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Sassetta's Madonna della Neve. An Image of Patronage

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MACHTELT ISRAËLS

Sassetta's Madonna della Neve

AN IMAGE OF PATRONAGE

A03-33

SASSETTA'S MADONNA DELLA NEVE
AN IMAGE OF PATRONAGE

ACADEMISCH PROEFSCHRIFT

ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor
aan de Universiteit van Amsterdam
op gezag van de Rector Magnificus
prof. mr. P.F. van der Heijden
ten overstaan van een door het college voor promoties ingestelde commissie,
in het openbaar te verdedigen in de Aula der Universiteit

op donderdag 20 februari 2003, te 12.00 uur

door Machtelt Israëls

geboren te Amsterdam

Promotiecomissie:

Promotor: Prof. dr. H.W. van Os

Overige leden: Prof. dr. C. Chavannes-Mazel
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Prof. dr. E.J. Sluijter
Prof. dr. I.M. Veldman

Faculteit der Geesteswetenschappen

Stellingen

1. De impetus voor belangrijke artistieke en iconografische veranderingen in de vroege Italiaanse Renaissance kwam van de opdrachtgevers. Pas in de tweede helft van de vijftiende eeuw nemen de kunstenaars zelf het voortouw.
2. De Renaissance in Siena ontkiemde niet naar aanleiding van de Florentijnse vernieuwingen in de kunst, maar ontwikkelde zich op eigen kracht parallel daaraan. Sassetta is een even groot vernieuwer in Siena als Masaccio in Florence.
3. De lacune in het archiefonderzoek naar de achtergronden van verloren gegane werken vertekent ons beeld van de ontwikkeling van menig kunstenaar aanzienlijk.
4. Het schildersatelier in Siena kenmerkt zich in de eerste helft van de vijftiende eeuw door een differentiatie naar specialismen, dit in tegenstelling tot de situatie in Florence.
5. De bestudering van de lijsten van altaarstukken dient uitgebreid te worden tot de tabernakels en overkappingen die de altaarstukken beschutten, als een onlosmakelijk onderdeel van hun ontwerp.
6. Dat de iconografie van de Madonna dell'Umiltà alsnog, zij het verlaat, in de eerste helft van de vijftiende eeuw het Siënese altaarstuk verovert, is te verklaren uit een samenspel van particuliere opdrachtsituaties, funeraire context en een achterliggende ideologie van de Observante Dominicanen.
7. De promovendus in de (kunst)geschiedenis is een undercoveragent in het verleden.

Stellingen behorende bij *Sassetta's Madonna della Neve. An Image of Patronage*, proefschrift van Machtelt Israëls, Amsterdam 20 februari 2003.

Over the past years the research for this book has developed like the maturing of a fruit tree, with each period of growth followed by necessary pruning to yield first harvests. At the roots of my exploration was a historiographic paper on the reception of Sassetta, to which I was introduced by Ilja Veldman and Paul van den Akker. This paper inspired the outline for a monograph on the artist, presently a work in progress, and I am delighted that Henk van Os was willing to be what one might call the expert gardener on this project. The first fruits borne by my research concerned the genesis of Sassetta's first and last works, the Arte della Lana altarpiece and the fresco on the Porta Romana in Siena. Since the documents I discovered appeared to have a broader significance, not only regarding our knowledge of the painter, but also regarding the function of altarpieces, the history of artistic tradition in Siena and the use of cartoons, the material was published in *The Burlington Magazine* in 1998 and 2001. This introduced me to its editor at that time, Caroline Elam, whose professionalism and critique have since been great stimuli.

Trimming scissors were needed to cut the project down to fit the requirements of a doctoral dissertation for the University of Amsterdam and, in a search to establish the impact of patronage and function on Sassetta's work and career, I therefore singled out the artist's most central and innovative work. The fairly complete picture that emerged of the steering committee behind the commission then gave a twist to the argument. Through a study of Cardinal Antonio Casini, the mastermind behind the iconography of Sassetta's altarpiece, it emerged that two other altarpieces had participated in the tale: the Santa Maria Maggiore altarpiece by Masaccio and Masolino, and Sassetta's own Madonna delle Ciliegie in Grosseto. Moreover, the Madonna della Neve constituted a fortuitous case: the archives yielded surprising documents, not only to me but also to Monika Butzek who is preparing a volume on the Sienese Duomo for the *Kirchen von Siena* project of the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florence. I thank her for the characteristic generosity and friendship in which she shared with me her thoughts, her documents and her immense knowledge of Sienese artistic history. At the time, the altarpiece was being restored by Nicola McGregor and Roberto Buda, under the supervision of Alessandro Cecchi, all of whom allowed me to visit the restoration atelier and all of whom openhandedly showed me their findings. Andrea Lensini's colour photographs accompany this volume and present the work for the first time after its restoration.

It was privilege to have Henk van Os' seminal study on the topic of 1968 ('Schnee in Siena') at my disposition and to find his predilection for the artist scattered throughout his writings. I feel honoured to have been able to benefit from his insights, his thought-provoking discussions and his ability to look towards the broader framework. I am indebted to Ludwin Paardekooper who, with enthusiasm, pragmatism and erudition opened my eyes to the wondrous, labyrinthine world of Italian archives, while the support and scientific mind of Christa Gardner von Teuffel made her my guardian angel. Sible de

Blaauw, Monika Butzek, Bram Kempers and Ludwin Paardekooper gave valuable comments on earlier drafts of the present study. To Virginia Thomas I am deeply grateful for her dedication in scrutinising my English. I could not have been happier with the skill and good taste of Evelyn de Regt and her publishing house. The Istituto Universitario di Storia dell'Arte in Florence, incarnate in Bert Meijer and Gert Jan van der Sman, remained a sustaining base throughout my study. For their friendship, intellect and help, each individually shaping the present work, I express my warm gratitude to Alessandro Bagnoli, Rémy Baudet, Lilian Berger Blauwkuip, Simona Biagiatti, Monsignor Bocci, Daniel Bornstein, Alessandra Carniani, Maria Grazia Celuzza, Keith Christiansen, Andrea Conti of Chiusdino, Donal Cooper, Peter van Dael, Clay Dean, Lorenzo Fabbri, Gabriele Fattorini, Giancarlo Gallino, Julian Gardner, Bruno Gialluca, Philippa Jackson, Werner Jacobsen, Isabelle Krijger, the Lensini family, Wolfgang Loseries, Nicola McGregor, Simonetta Mugnaiuoli of Chiusdino, Joachim Pisarro, Claudio Pistolozzi of the Opera del Duomo in Siena, Kees van der Ploeg, Menno Polak, the late Gerard Portielje, Victor Schmidt, the late Henk Schulte Nordholt, Dominique Thiébaud, padre Ubaldo of San Marcello in Rome and Anneke de Vries. I thank the staff of all those *loci amoeni*: the Archivio di Stato in Siena, especially Carla Zarilli, Graziella Ilari and Maria Assunta Ceppari; the Archivio dell'Opera del Duomo in Siena, especially Maria Merlini and Susan Scott; the Archivio Arcivescovile in Siena and its genius Franco Nardi; the Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati in Siena; the Archivio di Stato in Florence; the Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies at Villa I Tatti in Florence; the Archivio Segreto Vaticano; the Archivio Vescovile of Grosseto, especially Don Vittorio Burattini; the Istituto Olandese in Rome, especially Sible de Blaauw and the fantastic libraries of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana; the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florence and the Hertziana in Rome. With special thanks to Giuseppe Verdi, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Johann Sebastian Bach and Claudio Monteverdi, at full blast.

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The Virgin made it snow on the Esquiline hill in Rome one hot August day in the year 352. The snow remaining on the ground formed the ground-plan of the church Mary wished to be constructed there in her honour, the church that would become Santa Maria Maggiore. She had announced this wondrous event the previous night in two simultaneous visions, appearing in the dream of Pope Liberius and in the dream of a patrician by the name of Johannes. With this miracle, Mary offered this childless patrician and his wife the key to the problem of what to do with their patrimony after their death.

Donna Ludovica Bertini faced a similar problem when her husband died in Siena on 20th August 1423, leaving her a rich, childless widow. When, in 1430, she commissioned Sassetta to paint the Madonna della Neve for her chapel in the Sienese cathedral, Ludovica harked back to this Roman legend (plate 1). Sassetta's sudden introduction of the Roman snow-miracle on a Sienese altarpiece, no less innovative than the form the painter found to represent his Virgin of the Snow in the artistic climate of 1430's Siena, must have seemed as miraculous as the unmelting snow under the *solleone*.

In 1862, Sassetta's Madonna della Neve was discovered in the church of San Martino in little-known Chiusdino by Brogi (Appendix II. 4), who was alarmed at the deplorable state of the painting.¹ Berenson devotes little attention to the Madonna della Neve since, in his appreciation of its 'high solemnity and beauty', he was hampered by its immense squalor.² The fortune of the altarpiece was to change dramatically with the publication of De Nicola's felicitous article in 1913.³ De Nicola identified the painting's subject as a Virgin of the Snow and linked it with some published documents. He found that the Chiusdino Virgin of the Snow was the altarpiece commissioned from Sassetta in 1430 for the chapel of Santa Maria della Neve in the Sienese cathedral by Ludovica di Francesco Bertini, widow of Turino di Matteo, a former head of the cathedral-works (*operaio*).⁴ Furthermore, De Nicola followed the trail set out by the great hunter of dispersed panels, Mason Perkins, who supposed that the altarpiece had originally been crowned by three gables and who had put forward candidates for the two lateral ones: an angel and a Virgin of the Annunciation (figs. 20, 21).⁵ Interest in the Madonna della Neve regained momentum in the mid 1930s when some important documents, the contract and subsequent appraisals, were published *in extenso*.⁶ The altarpiece itself was then sold to Count Contini Bonacossi, who had it restored.⁷ The ground had thus been cleared for Pope Hennessy to give an informed description of the altarpiece in his

Introduction

1 BROGI 1897, pp. 123-124.

2 BERENSON 1903, pp. 179-180.

3 DE NICOLA 1913.

4 Excerpts from PECCI 1731, as published by A. Lisini in BORGHESI & BANCHI 1898, p. 145; MILANESI 1854, vol. II, p. 244. De

Nicola himself found the documents presented here in the Appendix I as docs. B.I, B.XII, C.I.

5 PERKINS 1911, 1912 and 1913.

6 LAURENT 1935.

7 For the 1936 sale see SALMI 1967, p. 223.

monograph of 1939. He praised its urge for innovation and its precocious and convincing representation of space, which he attributed to an undocumented trip by Sassetta to Florence. In Pope Hennessy's theory about the development of Sassetta's oeuvre, the Madonna della Neve formed the culmination of the painter's most fertile, modern, and florentinocentric phase: 'The central fact about the Madonna della Neve is that it is not a Gothic altarpiece'.⁸ Authors such as Brandi and Carli subsequently extended this reputation of the Madonna della Neve as a fusion of contemporary, Florentine pictorial pursuits and traditional framework.⁹ New art-historical interests bore the painting to the foreground once again in 1968, when Van Os made a study of the iconography of the legend of the snow and its dissemination in Siena.¹⁰ He pointed out the particular fascination the snow legend held for donna Ludovica, the patroness, and for the memory of her late husband, operaio Turino di Matteo. Later, Van Os, together with Blauwkuip, would also turn to the construction of the Madonna della Neve.¹¹ Blauwkuip's study of the back of the altarpiece showed that it had never been crowned by gables. This was an important discovery, since the altarpiece, with its unified pictorial field and rectilinear crowning, thus formed an early stage in the birth of the *tavola quadrata*.

The altarpiece presents us with a Virgin and Child enthroned, crowned by two angels (plates I, II). The Virgin is flanked by two other angelic creatures, one carrying a platter full of snow, the other kneading a snowball from a second platter (plate III). The Virgin is attended by Saints Peter and Paul, John the Baptist and Francis and on her throne can be seen two coats of arms. In the predella underneath, the snow legend develops over the full width of seven scenes (plates IV-X).

The Madonna della Neve by Stefano di Giovanni, better known by the apocryphal name of Sassetta, has received ample documentation and attention in the literature. Yet an examination of the altarpiece during its recent restoration yielded new insights into its iconography and exposed the inventive construction of, for example, the intended curvature of the baldachin-frame. Moreover, a detective-hunt organised through various Italian archives in quest of Sassetta, his patrons and advisers, produced rich booty, resulting in the following clues which are presented in this book (see Appendix 1): the testimonies of the last wishes that Turino di Matteo uttered at his deathbed, which considerably anticipate the generally accepted date for the inception of the chapel; the documents surrounding the institution of the chapel as well as donna Ludovica's testament, which expose the character of this self-willed female patron and which greatly refine our image of the commission as outlined by Van Os; various fifteenth- and sixteenth-century descriptions of the altar of the Madonna della Neve, which give new insights into its remarkable

8 POPE HENNESSY 1939, pp. 25-36, quotation on pp. 34-35.

9 BRANDI 1949, pp. 48-52; CARLI 1957, pp. 19-30. This is still the most prevalent opinion about Sassetta's Madonna della Neve, as f.e. in G. Chelazzi Dini, 'Pittura senese dal 1250 al 1450', in CHELAZZI

DINI, ANGELINI & SANI 1997, p. 224.

10 VAN OS 1968; HUBACH 1996, pp. 139-198, recently picked up the theme again.

11 VAN OS 1990, pp. 167-169, 174; BLAUWKUIP 1980, pp. 12-15.

location and construction; the testament of Cardinal Antonio Casini, which brings the previously unnoticed figure of adviser into the light, revealing him to be a patron of grand stature as well as a binding factor in our story and the Apostolical Visit by Francesco Bossio to Grosseto, which shows how the impact of the Madonna della Neve commission extended to another Sassetta altarpiece, this time ordered by Casini for the Grossetan cathedral, the provenance and patronage of which were hitherto unknown. In the following discussion we shall examine, and attempt to follow, these clues.

The questions at the core of this study stand in an art-historical tradition that aims to elucidate artistic form through a functional approach. Such a method of studying altarpieces in particular was heralded by Jakob Burckhardt and his concept of 'Kunstgeschichte nach Aufgaben'. Burckhardt distinguished three main challenges: liturgical functionality, the undivided picture field and iconography, categories which were later diversified and broadened.¹² One of these later categories in particular, the intended audience, whether clergy, devotee or patron, has blossomed in recent scholarship.¹³ The extraordinarily ample survival of documents surrounding Sassetta's Madonna della Neve allows for the piecing together of a wide variety of social-historical and functional factors into a fairly complete jigsaw of this single altarpiece's genesis and patronage, together determining its appearance. The resulting image could provide an art-historical model for similar case studies of altarpieces whose memories have been more scarred by history.

The present quest into the circumstances surrounding the birth of Sassetta's Madonna della Neve was stimulated by two related viewpoints that I wished to explore. Firstly, the conjecture that the influence of patrons was decisive for much of the innovativeness of the iconography and shape of altarpieces in the early fifteenth century and of this work in particular.¹⁴ And secondly, the presumed indebtedness of Siennese Renaissance art to Florentine developments, which has been maintained since Vasari and which I wished to put into perspective. This study is based not only on the presumption that the novel Madonna della Neve pre-dated similar experiments in shape and spatial representation in Florence, but that the Siennese Renaissance, of which this altarpiece constitutes one of the earliest and most pronounced examples, was motivated by an inner drive rather than by Florentine forces. This drive

¹² BURCKHARDT 1898; his approach followed in a vast array of case-studies. More general works: HUMFREY 1993 (see esp. p. 4, 'The altarpiece as a type'); VAN OS 1988 and 1990 (see esp. pp. 19–24, 'Some thoughts on writing a history of Siennese altarpieces') and the following bundles: BORSOOK & SUPERBI GIOFFREDI 1994; HUMFREY & KEMP 1990. Social aspects elaborated in KEMPERS 1987; BAXANDALL 1972.

¹³ See previous note. Concerning the use of images by the Orders, see f.e. on the Franciscans in Venice in the sixteenth century GOFFEN 1986; on the Dominicans CANNON 1980. Study into devotional ideas with regard to larger scale images in Cremona DE KLERCK 1999. To name just a few studies into particular situations of

patronage by individuals with regard to altarpieces: ISRAËLS 2003; HENRY 2002; PAARDEKOOPEL 1996 and 1993; BÄHR 1987; KEMPERS & DE BLAAUW & 1987. HOPE 1990 tries to play down the complexity of ideas often imputed to patrons. Thematical studies on the impact of images, not necessarily altarpieces, on their beholder: BELTING 1990; FREEDBERG 1989; SHEARMAN 1988.

