century (fig. 102). Some of the more easily datable projects, the façade portal and the choir stalls definitely belong to that century. Overall there are few surviving traces of fourteenth-century decoration in the Frari and even fewer from the first church. The notary Oliviero Forzetta recorded in 1335, that there were linens and windows painted by a Teutonic friar in the first Frari. These works executed by a northern craftsman, perhaps himself a member of the Order, were appreciated enough to be repeated in another Franciscan church. Indeed their 'antique' style was admired by Forzetta, a collector, who was keen to acquire drawings of them. I have already mentioned that the painter Marco used them as a basis for his own linens and his windows in S. Francesco, Treviso, whilst his brother Paolo made two drawings of them, a Dormition of the Virgin and the Death of S. Francis.²⁵ Forzetta's rather vague description of the Venetian works and their author is all we unfortunately possess.²⁶ Suffice to say that they repeated two themes dear to the Order.

It is most unfortunate that a series of mural paintings from the second Frari cannot be seen either. They were discovered between the wall of the Corner chapel and the exterior wall of the church, during the restorations at the beginning of this century. They are only described as a row of arcades containing busts of saints and were obviously painted before 1417, the year in which the Corner chapel was begun.²⁷

Whilst the paintings are rare, some of the most innovative examples of tomb sculpture in the Veneto are gathered in the Frari.²⁸ Three hanging wall tombs belonging to the fourteenth century demonstrate how Franciscan churches could attract native and foreign patrons and a mixture of craftsmen. The development of Venetian tomb sculpture broke new ground with the appearance of narrative imagery on the tomb of doge Francesco Dandolo (d. 31 Oct. 1339). Four days prior to his death, Francesco had asked to be buried in a humble tomb.²⁹ Presumably

commissioned by the republic of Venice, the result was far from being ordinary (figs 88, 103, 104). A Dormition of the Virgin, reminiscent of the same subject painted by Paolo Veneziano for the Franciscan church of S. Lorenzo in Vicenza, ran without interruption on the front of the bier.³⁰ The inspiration for this narrative relief was no doubt the slightly earlier tomb of brother Odorico da Pordenone (fig. 81), commissioned by the town of Udine in 1331 for another Franciscan church, S. Francesco in Udine.³¹ Odorico's tomb was sculpted in Venice and attracted considerable attention since it was confronted with the sarcophagus of the Four Virgins of Aquileia to see which was more 'noble'.³² Were the friars or town leaders deliberately trying to surpass the Udine tomb, or was the design simply left into the capable hands of Paolo da Venezia who had already conceived the painted lunette? The absence of documentation makes it impossible to say who thought up the scheme.

The upper part of the tomb was also pioneering and influenced later works.³³ Unlike other hanging wall tombs Paolo painted the Virgin and Child with SS. Francis and Elizabeth and the doge and his wife in tempera on wood.³⁴ Combining byzantine iconography of donor imagery with the lessons of the Arena chapel, Paolo gave his figures the gift of communication whilst distorting the saints' backs to echo the shape of the panel edge and remain within the frame. Unlike byzantine works, the donors Francesco Dandolo and Elisabetta Contarini are as large as their namesake saints. Only the Virgin and Child are bigger. The tomb appears to have been destined to hang in the chapter hall of the convent from the start. And it is one of the earliest (if not the first) lay tomb to be placed in what has been traditionally regarded as a room exclusive to the friars. The Frari Chapter Hall would not be the only chantry of a lay person. The Franciscan Chapter Halls of Vicenza, Treviso and Bassano also served a dual function.³⁵

The question of the identity of the warrior tomb in the chapel of S. Francis remains open (fig. 105). Stylistic affinities with the tomb of Francesco Dandolo have led Wolters to propose a date not long after 1330.³⁶ The sculpted effigy is

more antiquated than the relief on the façade of the doge's tomb and carries a carved votive relief of the Virgin and Child and a heraldic shield in its lunette.

The tomb of Duccio degli Alberti (fig. 106) in the same chapel has most recently been placed in the third quarter of the fourteenth century, despite the death of the man in 1336. The similarities between the effigy of the deceased and the Carrara tombs produced in the workshop of Andriolo de' Santi, suggest a Venetian provenance. The presence of virtues on the front of the bier, once believed to be a sign of Florentine influence, was preceded in the Veneto by those on the tomb of B. Odorico da Pordenone from another Franciscan church. The two representations of temperance and justice, flank two shields with the arms of the Alberti family and a medallion with a cross. The virtues were perhaps intended as a reflection of the qualities of an ambassador. The heraldic devices of both Florence and Venice on the triangular cusp and beneath an agnus dei serve as reminders of his mission to ally his Tuscan city with the republic against the Scala menace. Although we do not know who was responsible for the commission of the tomb, there are good reasons to believe that Duccio degli Alberti expressly requested to be laid to rest in a Franciscan church. Members of his family were faithful supporters of the Franciscan Order; an Agnolo degli Alberti (d. 1348), once ambassador in Verona, bequeathed one fifth of his goods to build the tribuna of the church of S. Croce in Florence.³⁷ And Duccio's brother was apparently Alberto di Lapo Alberti, the patron of the high altar of S. Croce in Florence.³⁸

Altars

The altars in the Frari were dedicated to the usual group of saints one encounters in Franciscan churches. The main altar was dedicated to the Assumption of the Virgin, a sign of the devotion of the Order for the Virgin Mary.³⁹ Side altars included those of S. Francis, S. Anthony, S. John, S. Michael, etc. Some unusual dedications were found too, S. Andrew before 1396 and S. Jerome before 1369.⁴⁰ There was also an altar dedicated to the patron saint of the city, S. Mark.

Confraternity patronage

Three confraternities were active in the Frari during the fourteenth century. That of S. Francis and the Misericordia are poorly documented, but the school of S. Jerome and S. Ambrose has preserved its mariegola and a number of other records.

The Scuola di S. Francesco may have been founded as early as 1346;⁴¹ however, a dispute regarding the move of the scuola from the church of S. Francesco della Vigna to the Frari firmly establishes its existence on 8 June 1358. The problem was resolved by the Collegio della Repubblica who decided that the gastaldo and the decani of the confraternity should restore some goods to S. Francesco della Vigna so that two branches of the association could function in both Franciscan churches.⁴² The confraternity's services were held in the chapel of S. Francis, the first apsidal chapel north of the chancel.

Another confraternity was the Scuola della Misericordia begun in 1261. The first documented record of gifts and legacies was in April 1318.⁴³ These were not confined to small alms to benefit one altar but could benefit the whole church. One example of these offerings was that given by Marino Moro of S. Giovanni Decollato on 1 March 1325: 'che lo sia dada ogno ano dopleri. V. de grossi XII. luno li quali sia meçi de cera verde emeçi de colar de cera ali frari minori per illuminar lo corpo de cristo a V altari'.⁴⁴ A more substantial gift included a third of all loans of Menego Profagnan of Cannaregio to the friary.⁴⁵ The confraternity began compiling statutes in 1412 and allowed up to 300 members.⁴⁶

The relationship between Franciscans and confraternities in this early period is quite obscure. The confraternity of S. Antonio Confessore in Padua had commissioned free standing sculpture and a tabernacle.⁴⁷ But we do not know how they went about decorating their assigned chapel in the first place. The mariegola of the scuola of S. John the Baptist and S. Ambrose (the later Scuola dei Milanesi) founded on 3 May 1361,⁴⁸ sheds light on the initial efforts of the fraternity and their rapport with the convent's friars.⁴⁹ It is interesting to note that there was some cooperation between the friars and the confraternity to get things set up and to

bring the chapel to completion. The convent first donated two pittances to the confraternity each year on the feast days of saints John and Ambrose, until completion of the chapel.⁵⁰ On 1 August, the guardian and friars conceded to the members all the stones and building materials of the new church that could be useful to the repair or fabrication of the chapel.⁵¹ Additional space outside the church and permission to build a house in which to keep their furnishings and vestments was also granted.⁵² Allocation for burial site was provided plus two sepulchres already built by the friars.⁵³ To facilitate funding of the construction, gifts made by the confraternity would be converted into building works. Upon completion, they could go to the poor as the members wished, but the relics were to remain into the friars' hands.⁵⁴ The confraternity was responsible for the objects used during the services and these were recorded in an inventory of 1383. These included a silver cross, a missal, two chalices and a carved figure of John the Baptist and Ambrose, along with a cloth to cover a corpse and a banner, amongst other hangings.⁵⁵ These were presumably commissioned directly by the lay association, as had been the case in Padua.

Lay Patronage

Few documents preserve the memory and generosity of lay benefactors in Venice. Sansovino and Corner (who relied heavily on his predecessor), recorded the contribution of the Gradenigo family who would have financed four columns with their adjoining walls.⁵⁶ In fact only one member's will could be found in which only £ 25 was bequeathed for the building and needs of the new church in 1348.⁵⁷ The Gradenigo coat of arms appears on the capitals of the perimeter wall. The Giustinian family could apparently afford two walls and the Aguiè one. The condottiero Paolo Savelli (d. 1405) may have financed the vaulting.⁵⁸ Once again loyalty to the Franciscan Order knew no territorial boundaries. One member of the Alberti family of Florence who traditionally supported the friars, chose to be buried in the Frari.

S. Francesco del Deserto

The Franciscan settlement located on the island of S. Francesco del Deserto is traditionally linked to a visit by S. Francis which would have occurred around 1220. According to this unsubstantiated belief, Francis sought a retreat where he could meditate upon returning from the Holy Land. Attracted by the island's desolation, he chose to reside there for a time with his companion, brother Illuminato. Lucas Wadding (d. 1657) added that Francis had not only stayed on the island but actually built a small hut.⁵⁹ Eighteenth-century sources added that pious brethren founded a small oratory on the site of the founder's hut in 1228.⁶⁰ This did not probably happen until after 4 March 1233, year in which the owner of the island gave the land to the friars who built a house there.⁶¹ This was a pious gesture from Giacomo Michiel, who stipulated that he should be allowed to build a house reserved for his own spiritual retreat in front of the church. After his death, the friars would inherit the lot. It was abandoned by the conventuals and taken over by the Observants in 1451.⁶² No trace of the fourteenth century survives. But it illustrates ^{one} of the motives behind the foundation of small convents.

S. Francesco della Vigna

One of the earliest settlements in Venice, S. Francesco della Vigna, was a testimony to the increasing popularity of the mendicant Orders in this city. Abandoning the established family convention of Benedictine patronage, Marco Ziani chose the newly established Franciscan settlement in 'Sancta Maria de Fratribus Minoribus' in the diocese of Castello.⁶³ In 1253 he dictated his will and asked to be buried near the friars' communal tomb at the Frari.⁶⁴ His second wish was to bequeath a parcel of land with houses, a furnace and workrooms, the income of which was reserved for the purchase of habits for the friars.⁶⁵ The most important gift was a vineyard in the parish of S. Giustina, complete with workrooms and a chapel.⁶⁶ Ziani left it up to his executors to decide which six members of the three Orders, either Franciscan, Dominican or Cistercian, would be maintained there in perpetuity. A lengthy controversy followed and was temporarily settled by

a papal diploma in 1254. Alexander IV, always a strong supporter of the friars, granted permission of stay to the Frari community. This decision was immediately challenged on the basis that a new church would be too close to an existing Cistercian monastery, the Celestia. The papal curia replied by ruling against this outdated constitution but Ziani's executors now threatened to evict the friars (who had already moved in) using the pretext that an Order was not allowed two monasteries in the same city. The friars' right to remain was finally upheld in the Ducal court in 1257, four years after Ziani's initial bequest.

Those initial years were probably the most tumultuous for S. Francesco della Vigna, apart from its transformation into an Observant house in 1431, and its modifications by Sansovino in 1582. Very little is known of the medieval church and nothing remains of it.⁶⁷

S. Nicolò dei Frari

This church otherwise known as S. Nicoletto della Lattuga by virtue of a certain lettuce cultivated in the garden of the Frari, was founded around 1332 by way of thanksgiving for a miraculous cure. Nicolò Lion, procurator of S. Marco, had been advised to eat the friars' lettuce as a remedy from a grave illness. Following his recovery Lion commissioned the building of an oratory at the confines of the garden of the Frari which was dedicated to his namesake saint, the bishop Nicolas. He also added quarters sufficient for twelve friars. His will dated 13 February 1353 registered his donation to the Frari of a small convent along with a church.

The church appears to have been of modest proportion. Jacopo Barbari's engraving indicated its location directly behind the church of S. Rocco. Sansovino noted an inscription commemorating the death of the donor in 1356.⁶⁸ The tomb and inscription were transferred to the Frari and now stand in the first chapel left of the chancel.⁶⁹ Corner described an interior covered with inestimable paintings, whilst Cicogna later called it a treasury of antique paintings by the most celebrated

authors.⁷⁰ Sartori claimed it housed a panel by Donato Veneziano (1359) but without citing a source.⁷¹

Conclusion

Despite the great losses in all four Franciscan churches of Venice, the Order's importance in the fourteenth century is proven by the unusually high number of settlements and the healthy numbers in the friaries themselves. Despite the destruction of the smaller Venetian settlements, the motives of the patrons are known. As for the Frari's lost decoration, it was significant enough to be copied in the Order's church of Treviso; and both artists and collectors appreciated it. One of the most important tombs for the subsequent development of Venetian tomb design was placed in the Chapter Hall, an unusual location for a lay person's tomb.

Notes to Chapter 5

- 1 '...alio quoque Venetiarum invenit maximus avium, multitudinem residentium et cantalium in virgultis'. Ch. VIII, s. 9. Previously in 1 Cel., ch. 59. I have not been able to find a motive for this change of location.
- 2 Even a city the size of Rome had only two Franciscan churches in this period.
- 3 A diminutive which means frati in Venetian dialect. There were 26 friars in the Frari on 7 November 1393, which is a high number. ArSartori, II/2, p. 1925 n. 6.
- 4 Chroniclers give varying locations. These are summarized in *ibid*, p. 1742-3, n. 3.
- 5 The friars received a further ten lire from Regina Corner in 1231. R. Goffen, Piety and Patronage in Renaissance Venice. Bellini, Titian and the Franciscans, (New Haven and London, 1986), (= Goffen), p. 5. Corner's will is partly transcribed in ArSartori, II/2, p. 1742 n.1.
- 6 F. Corner, Notizie storiche delle Chiese e Monasteri di Venezia e di Torcello tratte delle Chiese Veneziane, e Torcellane illustrate da Flaminio Corner Senator Veneziano, (Padua, 1758), (= Corner), p. 361. ArSartori II/2, p. 1742 n. 1. The document mentions a church of the friars and this was perhaps a deserted Benedictine abbey later recorded by Sansovino. Goffen, p. 5.
- 7 N. Spada, 'Le origini del convento dei Frari', Le Venezie Francescane, 1, (1932), 3, pp. 163-71. Sartori, Provincia, p. 4, however rejects this Benedictine theory and insists that the friars' first church was built from alms.
- 8 ArSartori II/2, p. 1742, n. 1.
- 9 Goffen, p. 5.
- 10 Worth forty days. Sartori, Provincia, p. 5; Goffen, p. 6. The text is printed in ArSartori II/2, p. 1795-6 n. 2.
- 11 On 28 April 1250. Among those who attended the foundation ceremony were the bishops of Castello, Bologna and Treviso. Corner, p. 362; Sartori, Provincia, p. 5. Text printed in ArSartori, II/2, p. 1796 n. 3.
- 12 30 November 1252, or 1st December, respectively in Sartori, Provincia, p. 5

and Goffen, p. 7. This repetition has not been explained; I wonder if the first did not yield sufficient results.

13 28 July 1255: they would receive an indulgence of forty days if they came for the feast of Saints Francis and Anthony of Padua. ArSartori II/2, p. 1824 n. 2.

The canonization of S. Clare meant that she was also included in the celebration of saints; one hundred days were granted on 6 July 1256. *Ibid*, p. 1824 n. 3.

14 By Nicholas IV on 13 September 1291. *Ibid*, p. 1825 n. 5.

15 *Ibid*, p. 1825 n. 6. This is the last recorded for this century; the next was granted in 1455 for the feast of S. Bernardino. *Ibid*, p. 1825 n. 7.

16 Facing the east, it stood in front of the present façade of the Frari with its apses facing the rio. The main portal of the old church was a little ahead of the actual side entrance to the Frari near the third pair of columns of the actual building. A. Scolari, 'La Chiesa di S.^{ta} Maria Gloriosa dei Frari ed il suo recente restauro', Venezia, Studi di Arte e Storia, vol. 1 (1920), pp. 148-71, (=Scolari), p. 150.

Scolari cites an early description made by the procurator of the friars, Girolamo Dolfin in 1488; he recalled the church as it stood some seventy years previously.

17 13 July 1330, in H. von Thode, 'Studien zur italienischen Kunstgeschichte im XIV. Jahrhundert', Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft, ¹⁸ (1985), pp. 81-90, p. 82.

18 Scolari, p. 151.

19 Goffen, p. 7.

20 There is a record of business conducted on behalf of a woman, 'comess. di S. Lorenzo Gradenigo', on 13 October 1396. The Franciscan General chapter met at the Frari in 1346, which suggests that the church and convent were advanced enough to accommodate a large number of friars.

21 See below note 54.

22 As recorded in an inscription on the tower. Its structure required that it be built at the same time as the contiguous walls the whole. Scolari, p. 151.

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- 23 Examples for 1355, 1371, 1378, 1380, 1382, 1383, 1387 in ArSartori, II/2, p. 1765-7, n. 43, 46, p. 1769 n. 50, p. 1796 n. 6, 8, 9, 10, 12. Measurements corresponding roughly to present ones were made in 1420, but chapels were still assigned to patrons with building permission in 1436. Scolari, p. 153.
- 24 Goffen, p. 17 and p. 172 n. 46, for the commemorative inscription.
- 25 See chapter 4, p. 146 and n. 65 of this thesis.
- 26 The objects and windows presumably perished with the first Frari.
- 27 Scolari, p. 169.
- 28 There were far more up to the eighteenth century when modifications occurred and most tombs were either obstructed or removed save those of a few important men. For instance on 21 August 1754, the health ministry decided to remove the tombs in the cloister. Those of the Garzoni family (1311) and Domenico Perazzo (1340) were spared but were destroyed a little later. See ArSartori II/2, p. 1916, n. 72. Two early tombs were found during restoration works.
- 29 Another member of the Dandolo family, Simone the brother of doge Andrea was also laid to rest in a wall tomb originally in the first chapel right of the main apse (now on the entrance wall). Once podestà of Treviso and senator of Venice, he died on 1 July 1360. The front of the bier carries a more usual Madonna and Child and an Annunciation. See Wolters, 1, p. 192 and ArSartori II/2, p. 1977 n. 134.
- 30 It is carved in istrian stone; nineteenth-century sources record its polychromy and gilding. Ibid, p. 163.
- 31 The tomb restored and shown with its back facing the congregation is now in the church of the Carmine in the same city.
- 32 Wolters, 1, p. 158.
- 33 Such as the first sculpted Franciscan portal which featured a devotional subject at S. Lorenzo in Vicenza. See chapter 3 of this thesis.
- 34 No examples of wall painting by Paolo have ever been identified save the problematic attribution in the façade lunette of S. Francesco, Treviso, discussed in

chapter 4; since there are so few surviving examples of this medium in general in Venice during the fourteenth century, Paolo was perhaps aware of the difficulties of this medium in a damp Venetian environment and avoided this technique.

35 See appendix 3 c) and 4 a) (8 April 1401) of this thesis; there was also a tomb in the Chapter Hall of S. Francesco, Pisa and in a Dominican context in that of S. Maria Novella, Florence. See Gardner, 'Chapter House', p. 109 and p. 128.

36 With such diverse possibilities as Arnolfo d'Este and Arnolfo Teutonico, or a noble Trevisan. See Wolters, 1, p. 163, for a summary.

37 A. Saponi, 'Alberti, Agnolo', *DBI*, 1, (Rome, 1960), pp. 677-8.

38 Goffen, p. 7. On Duccio see A. Saponi, 'Alberti, Duccio', *DBI*, 1, (Rome, 1960), p. 691; L. Passerini, *Gli Alberti di Firenze, Genealogio, storia e documenti*, (Florence, 1869), pp. 157-9. A single bier belonging to the Bernardo family hangs in the last apsidal chapel on the right; it is also of Venetian design from the 1360s and carries on the front the figures of the Virgin and child enthroned underneath a round arch (with shell), flanked by two unidentified male and female saints; S. James Major and S. John the Baptist stand on the corners. Wolters, p. 161. Also mentioned by Lorenzetti, p. 583, is the tomb of Nicolò Leoni (d. 1356) in the chapel left of the main apse; the effigy of a soldier wearing full armour and seemingly from the beginning of the fourteenth century was reused as building material in the wall dividing the second and third apsidal chapel on the left. Scolari, p. 169.

39 The high altar of the church of S. Lorenzo in Vicenza was also dedicated to the Assumption of Mary. See chapter 3 of this thesis.

40 27 September 1369.

41 Sartori claims its mariegola began in that year; but he doesn't publish it.

ArSartori II/2, p. 1835 n. 1. In the first half of the thirteenth century (1241), tertiaries were recorded in the church of S. Andrea and fell under the responsibility of the Frari. Ibid, p. 1835 n. 1. The confraternity of S. Anthony of Padua was

only founded in 1439. Ibid, p. 1841 n. 1.

42 Ibid, p. 1835 n. 3.

43 Three buildings bequeathed by Giovanni Pollini at this time were accepted by the confraternity in August 1319. See *ibid*, p. 1895 n. 6 and p. 1841. On October 22 1319, Francesco Dedo made a donation. Ibid, p. 1841.

44 Ibid, p. 1841.

45 Membership was not restricted to one particular neighbourhood. One of its noteworthy members was the Patriarch of Grado, Francesco Querini (d. 1372). Ibid, p. 1841.

46 Ibid, pp. 1839-41. We do not know where they held their celebrations.

47 See chapter 2 of this thesis.

48 The Council of Ten approved the association on April 14 1361. Ibid, p. 1875 and p. 1872 respectively.

49 'Scola sci Iohis bapt. et sci Ambrosij epi et conf. et doctoris'. *ArSartori* II/2, p. 1871-5, p. 1871 n. 1.

50 Worth soldi sex grossorum (= 30 parv.). Ibid, p. 1873.

51 'Item concedimus vobis omnes lapides et lateres alias operatos in dicta ecclesia nova, illos videlicet qui expedierint ad reparationem seu fabricationem dicte cappelle.' Ibid, p. 1873.

52 'Item concedimus vobis q. a latere dicte capelle versus orientem seu meridiem. usq. ad publicam stratam in latum et eciam usq. ad tertium pilastrum ipsius ecclesie nove exclusive ex latere capelle supra scripte. et ex inde usq. ad dictam stratam: possitis unam domum in altum erigere seu edificari facere in qua et congregari potestis et utensilia et res dicte scole gubernare et reponere valeatis ad vestre beneplacitum voluntatis'. Ibid, p. 1873.

53 'Item concedimus duo illa nova sepulcra per nos constructa ultra dictum pro sepulturis vob. ut supra concessum et ita ut ad vos libere pertineant.' Ibid, p. 1873.

54 'Item concedimus q. oblationes que facte fuerint per vos et comitivam vestram

dum usq. dicta capella fuerit fabricata, convertantur in fabricam dicte capelle. Item concedimus vobis q. fabricata dicta capella...oblationum perpetuo proveniat ad vestras manus eroganda per vos in pauperes vel aliter in pias causas...reliqua remanente in manib. fratrum...minorum.' Ibid, p. 1873.

55 'Unus penellus, cum una cruce aramis. Item unum paramentum a presbitero. Item unum missale cum officio Integro. Item duo calices, unus magnus et unus medianus. Item una crux argentei, que habet crucifixum, et est indorata, et habet sanctos Johannem baptistam et Ambrosium confessorem sculptos. Item unum draprum (site) aureatus pro obsequijs cadaverorum. Item unus draprus site ponendi ante altare. Item unus asteidardus pro insignijs schole,' in ibid, p. 1875 n. 3. (16 October)

56 The Gradenigo bequest was released only around 1391. Scolari, p. 152. There is some disagreement over the location of the columns; Scolari believes (without much proof) that they are the fifth pair and the third and fourth on the left side.