¹⁴ M. Seidel, 'The Social Status of Patronage and its Impact on Pictorial Language in Fifteenth-Century Siena', in BORSOOK & SUPERBI GIOFFREDI 1994, pp. 119–137, likewise elaborates upon this argument with regard to the confraternity of German artisans and their chapel in the church of San Domenico in 1478.

was sought not primarily in painterly skill, but in the impact of social and physical setting.

From the wealth of information now at our disposal, we shall distil the social-historical, religious, architectonical and technical exigencies which compelled Sassetta and his patrons to find considerable ingenuity and innovativeness, determining artistic challenges and shaping the Madonna della Neve altarpiece. Apart from resulting in a monograph on Sassetta's altarpiece, the analysis of these specific issues will clarify problems of a broader significance: the nature of patronage in fifteenth-century Siena; the patron's stake in the work of art; continuity and innovation in the cult, decoration and symbolism of the Siennese cathedral space; the spread of the snow legend from Rome to Siena and the development of the *tavola quadrata*. In the wake of Sassetta's Madonna della Neve and its history we shall resolve questions, up to now unsatisfactorily or not at all addressed, pertaining to the original location and the commissioning of two other altarpieces: the Masaccio-Masolino altarpiece for Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome and Sassetta's own Madonna delle Ciliegie in Grosseto.

Since De Nicola's publication of 1913, it has been surmised that donna Ludovica, widow of the operaio Turino di Matteo, commissioned Sassetta to paint the altarpiece of the Madonna della Neve for their chapel in the cathedral of Siena in memory of her late husband. Yet Turino's involvement in the project actually surpassed the passive role of tributary and we shall in fact discover that the idea for a chapel originated during his lifetime. By searching for remaining records of the life of the couple we shall give faces to these names, and by probing into the newly found early dispositions regarding the chapel we shall gain a better understanding of the inception of the commission and the motives behind it.

I

Patrons

The merchant Turino di Matteo di Turino was an impressive figure in the political and social life of Siena. Turino was 'capitano e gonfaloniere' of the Commune for the bimesters from March to April 1411 and May to June 1415.¹⁵ In September and October 1415 he had another public function as an official of the *Dogana del Sale* representing the Terzo di Città.¹⁶ He was *vessilifero* or standard-bearer for the Terzo of Camollia from January until June 1418.¹⁷ 'Turino di Matteo mercatante' had been amongst three elected candidates to become rector of the Spedale della Scala in July 1410 (Carlo d'Agnolino Bartoli, who would remain a friend of Turino's until the end of the latter's life, was eventually chosen for the job).¹⁸ In the 1410 Lira, Turino's patrimony was estimated at 2300 *lire*, a large amount of money, which put him amongst the wealthier of the city. Turino then lived in the Terzo of Camollia in the neighbourhood of 'San Piero a Ovale di sotto', quite near to the church of San Francesco.¹⁹ For his spiritual and social welfare, Turino turned to the lay confraternity of San Francesco from at least 1409 until his death in August 1423.²⁰ Turino di Matteo married donna Ludovica, daughter of Francesco di Vanni Bertini and a member of the Sienese aristocracy. The couple were to remain childless.

In 1420 Turino di Matteo was chosen out of three to become the new operaio of the cathedral. The operaio was the superintendent of the Opera del Duomo, the organ which oversaw the administration of the cathedral. Turino was made

15 ARCHIVIO CONCISTORO 1952, pp. 49 nr. 271, 53 nr. 296.

16 ASS, Concistoro 2335, fol. 37r.

17 ASS, Concistoro 2335, fol. 47r.

18 ASS, Spedale 22, fol. 99v (29th July 1410); BANCHI 1877, vol. III, p. 217.

19 ASS, Lira 47, fol. 26v: 'Turino di Matteo merchadante lire 2300'; for the functioning of the Lira, see CATONI & PICCINNI 1987; BOWSKY 1970, pp. 69-97. The financial capabilities of Turino di Matteo and Ludovica Bertini are also illustrated by a transaction in which they purchased for 425 florins the produce of the country estate of Falsina, the present Felsina (Castelnuovo Berardenga) on 13th August 1415 for the duration of their life-

times; ASS, Gabella 163, fol. 22v (notary Galgano di Cerbone). Interestingly, this notary would also be the patron of a private altar in the cathedral (see pp. 76-80 below).

20 During this period, Turino paid the contribution of 3 *soldi* each trimester: ASS, Patrimonio Resti 204, fols. 18r, 41v, 69v, 99v, 124r, 125v, 129v, 133v, 134r, 137v; ASS, Patrimonio Resti 205, fols. 55r, 152r. These books of the 'entrata e uscita' of the confraternity run from 1st April 1408 to 23rd December 1416 and from 1st January 1417 to 1431 respectively. No previous books have been preserved. The confraternity later changed its name to Compagnia di San Bernardino.

operaio and, at the same time, knighted by Agnolo Martinozzi in the Sala del Consiglio on 6th June in the year 1420.²¹ His predecessor, Caterino di Corsino, had greatly enhanced the importance of the office, probably taking the initiative for a whole new set of rules for the election of the operaio, that were established in that year. The operaio would now assume the office for his lifetime, instead of the previous semestral terms. Upon accepting his job, he had to commit 1000 florins (4000 *lire*) to the Opera and, after his death, any goods accumulated during the term. He was to wear the clothes designed for the job, amongst them a hat lined with grey squirrel fur 'birecta foderata di dossi di vaio'. Moreover, it was provided that the operaio be created *cavaliere*, to add to the prestige of his office. For financial-hereditary reasons, it was a prerequisite to have no children.²² The operaio earned 100 florins a year and lived in the Casa dell'Opera, situated to the left of the cathedral, more or less on the spot of the present archiepiscopal palace.²³ The widow of an operaio could lay no claim to the salary, but only to the usufruct of the committed 1000 florins. Turino rebelled against two of these provisions: he did not wish to contribute more than 750 florins from his personal wealth to the Opera del Duomo and, amusingly, he refused to wear the squirrel-fur hat.²⁴

Turino supervised several projects during his short office. On 18th August 1422 he was amongst those granting Canon Francesco di Biagio Tolomei the patronage of a chapel to be constructed next to the chapel of the Crucifix. Tolomei's chapel would later be dedicated to the Visitation.²⁵ Gregorio di Cecco painted the altarpiece for this altar with a Virgin and Child amidst music-making angels and lateral saints and dated it 1423 (fig. 38).²⁶ Turino was also engaged in the decoration of the chapel of the Crucifix, overseeing its decoration on behalf of its patron, the notary Galgano di Cerbone. On 29th January, Turino commissioned Alberto di Betto da Assisi four wooden statues for this chapel at a price of 20 florins (fig. 35). The contract was drawn up by Turino's brother-in-law, notary Nanni di Francesco Bertini.²⁷ The pavement decoration of the cathedral received Turino's attention too: he revitalised the

21 There were three candidates, one for every *terzo* of the city: 'Macteus Galgani de' Bichi. Turinus Mactei mercator. Et Jacobus Jacobi lanifex.'; AOMS, 19 (num. Mosc. 8), fol. 92v (1st June 1420), fol. 93r, with the ratification of the actual election of 26th August; see also CRONACA FECINI 1477, vol. II, fol. 347r: 'In detto anno di giungno fu fatto operaio e cavaliere misser Turino di Matteio et fecielo chavaliere misser Angiuolo Martinozzi nella Sala del Consiglio.' I could not trace the source for the statement that Turino entered office on 13th August, as in BLAUWKUIP 1980, p. 30, and LUSINI 1939, vol. II, p. 12.

22 That this requirement was taken seriously is demonstrated by the Bartolomeo di Giovanni di Cecco affair. He was removed from his office because he had children with a Corsican 'slave' whom he eventually married; CRONACA FECINI 1477, vol. II, fol. 376r, s.a. 1435: 'A di xxii di luglio fu tratto misser Bartolomeo di Giovanni Ciecchi da Usinine el quale era operaio dell'Opera del Duomo perché cominciò avere figliuoli di una corsa teneva per ischiava in casa sua e poi sella fe moglie. A di primo d'agosto fu fatto chavaliere misser Jacopo

di maestro Piero della Ghuercia per le mani di misser Angniolo Martinozzi. E poi fu fatto operaio in ischambio del detto di sopra.'; TIZIO (PERTICI) ante 1528, fol. 142v (p. 206).

23 For the office of operaio see C.B. Strehlke, 'Art and Culture in Renaissance Siena', in CHRISTIANSEN, KANTER & STREHLKE 1988, pp. 43-45; SANI 1987, pp. 500-504. MOSCADELLI 1995, pp. 314-315 nr. 54, publishes the document concerning the new provisions for the election of the *operaio*, dated 23rd May 1420; BUTZEK 1996, pp. 236 fig. 4, 238-39 figs. 6a-b, 7a-b, 242 fig. 9a for the rector's house.

24 AOMS, 19 (num. Mosc. 8), fol. 93r; for the outfit of the *operai*, see the examples provided by the tomb slabs of Mariano Bargagli (attributed to Urbano da Cortona, 1455) and Cristoforo Felici (Urbano da Cortona, circa 1463), MUNMAN 1993, pp. 52 fig. 25, 54-55, 135-37 cat. nr. 18, 79, 81 figs. 43-44, 77-82, 141-43 cat. nr. 24.

25 See pp. 80-84 and note 217 below.

26 See f.e. CARLI 1979, p. 85.

27 MILANESI 1854, vol. II, pp. 101-102 doc. nr. 68. This brother-in-law lived in Turino's neighbourhood of San Pietro Ovale di sotto;

construction of the pavement following a break in the activities of some fifteen years, and added the panel with the wheel with King David in front of the high altar.²⁸ The Casa dell'Opera, where Turino himself lived, was also renovated. Outside the cathedral, Turino presided over the commission for the building of the Loggia della Mercanzia. When this commission could not come to an agreement about the design, it appointed fifteen citizens to advise.²⁹ Amongst these was the banker Giovanni di Galgano Bichi, who would eventually be one of Turino's testamentary executors.³⁰ At the same time, a lot of Turino's attention must have been absorbed by the preparations for the Council of Siena, which started in July 1423, and for the long-expected arrival of Pope Martin v in the city.³¹

Turino di Matteo died on 20th August 1423 after hardly two years in office. Exceptionally, he was not buried in San Francesco by his confraternity. Instead, on 24th August, a funeral procession with many *beccamorti* and a lot of wax-candles accompanied him to a final resting place in the cathedral.³² In his *Cronaca*, Fecini records the funeral and the place of burial: 'A dì XXIII^o d'agosto morì misser Turino operaio di duomo stato. Fessi la bandiera col fornimento e 1^o pennone che li fu donato dal Comune di Radicofani. E sotterròssi onoratamente dinanzi alla porta del Perdono.'³³ The Porta del Perdono, in the southern transept wall next to the Campanile, where now the Cappella del Voto can be found, used to be the main entrance to the cathedral for those coming from the city centre, as an approach from that direction towards the façade was blocked by the mass of the episcopal palace, now demolished (fig. 1).

Turino di Matteo was the first operaio to be granted the privilege of perpetuating his memory through the decoration of a chapel in the cathedral, as well as being granted burial in a grave situated in front of this chapel. Caterino di Corsino, Turino's predecessor in the office, had been buried in front of a chapel without any further concessions of patronage.³⁴ Giovanni Borghesi (operaio 1439-1449) was commemorated by an inscription in the pavement directly out-

ASS, Lira 47, fol. 22v: 'Nanni di Francesco Bertini lire mille ducen-to cinquanta'.

28 ARONOW 1985, pp. 73-91, 414-417 doc. nrs. 65-67.

29 HANSEN 1987, pp. 41, 233-239 docs. 48-51, 53, 55-57.

30 See p. 18 below.

31 LUSINI 1939, vol. II, pp. 12-19; for the Council of Siena see esp. BRANDMÜLLER 1968 and 1974.

32 Turino's date of death can be deduced from Ser Leonardo's testimony in Appendix 1, doc. A.1. In an account book of the Compagnia di San Francesco the following note can be found: ASS, Patrimonio Resti 205, fol. 55r: 'A dì .. [lacuna] d'agosto 1423 morì el detto misser Turino operaio della chiesa maggiore. E ine fu sepolito. Idio per infinita sua mirichordia [sic] egli perdoni a lui e agli altri nostri passati.'. AOMS, 668 (num. Mosc. 541), fols. 12r-13r lists the expenditures by the Opera for wax-candles, candle-bearers and *beccamorti* for Turino's funeral. On 23rd August 1423 Nicola di Guido Finetti, Turino's brother-in-law, organised food and beverages for a banquet on the funeral day. The total expenditures for the funeral amounted to 284 lire 8 soldi 2 denari. LUSINI 1939, vol. II, p. 18

note 2 arrives at a slightly different sum.

33 CRONACA FECINI, vol. II (A.VI.9), fol. 349r (also known as the *Cronaca del Bisdomini*); LUSINI 1939, vol. II, p. 18 note 2 erroneously refers to a later copy of the manuscript, BCS, ms. A.III.25, fol. 103v, where, however, the place of burial is not even mentioned. Passage already pointed out by BLAUWKUIP 1980, p. 30. See also TIZIO (PERTICI) ante 1528, p. 176 (fols. 122v-123r): 'Augusti interea die vigesima quarta Turinus edituus Senensis/vita functus est, in cuius funere et vexilla et cetera, uti virum decet, ad sepulcrum delata. Qui vero Rodacofani castellum incolebant, vexillum quoque viro cum insigniis fecere; iuxta edem maiorem ante portam Remissionis sepulture Turinus est traditus.'. The tribute by Radicofani suggests a relationship between Turino and the little town. He may have been born there.

34 CRONACA FECINI 1477, vol. II, fol. 346v, s.a. 1420: 'Morì misser Chaterino di Corsino operaio di duomo. E non volse onoranza di bandiere, fu sotterrato dinanzi a la Madonna delle Grazie e fuvvi tutto il cherichato.'. It is not clear which chapel of the Grazie is intended (see discussion in chapter III below).

1 Benedetto Giovannelli Orlandi,
ground-plan of Siena Cathedral and neighbouring buildings, 1658.
pen and ink on paper, 43.5 x 57.0 cm, BAV, mss. Chigiani, P.VII.11, fol. 39r.

side the Porta del Perdono.³⁵ A cathedral-chapel for an individual operaio would remain an exception to the rule, and only Mariano Bargagli (operaio from 1449 to 1456) enjoyed the same honours as Turino. He was buried in front of the chapel of Santa Maria delle Grazie in the southern aisle-wall, a chapel that was lavishly restructured, at the operaio's own expense, by Urbano and Bartolommeo da Cortona (figs. 2 nr. 18, 12).³⁶ The same operaio's efforts to found an altar for the operai had no success.³⁷ Only around 1500 did a collective tomb for the operai exist in front of the chapel of Saint John the Baptist.³⁸ Furthermore, Turino and Ludovica's chapel was amongst the first privately founded chapels

in the Sienese cathedral in general as the bishop, canons and Opera of the cathedral continued to be rather restrictive in their concessions of patronal rights to individuals. Turino and Ludovica's close-knit circle of influential friends may help to explain how the couple managed to break through this long-standing policy of minimising the presence of the private patron in the Sienese public sphere, and the couple's weighty entourage will be further studied below.

Ludovica's eventual choice to dedicate the chapel to the Virgin of the Snow closely reflects the personal situation of the couple as well as Turino's privileged position at the cathedral. The childless Ludovica and Turino were able to flatter themselves in the close comparison between their circumstances and the miraculous events in Rome, in which the Virgin herself directed a childless couple to use their heritage for a church in her honour. Turino and Ludovica devoutly left their money for the construction of a chapel in the cathedral, a church already named after the Virgin of the Assumption, and a church on whose construction and maintenance Turino had spent the last two years of his

35 LANDI 1655, p. 90 (giving what must be a mistaken date, 1419).

36 KAWSKY 1995, pp. 152-160, 222-224 docs. 32-35; MUNMAN 1993, pp. 54-55, 135-37 cat. nr. 18.

37 C.B. Strehlke, 'Art and Culture in Renaissance Siena', in CHRISTIANSEN, KANTER & STREHLKE 1988, p. 45.

38 The tomb of the operai was instituted by Alberto Aringhieri (operaio from 1480 until 1506) according to LANDI 1655, p. 90. Operaio Lodovico De Vecchi (†1668) and his brother Lorenzo (†1676) were f.e. both buried there: BUTZEK 1996, p. 61.

2 *Ground-plan of Siena Cathedral with its altars,
based upon the 1435 inventory.*

life working (see chapters VII, VIII). We shall now turn our attention to the early stages of the project for the chapel, by means of newly discovered documents pertaining to the testaments of Turino di Matteo.

Turino di Matteo dictated his last will on 24th August 1421. The testament itself has not been preserved, but its contents can be grasped from a rather detailed declaration to the appropriate tax office, or *Gabella*, by notary Bartolomeo di Guidone (Appendix I, doc. A.1). Turino instituted his wife, donna Ludovica, as his universal heiress, specifying in detail that she was to have all her linen and woollen fabrics, their bed with all its belongings and the house in which they lived, worth 300 florins. Presumably a private property of the couple was intended, since at the time of Turino's first testament, he and his wife already resided in the house of the Opera del Duomo. It may have been the house in which Ludovica died, which was situated on the Piazza del Sale in the neighbourhood of San Pietro d'Ovile (Appendix I, doc. A.VI). Turino assigned his servant Niccolò di Ciolo of Radicofani 100 florins. To the brothers Nanni and Iboni di Angelo of Santa Regina he left a farmhouse in the borough of Lornano, estimated at 120 florins, as well as a kiln in Santa Regina with some ground, worth 16 florins. Beside some distributions of money to the poor, the rest of Turino's fortune befell Ludovica, as his universal

heiress.³⁹ Therefore, in August 1421, Turino was not thinking about any pious gifts, let alone about the edification of a chapel.

As appears from another document, it was somewhat later that the devout wish to invest in the salvation of Turino di Matteo's soul by constructing a chapel was initiated. Moreover, it appears that donna Ludovica was the urging initiator. This document is in itself remarkable (Appendix, doc. A.11). It is an amendment made to the 1421 testament mentioned above, and concerns the interrogation of five witnesses, all of whom were present at Turino di Matteo's deathbed. At stake was specifically the founding of a chapel in the cathedral. On 27th and 29th November 1423, notary Luca di Nanni of Siena notes down the testimonies of the witnesses in the presence of the three fideicommissaries and executors of Turino's will: Carlo d'Agnolino Bartoli, rector of the Spedale della Scala, Giovanni di Galgano Bichi, a banker, and Nicola di Guido Finetti, a wealthy wool merchant. They thus legalise Turino's unwritten codicil to his last will, expressed at his deathbed, *nudis verbis*. The witnesses are heard in order to learn the truth about Turino's wish to build and endow a chapel: 'ad veritatem liquidandam, et inquirendam si dictus dominus Turinus disposuerit super quadam hedificatione cuiusdam capelle vel quadam capella dotanda'. The notary aims to elucidate the following questions:

- 1 Whether the witnesses were indeed present at Turino's deathbed and overheard his wish to build a chapel.
- 2 Where Turino wanted to erect this chapel.
- 2 How much Turino wanted to spend on the chapel and how he intended to finance it.
- 4 What dedication Turino had in mind.
- 5 When Turino wanted the chapel to be finished.
- 6 Who was present when Turino expressed this last wish.

Five witnesses are heard: Turino's widow donna Ludovica; their servant Minuccia (widow of a Matteo Bertini and therefore possibly related to Ludovica by marriage); Mea di Cristoforo Nutini, *clamidata* of the Franciscan order; Arrigo di Marco of Germany, Turino's servant and, finally, Ser Leonardo di Francesco di Simone of Campagnatico, priest and chaplain of the cathedral. The diverging social backgrounds of the witnesses are reflected in the character of their testimonies, mostly recorded in direct speech, which are quoted in a mixture of Latin and straightforward *volgare*.

Ludovica states that her husband had fallen ill about two years before his actual death. During this first serious illness he made his testament, which must be identical to the 1421 act (as referred to in Appendix 1, document A.1). However, Turino recovered and, according to Ludovica, repeatedly stated that he wanted to construct a chapel: 'Io vorrò fare una capella'. Ludovica herself thereupon told her husband that she thought that the Virgin Mary and Saint Francis had cured him. In her testimony, Ludovica then recalls a private

39 In Appendix 1, doc. A.1, the *solvi* have been added in 1426, so the inheritance was liquidated according to the 1421 testament,

additionally taking into consideration the *nudis verbis* codicil of 1423 (Appendix 1, doc. A.11).

moment in which Turino once again told her that he wanted to construct this chapel. Turino had not really thought things through, however, as when Ludovica asked him where he would like his chapel, he answered that God would lead the way: 'Io la farò dove Dio me la farà fare'.

The next episode of the story is told by all five witnesses. On 20th August 1423 Turino lies dying on his bed in the kitchen in the house of the Opera del Duomo and quite a crowd is present. Apart from the above-mentioned five witnesses are domina Antonia, wife of Domenico, Ludovica's future *mediarius* or guardian, domina Simona di Bartolomeo Pepi and Andrea, sister of Ludovica and wife of Nicola di Guido Finetti. Turino is about to be administered the Last Sacrament, and Ludovica asks him if he wants to say something: 'ma sì' he responds, and, looking about him to all present, asks Ludovica to promise 'sopra alla tua conscientia' to make the chapel that they had already discussed 'per l'amore di Dio et della Vergine Maria'. As to the place where the chapel was to be erected, all witnesses except for Minuccia recall Turino's confusion. He initially asks for the chapel next to the chapel of the Crucifix in Siena's cathedral, whereupon Ser Leonardo, chaplain and priest of the chapel of San Vittore in the cathedral, gently reminds the dying man that he himself as operaio had given this chapel to Canon Francesco Tolomei.⁴⁰ Ser Leonardo suggests that he choose instead the chapel near to the spot where Turino's tomb would be.⁴¹ This corner of the cathedral had actually enjoyed Turino's special attention: he had overseen the decoration of the chapel of the Crucifix, had conceded the patronage for an altar next to it, and could now choose to edify a chapel of his own in its immediate vicinity (fig. 2 nrs. 13-15). Turino's own chapel is designated by some witnesses as Turino's future burial site, by others also as being near to the chapel next to that of the Crucifix, or near ('presso') the Porta del Perdono, while Arrigo and Ser Leonardo even cite the dedication of the chapel, Santa Maria delle Grazie 'overo di Sancto Yvo' as Mea adds.⁴² Turino responds simply to Ser Leonardo's proposal: 'Io so' contento'.

At this point donna Ludovica raises the delicate issue of the funding of the chapel, in plain *volgare*: 'e di che la fo?'. Turino indicates that he wishes to endow the chapel out of his own means 'de bonis meis'. Ludovica repeats the question and Turino then specifies that he wants to fund it by means of a shop that he owns, up to a sum of 450 or 500 florins. The shop was known as Nicola di Giovanni di Nerone's and was located in the shoemakers' district. The funding out of Turino's means was an important point for the widow-to-be, since this disposition would allow her to save her dowry and dispose of Turino's means.⁴³ Turino entrusts Ludovica again with the enterprise and urges her to

⁴⁰ Ser Leonardo di Francesco was one of the four chaplains of the chapel of San Vittore. He must have died shortly before 29th January 1425, when his successor Ser Fioriano di Pietro was presented to the bishop and subsequently appointed (28th March); AAS, Bollari 102, fols. 70r-71r.

⁴¹ Except for Ludovica and Ser Leonardo the witnesses talk about the chapel of the Crucifix itself. This is an imprecision, since

Turino had indeed allotted to Francesco Tolomei the chapel next to the chapel of the Crucifix, later known as the chapel of the Visitation.

⁴² This is the only time in the entire known documentation on the chapel that the titulus of Saint Ivo is given. It may have been an older chaplaincy associated with the altar. Chaplaincies at one and the same altar could have different *voce*, see p. 38 below.

bring the chapel to completion as soon as possible. According to Ser Leonardo, Ludovica promises with a hand on her chest: 'domine, et ita faciam'. Turino wants to dedicate his chapel 'ad nomen gloriose Marie Virginis', according to his wife's testimony.

This newly found document greatly augments our knowledge about the chapel of the Virgin of the Snow. Whereas it was previously believed that the project for the chapel dated to 1430 and that Ludovica was the actual commissioner, with obligatory references to her deceased husband, we can now adjust that image. Most importantly, it appears from the documents presented here that the idea of endowing a chapel was already formed in August 1423, predating by seven years Ludovica's commissioning of Sassetta to paint an altarpiece in March 1430, which was previously thought to be the earliest published document relating to the chapel. It is now clear that Turino is in fact, by testamentary wish, the actual commissioner of the chapel. Yet at the same time the documents provide evidence of the pushy nature of his widow Ludovica and her formative role in the birth of the chapel and we can see that it was she who was the major driving force behind the idea.

Ludovica planned for a financially independent life as a widow, safeguarding her dowry by finding a means of disposing piously of Turino's possessions. By channelling Turino's money into the construction of a chapel in the cathedral, she evaded the new legislation which made the Opera del Duomo the main beneficiary of the deceased operaio, ceding the widow only the usufruct during her lifetime. Turino had accepted office on the provision that he would contribute no more than 3000 lire or 750 florins of his personal wealth, and Ludovica now proved her right to most of the remainder of Turino's personal fortune. It is not hard to imagine the reasons why Ludovica would have begged her husband for a chapel. As a childless widow, Ludovica's piety could be expressed through the chapel in a way which was socially acceptable, in devout commemoration of her husband (although not entirely free of vanity on her own part either). Usually, childless widows could not simply act on their own and the supervision of their finances and legal activities was often assigned to a guardian. Ludovica in fact had a *mediarius* by the name of Domenico whose wife, domina Antonia, also comforted her at Turino's deathbed.⁴⁴ It is significant for Ludovica's remarkably autonomous behaviour that the documents relating to the genesis of the chapel record almost nothing of the guardian's input, except when she expresses her discontent about the price at which Sassetta's finished altarpiece was estimated to the court of the *Giudici dei Pupilli*.⁴⁵ In her own testament a new *mediarius* appears by the name of Matteo Griccioli (Appendix 1, doc. A.vii).

At her husband's deathbed, Ludovica was surrounded by influential people. Together with the fideicommissaries entrusted with winding up the inheritance, they seem to have been a carefully orchestrated band consisting of friends and

43 For the position of the widow-patron, see KING 1998, esp. pp. 76-82, 99-128; LUMIA 1996, esp. pp. 122-30, 187-231.

44 KING 1998, pp. 76-82, 99-112, (76-79 for the *mediarius*).

45 The court ruled against 'madonna Ludovica, overo el detto Guido suo procuratore'; LAURENT 1935, p. 265; see p. 29 below.

relatives of donna Ludovica, most of whom had positions which were to prove of great practical use for Ludovica's objectives in the creation of a chapel. Ser Leonardo di Francesco of Campagnatico, priest and chaplain of the cathedral, may well have become a friend of Turino di Matteo during the latter's office as operaio. His presence must have been instrumental in Ludovica's success in gaining a foothold in the cathedral, since Turino's burial chapel was the very first chapel conceded to an operaio. Giovanni di Galgano Bichi was an influential banker, whom Turino had involved in the project for the Loggia della Mercanzia as well as in other transactions by the Opera.⁴⁶ Giovanni's brother, Matteo, had been another candidate when Turino had been elected operaio. The wool-merchant Nicola di Guido Finetti was a fideicommissary as well as Ludovica's brother-in-law.⁴⁷ His wife Andrea, Ludovica's sister, was present in the kitchen of the operaio's house on that sad day in August 1423. As a member of the Arte della Lana, Nicola di Guido Finetti may well have already drawn Ludovica's attention to Sassetta at this stage of the chapel project as, in the years 1423–1425, Sassetta was busy painting an altarpiece for the Arte della Lana for their annual festival of Corpus Domini.⁴⁸

Carlo d'Agnolino Bartoli, another fideicommissary of Turino's will, had provided the wool guild with a baldachin for the Sacrament for its Corpus Domini procession, at the end of which was Sassetta's altarpiece.⁴⁹ He was a man of the church who held a high position and had ample contacts. Rector of the Spedale della Scala at the moment of Turino's death⁵⁰, Bartoli would remain committed to the execution of Ludovica's project when he was elected bishop of Siena in 1427, replacing Antonio Casini. Bartoli's religious interests partly corresponded to the Franciscan ambience in which the patrons moved, Turino being a member of the Compagnia di San Francesco and Ludovica eventually professing as a Franciscan tertiary. Bartoli built a monastery for the sisters of the third order of Saint Francis in Siena.⁵¹ Another *clamidata* of the Franciscan Order, Mea di Cristoforo Nutini, was also amongst the witnesses to Turino's last words.

Ludovica's determination to see the realisation of the chapel is also apparent from other documents. On 27th July 1424 Pietro di San Pietro, the vicar general of Bishop Antonio Casini, approves the settlement of Turino's will agreed

46 A gilded silver statue of San Crescenzo made by the goldsmiths Turino di Sano and his son Giovanni was paid via Giovanni and Matteo Bichi in 1424–25, following an agreement as previously made with Turino; AOMS, 708 (num. Mosc. 500), fol. 221v, s.a. 1424: 'Giovanni e Mateio di Galgano Bichi banchieri die avere lire cinquecento otanzette soldi diciennove per altrettanti die per noi a Turino di Sano e Giovanni suo figliuolo e così a mano posto che Turino detto debi dare in questo li[b]ro a una sua ragione a fo. 44 e quagli egli fecie dare misser Turino di Matio allora oparaio perché faciesse la figura di Santo Crescenzo/fiorini o lire DLXXXVII soldi XVIII denari 6.' Another instalment of *lire LXXVI soldi VI denari*— was paid on 14th June 1424. On the statue see FATTORINI 1996, pp. 128–129, 145–146 note 98.

47 In the year 1410 'Nicholò di Guido Finetta lanaiuolo' living in the contrada of San Pietro in Chastelvechio is *allirato* for the large sum of 5350 lire. His brother Nanni, also a wool worker, lived nearby and was worth 2850 lire: ASS, Lira 42, fols. 71v, 78r. 48 ISRAËLS 2001.

49 ISRAËLS 2001, p. 536. Bartoli was the son of a wool merchant. Could he even have been 'el migliore membro de la città' who had provided for the wooden structure of the Arte della Lana altarpiece before 1423 (see *IBIDEM*, pp. 536, 542 doc. vi)?

50 This was an important post in the city. Bartoli was knighted by King Louis II of Anjou when he assumed office.

51 On Carlo Bartoli, MUNMAN 1993, pp. 137–38 cat. nr. 19; PRUNAI 1964; BANCHI 1877, pp. 215–223; PECCI 1748, pp. 316–319; UGURGIERI AZZOLINI 1649, vol. 1, pp. 135–136.

by its executors, in terms of the testators' bequests as well as the assignment of Ludovica's dowry (Appendix 1, doc. A.III). The vicar then continues with the addition to the will made *nudis verbis*, that is the endowment of a chapel entitled Santa Maria delle Grazie near the Porta del Perdono in the cathedral. He lays down the conditions that the fideicommissaries have to follow, since these had been omitted from the spoken last will. He establishes that the widow donna Ludovica will be the patron of the altar during her lifetime, a subject which had not been discussed at Turino's deathbed. Ludovica is authorised to present to the bishop a chaplain, who has to start officiating the altar by 1st September 1424 and who will be paid 16 florins per annum. Ludovica will be able to transmit the right to appoint a chaplain to the person who will inherit the patronage after her death. In the event that Turino's inheritance is insufficient to finance the chapel adequately, Ludovica is to make up the amount from her own properties. Up to 400 florins can be taken from Turino's heritage to provide for the ornaments of the altar, that is a chalice, a missal, palliums and other prerequisites ('pro hornamentis dicti altaris, scilicet calice, missali, palliis et aliis necessariis ad ornamentum dicti altaris'). Yet another addition reveals that, due to conflict, the executors and fideicommissaries had difficulties in collecting Turino's properties and they are therefore given four more years, starting on 1st August 1424, to resolve all problems surrounding the inheritance. These troubles in settling the inheritance are undoubtedly the reason for the long interval between Turino's project to endow a chapel in the cathedral and its materialisation, of which the 1430 contract with Sassetta is the first known practical step. An important outcome of this document is the involvement of the bishop in the project and we must bear in mind the name of Antonio Casini, who would act as an adviser to Ludovica's programme and who is first documented here, through his vicar, as a protagonist in the genesis of the chapel.