57 This is the will of Flordelixe laxada daughter of Nicholò Gradonigo (sic) son of the late doge Piero Gradenigo (d. 1311). She also left £ 50 for her tomb amongst other things and wanted to be buried in the habit of the female Franciscan Tertiaries.

ArSartori II/2, pp. 1883-4.

58 Summarized in ibid, p. 152.

59 'Aedificavit ibi sacellum adjuncto tuguriolo in quo unus aut alter ex sociis deo laudes persolverent. Locum tamen postea auxit sub nomine S. Francisci in Deserto', AM, t. 1, p. 33. Tuguriolo is an echo of Rivo Torto in Celano, 1, xvi.

60 Corner, p. 602.

61 ArSartori II/2, p. 2091.

62 Moorman, Houses, p. 503.

63 S. Borsari, 'Una famiglia veneziana nel Medioevo: gli Ziani', Archivio Veneto, s. 5a, 110 (1978), pp. 27-72, (= Borsari, 'Ziani'), doc. II, p. 51. His father had patronized the monastery of S. Giorgio Maggiore.

64 Martin da Canal, Les estoires de Venise, pt. 1, cxxxiii, p. 130, records that he was: 'enfois dejuste la porte des Freres menors'. This was presumably outside a door. See also, Borsari, p. 51; Corner, p. 77.

65 Borsari, p. 31.

66 It is worth remembering that the friars were especially reminded not to accept the gift of vineyards.

67 Only the sentence pronounced by the ducal court in favour of the friars is published in ArSartori II/2, p. 2064 n. 2.

68 'Nicolao Leono Senatori Optimo, Oratorij huiusatq; Monasterioli benefico Fundatori. Obijt Anno Christi MCCCLVI', in Sansovino, p. 194.

69 See above n. 38.

70 From an unpublished manuscript cited in Bratti, 193, p. 28.

71 Sartori, Provincia, p. 293. The library's collection was extensive with c. 120 of the best manuscripts and c. 900 of 'mediocre' quality. Zorzi, Venezia Scomparsa, vol. 2, (Milan, n.d.), p. 379.

Chapter 6 The Development of the Arts in Franciscan Churches of the Veneto. Towards a Conclusion

The Franciscans settled in the outskirts of towns in the Veneto in the early decades of the thirteenth century and had already moved into the city centre by the middle of the century. There the friars either occupied a pre-existing church or were given land on which they could build. The earliest documented Franciscan building campaigns in the Veneto were the churches of S. Francesco, Treviso and the church of S. Anthony of Padua. The first purposely-built Franciscan churches were small; a single nave ending in an apse and covered with a wooden roof. They were quickly outgrown, in the case of Padua as early as the 1260s, and were rebuilt on a larger scale in a new architectural style.

Some of the Franciscan churches in the Veneto churches followed the Assisi model closely, in particular the first Santo in Padua and S. Fermo Maggiore in Verona. The Franciscans of Verona and Vicenza built or rebuilt later in the century. S. Lorenzo in Vicenza followed a different ground plan, triple-aisled and vaulted, which was to influence the Frari at the beginning of the next century.

Since most of the Order's churches were erected in the second half of the thirteenth century, it is not surprising that there are few traces of ornamentation during this period. Though some altars were consecrated before the turn of the fourteenth century, no altarpieces from the thirteenth century survive. The published wills of the thirteenth century reveal that testators were giving money, land, and rents to the friars with a proviso that this was to be used 'pro laborerio ecclesiae'. Few, if any, refer to decoration; perhaps the friars' finances did not allow what might have been considered non-essential items. Once the construction was completed, donations 'ad adornandum ecclesiae' began appearing in the documentation.

Complying with the Rules?

One cannot conclude a study of Franciscan patronage of the arts without a

few words on the infamous Constitutions of Narbonne (1260),¹ which, had they been observed, would have sealed the fate of the visual arts of the Order. It is worth remembering that their main prohibitions were the following: no vaults save over the high altar; no superfluous decorative painting on ornaments, columns, around windows; bell towers could not be separate towers from the church; historiated glass to be found only behind the high altar with as the only acceptable subjects Christ on the cross, the Virgin Mary, S. Francis, or S. Anthony; no prize altarpieces or other curiosities to be placed on an altar; no church ~~was~~ allowed excesses such as censers, crucifixes, and other gold or silver vessels save a crucifix with relics or vessels to contain the body of Christ; the chalice had to be kept simple; no more chalices than the number of altars save for one for use in the convent.

The architecture of the mendicant north-east Italy, followed the main lines of these rules, at least in the initial building campaigns. The early buildings and churches used by the friars were small and shabby; most had been abandoned and therefore not always in the best state of repair. The second churches were modelled according to one of two plans: a single nave, (aisleless church) with three apses opening up at the east end (terminating in variety of ends),² or a three-aisled church divided by columns and ending too in a number of apsidal chapels.³ Vaulting was kept to a minimum; it was confined to the apses except for the Santo where domes also appeared. The campanile remained attached to the church but soared to great heights. An added feature which found no basis in the early building prescriptions, but had a practical and well as spiritual function, was the porch which emerged in the early fourteenth century.⁴

Decorative painting, far from being considered superfluous by the Franciscans, was found everywhere: on walls and ceilings, on columns and around windows. Traces of historiated glass have perished from the churches under study but judging from other Franciscan premises, the church of S. Francis of Assisi for example, it was not confined solely to the back of the high altar.⁵ The inventory of

the basilica del Santo (1396) suggests that many 'curiosities' were placed on the altars; amongst them forty-seven reliquaries of various size and form and seven figured anchonae; four large crosses and four censers were also listed.⁶ The fragmentary polyptych of the Assumption of the Virgin which stood on one of the altars in the church of S. Lorenzo in Vicenza was another 'prize altarpiece'. Chalices of Franciscan churches were in reality anything but simple. The chalice donated by Nicolas IV in the treasury of S. Francesco in Assisi, a work of the late thirteenth century, is a case in point. Turning to the Veneto, of the astonishing thirty-five described in the Santo's published inventory of 1396, all were made of gilt-silver and thirty-three had enamels; the two without enamels had precious stones or figures instead.⁷ Not surprisingly, the Santo did not have as many altars as chalices; only nineteen are securely recorded.⁸

Franciscan Art by Franciscan Craftmen?

The level of participation by the friars as craftsmen is worthy of consideration as a whole. The area in which there is the most consistency and repetition is in architecture. However the shell of Franciscan churches is the least documented, and therefore the most enigmatic. Apart from the rare foundation document, indulgences granted to those who give a helping hand with the construction, or visit altars, we know very little else. We do not know the identity of the architects but friars held supervisory posts. Brother Iacobus de Pola was supervisor of building works at the Santo in 1302.⁹ There is no reason however to assume that friars couldn't have been architects. The Franciscan engineer brother Benvenuto de la Cella was superintendent of works of the communal palace of Padua in 1307 and was in charge of the works over the Piave in 1314. Another friar engineer, Brother Giovanni (of Treviso?) supervised the construction of the bridge over the Piave in 1318.¹⁰ Friars were frequently encouraged to develop occupational skills to avoid idleness. Some were labourers, such as the unidentified friars who worked alongside two civilian murari on the building site of the Santo in

1267.¹¹ Franciscan workers were, in the words of the guardian of Vicenza, the cheapest and most efficient source of labour. And if cities like Padua and Treviso did not hesitate to call upon their services and highly praise them, it is likely that they were on site to offer their manual help on most Franciscan building sites.

The field of sculpture is slightly more documented and has even preserved the names of a few Franciscan sculptors. Brother Clarello or another friar from the Santo was asked in 1292 to make a tomb for a layman Donato Salomone,¹² and brother Nicola was a taiapiera who helped administer the façade portal of S. Lorenzo and occasionally helped with the carving.¹³ The presence of at least two Franciscan sculptors at the Santo who were asked to make a tomb in 1292 is puzzling. Was there a Franciscan workshop responsible for a variety of works, such as generic tombs and are the numerous identical tombs at the Santo the results of an internal workshop? This question is still without an answer. Unlike sculpture, no Franciscan painters have been identified in the Veneto. Perhaps this absence of friars was due to the workshop practices of the period which would have necessitated a long apprenticeship and total commitment to the master, a difficult double act for a friar.

Friars as Supervisors or Patrons

Two friars played a primary role in at least two major artistic commissions in their churches. It seems they were both guardians of their respective convent, S. Fermo Maggiore and S. Lorenzo. Their leadership position probably explains why they administered the project but does not take their individual interest and deep involvement in the commissions into consideration. There remains only a few biographical details and the profile on the triumphal arch of Daniele Gusmerio, the guardian of Verona. Daniele was not only the guardian of the friary but was one of the witnesses of Guglielmo Castelbarco who financed the project; he was also the testator's procurator.¹⁴ One could thus argue that he was only required to carry out and supervise the deceased man's project. However, such a simplistic reasoning

undermines the friar's achievements and does not take into consideration the verses painted next to his profile which referred to the windows, paintings, nave and choir, and other works.¹⁵ If indeed this included the cycles of the life of S. Francis, Louis of Toulouse, the martyrdom of Franciscans and the Lignum Vitae, Daniele Gusmerio ought to be remembered as an outstanding patron, and not just a supervisor.

In a slightly later context in Vicenza, the labours of brother Pace da Lugo are better documented.¹⁶ The façade portal of S. Lorenzo (1342-44) was funded by the large bequest of a usurer, Pietro da Marano. Like Daniele Gusmerio, brother Pace was a procurator; his tasks were those of an administrator and contractor. While it is probable that the benefactor might have requested to be included in the imagery, the Franciscan friar probably commissioned the architect and conceived the first sculpted façade of his Order, not a small feat.

Apart from the 'friar-supervisor/patron', the case of the 'friar-patron', meaning one who finances a work of art, is poorly represented in the Veneto. Only the vestments donated by the once custode and guardian of the Santo, and later Provincial minister, brother Bartolomeo de Sancto Giorgio, are recorded.¹⁷ It would be difficult to believe that Bartolomeo was the only one of his kind given that the majority of works of art are undocumented. Some commissions, the Chapter Hall frescoes of the Santo for example, are zealously 'Franciscan' and I believe they are most likely to have been the product of conventual efforts or at least one member of the Order. Contrary to the Rule, friars had money of their own, and judging from the Veneto documentation, this was acquired ^{partly} through bequests.¹⁸ The extent of conventual patronage and the contribution of individual friars will probably never be known precisely; but it is very likely that undeclared inheritances were turned into building bricks, paintings, and smaller works.¹⁹

Papal and Episcopal Patronage

The picture that emerges is not one of consistency. We have seen that there

are cases in the Veneto where the friars are right at the heart of a commission, and others in which they play no role. Funding for initial building projects seems to have come not from a single source but from several. Papal and episcopal indulgences were abundant, and presumably boosted alms. Perhaps the initial impetus came from alms. One pattern I have observed occurred after the establishment of the brothers in town centres; each community accumulated land either through gifts offered by lay benefactors or through purchase. Papal or episcopal indulgences offered in return for help with church building appeared shortly thereafter and testators insisted that their gifts fulfill that purpose.

Civic Patronage

Civic patronage is relatively well recorded and played a crucial part in the construction of the Franciscan churches of Padua, Verona, Vicenza, and Treviso. This took a variety of forms; the commune of Vicenza promoted the titular saint as a minor protector of the city and marched to S. Lorenzo every year offering a pallio and necessary expenses from 1311. The commune could even build the friars' first church, as they did in 1230 outside the walls of Verona. Substantial annual grants designed to help with the construction of the church were granted by the communes of Treviso and Padua, in 1231 and 1265, respectively. The commune of Padua's motives were religious and were in thanksgiving for the victory of the city over Ezzelino da Romano, made possible only through a posthumous miracle of S. Anthony of Padua. Important events affecting town life were always credited to the powers of a saint and the saint's church was rewarded appropriately. In this way; Treviso celebrated the feast day of S. Francis of Assisi, day of the repatriation of exiled citizens, with a procession and gifts taken to S. Francesco annually.

If a substantial grant was made to help finance the construction of a Franciscan church, proper spending and management of expenses was assured by the presence of town supervisors of finances (massari), who sat amongst the Franciscan administrators.