On 28th July 1424, a day after the vicar of the bishop had approved of the acts of the testamentary executors of Turino's will, Ludovica's dowry is restituted to her by Carlo d'Agnolino Bartoli and his fellow-fideicommissaries (Appendix 1, doc. A.IV). On that day it is registered in the books of the Gabella that she receives a house ('unam possessionem') located in Santa Regina in the *Masse* or outskirts of Siena. The Bertini family property had accompanied Ludovica as a considerable dowry at her wedding⁵² and it was worth 660 florins. Apart from her dowry, 140 florins were allotted to her as part of the 400 florins destined for the chapel 'pro hedificatione unius capelle fiende in ecclesia maiori civitatis Senensis'.

⁵² Ludovica eventually bequeathed the property of Santa Regina to the Spedale della Scala (Appendix 1, doc. A.VII). The Spedale paid for the conveyance in the Biccherna: 'E die dare a di 30 di settembre [1433] soldi vintidue paghamo al notaio di Bicherna e a Meo ghuardia di Bicherna e al banditore per fare sbatare la posisione de Santa Reina chome inchamarata a liro d'uno leone e sono ascite K. a fo 42— lire 1 soldi 11': ASS, Spedale 518, fol. 171v. Other Bertini-owned property in the region may have been passed down the

Bertini family. The Peruzzian Villa Piccolomini in Santa Regina (now the property of the Compagnia di Sant'Angela Merici) once belonged to the Venturi-Gallerani family, who in turn succeeded the last Bertini around 1600 (see Appendix II, 1); ROMAGNOLI first decades of nineteenth century, p. 200 (fol. 166r); M. Brogi, 'Economia e territorio nelle masse di Siena tra Sette e Ottocento', in GUERRINI 1996, pp. 57, 80 note 112 (mistakenly believing the villa belonged first to the Piccolomini and then to the Venturi-Gallerani).

The official assignment of the chapel to Ludovica dates to 4th November 1426 (Appendix 1, document A.V.1). It is restated that Turino di Matteo wants to construct 'unum altare vel cappella' dedicated to Santa Maria delle Grazie, next to the Porta del Perdono and that his widow Ludovica should be its patron. Ludovica assigns to the chapel a property that houses an inn, a 'hospitium', adjacent to the church of San Pietro alla Magione.⁵³ Ludovica can keep the usufruct of the inn during her lifetime, after deducting the 16 florins for the priest of the altar. The property may never be sold, under the threat that it will devolve upon the Spedale della Scala. Under these pacts the operaio Bartolomeo di Giovanni di Cecco, in the presence of the vicar of the bishop and in execution of the last will of Turino, concedes Ludovica the altar of Santa Maria delle Grazie near the Porta del Perdono with all pertinent rights, on the provision that she and those who succeed her in the patronage will embellish the altar.

The expression 'crescere, et augmentare dictum altare in edifitiis' seems to mean that a simple, pre-existent altar should be transformed or enlarged into a structure. The altar is furthermore to be painted and decorated with, amongst other things, the arms of Turino di Matteo 'et pingere et pingi facere et ornare dictum altare, cum armis supradicti olim domini Turini ibidem apponendo et pingendo arma supradicti olim domini Turini'. So not only is Turino granted a prestigious chapel in the cathedral, but is even allowed posthumous display of the arms he had only just received. The operaio Bartolomeo furthermore instructs that the chaplain of the newly instituted chapel may borrow the necessary paraments for saying mass from the cathedral sacristy, such as a chalice, a missal, and the priestly vestments. On 27th July 1424 Ludovica had been held responsible for furnishing some of these necessities and indeed in the present document she still promises to provide for the ornament of the altar its paraments, a chalice, a missal and a painting ('paramentis, calice, missali vel picturis'). She furthermore agrees to spend 50 florins of her own means. The chaplain has to celebrate mass three times a week and on at least two Sundays per month. This might be augmented for the benefit of the successors of the *ius patronatus*, in case the endowment of the chapel should be increased after Ludovica's death.

The document then continues with the approbation of the chapel-endowment by Niccolò de' Ugurgeri, procurator of the chapter of canons of the cathedral, in the presence of the vicar Pietro di San Pietro who was representing Bishop Antonio Casini, recently created cardinal of San Marcello, Giorgio di Andrea di Pietro de Tolomei and provost Niccolò Sozzini. The act is finally passed in the episcopal palace in Siena on 20th November 1426 by notary Carlo di Enrico of Vecchiano.

A second parchment, also drawn up by this notary and dated 4th November 1426, shows that Ludovica loses no time in exerting the powers entrusted to her (Appendix 1, doc. A.V.2). She immediately appoints the honest priest Giacomo d'Antonio as the rector of the chapel of Santa Maria delle Grazie in order, she

53 Many inns were owned by wealthy families as well as by hospitals, churches and convents, because their rent provided quite

a constant source of income; TULIANI 1994, esp. pp. 83-93, 97-105.

claims, that the altar does not suffer any temporal or spiritual damage by such a vacancy. The same day, in the books of Bishop Antonio Casini, the latter's vicar draws up the approval of Ludovica's appointment of a chaplain for her cathedral-chapel of Santa Maria delle Grazie, located 'iustam portam dictam la porta del Perdono' (Appendix I, doc. A.VI). The chaplain selected by Ludovica had been one of the four chaplains that took care of the altar of San Vittore in the cathedral, possibly on recommendation of Turino's friend Ser Leonardo di Francesco, who was one of the San Vittore chaplains too. The minister of the hospital of Santa Marta, to whom the patronal rights over the chaplain and his chaplaincy belonged, lost no time in nominating a successor.⁵⁴

By 1426 Ludovica had organised the endowment and officiation of the chapel, but she still had to commission its decoration. As previously mentioned, the lapse of time between Turino's testament and the actual construction of the chapel was probably due to some lengthy financial problems. The vicar of Bishop Antonio Casini, the chapter of canons and the operaio kept close control over the institution of the chapel. The documents presented here show that it took nine years to finish the chapel, from the inception of the idea until the completion of Sassetta's altarpiece in 1432. This shows that it was quite time-consuming to embark on the novel enterprise of constructing a private chapel in the cathedral. The documents presented above testify to the remarkable and unusual events triggered by Turino's testaments. It is now clear that he was the official testator who provided for the chapel in the cathedral to be built out of a vow of gratitude towards the Virgin and Saint Francis, who had cured him of a previous illness. At the same time it is abundantly clear from the documents that Ludovica was very keen to have this chapel for her husband as well as for herself, and her husband's testament enabled this female patron to realise her ideas. She was the driving force behind the project and she was to commit many influential people, amongst them two bishops of Siena, to engineer her own and Turino's finances in a masterly way in order to make a pious monument in the Sienese cathedral for the glory of the Virgin and in the memory of her late husband and herself. As chapter VI will illustrate, the bishop, canons and Opera of the cathedral had on the whole not been keen on much individual propaganda on their altars. It is an indication of Ludovica's persuasiveness that she was even allowed to show the arms of her recently knighted late husband. These, as well as her own Bertini-shield, would, furthermore, figure prominently on the throne of the Madonna in the future altarpiece of their chapel (plates 1, 11).

54 AAS, Bollari 102, fols. 94v-95r (27th November 1426): 'electione seu presentatione facta et canonice celebrata per venerabilem virum dominum Bartholomeum Guelfi ministrum hospitalis Sancte Marte de Senis dicto hospitalaniatis ministerio nomine patronum altaris Sancti Victorii siti in maiori ecclesia Senensis, de ser Michele Francisci de Vulterris presbitero ad rectoriam et regimen altaris Sancti Victorii predicti nuper viatis uno cappellano ex quattuor cappellanis dicti altaris Sancti Victorii per adeptione altaris Sancte Marie gratiarum siti in dicta maiori ecclesia Senensis iuxta portam

dictam la porta del Perdono factam per ser Jacobum Antonii olim unum cappellanum ex quattuor cappellanis dicti altaris Sancti Victorii'. This chaplaincy may be related to the (partial) patronage of the Malavolti over the altar of San Vittore, for which see p. 75 below, and AAS, Sante Visite 18, fol. 17r (December 1489): 'Santi Vittore cappellani dicunt dictam capellam fuisse olim constructam per quondam venerabilem episcopum Donisdeum et quod habent stipendia librarum quadraginta pro quolibet a cassitrano [?] hospini Sancte Marte in Podio Malavoltorum'.

The next bulk of documents dates to the 1430s and pertains to Ludovica's commissioning of Sassetta's altarpiece and to her own testament. In this chapter we shall follow donna Ludovica through these notarial acts to see how she formulated and realised her desires regarding the chapel.

The documents concerning the commission of the Madonna della Neve form part of the archive of the Sienese church of San Francesco (plate xi).⁵⁵ The reason that the papers regarding the commission were originally kept in this convent must have been that Ludovica took the vows of the Franciscan Third Order in her widowhood, although she apparently became a secular member as she retained control of her possessions. In her testament, Ludovica appointed the guardian of the Franciscan conventuals and the guardian of the Franciscan tertiaries as her testamentary executors and fideicommissaries (Appendix I, doc. A. VII).⁵⁶

The provenance of the documentation for Sassetta's Madonna della Neve therefore does not mean that the friars of San Francesco were involved in its commission.⁵⁷

Ludovica's Franciscan background indicates one of the ways in which Sassetta may have caught her attention as a candidate to decorate the cathedral chapel. The lives of both Sassetta, and of Ludovica as a tertiary, centred around the church of San Francesco, which contained works by the painter. We know that on 20th June 1427 Sassetta had been paid by its Opera a sum of little more than 11 florins for 'la tavola di Santo Lodovico', possibly an instalment for an altarpiece.⁵⁸ Also in the church of San Francesco, Sassetta

II

Commission and completion

55 Giovanni Antonio Pecci in 1731 saw these Sassetta documents in the convent of San Francesco, survivors of the devastating fire that raged in the church in 1655; PECCI 1731, fol. 15r nr. 66, 32v nr. 276; his notes published by A. Lisini in BORGHESI & BANCHI 1898, pp. 144-45 note to nr. 82. They are now kept in the ASV, which preserves a lot of archival material from this Sienese convent; LAURENT 1935, pp. 257-258.

56 The tertiaries were actually organised that way. In 1428 the abbess of the tertiaries, Petra of the late Angelo di Meo di Vanno Zondadari, had created Margarita di Pietro of Condorgiali governor of the tertiaries: 'rectricem et gubernatricem bonorum omnium dictarum mantellatarum' and entrusted her with the 'curam, diligentiam et administrationem bonorum omni ipsorum mantellatarum'; ASV, Fondo Veneto 1, 16190 (dated 2nd July, notary Cristoforo di Domenico Salvi of Abbazia Isola).

57 C.B. Strehlke, 'Art and Culture in Renaissance Siena', in CHRISTIANSEN, KANTER & STREHLKE 1988, p. 45, who presents it as a commission by the friars, paid for by Ludovica.

58 '... al presente di 20 di giugno 1427 da Batista di Bartolomeo di Buonsignore banchiere et camarlingo de l'Opera... Item Stefano dipintore avuto in prestanza per la tavola di Santo Lodovico L. 46, sol. 12'; BONUCCI 2001, pp. 26-27, who suggests a relation between donna Ludovica and the image, because of the presence of her male name-saint. Considering that Ludovica was still alive and would easily have been able to pay herself, the work must have been ordered by the friars themselves in honour of a saint that was of general interest to their order. At the most, the remuneration may have been the friar's handling of a private bequest. It was probably an intermediate payment. The work itself may have been a single panel, but more likely an altarpiece. An altar dedicated to Saint

had painted an altarpiece for the Petroni family, which will be discussed in more detail below. The initial contacts with the Franciscan convent in Borgo Sansepolcro for their double-sided altarpiece, painted by Sassetta in the years 1437-1444, may also have been mediated by the Sienese house.⁵⁹ As we have seen, Franciscan sympathies were shared by many of Ludovica's friends, amongst them two consecutive bishops of Siena. The first, Antonio Casini, counsellor of Ludovica as well as patron of Sassetta, left money for a perpetual office to be said in the memory of two of his sisters in the church, as we shall see later.⁶⁰ We have seen that the second, Carlo Bartoli, also came from a Franciscan background and was well known to the protagonist of the Franciscan Observance, Saint Bernardino.⁶¹ The saint would in turn become a patron of Sassetta, whom he commissioned to paint an *Assumption of the Virgin* for the high altar of his convent church.⁶² In addition to this, Sassetta had a personal affiliation with the Franciscans, as it is probable that his sister Caterina Maria professed to the order.⁶³ Furthermore, at the time of the commission, both Ludovica and Sassetta lived in the vicinity of San Francesco, in the neighbourhood of San Pietro a Ovile. Ludovica lived on the Piazza del Sale (see Appendix I, doc. A.VII), while Sassetta was registered as *gonfaloniere* of the Compagnia di San Pietro a Ovile di Sotto in 1431.⁶⁴

When Ludovica commissions the altarpiece to Sassetta on the first day of the Sienese new year, 25th March 1430, she is in fact referred to not only as the daughter of Francesco Bertini and the widow of Turino but also, for the first time, as 'clamidata ordinis Sancti Francisci de Senis'.⁶⁵ She entrusts Sassetta with the task of painting an altarpiece to go over the altar of San Bonifazio near the Porta del Perdono, 'Stefano Iohannis Consoli de Senis, pictori ad pingendum unam tabulam'. She commissions the painter directly, without intervention of the operaio that was in office, as had previously been usual practice as, for instance, in the case of the *Pietà* ordered by Caterino di Corsino for the chapel of Galgano di Cerbone (fig. 35).⁶⁶ This attests to an unprecedented degree of direct influence in the formation of the chapel of

Louis, with an 'old' altarpiece with the Virgin and saints, its patronage just passed from the Palmieri to the Rossi, did exist in the time of BOSSIO 1575, fol. 672v (p. 988): 'Visitavit cappellam Sancti Ludovici [...] Icona vero erat parum antiqua cum figura beatas Mariae Virginis et aliorum sanctorum. Cappella est testudinata et videtur minari ruinam ut apparet et est, ut dixerunt, illorum de Rubeis sed modo de Palmeriis.' It does not appear in CHIGI (BACCI) 1625-1626, pp. 318-319. The identification with Sassetta seems warranted as there was only one painter by the name of Stefano inscribed in the Sienese guild of painters.

⁵⁹ Some parchments were originally kept in the convent's archives, see PECCI 1731, fols. 34r nr. 294, 37r nr. 330. The contract is now in the ASV (Fondo Veneto 1, 16201), see BANKER 1991, p. 51, suggesting the Vatican contract was the painter's copy; DAVIES 1961, pp. 568-570 (transcription).

⁶⁰ See Appendix I, doc. E.43. Referred to as 'Cardinale di S. Marcello'; LUSINI 1894, p. 106; DE ANGELIS 1827, p. 48.

⁶¹ BERNARDINO 1427, p. 1205 (sermon XLI-19), praised the newly elect bishop in a sermon on the Campo.

⁶² ISRAËLS 1994, pp. 7, 12-13; CARLI 1976, pp. 158, 158-159 note 3.

⁶³ ISRAËLS 2003.

⁶⁴ ASS, Concistoro 2372, fol. 52v: 'Magister Stefanus Iohannis pictor. G[onfaloniere]'; POPE HENNESSY 1939, p. 87 note 9; ROMAGNOLI 1835, vol. IV, p. 420.

⁶⁵ ASV, Fondo Toscano 1, 16192; published by LAURENT 1935, pp. 260-261. The contract is written by notary Luca di Nanni of Siena and is made up in Ludovica's house in the presence of (her?) two bankers, Agabito d'Ambrogio di Antonio and Pietro di Angelo di Pietro.

⁶⁶ SANI 1987, p. 491-492; see p. 77 below. Similarly, the Opera acted as intermediary for the decoration of the chapels of Francesco di Biagio and Giorgio di Andrea di Pietro Tolomei too; see pp. 82, 85.

Santa Maria della Neve. In any case, Ludovica's choice of Sassetta would also have pleased the Opera del Duomo as, in the years following Turino's death, Sassetta had been employed by the cathedral works particularly for his skills as draughtsman. He probably made the design for the pavement panel with *Joshua's Defeat of the Amorite Kings* in 1426.⁶⁷ He also made a grand-scale drawing on a wall of the baptistery of San Giovanni, beneath the cathedral, in preparation for the work by some of the most advanced artists of his day. It was probably a working plan, designed in consultation with Jacopo della Quercia, of the baptismal font for the baptistery in 1427, for which Jacopo della Quercia, Ghiberti, Donatello and Turino di Sano and his son Giovanni di Turino would make the sculptures and reliefs.⁶⁸ The Opera del Duomo would continue to use the services of Sassetta later in the painter's life.⁶⁹ It is for these reasons that the Opera would have welcomed donna Ludovica's choice.

In the contract it states that the altarpiece is to come: 'ad altare cappelle Sancti Bonifatii, que cappella est prope portam ecclesie maioris prefate, que vocatur et dicitur la porta del Perdono'. It is clear that the chapel of San Bonifazio near the Porta del Perdono is the same chapel discussed in the documentation surrounding Turino's testament, where it is referred to as the chapel near the entrance, or alternatively as the chapel of Santa Maria delle Grazie. In chapter III we shall discuss why this very same chapel could also be referred to as the chapel of San Bonifazio.

In the commission, Ludovica is quite specific in her wishes about what the altarpiece should represent. Five saints are to be shown: the Virgin and Child, the seraphic Saint Francis, Saints Peter and Paul and John the Baptist, with an additional figure of the Salvator above Mary 'quinque figuris integris scilicet: Virginis Marie cum Christo Yhesu filio suo in brachiis suis, Sancti Francisci seraphici, Sancti Petri, Sancti Pauli et Sancti Iohannis Baptiste cum Salvatore a capite Virginis Marie'. It is remarkable that Saint Francis is the

67 ARONOW 1985, pp. 98–109, 420 doc. 71; POPE HENNESSY 1939, p. 20; BACCI 1929, p. 195. The payment is to 'Stefano di Giovanni d'Asciano dipintore'. This document has to be treated with some caution and I wonder whether it does not actually refer to another Stefano di Giovanni. Sassetta was not a native of Asciano, since his family lived in Cortona at the time he must have been born; see ISRAËLS 2003. The graffito of the panel has completely worn away and its style is difficult to assess, but the rearing horse with its head high up and its hatted rider seems to echo the central horse and horseman in the Melbourne predella panel of the Arte della Lana altarpiece. Pope Hennessy compared the soldier with raised sword and his prostrate victim with the *Temptation of Saint Anthony* of the same complex.

68 Sassetta received 44 *lire* for a drawing 'della forma del battesimo sì die fare'. AOMS, 402 (num. Mosc. 255), fol. 65v, published by: PAOLETTI 1967, p. 308 doc. nr. 138; BACCI 1929, p. 197; MILANESI 1854, vol. II, p. 244; for the font see CARLI 1979, pp. 103–105; PAOLETTI 1967, pp. 151, 155–156, 308 doc. nr. 138; POPE HENNESSY 1939, pp. 21–25.

69 A drawing for an unexecuted glass window for the oculus in the façade of the cathedral in 1440: AOMS, 708 (num. Mosc. 500), fol. 334r, published by MILANESI 1854, vol. II, p. 198; POPE HENNESSY 1939, pp. 112, 135 note 33. Designs made for 'drapelloni' in 1442 (14th February and 18th March) together with his companion Vico di Luca: AOMS, 710 (num. Mosc. 502), fol. 30v and designs for 'bruste rachamate' in 1446 (26th January and 21st February): AOMS, 710, (num. Mosc. 502), fols. 68v, 84r; AOMS, 687 (num. Mosc. 558), fol. 25v, see LUSINI 1939, vol. II, p. 53 note 3; POPE HENNESSY 1939, pp. 118–119, 137–138 notes 49, 50, 52; BACCI 1936, p. 66 note 1; MILANESI 1854, vol. II, pp. 244–245. POPE HENNESSY 1939, p. 138 note 52, mistakenly published two references for rough building work ('morare') by one Stefano di Giovanni at the Stechara of the Opera's mill at Tressa (24th November and 8th December 1446): AOMS, 710 (num. Mosc. 502), fols. 83v, 84v. The document reads 'Stefano di Giovanni da Chomo' and not 'Stefano di Giovanni dipintore'. This Stefano di Giovanni is in fact a stone worker from Como, with an assistant by the name of Anselmo, who appears more often in the books of the Opera del Duomo.

first to be mentioned immediately following the Virgin and that he is the only one honoured in the contract with a laudatory adjective. Once again, Ludovica and Turino's Franciscan interests come to mind. The Salvator requested in the contract is absent from the altarpiece as we know it. Furthermore, a real discrepancy between the contract and the finished altarpiece is evident in the amount of predella-scenes. In the contract, Ludovica requests five predella-scenes representing the miracle of the snow 'predellam cum quinque storiis Sancte Marie de Nive', whereas the predella now contains seven. The required stories of the miracle of the snow are the first indication of the title that the altar would acquire, whereas in the documents regarding Turino's testament, the chapel was only referred to by its old names.

In the contract, Ludovica goes on to stipulate good materials (gold and pigments), worthy of the work, to be supplied by the painter: 'cum illa quantitate auri et illis coloribus decentibus dictam tabulam, predellam et figuras' who should paint with skill, 'bene et ornate'. The price of the finished painting is to be assessed by two experts, one to be chosen by the patron, the other by the painter. Sassetta promises to finish it in a year. As usual, this obligatory term was stretched somewhat, but about two and a half years later, on 23rd October 1432, Sassetta completed his altarpiece for Ludovica. As stipulated in the contract, each chose a foreign, non-Sienese expert to settle the price of the work and materials that had gone into the altarpiece 'dictum huiusmodi salarium et mercedem dicte huiusmodi tabule'.⁷⁰ Gualtiero di Giovanni of Pisa, a painter who was active in Siena, represented Ludovica, while Sassetta chose the young Cecchino di Francesco of Verona (circa 1406-*ante* 1480), a painter and draughtsman who worked in a late International Gothic style, close to that of Pisanello.⁷¹ Within a week, on 29th October, Gualtiero and Cecchino declare, having seen the work that went into the panel, with its figures and stories, and into the surrounding chapel ornament 'visa dicta tabula, figuris, storiis et laborerio in eis dato et ornamento facto pro dicta tabula', Ludovica should pay 'de dicta tabula picta et ornamento dicte cappelle' 180 florins or 738 *lire* to Sassetta 'pro suo labore, magisterio, auro et coloribus'.⁷² It is interesting that Sassetta appears to be paid not only for the work, skill and materials that went into the altarpiece but also for the design or work regarding the surrounding chapel 'ornamento dicte cappelle'. Ludovica and Sassetta promise to observe the settlement.

70 ASV, Fondo Toscano I, 16192, as published by LAURENT 1935, pp. 262-263. Notary is Luca di Nanni of Siena.

71 GOEBEL 2002, for Cecchino's Sienese sojourn: pp. 91-92, 113-115, 295-297. Cecchino could have travelled down to Siena with the court of Sigismund, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, who stayed in Siena from July 1432 to April 1433, on his way to the imperial coronation in Rome. Sassetta's *Adoration of the Magi*, with its fashionably dressed figures and opulent animal-detail, recalls Gentile da Fabriano and, in terms of scale and function, also recalls his lesser known Veronese colleagues. Its unusual

shape, size and devotional purpose resemble Stefano da Verona's version of the subject, now in the Pinacoteca di Brera at Milan; SYSON & GORDON 2001, pp. 10, 14-15, fig. 1, 16. On the original shape of the Sassetta see K. Christiansen, in CHRISTIANSEN, KANTER & STREHLKE 1988, entries 2a & b, esp. p. 80. SCAGLIA 1968, proposed to identify Sassetta's eldest king as a portrait of Sigismund.

72 ASV, Fondo Toscano I, 16192, as published by LAURENT 1935, pp. 263-264. Notary is Luca di Nanni of Siena. The exchange-rate for the florin was somewhat higher than usual: 4 *lire* and 2 *soldi*.

The surviving records about Turino's testament have already painted a picture of Ludovica as a capable and sharp businesswoman and the complications surrounding the payment to Sassetta certainly confirm this view. Ludovica did not agree with the first *lodo* and she took the case to court.⁷³ Whereas the previous *lodo* had been drawn up in the headquarters of the guild of the Giudici e Notai, the second one was written in volgare before the tribunal of the Giudice dei Pupilli, on 30th December 1432.⁷⁴ Another committee was formed to re-appraise Sassetta's efforts: the painter Martino di Bartolomeo was arbiter for Ludovica, Sano di Pietro for his colleague Sassetta, with Giacomo di Meio di Nanni to add a third, impartial view. The three experts subscribe the previous taxation of 180 florins, 'computata ne la detta stima la dipictura de la cappela e de le pareti'. Donna Ludovica is obliged to satisfy her debts to Sassetta, whereupon Sassetta is to consign the altarpiece to her. Ludovica is expected to be present at its installation, as is the custom. One of the witnesses of this final act regarding the payment is a painter from Sassetta's *compagnia*, Lodovico di Luca.⁷⁵ So once again it becomes clear that Sassetta not only painted the altarpiece, which was apparently still in his workshop at this time, but also frescoed the walls surrounding the Madonna della Neve altarpiece. This was common practice in other chapels in the cathedral as well and would have been taken into account in the estimate.⁷⁶ The double taxation brought the attention of five arbiter-painters, and undoubtedly many other painters in their trail, to Sassetta's altarpiece. Indeed, the work must have been a much-studied and hotly-debated item in Siena, not only due to the commissioner's discontent about its worth but also, undoubtedly, to Sassetta's manifold innovativeness. He signed the altarpiece on the frame below the Virgin 'STEPHANVS.DE SENIS [ME].PINXIT.'

On 30th December 1432, Ludovica was already terminally ill and she died on one of the first days of January 1433.⁷⁷ She had made her testament *corpore languens* on 11th November 1432 (Appendix I, doc. A.VII), asking to be buried

73 The Curia del Placito, whose members were also known as *Consoli del Placito* or *Savi dei Pupilli* had civil jurisdiction and took care of minors and women. Unfortunately, no relevant records have been preserved for the period under consideration; GUIDA INVENTARIO 1951, vol. II, pp. 1-2.

74 ASV, Fondo Toscano I, 16197, as published by LAURENT 1935, pp. 265-266. Notary is Giovanni di Nicola di Guidone of Siena.

75 It has been suggested that the Maestro dell'Osservanza should be (partly) identified with Lodovico or Vico di Luca; GRAZIANI 1948, p. 88 (postscript by R. Longhi); POPE HENNESSY 1956, p. 370; A. Angelini in BELLOSI & ANGELINI 1986, p. 46; CHRISTIANSEN, KANTER & STREHLKE 1988, p. 100. However, from the documents, which range from 1416 to 1449, a picture of Vico di Luca emerges as a painter of a lesser stature. He polychromed sculptures, a lamp and boxes, frescoed vaults (probably blue with golden stars) and painted banners for a funeral as well as a curtain that was drawn over an altarpiece; BORGHESE & BANCHI 1896, p. 166; MILANESI 1854, vol. I, p. 48. On 30th October 1443 he was paid by the Concistoro for what seems to have been only the gild-

ing and polychroming of the relief over the door of the Palazzo Pubblico, even though the sum due was considerable (32 florins); ASS, Concistoro 466, fols. 62r, 64r; referred to by ROMAGNOLI 1835, vol. IV, p. 335; U. Morandi, 'Documenti', in BRANDI 1983, p. 426 nr. 331 and G. Borghini, 'La decorazione', in IBIDEM, p. 228 (both omitting fol. 64r). Vico's wife brought him only a small dowry of 17 and a half florins (ASS, Gabella 176, fol. 39v, declaration of notary Ser Mariano di Nicola, 7th September 1423): 'Ludovicus Luce de Senis pictor et Matteus eius frater receperunt in dotem domine Baptiste filie Jacobi ser Ptolomei de Radicondolo future uxoris Ludovici predictae, libras settingentas.'. He did assist in the professionally diversified workshop of Sassetta (see note 69 above).

76 The unity formed by an altarpiece and the chapel-frescoes surrounding it was first recognised by GARDNER VON TEUFFEL 1982.

77 On 7th January a quantity of cloth for Ludovica's burial was bought: 'La redità di madona Lodovicha dona fu di misser Turino di Matcio die dare a di VII di gienao 1432 [=1433 modern style] lire dieci soldi uno denari III, i qua' sono per staia cinque e 3 quari di

in the church of San Francesco in the tomb of the tertiaries.⁷⁸ Her father had been buried in the same church.⁷⁹ Turino's funeral would therefore remain the only one associated with the chapel of Santa Maria della Neve. Ludovica makes the Spedale della Scala her universal heir, the main bulk of her heritage consisting of the property at Santa Regina. The church of San Francesco once again enjoys her special devotion as she wants the friars to say a yearly mass of the dead for herself, Turino and both their forefathers, in exchange for grain and wine, later converted by codicil into a sum of 50 florins for the ornament of the sacristy.⁸⁰ Ludovica wants the commemorative mass to be on the day following the feast of Saint Elisabeth of Hungary, a sainted sister-tertiary. The guardian of the Franciscan friars and the guardian of the tertiaries are to be Ludovica's testamentary executors.⁸¹ The infirmary of San Francesco is to have her bed with all its belongings, while the learned friar Daniele, who visited the Holy Sepulchre, is to have a bed-chest and a pair of sheets. Ludovica makes two small, obligatory bequests to the bishop and to the Opera del Duomo and further favours her nephews and nieces. Bequests befall Magdalena (provided she gets married and has children) and Francesco, both children of Ludovica's brother, the notary Nanni di Francesco Bertini⁸², as well as Guido, Taddea (married to Nicola di Salamone Ricasoli) and Bindoccia (widow of Nicola di Bernardo), children of her late sister Andrea and Nicola di Guido Finetti, whom we encountered as one of the fideicommissaries of Turino. She acquits her *mediarius*, Matteo Gricciuoli, of all his debts towards her. There are also bequests for servants and, just as in Turino's testament, for Nanni and Iboni di Angelo from Santa Regina.

As to the chapel in the cathedral 'unam cappellam pro anima sua, domini Turini et mortuorum suorum prope portam Perdoni dicte ecclesie sub vocabulo Sancte Marie della Nieve', Ludovica's testament is only intent on safeguarding its patronage and officiation. It is here that the chapel is first explicitly indicated by its new title. She wants the patronage to pass into the hands of her nephews Guido and Bartolomeo but, in the event of misconduct in the handling of the chapel-affairs, she threatens to give away the patronage to the Opera of the cathedral, the rector of the Spedale and the friars of San Francesco. To the chaplain of the chapel she leaves a house and its land in San

pano bigio lavamo per farle la vesta cho' che si soterò, el quale pano levamo da Ghalghano e Giovanni di Ghucio Bichi ritaglieri e so posti a loro ragione in questo a fo. 362 — lire x soldi i denari iii'. Her medicine bill was also settled after her death: 'E die dare a dì XVIII di feraio 1433 [= 1434 m.s.] lire otto soldi tredici denari otto per lei Antonio di Francescho speziale per più speziarie e medicine die a mona Lodovicha nel tenpo della sua infermità a uscita del kamarlengo a fo 78 — lire VIII soldi XIII denari 8'; ASS, Spedale 518, fol. 122v.

⁷⁸ The necrology of San Francesco for this period has gone up in flames; see *Negrologio di S. Francesco del 1644*, BCS, ms.CIII.1, fol. 11: 'L'antico negrologio bruciò nell'incendio della chiesa di detto convento la notte del 25 agosto 1655.'

⁷⁹ He is recorded by an inscription in the *volte* underneath the

church: 'S. Francischo de' Vanni Bertini heredum suorum'; LUSINI 1894, p. 259.

⁸⁰ The payment is made by the Spedale on 24th June 1439; ASS, Spedale 518, fol. 171v.

⁸¹ Fra Domenico Bertini had been a guardian of the convent in 1420 and 1426, testifying once again to the close ties between the Bertini family and this church; LUSINI 1894, p. 266; DE ANGELIS 1827, p. 47.

⁸² Francesco di Nanni di Francesco Bertini is one of the beneficiaries in the testament of the painter Giovanni di Paolo of 29th January 1482, for unknown reasons: '... Item reliquit jure legati Francisco Johannis Bertini jura que habet supra capitallibus de Monte Comunis Senarum, contra dictum Comune'; published by POPE HENNESSY 1937, p. 150 note 1.