Lay Patronage

Lay patrons contributed to the fabric of the Franciscan church, and all aspects of its decoration. They were not constrained to neighbourhood loyalties and came from every part of town and from outside regions. They were neither tied to the patronage of one Order and were free to support other religious Orders. Lay benefactors were men and women who came from all levels of society and gave whatever they could to the friary. This effectively meant that wealthy individuals could finance whole sections of a church, such as Guglielmo Castelbarco in Verona, or endow a chapel, or establish a chantry and finance narrative cycles of painting, or sculpture. Votive frescoes were cheaper and there were numerous altars needing endowments and ornamentation, from altarpiece to chalice, to vestments. Despite all the criticisms suffered by the Franciscans, the friars do not appear to have put price tags on works of art, nor burials. This meant that almost every member of the lay community could therefore contribute in a direct or indirect way to the friars' church and its ornamentation.²⁰ No doubt this was probably one of the factors which made the Franciscan Order so popular in the fourteenth century.

Members of the laity patronized the Franciscan Order for several reasons. The first and foremost factors were religious: some wished to thank the friars, or one of the Order's saints, for a favour received. The case of Nicolò Lion, who financed the construction of a Franciscan church in Venice because he had been miraculously cured by the friars' lettuce is an extreme example. Personal devotion to S. Francis of Assisi, S. Anthony of Padua or S. Louis of Toulouse, could affect the whole family; many families under study maintained traditional links with the Franciscan Order regardless of their location. The construction of churches and commission of devotional works were also used as an effective cure of souls, in another words, towards the purchase of paradise.

Public chapels privately endowed are the best documented areas of the Franciscan church and interestingly a zone where Franciscan participation is at its lowest. These were either endowed during the patron's lifetime or founded as

chantries after the death of the benefactor. The chapels of S. James and S. George at the Santo in Padua were established while the patrons were living and designed to function as pilgrimage and funerary chapels.²¹ In these two architectural and artistic commissions the Franciscans played no visible role. The friars may have advised that the chapel should imitate others in the basilica to fit in with the surroundings and reflect its secondary function as a pilgrimage chapel but they seem to have done little else, except confirm the establishment of the chantry, the endowment, and reconfirm the family's privileges over the years. Bonifacio Lupi and his humanist friend commissioned the architect and presumably the painter of the chapel of S. James, since his cousin Raimondino had done just that for the oratory of S. George. All payments to the craftsmen were made by the patron or his appointed agents. Even the painted decoration reflected the family's taste rather than the Franciscans.²²

Many men and women made provisions in their will for the endowment of an altar or a chapel in return for masses said for their souls and that of their predecessors, family and descendants. In these instances the executors usually carried out the testator's last wishes and were asked to provide all the items needed to celebrate mass: an altar with its liturgical vessels and ornamentation, a missal and even vestments for the celebrant. The published inventory of the Santo has revealed that most objects bore the coat-of-arms of the donor. Thus the desire to reserve a good place in the after life was matched by an yearning for posterity in the world benefactors were leaving behind.

The most difficult aspect of Franciscan patronage is the attempt to explain the reasons behind the procedures observed. Why were friars actively involved in some instances like the portal of S. Lorenzo in Vicenza and the paintings of S. Fermo Maggiore in Verona, but not in others? Perhaps this had something to do with the fact that these two projects were not family chapels. The absence of Franciscan interest in the art of family chapels is undocumented and to this date remains unexplained. On the one hand the answer might be quite simple: the family

might have wished to assert its authority to ensure quality control over the decoration of its chapel. Another possibility might be that since the processes involved in commissioning, planning and supervising artistic projects were complicated and tedious, the friars might have judged it wise not to intervene when a client was paying for it.

On the other hand, the answer may lie somewhere deep in the history of the Franciscan Order during the fourteenth century, a time characterized by the increasing moral and spiritual decline of the friars.²³ Unfortunately such a detailed study has yet to appear.²⁴ All my interpretations must therefore remain hypothetical. One could propose that the friars were perhaps reluctant to get involved in artistic debates because of the ongoing arguments over poverty and property. But it would be difficult to reconcile the direct involvement of brother Pace da Lugo who transports materials and makes payments, and brother Nicola who carves a statue or two and receives payment for it, with such a theory of observance. Nor can it be argued easily that the Franciscans were so absorbed by their own internal problems to bother with what went up on the walls of their churches. From my observation of the published documentation of one Franciscan province, there is little evidence to suggest that friars were concerned with the inner troubles of their Order. The Veneto friaries basically shared the same views when it came to questions of property and poverty. They all belonged to the conventual majority of the Order, that is to say those who lived a relaxed life in large convents, celebrated mass in spectacular churches and enjoyed the use of property. The life of the friars seems to have gone on undisturbed. It is equally doubtful that the average benefactor was interested in the internal conflicts of the Order, let alone understood its ramifications, but the more learned could have been. One can therefore not rule out the possibility of direct intervention by some lay patrons to stand between the friars and the handling of property; the lay person would therefore administrate the work in total.

One should conclude by saying that there is no correlation between the

decline in numbers of friars and a possible decline in the arts. Although the actual numbers of friars diminished after the *Black Death*, the popularity of the Order does not seem to have been affected and there is no evidence that the number of worshippers or benefactors decreased. The patronage of the arts did not experience a downturn either. On the contrary we have seen that it thrived during the last quarter of the fourteenth century in Padua and in the last decade in Verona. Thus the patronage of the arts in Franciscan churches was not linked to the ups and downs of the Order but seems to have been more closely tied to the fate and wealth of lay patrons.

Painting in Franciscan Churches of the Veneto

Now that the level of participation by the Franciscan Order has been addressed, a number of questions still need to be answered. Was there a 'Franciscan' policy regarding the decoration of the Order's churches? Were there such things as 'Franciscan' tombs, and 'Franciscan' painted or sculptural programmes? Did the Franciscans have a habit of repeating visual material within the Order and if so, was this habit peculiarly Franciscan? In the province of S. Anthony of Padua (which includes the Veneto), did the decoration reflect more 'Antoninian' tastes than 'Franciscan' ones?

Visual decoration was common in all churches under study. Monumental wall painting included both narrative and votive examples and covered in some instances all wall and ceiling surfaces.²⁵ Both free-standing and tomb sculpture was also represented. There was no single moment in the fourteenth century where the quantity or quality of the decoration suddenly peaked or declined. The development of painting and sculpture in the Veneto can therefore be gauged over roughly a century in our five Franciscan churches. All of them are characterized by high quality workmanship, and documented cases reveal that the work was carried out by the leading workshops of the day.

Painting in Franciscan churches in the Veneto during the later middle ages

did not conform to set plans by the order.²⁶ There was no prescribed imitation of the decorative schemes of the churches of S. Francis of Assisi, S. Anthony of Padua or any other church for that matter. If ever there had been earlier plans of conformity (as there might have been to a certain extent in architecture), there were none in painting or sculpture in the Franciscan Veneto. What observers of Umbrian or Tuscan churches have come to expect as the hallmark of Franciscan decoration is not prominent in north-east Italy; large narrative cycles illustrating the life of the founder S. Francis were not the norm. Neither was the life and miracles of S. Anthony of Padua, which we would almost expect given his importance in a province which bears his name.²⁷

The Development of Narrative Painting

The preferred type of representation in Franciscan churches of the Veneto was the narrative.²⁸ This continued the Order's early inclination for this mode from the early Vita-retables to the first painted murals. Like early Franciscan cycles, the subject matter of the Veneto narrative paintings tended to focus on the lives of the patron's namesake saints or the titular holder of the chapel.²⁹ Thus it is not surprising to find cycles of the lives of S. James Major, SS. Philip and James the less, S. George, S. Lucy and S. Catherine. Only the upper church of S. Fermo Maggiore in Verona featured an almost exclusively 'Franciscan-oriented' programme; that is to say, one depicting episodes from the lives of the Order's saints and other friars who had only recently reached cult status.³⁰ Although remodelled architecturally on S. Francesco in Assisi, the mural decoration was not a copy of the mother church; no other Franciscan church in fact ever opted for similar themes. For the Veneto this was an important moment; the only precedent for a cycle depicting the life of Franciscan saints was the much smaller Chapter Hall of the friars in Padua. Since it was limited in content too, several workshops thus had the opportunity to depict Franciscan stories for the first time in an original way. In the north transept of S. Fermo, the workshop devised a new pattern to squeeze a

large cycle of the life of S. Francis into a compressed space. On the south nave wall, novel iconography was developed to represent the martyrdom of four Franciscans in Thânh and a lignum vitae. In the latter, what was traditionally a devotional representation was transformed by the addition of narrative vignettes of the life of S. Francis.

The Votive Composition

Given the irregular plans of Franciscan churches which meant that some areas could never accommodate pictorial cycles, the costs of large programmes, the increasing desire for donors to be depicted close to the saints, and an array of as yet unknown factors, other images covered the walls of churches. These were mostly devotional images and they occupied an important place in the Veneto Franciscan churches.³¹ They could include either a donor or not; Treviso benefactors for example, commissioned devotional images with the Madonna and Child enthroned, surrounded by a mixture of either Franciscan, local or namesake saints. Votive images which might have become repetitive and monotonous in view of their large numbers were in fact customized to meet the requirements of the patrons. Indeed, one can trace the development of the late thirteenth-century votive picture into a multiple portrait in Franciscan churches of the Veneto. From the earliest votive donor painting, probably two members of a confraternity kneeling at the feet of S. Anthony of Padua, to the presentation of the Lupi family to the Virgin and Child in the oratory of S. Giorgio, one can see that an immense progression has taken place. (figs 4, 22) However, that development was gradual, not only restricted to a Franciscan environment, and was paralleled in other regions.

The first observation is the increasing size and status of the donor over one century. The earliest votive donor painting included two tiny members of a confraternity kneeling at the feet of S. Anthony of Padua. The laymen look identical and remote. Nevertheless they are an improvement of Duccio's Madonna with the Franciscans with its tiny donors who recoiled in the distance. Some

decades later in the Frari lunette painting of c. 1339, the donors Francesco Dandolo and Elisabetta Contarini gradually move closer to the Virgin Mary and Child (fig. 88). Communication between the donors and the Divine has now become a reality; the namesake saints touch the shoulder of the lay benefactors and seem to urge them towards the Madonna; Francesco Dandolo's cloak actually makes contact with Mary's. Even the Christ Child joins in; he is no longer interested in establishing a relationship with his mother, instead he seems engaged with the donor through his gaze and gestures. The doge still appears in profile but his spouse's head is a near three-quarter view.³² This is actually one of the earliest (if not the first) instances of a lay donor seen from this angle.³³ This closeness between donor and divinity continued in the portal of S. Lorenzo, already singled out for its innovatory character as the first sculpted façade of the Franciscan Order.

The donor portrait in these examples was characterized by individuality even at an early date.³⁴ Both painted profiles of Guglielmo Castelbarco and brother Daniele Gusmerio in S. Fermo Maggiore, painted c. 1320, caricatured the sitter in profile (figs 40, 42). This uninhibited realism was not exclusively Franciscan, since Castelbarco's carved effigy, a Dominican commission, also emphasized his features. All subsequent donor images attempted to render a likeness of the person; Pietro da Marano's dwarf proportions were realistically carved between 1342-44. Yet sculptors and painters carefully avoided 'humanizing' saints, the Virgin Mary and Christ in this way; they retained slightly idealized features throughout the fourteenth century.

The likeness of several men appeared in a number of frescoes during the second half of the century, most particularly in the chapels of S. Giacomo, SS. Philip and James and S. Giorgio in Padua. These men have been tentatively identified with contemporaries and recently deceased men of Padua (for example, Petrarch) (fig. 107).³⁵ Given the size of the Carrara inner-circle and its proto-humanist interests, there is always a temptation to associate names of illustrious men with famous paintings. However, apart from the few medals illustrating the lords

Francesco il Vecchio and il Novello, which seem to me to have relied more on classical models than actual sittings, we have no way of knowing what these renowned men exactly looked like.³⁶ Suffice to say that portraiture was able to progress quite substantially in the Veneto Franciscan environment.³⁷

Towards the end of the fourteenth century and under the hand of Altichiero and workshop, the single donor portrait became a multiple family portrait. The traditional depiction of the presentation of donors by saints to the Virgin and Child grew to include all family members. The Virgin and Child were now placed on one side of the composition and the donors knelt one behind the other. The accompanying saints stood next to the benefactors. Although the first example of this series was painted for the Dominican church of S. Anastasia in Verona and included Giacomo Cavalli and family (fig. 108),³⁸ it was in the oratory of S. George in Padua that Altichiero pushed the composition to its limits (fig. 22). The kneeling soldiers were identified by inscriptions which recorded their names (underneath each figure) and what was once a devotional panel was now integrated within a narrative cycle.