Viene in the Masse of Siena to provide for two further masses each week, in addition to those which had already been arranged in 1426 (Appendix 1, doc. A.v). To the sacristy of the cathedral she leaves an annual amount of oil for the lamp in front of her chapel as well as a pair of candles with candlesticks adorned with the arms of Turino to be kept in the cathedral, as is the custom ('ut moris est per alios nonnullos cives Senenses in dicta ecclesia').

Judging by the testament, the chapel had been completed by November 1432, although the altarpiece still resided in Sassetta's workshop in December of that year. By 30th April 1433, however, the Madonna della Neve had definitely been placed over its altar. Between that date and 20th August 1433, Sassetta finally receives instalments of the payment for his altarpiece: 'una tavola dipense d'altare a la chapella di Santa Maria de la Nieve, la quale è ne la chiesa del domo di Santa Maria di Siena' (see also its description in the 1435 cathedral-inventory, Appendix 1, doc. B.1).⁸³ Sassetta collects his payments from the Spedale della Scala who, as Ludovica's universal heir, also looked after the settlement of her debts, the distribution of her bequests and the arrangements for her funeral.⁸⁴ Ludovica probably did not even witness the installation of Sassetta's altarpiece. She had had little worldly time to enjoy her chapel.

The ratification of the establishment of the chapel by the board of canons of the cathedral postdates Ludovica's death (Appendix 1, document A.viii). The document refers to the act containing the conditions that Turino's testamentary executors had to follow in edifying the chapel, a copy of which indeed precedes the ratification (see Appendix 1, document A.iii). The canons address the operaio Bartolomeo di Giovanni di Cecco, who was in office until 22nd July 1435.⁸⁵ The ratification should therefore be dated after Ludovica's death, on one of the first days of January 1433 and before the end of Bartolomeo's term. The canons definitely consign the chapel and declare themselves in accordance with Turino di Matteo's last will and with the intentions of the fideicommissaries. Ludovica's place next to the fideicommissaries was taken after her death by 'domina Magdalena', probably her niece.⁸⁶ In the general practice of the time, when women were restricted in any independent activity regarding official affairs, it is indicative of the high social standing of Ludovica's circle that a woman could take care of the affairs of another woman.

A last document pertaining to the endowment of the chapel is a complaint by its chaplain, Jacomo d'Antonio, before Giorgio Tolomei, vicar of the bish-

83 Settlement recorded in the *Libro dei conti correnti* of the Spedale della Scala, which in this case apparently took care of Ludovica's finances. ASS, Spedale 518, fol. 134r, referred to by ROMAGNOLI 1835, vol. IV, pp. 421-422; published in part by MILANESI 1854, vol. II, pp. 244-245; GALLAVOTTI CAVALLERO 1985, pp. 258 note 51, 420 nr. 126; POPE HENNESSY 1939, pp. 50-51 note 62, all transcribing the parts relevant to the chapel, but not those concerning the rest of Ludovica's heritage (fols. 122v, 171v, 374v, 375r).

84 See note 77 above. Her parish church (San Pietro a Ovile) sup-

plied 'otto pretti e otto cherici' for the *novela*; ASS, Spedale 518, fol. 122v.

85 It actually addresses the operaio through an intermediary, Paulo di Jacobo, who is also twice present as a witness in 1426, Appendix 1, doc. A.v.

86 It is striking that none of Ludovica's male heirs took on this role. Alternatively, it is conceivable that Magdalena was the guardian of the tertiaries, appointed testamentary executor by Ludovica.

op, and two canons, Pietro the archdeacon and Niccolò di Cecco Ugurgeri (Appendix 1, doc. A.IX).⁸⁷ Giacomo d'Antonio was the same chaplain that Ludovica had appointed in 1426 (Appendix 1, doc. A.V). His complaint is undated, but it postdates Ludovica's death. The war to which the chaplain refers is probably the Florentine one that lashed the Sienese countryside in the early 1430s and ended in 1434.⁸⁸ The income from the possession with which the chapel had been endowed had devalued.⁸⁹ The post-war income was therefore not enough for the chaplain's obligations to say two masses each week, with two additional masses on Sundays every month, as well as to provide for wax and oil to keep the chapel's lamp burning, as requested by Ludovica's testament: 'secondo che si contiene nel tastamento [*sic*] che fu della buona memoria di monna Lodovica, donna fu di misser Turino di Matteo operaio di questa chiesa, esso fu edificatore d'essa chapella.'. Turino was the actual founder of the chapel and his widow was the enthusiastic executor of his wish – not only did she oversee the chapel's construction, but also continued to provide for its officiation in her own testament.⁹⁰ The chapel grew very much into a chapel of Ludovica's own, so much so that the Spedale in 1433 refers to it three times as 'la sua chapella in duomo' and only once as 'la loro chapella detta la chapella di Santa Maria della Nieve' (see also Appendix II. 1).⁹¹

Ludovica, a childless widow who was free of obligations towards male heirs, acquired a high measure of independence in taking charge of her own and her husband's considerable properties. Her husband had given her this liberty by the magnanimity of his testament which left her, with the exception of a few bequests, all his property and belongings. Usually, a widow with relatives at this time would have to be happy with the conditional restitution of her dowry, a roof and some alimentation. A comparable woman patron who realised a chapel in Siena, albeit half a century later, was Eustachia Bichi. Eustachia, the young widow of Cristoforo Bellanti, founded a grand chapel in Sant'Agostino in 1482. The chapel was intended as a memorial for her late husband, but also became a glorification of the Bichi-family. Eustachia's name-saint was represented on the altarpiece by Luca Signorelli, but pride of

87 'domino Georgio Andree domini Petri de Tolomeis de Senis' had witnessed the negotiations for the chapel of Santa Maria della Neve on 4th November 1426 (Appendix 1, doc. A.V).

88 GINATEMPO 1988, pp. 279–281; BARON 1966, p. 363 note, supposing the hostilities ended already in 1433; TIZIO (PERTICI), p. 204 (fol. 141v): 'Anni interea quadringentesimi trigesimi quarti supra millesimum salutis initia fere transierant et iam flagrabat Italia bello, quod quidem hieme preterita sopitum fuisse videbatur.'

89 The petition dates at least two years after the war. The property, bought for 432 florins, had at first yielded 22 florins. When the war was over, the chaplain had received 12 florins a year. The year preceding his petition, he would have had 14 florins, had the tenant not fled with the money. The document predates 1447 with certainty, since the chapel was then officiated by another chaplain, see Appendix 1, doc. B.III.

90 See Appendix 1, doc. A.VII. ASS, Spedale 518, fols. 122v, also 375r: 'E die dare a di XI di giungnio 1434 lire settantacinque soldi diciotto facemo per lei a ser Iachomo d'Antonio prete so per lo suo salaro de l'ufiziare la sua chapella di duomo per quatordecim mesi e sette di che ufiziata l'aveva e restava a esare paghatto e lasò per lo suo testamento che chosi si dovesse pagare sichondo chiarisse Ghuido di Nicholò Finette. Et chosi chiari questo di detto a ragione di fiorini sedici l'ano di lire 4 per fiorino roghatto di detto testamento ser Lucha di Nanni notaio inanzi che abi datti a lui a fo 134 — lire LXXV soldi XVIII'; 'E die avere a di detto [30th April 1433] lire vinticinque soldi dieci e qua denari sono per la valuta di più masarizie e d'uno staia d'oglio vendemo a ser Iachomo chapelano a la sua chapella di duomo chome apare a libro de le memorie a fo. 4 e sono posti debi dare in questo a fo. 134 — lire XXV soldi X denari -'.

91 ASS, Spedale 518, fols. 122v, 134r, 375r.

place was given to a statue of Saint Christopher in the centre. Eustachia was the first to be buried and commemorated in the family-tomb. All acts were drawn up with her father, Antonio Bichi, as her procurator.⁹² Ludovica, with her personal wealth and influence on the one side and the lack of any close family-relations on the other, possessed an even more independent position and achieved a still greater personal imprint on her chapel. Ludovica surrounded herself with influential fideicommissaries and procurators, who, though they may have been required by law to legalise the woman's actions, were in no sense restrictive, but rather instrumental in helping her realise her aims. Ludovica adhered to the traditional scheme of commissioning art to commemorate a male relative, designing a chapel which housed his grave and represented his arms. She chose a dedication to the Virgin of the miracle of the snow, which reflected her late husband's personal situation and which referred to Turino's lifetime occupation as the cathedral's operaio. And although she therefore paid due attention to the requirements of an appropriate and devout memorial for her late husband, none of this prevented her from presenting herself at his side. She manoeuvred the chapel into a vehicle for the couple's collective piety by giving prominence to Saint Francis, protector of Turino's confraternity and founder of the order to which Ludovica's heart belonged. She chose a dedication to the Virgin of the miracle of the snow, a miracle particularly dear to the Franciscans, as we shall see. The way in which Sassetta gave visual expression to such personal interests will be studied in chapter VIII.

⁹² F. Sricchia Santoro, 'Francesco di Giorgio, Signorelli a Siena e la cappella Bichi', in: BELLOSI 1993, pp. 420-423; A. Bagnoli in IBIDEM, pp. 440-443 cat. nr. 95; F. Sricchia Santoro in IBIDEM, pp.

444-447 cat. nr. 96; KIRCHEN 1985, vol. I.I, pp. 8, 71-78, 176-178; SEIDEL 1984; IDEM 1979, esp. pp. 21-27.

3 *Master of Tressa (attr.), Opera Madonna, circa 1215,
tempera and gold on panel, 97 x 67 cm,
Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Siena.*

4 *Guido da Siena (attr.), Madonna del Voto, circa 1261,
tempera and gold on panel, 112 x 82 cm,
Chigi Chapel or Cappella del Voto, cathedral, Siena.*

There has been some confusion as to the way in which Sassetta's contract refers to Turino and Ludovica's altar. In this chapter we shall investigate all the descriptions of the altar in order to establish with certainty which altar was intended. We shall study the repercussions of the altar's location and of its previous history on Ludovica's project. We shall find that an image of great civic importance, the Opera Madonna, preceded the Madonna della Neve on its altar and left its trace on Sassetta's image.

The descriptions of the altar prior to its completion in the Turino-Ludovica documentation presented here all refer to the altar as being near the Porta del Perdono. From document A.II it appears that it was close to Francesco Tolomei's chapel which in turn was next to the chapel of the Crucifix, both of which locations are known (fig. 2 nrs. 13, 14). The 1430 contract has been really confusing in this matter, since it is the only time that the titulus of the very same altar near the Porta del Perdono is recorded as San Bonifazio: 'altare cappelle Sancti Bonifatii, que cappella est prope portam ecclesie maioris prefate, que vocatur et dicitur la porta del Perdono'.⁹³ Now, there was also an altar of San Bonifazio in the cathedral in the third bay at the right-hand side of the nave (fig. 2 nr. 18), which obviously could not have been intended. Both altars were moreover referred to as Santa Maria delle Grazie. It led to confusion of the patrons of both altars in the literature, especially when Pope Hennessy supposed that an endowment of the chapel of San Bonifazio by Antonio di Bartolommeo Benassai of 1475 was related to the altar next to the Porta del Perdono, whereas in fact the chapel in the south aisle of the nave was the beneficiary.⁹⁴ However, it is worthwhile to expose the roots of the confusion, because it will enable us to understand the earlier history of Ludovica and Turino's altar.

Several Bonifaces were venerated in the Sienese cathedral. In the *Kalendarium* of the cathedral composed around 1140 appear no less than three Popes Boniface.⁹⁵ In the calendar which accompanies the *Ordo Officiorum* of the Sienese cathedral of 1215, two feasts, of *Bonifatii martiris* and *Bonifatii episcopi et confessoris* are celebrated on 5th June and 4th September respectively.⁹⁶ The name day of Saint Boniface 1, 4th September, was also the cele-

III

Predecessor

93 In Appendix 1, doc. A.II, it is once referred to as the altar of Sant'Ivo, for reasons that are unclear, other than that it may have been another *voce* of the altar. See note 42.

94 POPE HENNESSY 1939, p. 31. For Benassai's actual patronage see f.e. AAS, Sante Visite 18, fol. 18r, for the year 1489: 'cappellam Sancte Marie Gratiarum vocabulo Sancti Bonifatii. Cappellanos Buonsignorem Salimbenis de Benassais, instituit Antonius Benassai'. CARLI 1979, p. 115, has already refuted the argument. Recently B. John, 'Die Geschichte des Sienese Hauptaltarbildes

nach 1260 und seiner Rekonstruktion', in: EXH. CAT. ALTENBURG 2001, p. 114, wrongly supposes that Ludovica initially asked for the chapel of San Bonifazio in the nave and got the Porta del Perdono altar instead.

95 25th May (Boniface IV), 4th September (Boniface I) and 25th October (Boniface I [?]); ARGENZIANO 2000, pp. 3-26 (15, 18, 19); LISINI & IACOMETTI 1931, tomo XV, parte VI (pp. 13, 25, 31).

96 ARGENZIANO 2000, pp. 119-146 (129, 136); VAN DER PLOEG 1993, pp. 153, 156 (148-149 on the veneration for Saint Boniface

bration of the glorious memory of the Siennese victory over the Florentines at Monteperti in 1260, as recorded in a later addition to the *Ordo*.

Two paintings were associated with this event. Firstly, the *Madonna* now in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo (henceforth the Opera Madonna) ascribed to the Maestro della Madonna di Tressa and datable to around 1230 (fig. 3). Tradition has it that Buonaguida Lucari dedicated the city to the Virgin before this image and that he begged the Virgin for her assistance the day before the battle. It is probable that this image originally adorned the high altar of the cathedral. It is now sawn down along its sides, but it was in all likelihood an antependium that eventually migrated to the top of the altar.⁹⁷ The other image associated with the victory of Monteperti is the gabled dossal associated with Guido da Siena, of which a fragment remains (fig. 4). This votive altarpiece had been made to render Mary grace once the battle had been won, and we shall refer to it as the *Madonna del Voto*.⁹⁸ This *Madonna del Voto* was put over an altar in the third bay of the southern aisle, known as the chapel of Santa Maria delle Grazie, much enlarged in the middle of the fifteenth century.⁹⁹ The Commune had provided in its new Statutes of 1262 to have this special chapel in the cathedral dedicated to the victorious Virgin of Monteperti, as discovered by Kempers.¹⁰⁰ This discovery invalidates the

the martyr in Siena); see also MARCHETTI 1998, pp. 75, 78; IDEM 1991, pp. 70, 73.

97 For the antependium-altarpiece hypothesis, see esp. VAN OS 1988, p. 12; HAGER 1962, pp. 59, 92, 103–108, 115, 124, 128, 134, 152–153. KEMPERS 1994, esp. pp. 102–107, and IDEM 1987, pp. 117–19, in a quest to loosen the axiom of this thesis, justly disentangles the idea of a succession of three *Madonna*-altarpieces on the main altar, presuming they had complementary functions. He supposes that the Opera Madonna was an icon that from the outset was intended to be hung next to the Porta del Perdono, not just following the installation of Duccio's *Maestà*. He suggests the icon was occasionally taken down for processions and put on an altar for special worship. This idea is less likely, since Kempers extrapolates the *Madonna*'s location from late sources, Ventura's chronicle and the 1435 and 1439 inventories, which are not unambiguous in this respect. Nor had the Opera Madonna the usual dimensions of an icon which was to be carried regularly in processions, but more of an altar-*accoutrement*, to be likened to f.e. the *Salvator* antependium by the same master, intended for the titular altar of the Badia Berardenga dedicated to the *Salvator* and to Saint Alessandro, see ARGENZIANO 2000, pp. 147–170. The specific iconography of such antependia-type panels makes it hard not to see them tied to a specific altar-dedication. Moreover, the Opera Madonna antependium was unusually large for its type (217 cm (see note 133) and compare HAGER 1962, pp. 91, 103) again suggesting a high altar provenance. On the restoration of the Opera Madonna see; P. Torriti in EXH. CAT. SIENA 1979, pp. 16–17. VENTURA 1442–43, fol. 5v, also mentions figures (stories?) to the sides of the Virgin (see note 110 below). ARGENZIANO 2000, pp. 103–105, carefully probes the possibility of a high altar provenance, sustained more forcefully

by F. Bisogni, 'L'iconografia di sant'Ansano', in ARGENZIANO & BISOGNI 1990, pp. 102–103.

98 The confusion between the images is enormous. Both the Opera Madonna and the *Madonna del Voto* were designated in the fourteenth and fifteenth century as '*Madonna delle Grazie*'. Around the middle of the fifteenth century the Opera Madonna was moved to another church (see p. 38 below). The *Madonna del Voto* remained in the cathedral and acquired the title '*Madonna degli Occhi Grossi*', because of the large number of silver ex-voto plaques that kept growing around the image. From the nineteenth century onwards, when the Opera Madonna entered the Museo dell'Opera, the Opera Madonna even more confusingly similarly received that epithet because of her bulging eyes. In the nineteenth century the *Madonna del Voto* in the cathedral received a third name: '*Madonna del Voto*', as retained in this study (because the image was incorporated in the Cappella del Voto in the cathedral). Twentieth-century authors have coined self-made names for clarity's sake. The denomination '*Opera Madonna*' here is taken from KAWSKY – so that both images in this study are differentiated more or less by their toponymes as at present. See KAWSKY 1995, pp. 139–45; GARRISON 1960–62 I.

99 KEMPERS 1994, pp. 109–110, suggests a second possibility: that the Opera Madonna was put in the newly constructed Cappella delle Grazie (see following note). By the fifteenth century the *Madonna del Voto* was in any case in the aisle chapel and at the beginning of that century the Opera Madonna was next to the Porta del Perdono, a situation which seems to weaken the suggestion.

100 KEMPERS 1987, pp. 119, 372 note 43; see also MIDDELDORF-KOSEGARTEN 1984, p. 27; ZDEKAUER 1897, p. 29, dist. I, cap. XIII. Only the 1423 inventory associates the *Madonna del Voto* with the

persistent hypothesis that the Madonna del Voto, datable to circa 1280, would have been intended for the high altar, in substitution of the Opera Madonna.¹⁰¹ Only when Duccio's *Maestà* was installed on the high altar in 1311 was the venerable image of the Opera Madonna removed.¹⁰²

Leaving aside the question of the location of the early Madonnas in Siena Cathedral, of direct relevance to our story is the fact that in Sassetta's day, they were associated with the Virgin's protection of the Sieneese at Monteperti. The Opera Madonna had found shelter on an altar in between the Porta del Perdono and the wall of the bell tower. Such a location, next to the entrance of a church, was often given to images which had built up a tradition of great veneration.¹⁰³ This move gave the Porta del Perdono altar its dedication to the Madonna delle Grazie. In the fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century inventories, it was known as the altar of 'Sancta Maria da la porta' or as the altar of 'Santa Maria delle Grazie'.¹⁰⁴ The two Madonnas were closely associated with the battle of Monteperti, one as protagonist, the other as *ex-voto per grazia ricevuta*, and by the beginning of the fifteenth century the images were, confusingly, both known as the Madonna delle Grazie.¹⁰⁵ In 1442-1443, Niccolò di Francesco di Giovanni Ventura in his chronicle of the Monteperti battle, attempted to straighten out the matter.¹⁰⁶ It therefore comes as no surprise that both these chapels of the Madonna delle Grazie

old high altarpiece of the cathedral, but this inventory dates from the time when the two Madonnas had got mixed up (see KAWSKY 1995, pp. 144-145, esp. note 82; KEMPERS 1994, pp. 113-116): 'La cappella di Sancto Bonifatio, con una tavola a figura di Nostra Donna, col suo figliuolo in collo, antica, che volgarmente si dice e chiama, la Madonna degli Occhi Grossi, la quale fu la tavola antica e principale ne la detta chiesa, co la predella con la storia di Sancto Bonifatio'; ASS, Opera Metropolitana 29, fol. 19r. For the Madonna del Voto, see also VAN OS 1988, pp. 16-20.

¹⁰¹ As f.e. in NORMAN 1999, pp. 29-33; KAWSKY 1995, pp. 139-45; VAN OS 1988, pp. 18-20; GARRISON 1960-62 I, and most recently, entangling the evidence for the two Madonnas even more, EXH. CAT. ALTENBURG 2001, esp. pp. 111-115 (B. John). An extensively documented article by Monika Butzek, refuting the above argument that the Madonna del Voto was conceived for the high altar, is anticipated in *Prospettiva*.

¹⁰² BELTING 1990, p. 437, adds yet another step to the sequence of images that passed on from one to the next an association with the Monteperti-vow, by claiming that the Opera Madonna was preceded by a three-dimensional sculpture of the Virgin on the main altar, which was the actual recipient of the vow.

¹⁰³ Compare the famous example of the chapel built around the venerated fresco of the Annunciation in Santissima Annunziata in Florence.

¹⁰⁴ Inventory of the cathedral of 15th March 1389: AOMS, 864 (num. Mosc. 1489), fol. 12r (mentioning only 'Una tovaglia e uno davanale stracciati e uno chandelieri'); inventory of the cathedral dated 14th December 1420: AOMS, 867 (num. Mosc. 1492), fol. 14v (insert 1, fol. XIIIIV), and ASS, Opera Metropolitana 28, fol. XIVV:

'Uno altare di Santa Maria de le Grazie chon tavola, feri, tenda, grado, chandelieri'. In the latter inventory the chapel in the third bay of the south aisle is described: 'Uno altare e tavola di Santo Bonifazio feri e tende e chandelieri e grado e banchi da lato' AOMS, 867 (num. Mosc. 1489), fol. 15r (insert 1, fol. XVR). See also Appendix 1, docs. A, II, III, V and VI.

¹⁰⁵ See previous note. In the first preserved inventory of 1389, the altar in the side-aisle of the nave is called 'L'altare de le Gratie'; AOMS, 864 (num. Mosc. 1489), fol. 12r, though it is later sometimes solely referred to as the altar of San Bonifazio as in the 1420, 1423, 1429, 1435, 1439, 1446 inventories; by both titles as in the 1449, 1450, 1458 inventories, and only with its dedication to the Virgin from 1467 onwards; GARRISON 1960-62 I, pp. 5-6.

¹⁰⁶ VENTURA 1442-43, fols. 5r-v; KAWSKY 1995, pp. 144-145; KEMPERS 1994, pp. 113-116; GARRISON 1960-62 I, pp. 10-11; IDEM 1960-62 II, pp. 41-44. Whereas Ventura did succeed in distinguishing between the function of the two images in the story, he got mixed up with the altars. Ventura pertains that the Madonna del Voto was moved from the high altar to the altar of San Bonifazio near the Campanile, whereas the Opera Madonna would have been the first high altarpiece, in his time hung against the Campanile wall, without an altar of its own. The subsequent shift of the Opera Madonna, due to the arrival of Sassetta's altarpiece, was probably the reason for Ventura's confusion about the location of the two Madonnas in his day, actually giving the two subsequent positions of the Opera Madonna only. The manuscript is richly illustrated with informative drawings, for reproductions of which see S. Raveggi, 'La vittoria di Monteperti', in BARZANTI, CATONI & DE GREGORIO 1995, pp. 79-94.

were also both referred to as chapels of San Bonifazio, whose feast was celebrated on the same day as the festive commemoration of the intervention of the Virgin in the battle of Monteperti.¹⁰⁷ It was indeed common practice that altars would have different denominations, *voci*, each of which could then be given separately to different patrons.¹⁰⁸

So, when Ser Leonardo suggested to Turino, on his deathbed, that he should adopt the altar of Santa Maria delle Grazie next to the Porta del Perdono, in front of which Turino would be buried, he was suggesting an altar which was already adorned by a worshipped image loaded with civic associations. In the 1423 inventory, made up a few months after Turino's death, the altar and its early thirteenth-century image of the Virgin is described in some detail, and it seems that it had been neglected, lacking a curtain.¹⁰⁹ When Sassetta's altarpiece was installed at the beginning of 1433, the older image was removed, but found shelter in the immediate proximity of its previous altar, where Ventura saw it, attached against the Campanile wall, without an altar of its own.¹¹⁰ Following the description of the newly decorated altar of Santa Maria della Neve, the inventory of 1435 continues 'e rincontra al detto altare si è la tavola anticha di Nostra Donna che stava prima al detto altare' (Appendix I, doc. B.1) (fig. 3). In the inventory of 1439 a later hand scribbled down in the margin of the Opera Madonna entry that it had been removed to the church of Sant'Ansano in Castelveccchio (Appendix I, doc. B.11). In the next inventory, of 1446, the Opera Madonna has altogether disappeared from the cathedral and the image figures in the inventory of the recently constructed church of Sant'Ansano in Castelveccchio, where it was put over the high altar: 'Una tavola antica con la predella con figura di Nostra Donna di mezzo rilievo e più figure di più santi.'¹¹¹ By this time a salient 'transference of veneration' had occurred, in which the religious and civic importance of the two images seems to have coalesced into the later Madonna del Voto, as is observed by Kawsky.¹¹² Yet, in the sentence inscribed around Mary's halo on Sassetta's Madonna delle Neve, we may well find a reminder of the wonder-working Opera Madonna which had for some time preceded it on the altar. 'SI . CONFIDIS . IN . ME . SENA . ERIS . GRATIA . PLENA . ('If you trust me, Siena, you will be full of grace') (plate II), as the Virgin had demonstrated so memorably at Monteperti.

107 A point made by KEMPERS 1994, p. 115. The altar next to the Porta del Perdono was, after its rededication to the Virgin of the Snow, usually only referred to by that title, with some exceptions, as f.e. 'Bonifatius ad altare Nive Virginis' (12th May 1447), AAS, Sante Visite 15, fol. 5v.

108 In the sixteenth century the altar of San Bonifazio of the Madonna del Voto counted no less than 8 *cappelle* or *tituli* with different patronal rights and related chaplains; AAS, Sante Visite 24, fols. 5v-6r; AAS, Sante Visite 25, fol. 6r (both 11th May 1584).

109 ASS, Opera Metropolitana 29, fol. 18v: 'L'altare di Sancta Maria de le Gratie a lato a la porta del Perdono con una tavola antica a la figura di Nostra Donna con predelle da piei e ferro di tende senza tenda.'; the situation (as well as the description) remained

unaltered in June 1429; AOMS, 867 (num. Mosc. 1492), fol. 70r (insert 2, fol. 18r).

110 VENTURA 1442-43, fol. 5v: 'la Madonna che stava all'altare maggiore di Duomo la dove fu fatta tale donagione, era una tavola pur piccola e molto anticha con figura di Nostra Donna di mezo taglio, cioè di mezo rilievo e così le figure di torno, la quale sta attachata al chanpanile drento in duomo allato alla porta del Perdono senza altare'; see also GARRISON 1960-62 II, p. 43.

111 AOMS, 867 (num. Mosc. 1492), fol. 290r (insert 6, fol. XLIIIIr); published by GARRISON 1960-62 I, p. 6. For the Opera Madonna in the church of Sant'Ansano in Castelveccchio, see note 133 below and KIRCHEN 1985, vol. 1.1, pp. 330, 334, 336.

112 KAWSKY 1995, pp. 139-170, esp. 144.

The inventory of 1423 gives a good impression of the crowdedness of the chapels in the cathedral. Besides the altars with their equipment, their immediate surroundings were enlivened by other pictures and sculptures, while all the chapels in the transept also had choir stalls or at least two benches.¹¹³ The fifteenth-century altars were, of course, much smaller than the present baroque ones. Still, the space available for the altar of Santa Maria della Neve was so exceptionally restricted that it deserves our special attention. The peculiarities of its narrow, packed accommodation and its architectonic surroundings will in the end explain some puzzling features of the extraordinary construction, format, optical devices and innovative appearance of Sassetta's altarpiece and its frame. We shall also have to adjust the current opinion as to the exact location of the altar with regard to the Porta del Perdono.

IV

Setting

The inventorisors of the cathedral, starting at the east end, list the chapel of Santa Maria della Neve between the chapels of the Crucifix and Visitation on the one hand, and the altar of San Giacomo Interciso on the other (fig. 2 nrs. 13–16). The descriptions of the altar in the Turino-Ludovica documents, as well as in the inventories, place the altar in relation to the Porta del Perdono, to which the altar is either *presso*, *a lato*, *dinanzi*, *penes*, *iuxta*, *prope* or *coram* (see Appendix I, docs. A.II, A.III, A.V–A.VII, B.I, B.III, B.IV, B.XII, C.I). Two other records, one from the archival papers that belonged to the chapel, the other from the Opera administration, and one following and the other pertaining to the removal of the altar, mention somewhat more extensively that the altar was situated to the right of the Porta del Perdono, presumably for those facing the wall from the inside (Appendix I, docs. B.XVI, C.II). The written evidence indicates that the altar of Santa Maria della Neve rested against the entrance wall. We shall see shortly that circumstantial evidence better corroborates this conclusion, in spite of the fact that previous literature mistakenly located the altar against the eastern Campanile wall, still in the same corner.¹¹⁴

This error has been prompted for the most part by the chronicle of Ventura, prone to the confusion surrounding the two Boniface-altars.

113 On the choir stalls for the chapels of the patron saints, made by Domenico di Niccolò in the first decade of the fifteenth century, see BUTZEK 2001, p. 53.

114 F.c. KEMPERS 1994, p. 117 fig. 4.17; G. Aronow, in VAN OS 1990, p. 226. The statue of Pope Paul V by Fulvio Signorini, installed in 1609 and removed to enable the construction of the Cappella del Voto, did not supplant the Madonna della Neve, as suggested by Butzek who places its niche against the eastern Campanile wall (BUTZEK 1996, pp. 127–130 doc. nrs. 103, 105–106; BUTZEK 1980, pp. 28 (esp.), 29, 34, 38, 58–59 doc. nrs. XXII–XXIII).

In fact, a niche to the left of the Porta del Perdono, for the spectator confronting the entrance from the inside, is discernable on Giovannelli's designs (figs. 9a–b). This must have been the decorative niche of Flaminio del Turco that housed the statue, as is also suggested by the description in LANDI 1655, p. 51 'Dentro alla porta ... immediatamente dalla parte di sopra'. The statue has been re-baptised as Pope Julius III and is now to be found in the Palazzo Chigi Saracini. The removal of the altar of Santa Maria della Neve in 1591 (Appendix I, doc. C.I) therefore seems to have been only indirectly associated with the project for the papal statues.

Ventura draws attention to the Opera Madonna, which in his time hung against the Campanile wall without an altar of its own. Secondly, he discusses the Madonna del Voto in the chapel of San Bonifazio, which he confusingly situates near the Campanile. This Campanile-altar must actually have been the altar just abandoned by the Opera Madonna and just taken by Sassetta's Madonna della Neve 'all'altare che oggi si chiama di Santo Bonifatio in duomo longo il campanile la quale si chiama la Madonna delle Gratie'. When coupling this notice to the snow-altar, which Ventura actually described, it can again be deduced that it was positioned against the entrance wall to the right of the Porta del Perdono for those facing the wall from the inside, 'longo', that is 'flanking', not 'against' the Campanile as it has been commonly interpreted.¹¹⁵

On top of the written evidence for the original location of the altar, the original architectonic setting and other practical issues can be taken in consideration. For a start, those attending mass at the altar of San Bonifazio, later of Santa Maria della Neve, would have blocked the entrance if the altar were positioned perpendicular to the run of those entering and leaving the cathedral. By the beginning of the fifteenth century, Florence Cathedral too possessed two altars in between its main entrances, against the counterfaçade.¹¹⁶ It is interesting to discover that altars would not have been necessarily placed in the middle of walls and in fact quite often shared their stretch of wall with an entrance. The Sienese situation would have resembled the situation at Santissima Annunziata in Florence where the faithful still attend mass or pray in front of the miraculous fresco of the *Annunciate*, in its temple-like chapel to the side of the entrance, desired by Piero de' Medici in 1447. Nor was such a disposition unfamiliar in Siena where, in the church of Sant'Agostino, an altar dedicated to the Annunciate adorned the counterfaçade from 1382 to the end of the sixteenth century and where, in the church of San Francesco, an altar of the Tolomei was similarly positioned against the counterfaçade.¹¹⁷ In the Sienese cathedral itself at least two other altars were positioned off-centre in their bays. The altar of the Crucifix co-divided its bay with a minor entrance to the cathedral up to 1407, while the Piccolomini altar of Saint John the Evangelist would later be tucked to the side of the entrance to the Libreria Piccolomini (fig. 5).¹¹⁸ An early fifteenth-century example can be found just outside Siena in Abbadia Isola (fig. 13). The logic of the placement next to the Porta del Perdono also transpires when inserting it into the symmetry of altar dispositions in the cathedral, which makes the chapel of Santa Maria della Neve a spatial pendant to the altar of Santa Caterina in the opposite transept-arm (fig. 2 nrs. 7, 15). Such a conspicuous location must have seemed particularly desirable to Ludovica, as it would have helped to keep the *memoria* alive.