The Development of Sculpture

Just as there was no real 'Franciscan' policy regarding painted decoration of the Order's churches in the Veneto during the fourteenth century, there were none for sculpture either. The amount of sculpture commissioned in a Franciscan environment was perhaps less than painting, but the range and quality was remarkable: narrative and devotional tombs with figured biers carrying effigies; marble altarpieces, pulpits and sculpted façades bearing monumental statues.

One workshop dominated not only the Franciscan scene but the entire Veneto from the 1340s to the 1370s. Sadly it is still overshadowed by the works of Tuscan and central Italian sculptors. The projects of Andriolo de'Santi and his workshop usually combined architecture, sculpture and painting.³⁹ He appears to have worked closely with his patrons, who were both friars and lay persons, following

their instructions to the letter when required.⁴⁰ He was no doubt very experienced by the time he was first contracted to execute the portal of S. Lorenzo in Vicenza before 1342.⁴¹ Andriolo's first documented commission was extremely innovative since it was the earliest sculpted façade of the Franciscan Order which also significantly carried a devotional representation. Prior to this the Franciscan façade had been a bare surface, except for a painted lunette above the door where half-busts of the Virgin and Child and the Order's saints resided. It seems almost certain that the mind behind this new development was the Franciscan guardian Pace da Lugo. Pace's pride in the work coupled with his meticulous supervision would confirm his involvement.

The hanging wall tomb found in several of the Order's churches was first completed by Andriolo de' Santi. His first tomb (Jacopo da Carrara) however was not produced in a Franciscan milieu, but an Augustinian one. The monument included a figured bier with effigy on top, an upper arch and painted lunette which was perhaps conceived with the help of a painter. It drew upon antique motifs, roman and early Christian sarcophagi, examples of which abounded in the Veneto, and re-used some of the basic ideas expressed on the portal of S. Lorenzo. The saints who had previously flanked the Madonna and Child were now placed in niches on the corners of the bier. The idea of the tabernacle above a tomb was not new; it evolved from a long tradition which can be traced back ultimately to early Christian tombs.⁴²

The Franciscan church in the Veneto was thus an avenue for the development of portraiture, realism and individualism both in monumental painting and sculpture.

Franciscan Copies and/or Repetition

It seems valuable to offer a Veneto perspective on an hypothesis put forward by Julian Gardner almost a decade ago. He remarked that the habit of repetition of material from within the Order may have been peculiarly Franciscan.⁴³ Despite having said earlier that each Franciscan church in the Veneto is unique, there are

instances of repetition. One repeated pattern is the image placed in a lunette above the main entrance door to the church; a half-bust of the Virgin and Child flanked by one or two Franciscan saints or perhaps a local saint. Venetian painted linens and windows were reproduced in Treviso, and many tombs had a similar configurations. But looking at the whole Veneto picture, I am struck by the lack of repetition and the degree of individuality which occurs.

The moment has come to recapitulate. The Franciscan church in the Veneto during the fourteenth century was an environment in which many artistic developments occurred. Although there are still many questions unanswered it is hoped that some of the gaps in our knowledge of artistic patronage have been filled by this thesis. We are more aware of the role played by the Order of friars minor in the planning, commissioning, the execution and the supervision of artistic projects, be it active or cooperative. The Veneto is however only one area of intense Franciscan activity. Each Franciscan province needs a thorough study of its artistic patronage if we are to fully understand the complicated relationships between friars, patrons and artists in the later middle ages.

Notes to Chapter 6

- 1 M. Bihl, 'Statuta generalia Ordinis edita in capitulis generalibus celebratis Narbonae an. 1260, Assisii an. 1279 atque Parisiis an. 1292', AFH, 34 (1941), pp. 13-94, 284-358, (= Bihl), p. 48.
- 2 Verona, Treviso and Padua initially.
- 3 Vicenza and Venice.
- 4 The churches of S. Fermo Maggiore in Verona and S. Francesco in Bassano had a porch.
- 5 G. Marchini, Le vetrate dell'Umbria. Corpus vitrearum medii aevi. Italia I: L'Umbria, (Rome, 1973).
- 6 Reliquaries were either tabernacles, crystal crosses, anconae, or piscis. See ArSartori I, pp. 770-2.
- 7 Listed in *ibid*, pp. 773-4. 'Item unus Alius Calix cum pathena de Argento de Auratis cum tribus armis azuris rubeis et albis et tribus arboribus pro quaque ponderis unciarum undecim quarti unius cum dimidio...Item unus Alius Calix magnus cum pathena de Argento deauratis cum septem figuris et armis illorum de macharuffis et in medio sunt octo figure, et in pathena Crucifixus cum figuris beate marie et Johannis evangeliste et tribus angelis et duabus mulieribus ponderis unciarum quadraginta quarti unius', in *ibid*, p. 773. The unpublished inventory of the sacristy of the church of S. Francesco in Udine of 1371 also yields large numbers of chalices and liturgical objects. Udine, Biblioteca Comunale, MS. 1361/2.
- 8 ArSartori I, pp. 770-6.
- 9 See chapter 1 p. 16.
- 10 The attribution of the design of the churches of S. Margherita and S. Francesco is more hypothetical. See chapter 1 note 28.
- 11 Chapter 1 note 29.
- 12 '...que archa fieri debeat per fratrem Clarellum ordinis predicti vel per alium fratrum dictim loci ad hoc per guardinaum deputandum, que archa fieri debeat

secundum quod ipsi guardiano et fratri qui supererit videbitur convenire...' in

Gonzati I, doc. XV, p. XIV. See also chapter 1 p. 16.

13 Chapter 3, p. 122.

14 He was perhaps Castelbarco's confessor.

15 Chapter 2, pp. 80-9.

16 Chapter 3, pp. 121-2.

17 ' item una alia planeta de Camocha rubeo foderata tella acura cum frixis
solempnibus laboratis et rechamatis cum figuris decem septem que fuit qu. fratris
Bartholamei a Sancto Georgio cum una toalea cum capitibus de serico cum uno
schuto albo cum una stricha nigra in media cum tribus leonibus nigris et unum f de
auro in medio schuti', in ArSartori I, p. 775. First documented as custode on 29
October 1364 in Billanovich, p. 77; recorded as friar in 1376; guardian of the Santo
in 1378 and Provincial minister in 1380-7, in Cenci, 'Bonifacio Lupi', p. 100 n. 2.

18 See appendix 2.

19 Joanna Cannon helped by obituary lists was able to pinpoint accurately this
contribution by Dominican friars in the Provincia Romana. J. Cannon, Dominican
Patronage of the Arts in Central Italy: the Provincia Romana c. 1220-c. 1320,
Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1980.

20 Virtually all except the poor. By indirect contributions I mean all other types of
donations, such as cash, rent income, or stocks, which can then be turned into
building works or art by the friars themselves.

21 At least in the case of the chapel of S. James.

22 It is however important to exercise caution; the Lupi cases are only two and may
not be representative of all the others.

23 Moorman, History, pp. 339-62.

24 Although there are many books which deal with the history of the Franciscan
Order, none of these give a full account of the Veneto region. Sartori, Provincia,
and T. Spimpolo, Storia dei Frati Minori della Provincia Veneta di S. Francesco, 2

vols, (Vicenza, 1933 and 1939), merely list the convents and offer only brief summaries of important dates and events.

25 S. Fermo Maggiore, Verona; the oratory of S. George in Padua.

26 Blume's theory do not work at all in the north. M. Aronberg Lavin, The Place of Narrative. Mural Decoration in Italian Churches, 431-1600, p. 51, also falls into Blume's trap.

27 To begin with, most churches are still dedicated to Francis, not Anthony.

28 Only a handful extant altarpieces came without a doubt from one of our Franciscan churches of the Veneto. They were all devotional save the Dormition of the Virgin fragmentary panels from Vicenza which have already been set in its wider narrative context. See chapter 3 of this thesis. A look at Muraro's catalogue will however suggest that a large number of panel paintings produced in the workshop of Paolo da Venezia had a Franciscan provenance. The large polyptych of the Coronation of the Virgin with episodes from the life of S. Francis and S. Clare which features the kneeling figure of the donor, a Clare, came from the church of S. Chiara in Venice. Muraro, Paolo, pp. 127-8.

29 In the Upper church of S. Francesco at Assisi, the altar decoration of the chancel and transepts was related to the dedication of the altars to the Virgin Mary, S. Peter and S. Michael.

30 The martyrdom of four friars at Thâna as reported by Odorico da Pordenone in 1330. This unusual scheme was probably devised by the Franciscan guardian.

31 By devotional I am referring to all works of art characterized by their lack of storytelling or anecdotal value.

32 I wonder whether the high office of the doge had something to do with this more formal and traditional way of presenting him.

33 A slightly later three-quarter view is the portrait of Rudolf IV of Austria painted c. 1365, and preserved in the Dom-und Diözesanmuseum in Vienna.

34 On the difficulties of defining what the word 'portrait' means, see the useful

discussion in L. Campbell, Renaissance Portraits. European Portrait-Painting in the 14th, 15th and 16th Centuries, (New Haven and London, 1990), (= Campbell, Portraits), pp. 1-39.

35 The approaches of Mardersteig and Edwards are cases in point.

36 And the painted donor portraits of patrons.

37 A parallel development occurred in other Franciscan churches beginning with the Magdalen chapel in the lower church of S. Francesco in Assisi. See L. C. Schwartz, *The Fresco Decoration of the Magdalen Chapel in the Basilica of St Francis at Assisi*, Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1980, pp. 154-68.

38 Mellini, pp. 38-40. A series of the Counts of Flanders was being worked on in 1372 by Jan van Hasselt, painter to the Count Louis of Male, in the chapel of the Counts in the Collegiate Church of Our Lady at Courtrai. Campbell, Portraits, p. 41.

39 In the documented instances of painting, the task is left up to a painter.

40 The step-by-step instructions of the chapel of S. James were complied with. See chapter 1 of this thesis.

41 He was the maestro of the workshop and had many contacts with other centres; he yielded enough power to employ 'guest' maestri from other regions, and in fact acted more like a supervisor than a taiapiera. See chapter 3 of this thesis.

42 Early examples, such as the supposed tomb of 'Antenore' were found in Padua in the middle ages. Two important tombs featuring narrative reliefs were found in the Franciscan churches of Venice and Udine. These are the tombs of B. Odorico da Pordenone (d. 1330) and doge Francesco Dandolo. They have been set in context in chapter 5.

43 Gardner, 'Stigmatization', p. 233, who thought that 'the habitude may lie deeper, in earlier Franciscan modes of thought', and indeed quoted Bonaventure.

Appendix 1

A) Early History and Patronage of Chapels and Altars in the Basilica del Santo

S. Michael: 1293, 29 August: Ita del Sole (Sale), wife of Bartolomeo Sale, c. S.

Fistomba (Ognissanti): 120 lire 'pro ornamentis altariss...' ArSartori I, p. 17 n. 200.

S. Catherine of Alexandria: 1294, 9 and 22 September: Alchenda, widow of Zambonino da Cittadella, c. S. Antonio: 31½ campi to be sold for masses and orations at the altar. Ibid, p. 20 n. 224, 225, 230, 231, 233.

S. Agatha: A great deal of confusion surrounds this chapel. The earliest record dates from 1377: Taddea da Carrara, wife of Mastino della Scala maintains the chapel. Gonzati, I, doc. XVI p. XVII.

S. Prosdocimo: 1285, 9 June: Ailice, widow of Giovannin Mauro, c. S. Antonio: provides a chalice, missal, a paramentum, a cross and other necessities for the altar. ArSartori I, p. 557 n. 1,2, 4.

S. Anastasia: 1294, January 14: Raimondino della Torre, patriarch of Aquileia gives an indulgence of forty days in return for visit and alms to this chapel. Historians feel it has to correspond to the chapel of S. Louis of Toulouse but there is no documentation to support this. Ibid, p. 562 n. 1.

S. Mary and S. Francis: 1267, 3 September: The walls of this chapel are now under construction. Much confusion surrounds its location. Gonzati, I, doc. XVI p. XV.

S. Bartholomew: 1291, 27 August: Agnese di Carrara, widow of Giacinto Conti leaves money to build the altar and a lebetes (?) of bronze. ArSartori I, p. 16 n. 176.

S. John the Baptist: 1295, 10 September. Agnese di Carrara (again) builds another altar. Ibid, p. 12 n. 176.

S. Chiara: 1267: This chapel was apparently built at the same time as S. Francis', but there are no documents regarding its existence until 1400. Gonzati, I, doc XVI p. XV.

S. John the Evangelist: 1292, 10 June: Zigla, widow of judge Nicolò Flabiano

builds the altar. Her will is unpublished. Gonzati, I, doc. XVI p. XVI.

S. Maria Mater Domini: part of an earlier church used by the friars, housed the remains of S. Anthony for a while then remained a chapel dedicated to the Virgin Mary. 1264, 30 August: Zagunza, widow of Egidio Findauro left fifty lire for the chapel; 1277, 21 August: Aicardino Litolfo, a member of the Order of Milizia di Maria provided a chalice, missal, paramentum, a vestment for the celebrant and money for masses. These offerings however could have been destined to the other chapel dedicated to Mary and Francis. ArSartori I, p. 565 n. 1 and p. 9 n. 1; 1289, 7 September: another bequest for an altar dedicated to the Virgin Mary was left by Zilberga, a widow. *Ibid*, p. 15 n. 162.

S. Anthony: Much confusion surrounding this chapel. It was apparently completed in 1310. But there are references to an altar of 11000 Virgins (S. Ursula) seemingly in this chapel as early as 29 May 1298: Enselmina left two estates to pay for its maintenance. *Ibid*, p. 26 n. 315 and p. 102.

B) Later History and Patronage of Chapels and Altars in the Santo

S. James of Compostela: (formerly S. Michael) 1333: Bartolomea Scrovegni, wife of Marsilio da Carrara, is buried in the chapel; 1337: Rossi family tomb (Guglielmo, Rolando, Marsilio, Pietro) placed there at an unknown date; 1372, 12 February: Bonifacio Lupi and Caterina dei Francesi rebuild the chapel and provide missal, chalice, vestments, hangings, paintings, etc. Chapter 1, pp. 25-35, of this thesis.

S. Catherine of Alexandria: 1369, 20 June: Ugolino Scrovegni gives thirty-two lire for the altar; 1370: another gift by the Scrovegni; 1398, 27 June: the chapel is conceded to the Zabarella family who provide at least one missal, one pianeta and vestments and a family tomb. ArSartori I, p. 107, p. 554 n. 2, 4, p. 774, p. 781. Gonzati, II, p. 96.

S. Agatha: 1326, 22 October: Avezuto, son of Engenolfo (Hengenulfo) from Prato della Valle, provides a torcia for the elevation of the host at the altar; 1377: Taddea

da Carrara, wife of Mastino della Scala maintains the chapel. ArSartori I, p. 40 n.

493. Gonzati, I, doc. XIV p. XVI.

S. Prosdocimo: The Semisoni family maintain it after the Mauro, from an unspecified date until at least 1400. Ibid, I, doc. XVI p. XV.

S. Louis of Toulouse: (S. Anastasia?) 1360: Carlo Calegario builds the altar of Louis of Toulouse; 1364, 2 February: the abbess and nuns of S. Maria delle Convertite of Padua keep the lamp lit at the altar for Calegario; 1375: Francesco Salgheri (Salicario) maintains the altar. He is presumably the same man who paid for the vault paintings of the chapel of S. Anthony in 1350. ArSartori I, p. 107. Gonzati, I, doc. XVI p. XVI.

S. Francis: 1378, 8 December: Francesco Turchetto is assigned the chapel of the stigmata of S. Francis; 1379, 2 April: he supplies a chalice, missal, paramento, vestments; 1427: Bartolomeo Turchetto asks his heirs to provide an ancona for the altar. ArSartori I, p. 565 n. 2, 4, p. 566 n. 5-8, p. 777 n.6.

S. Bartholomew: 1371: date of the Lançaroto tomb in the chapel; a chalice, missal, pianeta are recorded in the inventory of 1396. Ibid, p. 773, p. 777 n. 13, p. 782. Gonzati, II, p. 70.

S. John the Baptist: 1382: Alvaroti family tomb placed in the chapel (Aicardino and Alvaroto d. 1389); 1390, 26 August: Ursina, wife of Aicardino, asks her heirs to provided with 100 ducats, a silver chalice and an anchona painted with stories from the life of Mary Magdalen for the church (the altar is not specified). Ibid, I, doc. XVI p. XVI. ArSartori I, p. 575 n. 1.

S. Chiara: 1410: Ursulina, daughter of Pietro de Rido begins to maintain the chapel. Ibid, p. 98.

S. John Evangelist: 1405, 17 July: Giacomo della Crosara (Jacopo del Santo) maintains it with the assistance of Benedetto Galmarella. Ibid, I, doc. XVI p. XVI. ArSartori I, p. 98.

S. Maria Mater Domini: 1364, 29 October: Gerardo Negri maintains the chapel and the confraternity of S. Anthony also use it; 1371, 23 April: the Negri receive

burial rights; 1396, 4 June: the confraternity pays for a statue of the Virgin enclosed in a tabernacle. Chapter 1, p. 13, pp. 17-8, of this thesis.

SS. Philip and James the Less: 1382, 22 September: Naimerio and Manfredino Conti have built this new chapel which is consecrated on this day. They provide a chalice, missal, hangings and paintings and a family tomb. Chapter 1, pp. 38-42, of this thesis.

S. Anthony of Padua: 1327, 1 May: Giovanni Sangonacci leaves money to maintain the altar of S. Ursula; in the same century the female members of the confraternity of S. Anthony meet at this altar on the first Sunday of the month and give offerings. They also provide their own accessories for masses; 1350, 5 March: Francesco Salgheri finances the lost vault paintings of the chapel; 1350: cardinal Guy de Boulogne donates a silver box to hold relics of S. Anthony; 1361, 6 January: Margherita, daughter of Rinaldo, gives a gold chalice worth twenty ducats; 1362, 29 March: Constancia, daughter of Manfred Vigonza, offers a silver chalice of fifty lire; before 1396: Opiço de Griphis of Brescia donates a palia solemnina with a figure of S. Anthony for this altar. ArSartori I, p. 40 n. 496; Chapter 1 p. 12, of this thesis; ArSartori I, p. 46 n. 573; Sartori (1962) doc. 1; ArSartori I, p. 47 n. 586; *ibid*, p. 48 n. 593; *ibid*, p. 774.

Oratory of S. George: 1378 3 May: Raimondino Lupi has already built this separate building on the piazza. He finances its painting and provides all the necessities: missal, chalice, hangings. His tomb is placed there after 1384. Chapter 1, pp. 25-35, of this thesis.

Other 'problematic' Chapels:

Corpus Christi: of unknown location, but some feel its altar leaned on the first pilaster of the presbytery; it was apparently demolished in 1418; 1300, 7 April: Beatrice Tolomei, twice widow of Garsilione then Grimaldello, bequeathes money for lighting and necessities for her chapel; 1366: the fraia de Boari maintains the oil lamp lit before the altar; 1389, 12 February: Benvenuta, daughter of Francesco

Pace, donates a vestment for the chapel. ArSartori I, p. 28 n. 338; *ibid*, p. 98; *ibid*, p. 606 n. 2.

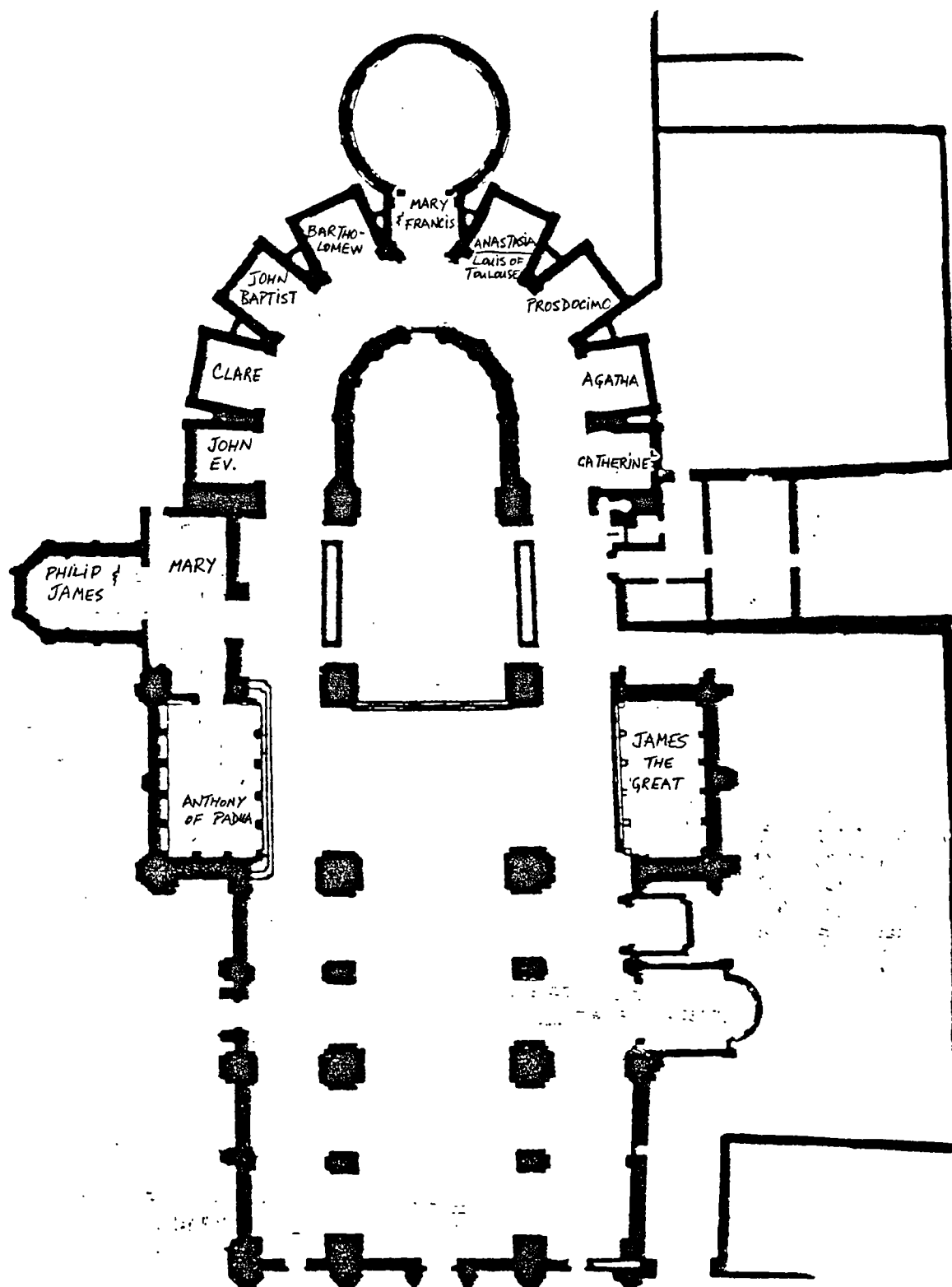
S. Canciano: a chapel found next to the chapel of Mary (Negri family's); mentioned in 1364. See S. M. Mater Domini references.

Altar of SS. Peter and Paul: 1309; Guido Negri leaves money for this altar located in the third chapel (we do not know where was the starting point when counting).

ArSartori, I, p. 34 n. 415.

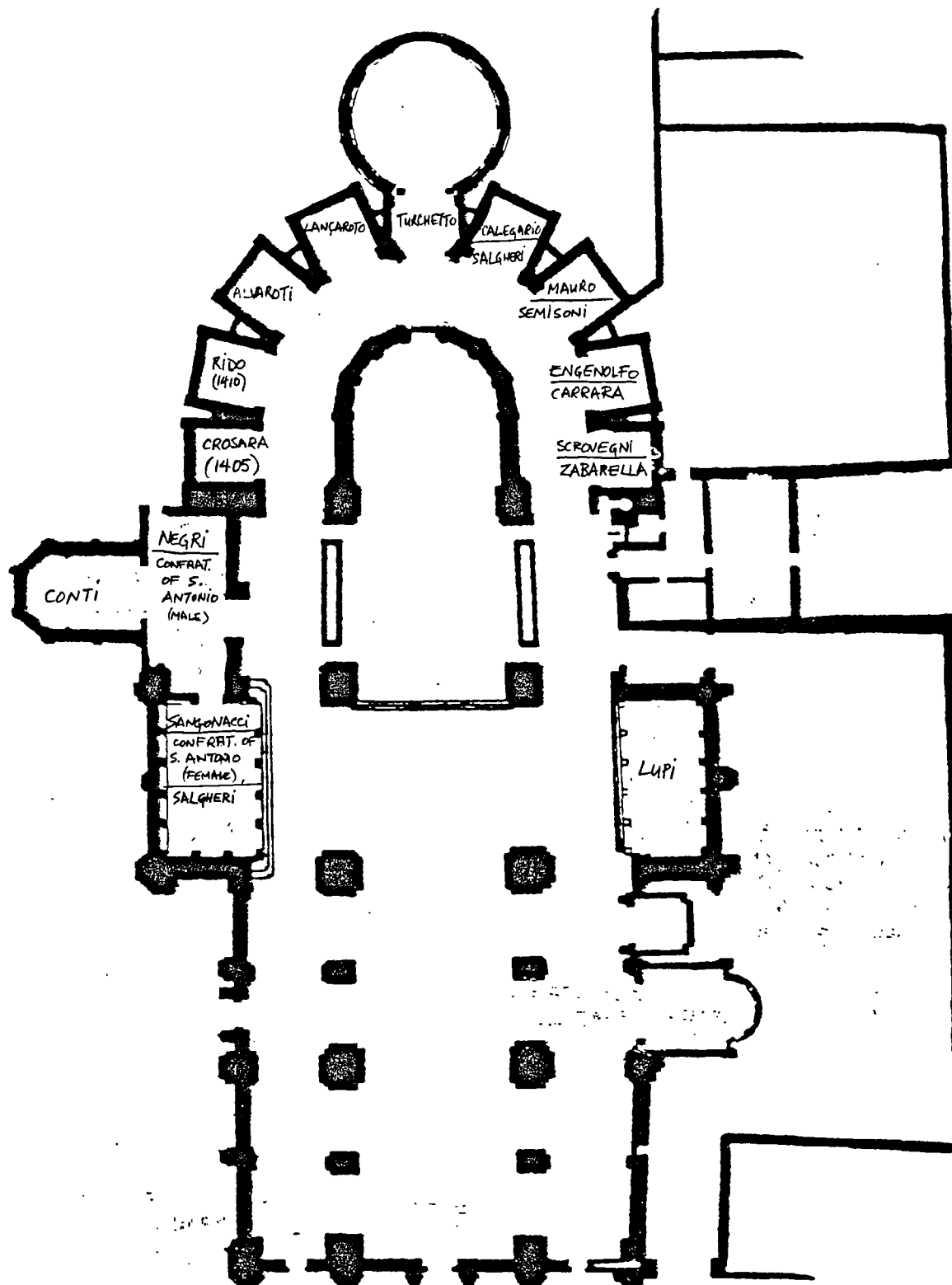
Appendix 1

C) Plan of the Santo with Chapels as Dedicated During the Fourteenth Century



Appendix 1

D) Plan of the Santo Indicating Juspatronatus of Chapels During the Fourteenth Century



Appendix 2

A) Patronage of Chapels and Altars in S. Fermo Maggiore, Verona

Only seven altars are recorded for the period 1260 to 1430. None of these have survived. Notices regarding these are generally vague and refer to the provision and cost of masses at the altar. References to their location is rare and cursory, making attempts at reconstruction impossible.

Altar of S. Anthony of Padua: 1334, 23 July: Maria Cipolla leaves 24 lire/year for a daily mass at this altar; 1372, 22 June: Neza, widow of the jurist Giovanni Servidei di S. Sebastiano gives a number of properties to the altar and all the necessary apparamenta for the altar. She also donates her husband's books: 'corpus iuris civilis' and 'iuris canonici', in return for a daily mass and two yearly anniversaries. I have not been able to locate any of these books. ArSartori II/2, p. 2112 n. 79; *ibid*, p.2136 n. 4. **N.B. Pala of S. Anthony of Padua:** Biancolini describes this work as an 'opera antichissima', located in the chapel to the right of the high altar. Could it have formed part of the 'apparamenta' provided by Neza in 1372? Biancolini, Vol.III, pp. 349-51; reprinted in ArSartori II/2, p. 2098 n. 9.

Altar of S. Mary: 1370, 17 November: Primavera, widow of the notary Salvodio leaves two plots and sixty ducats for one daily mass at the altar; 1383, 5 August: Giovannina q. Andrea, widow of Pietro di S. Nazario, gives fifteen plots in Cologna to the altar for one daily mass and two yearly anniversaries; 1386, 3 April: Giovanni ab. Hostio della Braida leaves two plots from Caldiero for a yearly anniversary; 1390, 6 February: Giacomo q. Zordano, notary, leaves two plots worth ten lire/year for one anniversary and more land for hosts in return for a mass at the altar on each Friday and Sunday for three years; 1391, 6 January: Giovannina del q. Delaido, widow of Veronesio Osbregerio donates an estate with a house. Its income shall be reserved for her own use until her death, and then revert to the friars. All this in return for a yearly anniversary; 1398, 19 October: Inida Sloardo q. Pietro q. Orio, spouse of Nicolo Favazo, gives fifteen minali of wheat, one of spelta and one barrel of wine per year, in return for a daily mass at the altar and two anniversaries;

1408, 2 November: Francesco Faelli q. Avanzo leaves eight bazetas of oil for the lamp he installed in front of the altar, in return for a weekly mass. Ibid, p. 2114 n. 125; ibid, p. 2115 n. 137; ibid, p. 2115 n. 142; ibid, p. 2116 n. 146; ibid, p. 2116 n. 149; ibid, p. 2117 n. 159; ibid, p. 2118 n. 176;

Location: 1413, 14 February: Margherita q. Bernardo di Chiavica requests one daily mass at the altar which is positioned on the left side of the entrance of the church: 'a latere sinistro ab Introitu dicte ecclesie', in ibid, p. 2118 n.182.

Altar of Corpus Christi: 1375, 25 August: the altar is first recorded. **Location:** 1390, 28 November: Marin Ramo q. Pietro, widow of Virica, donates an olive grove to keep the lamp lit (during divine offices) at the high altar where the body of our Lord Jesus Christ is kept. ArSartori II/2, p. 2115 n. 131; ibid, p. 2116 n. 148.

Altar of S. Ludovico: 1383, 4 August: Margherita, widow of Bartolomeo Gamba, bequeathes land for the altar; 1399, 12 December: Bartolomeo Astolfo q. Domenico gives eighteen lire annually in return for one mass at the altar each Monday and one anniversary on the day of his death. Ibid, p. 2115 n. 136; ibid, p. 2117 n. 162.

Altar of S. Benedict: 1398, 1 August: Francesca q. Rainaldo offers to the altar and brother Antonio dalle Coltri four plots. **Location:** this act occurs in front of the altar which is situated to the side towards the sacristy. Ibid, p. 2117 n. 155.

Altar of S. Catherine: 1409, 13 May: Franceschina Fustagnero q. Nascimbene, widow of Antonio Allio, wishes to be buried in her pre-existing tomb situated in the church which faces the altar of S. Catherine. Her tomb however has not survived. She also leaves three minali of wheat for masses and orations. Ibid, p. 2117 n. 177.

Altar of Unknown Dedication: 1411, 21 September: Barnaba da Morano orders that 3½ pounds of good oil be given to the convent each month to keep the lamp lit in front of the altar he built. See chapter 2, n. 101, of this thesis.

B) Friars' Individual Income in Verona

1287, 24 May: Fra Guillelmo de Angliaro: 100 sol.den.ver. parv. from Zilia, widow Ubertino de Zaccariis. ArSartori II/2, p. 2109 n. 43.

1301, 20 August: Fra Rainerio, guardian: twenty s.; Fra Antonio de Pischeria, (former custode of Verona and Mantua in September 1286) Ibid, p. 2107 n. 18.

1312, 21 February: Fra Nascimbene, confessor of Lanfranco dei Pii, receives a habit. Cenci, 'Verona', pp. 15-16 n. 47.

1313, 26 April: Fra Nicolao, guardian and executor: 100 s. from Bonazuta, widow of Torre di Asio. Ibid, p. 11 n.31; ArSartori II/2, p. 2111 n. 65.

1318, 24 August: Fra Daniele Gusmari, guardian and confessor: 100 s. from Lido daughter q. Alessandro. **N.B.** the convent in this case only received forty s. from the testator. See chapter 2, p. 79 of this thesis.

1319, 31 January: Fra Giacomo: one 'piumino', four sheets, one quilt 'imbottita', one walnut jewelcase, one coffer, power and rights of ownership over his mother's properties in Tomba, with obligation to pay a yearly sum of eight lire ver. to Fra Bonmartino also at S. Fermo Maggiore. Cenci, 'Verona', p. 16 n. 49; ArSartori II/2, p. 2111 n. 67.

1329, 8 February: Fra Constantino, son of Ognibene de Enverardis: 150 lire 'pro vestimentis et pro libris et aliis suis necessitatibus'; Fra Canoto de Verona: 3 lire; fra Bonsignoro: 100 s.; fra Bonamicho de Verona: 1 'pari sollearum'; fra Giovanni da Verona, tertiary: 1 'pari sollearum'. **N.B.** the convent received 10 lire for masses. Ognibene's daughter sister Malgaritae, a poor Clare from S. Maria in Campomarzo was left 20 lire/year. Fra Giovanni, tertiary is still at the convent in 1330 an 1342. Cenci, 'Verona', p. 9 n. 24; ArSartori II/2, p. 2111 n. 68 confuses the date for 1319; *ibid*, p. 2136 n. 3.

1330, 12 January: Fra Nascimbene da S. Paolo: 5 lire; fr. Bellebono: 40 s.; fr. Giovanni Tanio di Verona: 40 s.; fr. Agnello di Verona: 20 s.; fr. Lorenzo 'fratello laico': 40 s.; fr. Stefano di Trento: 20 s.; fr. Nicolo di S. Stefano: 40 s.; fr. Filippo : 20 s.; from Egenza q. Menaboi de Porcilli. Ibid, pp.2111-2 n. 69.

1330, 22 February: Fra Zanebono: 100 s./year from Anfelice q. Bonaventura de Solleris. Cenci, 'Verona', p. 15 n.4 6; who also notes that a fr. Zambono witnessed the consecration of an altar at S. Maria in Campomarzo on 20 May 1319.

1330, 8 May: Fra Bonaventura, son of Francesco, son of q. Fr. Porceto (ex-syndic): 4 lire for a habit; Fra Florio, son of 'maestra' Tomasina Pezarola q. Enrico Sartore: 10 lire for prayers and masses by his mother and the rent income of land in Angiari. N.B. her executor is the tertiary Fra Desiderato and sister Bonissima from S. Antonio, Verona. ArSartori II/2, p. 2112 n. 72.

1337, 27 November: Fra Bellebono, the executor: 5 lire from Bartolomeo q. Carlezario; Cenci, 'Verona', p. 9 n. 24 who finds that Bellebono executes wills between 1300 to 1337; ArSartori II/2, p. 2112 n. 83.

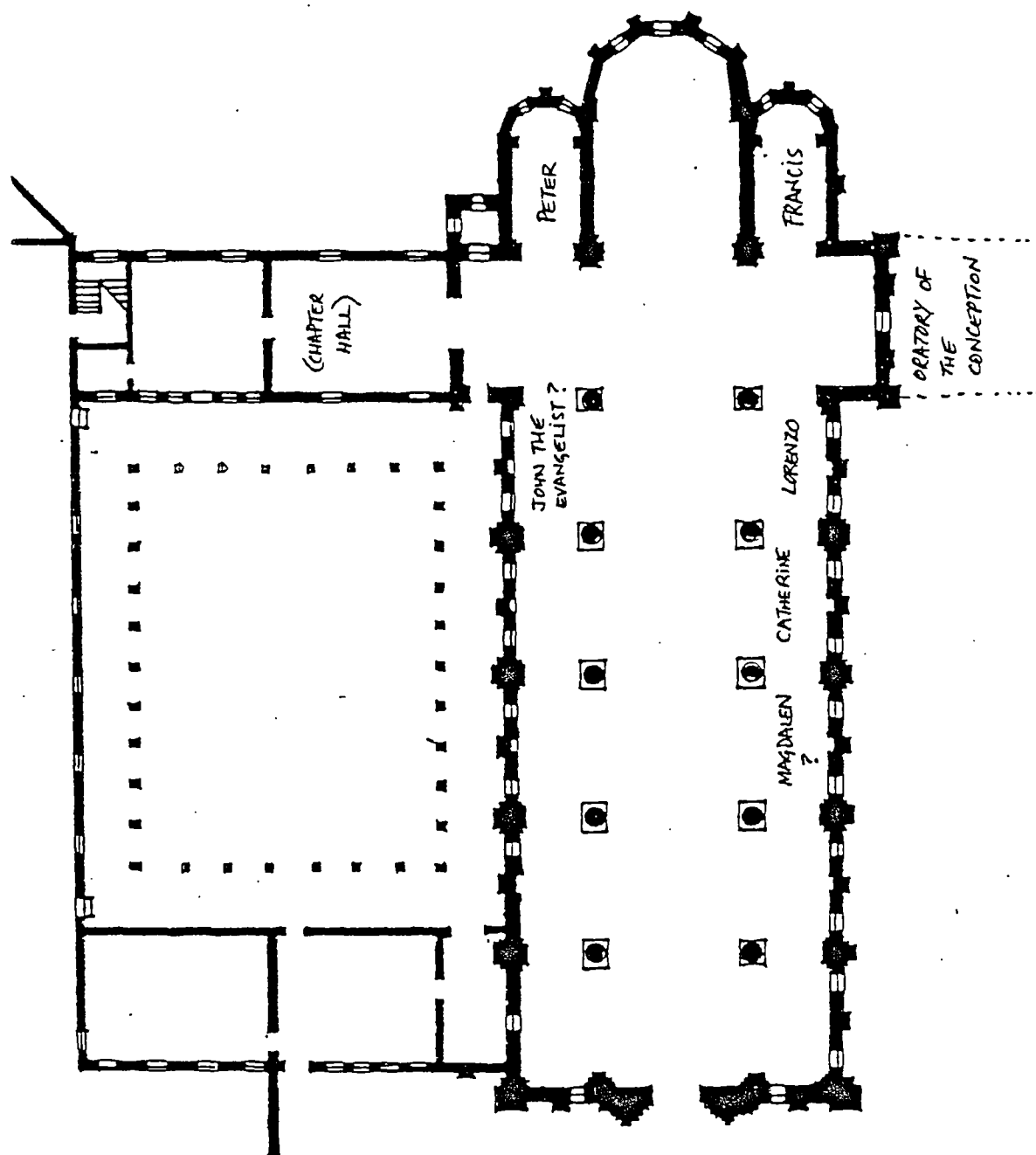
1337, 20 December: Fra Bellebono receives 3 lire from Antonia q. notary Merino. ArSartori II/2, p. 2112 n. 84.

1339, 6 May: Fra Tomaxio de Zenarinis de Verona, executor and inquisitor: 20 lire; fra Banacunte de monticlo: 20 lire from Bailardino Nogarola. *ibid*, p. 2112 n. 90.

1347: Maestra Tomasina asks that her house in contrada S. Fermo and her land be sold to sustain her son Fra Florio. At his death the remaining unsold land is to go to Tertiaries and the yearly income to the Franciscan convent. *Ibid*, p. 2112 n. 72.

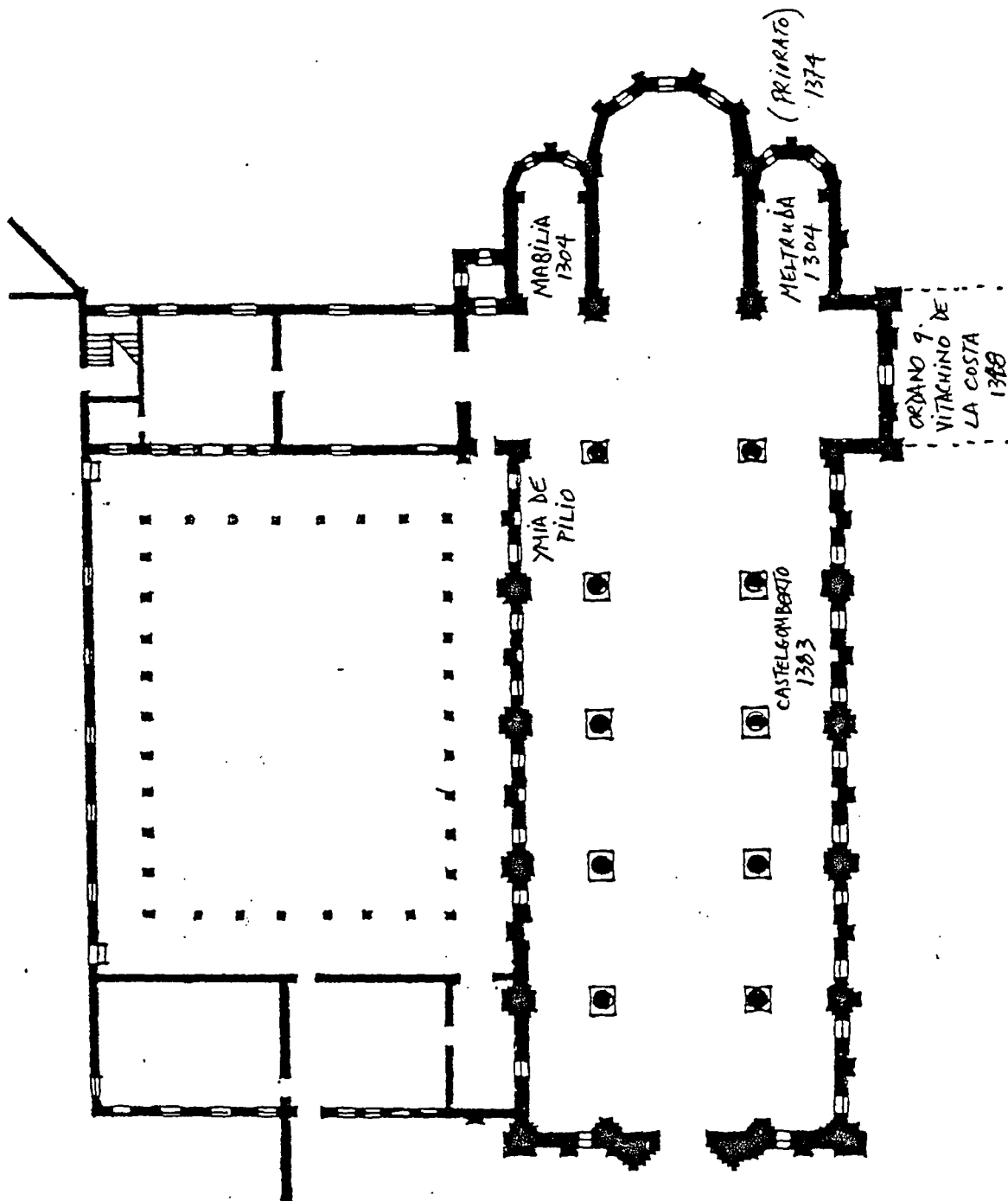
Appendix 3

A) Plan of S. Lorenzo, Vicenza with Chapels as Dedicated During the Fourteenth Century



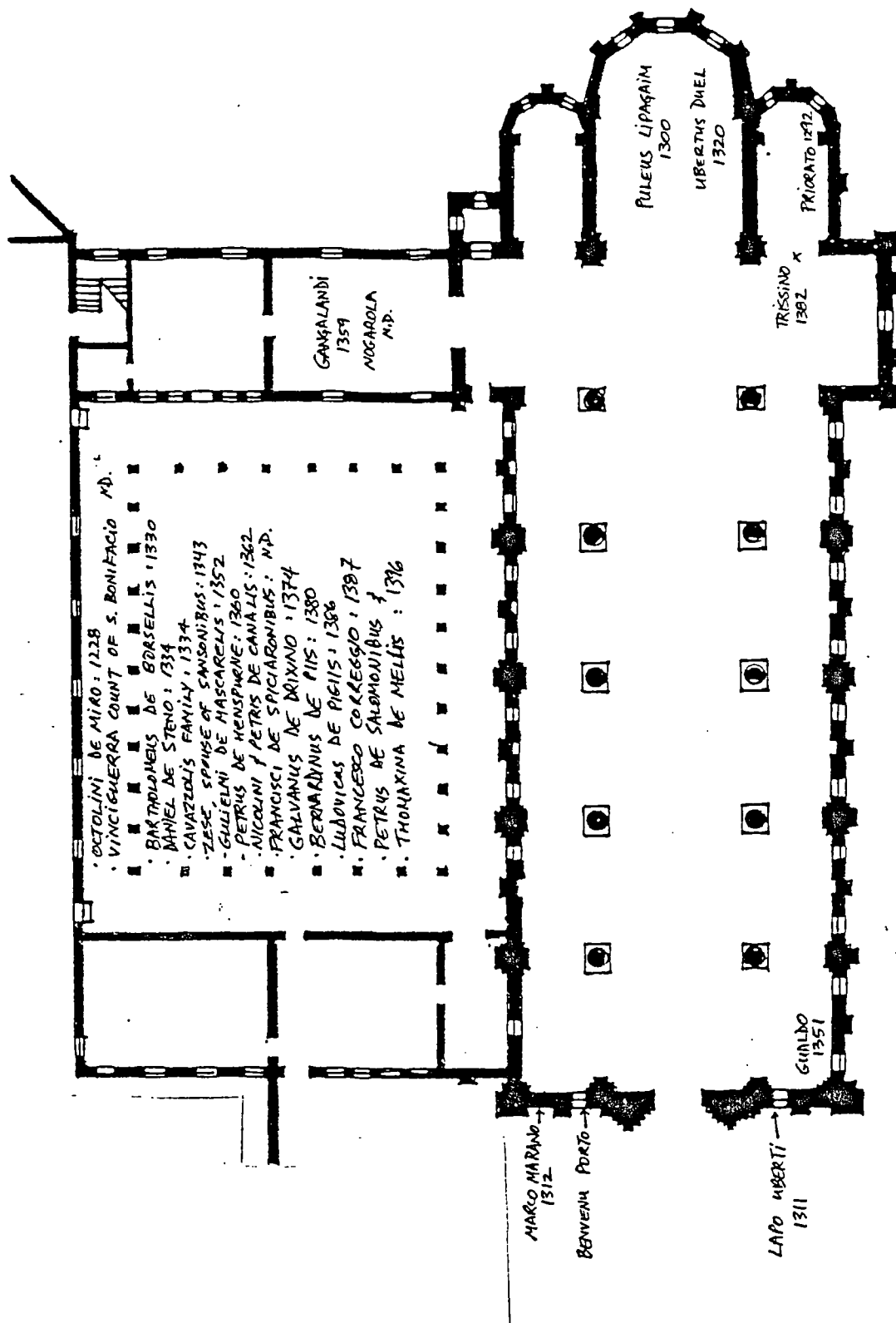
Appendix 3

B) Plan of S. Lorenzo, Vicenza Indicating Juspatronatus of Chapels During the Fourteenth Century



Appendix 3

C) Plan of S. Lorenzo, Vicenza with Approximate Location of Tombs During the Fourteenth Century



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The bibliography is arranged in five sections, viz., (i) Manuscripts, (ii) Printed Sources, (iii) Chronicles, (iv) Printed Secondary Works and (v) unpublished theses.

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