By considering the other spatial peculiarities of this area of the cathedral, we may be able to confirm the position through a process of elimination and, at

115 VENTURA 1443, fol. 5v (see also GARRISON 1960-62, II p. 43). Ventura used the word 'lungo' in the sense of 'next to' as f.e. in Dante Alighieri, *La Divina Commedia. Inferno*, XXI 97-98: 'I' m'ac-costai con tutta la persona/lungo 'l mio duca'.

116 See pp. 68-69 below.

117 M. Butzek, in KIRCHEN 1985, vol. I.1, pp. 146-148; on the Tolomei-altar see p. 90 below.

118 On the Crucifix-altar, which probably shared its bay with the door as well as with the primitive altar of the Quattro Coronati, see notes 204, 214 below.

5 *Lorenzo di Mariano, known as il Marinaio, entry to the Libreria Piccolomini, with the altar of Saint John the Evangelist, 1497, cathedral, Siena.*

6 *Reconstructed ground-plan of the situation in the corner between the Campanile and the Porta del Perdono at Siena Cathedral in the fifteenth century.*

the same time, approximate the original *entourage* and dimensions of the chapel (fig. 6). This bay of the church, just over the brink of the outside world, bustled with activities. By the other side of the cathedral door ('a lato') stood a chest where candles were sold: 'uno banchetto a gofano covertato di tavole dove si vendan le candele allato alla porta del Perdono' (Appendix 1, doc. B.IV). In 1446 three new benches around the Campanile first make their appearance in the inventories (Appendix 1, doc. B.II), offering a place to meet friends and to contemplate the beauty of the cathedral. From at least 1446, above the entrance of the Campanile, were affixed two paintings on fabric, one representing a 'giudicio' and the other the Annunciation to the Shepherds and the Nativity (Appendix 1, doc. B.III).¹¹⁹ The Madonna della Neve stood in a draughty place, where beggars played upon the merciful chord of the Sienese. In fact, in 1575 Monsignor Bossio, on his apostolic visit to the cathedral, was appalled by the awkward position of the altar. Celebration of mass had been hampered because alms were distributed very near the Porta del Perdono, while the winds had free play there (Appendix 1, doc. B.XII).¹²⁰ Somewhat later Bossio remarks that there is a pillar which, to him, was rather too near to the altar: 'Prope altare Sanctae Mariae Nivis adest pilus versus portam nimis altari propinquus.'¹²¹

This pillar was a stumbling block in the setting of the altar of Santa Maria della Neve and provides further evidence for its original location. The pillar was part of the megalomaniac project for the *Duomo Nuovo*, begun in 1339 and subsequently silenced by the Black Death in 1348. The Campanile pillar was identical to the pillars that remain on Piazza Jacopo della Quercia, next to the cathedral. The pillar was amazingly constructed in the thickness of the bell tower wall and part of it can still be seen from inside the Campanile. In the fifteenth century its other side protruded into the cathedral space and thus projected from the Campanile wall (figs. 6, 8, 9a, 9b).¹²² This design ended with the construction of the Chigi Chapel or Cappella del Voto, realised in 1658-68 (fig. 7). This chapel was to be a new house, by an irony of fate, for the Madonna del Voto, which had remained without a befitting chapel after the destruction in 1658 of the archiepiscopal palace, into which this cathedral chapel had protruded (fig. 1). The pillar was only then made flush against the flat wall. In the elaborate preparatory drawings which accompanied the construction of the Chigi Chapel, the old situation was documented (figs. 8, 9a, 9b).¹²³ Since the Chigi Chapel would absorb the Porta del Perdono, the latter to be transformed, as it were, into the entrance to the chapel, the architects looked for a solution to make another access to the cathedral from its south

119 The latter canvas may have been similar to a fourteenth-century Florentine embroidery of the same subject, reproduced in VAN OS 1990, p. 114 fig. 110; BEATSON, MÜLLER & STEINHOFF 1986, p. 617, fig. 5.

120 DE NICOLA 1913, p. 283 note 10; POPE HENNESSY 1939, p. 52 note 64, and others after them transcribe erroneously 'potentes'.

121 *versus* (= *adversus* = in front of) seems somewhat awkwardly phrased.

122 KIRCHEN 1999 II, fig. 540; TRAGBAR 1995, p. 164, figs. 4-5; PIETRAMELLARA 1980, fig. 32. I thank Monika Butzek and Wolfgang Loseries for letting me consult the as yet unpublished planimetric ground-plans of Siena Cathedral (KIRCHEN 1999 I nr. 4). Their great precision allowed me to make the present reconstruction drawing.

123 See also BUTZEK 1996, p. 247 fig. 14 (ground-plan by Benedetto Giovannelli Orlandi, 1659).

7 *Benedetto Giovannelli Orlandi, entry to the Chigi Chapel,
1658-1668, cathedral, Siena.*

8 *Ground-plan of the Campanile of Siena Cathedral with the Porta del Perdono, 1659,
ink and watercolour on paper, 27.1 x 37.6 cm, BAV, mss. Chigiani, P.VII.11, fol. 54.*

9a-b Benedetto Giovannelli Orlandi, ground-plan of the surroundings of the Campanile of Siena Cathedral, existing situation and several proposals for the restructuring, with a movable piece of paper in opened and closed state, 1660, ink and watercolour on paper, 30.3 x 42.7 cm, BAV, mss. Chigiani, P.VII.11, fol. 65.

flank. It proved impossible to open up the Campanile wall for this purpose, since the pillar had already greatly weakened its structure. It appears that the entire height of the pillar could be seen. A slot almost three meters wide had thus been excavated through the Campanile wall.¹²⁴ Bossio's discontent concerned the lack of *decoro* of the pillar that probably abutted the wooden altar-step or predella and may have hindered the priest in his acts and those attending mass in their unencumbered view of the altar.

The above-mentioned benches were constructed to the right of the pillar in 1446 (Appendix 1, doc. B.III) and were subsequently rebuilt in marble in 1578-79.¹²⁵ At that date the altar still existed and the pillar still protruded from the wall. The sixteenth-century benches, which are the ones still to be found in the cathedral, in fact end where the pillar would have disturbed the flat wall (fig. 6). The location of these benches at the same time excludes the possibility that the altar of the Madonna della Neve was situated against this stretch of the Campanile wall.

Before the baroque transformations, the wall of the Porta del Perdono was situated more towards the inside of the cathedral than the present entrance of the Cappella del Voto. Only when the construction of the Chigi Chapel had almost been completed in 1661, was the wall of the Porta del Perdono and the adjoining vault pulled down.¹²⁶ So this bay of the transept was then enlarged by the thickness of the wall of the Porta del Perdono. This change is reflected in the pavement. The stretch of floor in front of the benches or *murelli* had been filled in with the pavement panel of *The Seven Ages of Man* in 1475-77.¹²⁷ Until the construction of the Chigi Chapel, the pavement in front of the altar of Santa Maria della Neve remained undecorated. Several tombstones could however be found there, amongst them undoubtedly that of Turino di Matteo.¹²⁸ In 1661 the architect Benedetto Giovannelli Orlandi wrote to

124 BUTZEK 1996, p. 100 nr. 64, 242-243, (letter dated 19th September 1659, from architect Gherardo Silvani of Siena to Prince Mattias de' Medici): 'Prima perché nella grossezza del muro, del predetto campanile, del lato della porta del fianco, si trova formata più fa una colonna eguale di altezza a quella, che si dicono del Duomo Vecchio, con un' strappo da alto a basso, di 4 braccia, e con indebolimento tanto considerabile del medesimo campanile, ch'havendo questo pelato in molte parti, fu necessità, anco in quei tempi, incatenarlo in più piani, e per ogni verso.'. In 1389 the Campanile was already in a precarious condition; MILANESI 1854, vol. 1, pp. 318-319 doc. nr. 103, vol. III, p. 280 doc. nr. 8.

125 AOMS, 492/3 (num. Mosc. 357), fol. 168r: on 14th May 1578 the Opera provides stonemason Piero di Benedetto da Prato with the marble for, amongst other projects, the benches around the bell tower: 'Spese dell'Opera lire quattrocento trenta soldi - paghati a maestro Piero di Benedetto da Prato, scharpellino, sonno per la valuta di marmi bianchi ... cavati a Gallena ... cioè braccia 40 1/2 con le rivolte di pietre per fare i murelli intorno al campanile dentro la chiesa e dal altare del Crocifisso, e braccia 33 1/2 per i corpi di detti murelli ... e per braccia 100 di schaloni per detti murelli e per mettere alle predelle di 3 altari e in altri luoghi della chiesa ... braccia 44

di lastre quadrate ... per fare il ripieno dello spazio di dette predelle ... 8 pietre per mettere alle rivolte delli schalini de' murelli ... 3 candelierini per mettere all'altare della Madonna ... lire 430'; IBIDEM, fol. 170r: on 14th July 1579, Piero di Benedetto da Prato and his son Gabriello receive payment for their work on, amongst other things, the benches around the bell tower: 'Spese dell'Opera lire cinquecento quaranta sette soldi -, pagati a maestro Piero di Benedetto da Prato, et a maestro Gabriello di Piero detto, scharpellini, sonno per la lavorazione de' murelli intorno al campanile con li schalini sotto, nella chiesa, et la porta di marmo di detto campanile con li tre murelli overo sederi, senza li schaloni anno lavorato per murarsi uno dentro la porta del Perdono, uno sopra l'altare della Nieve, l'altro acanto l'altare di Santa Caterina, e tutti detti murelli senza li schalini per lire 360 soldi -, li schalini ci[o]è braccia 29 intorno e sotto la porta del campanile, lire 27 soldi 10 ... et la porta tutta per lire 114 soldi 10 ... lire 547'. Transcription by Monika Butzek.

126 BUTZEK 1996, pp. 34-35, 127-130 nrs. 103-107.

127 ARONOW 1985, pp. 198-206, 438 doc. nr. 101; at the same occasion the tombs and their substructures immediately in front of the Porta del Perdono were reinforced.

128 Before 1406 tombs are already documented in this area of the

10 Benedetto Giovannelli Orlandi, project for the pavement in front of the Chigi Chapel in Siena Cathedral, 1661 (?), ink and watercolour on paper, 14.9 x 34.8 cm, BAV, mss. Chigiani, P.VII.11, fol. 54.

Cardinal Flavio Chigi in Rome, asking that something be done about the pavement where once the Porta del Perdono had risen: 'Rimane lo spazzo avanti alla porta della cappella dove si è demulito il muro senza pietre, et avanti sono alcune sepulture alle quali seguono descritte l'età del huomo'.¹²⁹ The void strip of pavement was about two to three Sienese *braccia* wide (circa 1.15–1.75 m), which roughly corresponds to the thickness of other early stretches of the cathedral's external walls.¹³⁰ Giovannelli made the design for the new pavement panels to cover the barren strip, as well as the tomb area (fig. 10). By taking into account these alterations, it again becomes clear that in the fifteenth century the wall of the Campanile between the pillar and the entrance wall could not accommodate an altarpiece of 216 cm wide (fig. 6).

Other Giovannelli drawings with projects for the new chapel also record the old situation with fair precision. They give a good idea of the width of the

pavement; see previous note and ARONOW 1985, pp. 69–72, 412–413.
¹²⁹ BUTZEK 1996, pp. 35–36, 130–131 nr. 108 (19th March 1661), see also pp. 131–132 nrs. 109–110 (30th March and 5th April 1661): 'Vi va rifatto quanto tiene 'l muro della porta sopra a due in tre braccia il detto pavimento', and 'Dello spazzo no[n] ha bisogno di resargimento, altrove che le tre braccia accanto alla cappella per essersi allargato in quella parte 'l Duomo'. Turning the panel with the *Ages of Man* 180° around was considered because, whereas in the past a visitor to the cathedral would have seen it from the right view-

ing point, the future visitor to the Chigi Chapel would experience it upside down. The operation was at the time judged too hazardous to carry out. Giovannelli's pavement was redone in 1780, while in 1871 the panel with *The Seven Ages of Man* was substituted by a copy, which was then given the turn discussed two centuries before; ARONOW 1985, pp. 199–200.

¹³⁰ BUTZEK 1996, p. 132 nr. 110 (letter by Ansano Zondadari of Vico to Flavio Chigi, 5th April 1661); for the wall thickness, see KIRCHEN 1999 1, nr. 4.

11 'Porticiola picciola', walled entrance, outer wall of southern transept, early fourteenth century, cathedral, Siena.

door opening of the Porta del Perdono. On the basis of the measurements of these seventeenth-century drawings, the preceding situation can be estimated. On a total width of the entrance wall of around 7.80 m, the proportions of the Giovannelli drawing result in a width of the door opening of circa 3.20 m, whereas the flanking walls would each be circa 2.30 m wide. The doorway, which up to 1406 opened in the bay of the chapel of the Crucifix, its walled portal still visible from the outside, was called the 'porticiola picciola' (fig. 11).¹³¹ It measured circa 2.30 m in width. By comparison, the Porta del Perdono, the entrance most frequently used, would have been wider and would have resembled the lateral portals of the façade which are 3.20 m wide. In fact, its gothic portal covered the entire width of the outside wall.¹³²

The altar must have been really squeezed in between the stone frame of the Porta del Perdono and the Campanile wall, with little or no free space at all remaining at its sides (fig. 6). The predella of the Madonna della Neve had the same width as the main panel and did not project out to the sides, as was the usual custom. Evidently there was some kind of structure which narrowly enclosed the altarpiece. The Opera Madonna, which stood upon the same altar from 1311 until 1433, was in all likelihood 217 cm wide, that is before the panel was seriously trimmed at a later date (fig. 3).¹³³ The close match in

131 See note 204 below.

132 M. Butzek, 'La cappella Chigi nel duomo di Siena', in ANGELINI, BUTZEK & SANI 2000, p. 410. All sizes deduced from KIRCHEN 1999 I, nr. 4.

133 In the 1440s a church had been constructed around the tower where Sant'Ansano suffered his martyrdom. The Opera Madonna, not yet cut down, was transferred there and put on the main altar.

The fifteenth-century altar-block has been preserved and measures 217 cm in width. When the Opera Madonna was transferred to the chapel underneath the tower in the same church around 1610/1620, it once again was given an altar of the same width, apparently reflecting the Opera Madonna's original format (it now measures 97 x 67 cm) (I therefore wonder whether the baroque plasterwork frame, whose outer size corresponds to the width of the

width of the two successive altarpieces for the chapel next to the Porta del Perdono once again indicates that the altar was framed on its sides by architectural elements of the cathedral. The corner of the doorway and the Campanile wall formed a natural enclosing niche for the altar and its altarpiece. Two scenarios are possible: either the altar and its altarpiece were closed in by the Campanile wall and a protruding element of the portal, or else additional narrow walls or wooden panels enclosed them, forming an applied niche to the wall, sustaining a crowning feature above and possibly also offering the necessary space to pull aside the altarpiece-curtains. This is an important point, as the architecture which originally must have seamlessly enveloped Sassetta's Madonna della Neve can account for some unusual features of the altarpiece's wooden structure, for instance why its sides have been left undecorated (figs. 16, 17a, 17b). There was obviously no need to embellish the sides as they would have been completely hidden from view, encased in the surrounding architecture.

'CIERTA CHAPPELLA DI GIESSO INTAGLIATA'.

THE QUESTION OF CANOPIES AND FRESCOS

The chapel of Santa Maria della Neve was thus confined in space to the altar itself. We can learn more about its appearance from the inventories. The altar had the two compulsory candelabras. It also had a red curtain, substituted by a blue one between the 1450 and the 1458 inventories, and above the altar and its altarpiece was a canopy, mentioned in the fairly elaborate 1458 and 1473 inventories: 'et da capo cierta chapella di gesso intagliata' (Appendix 1, doc. B.V, B.VI). A 'chappella del gesso' already existed in the fourteenth century and it is possible that Sassetta conceived his altarpiece to fit the pre-existing structure, which would correspond to the size of the Opera Madonna.¹³⁴ However, given the extent to which other chapels were transformed in those years, it is highly likely that Sassetta redesigned or adapted the gesso canopy for his own altarpiece.¹³⁵ The new canopy and sustaining brackets or eventual narrow walls would have closely resembled the width of their predecessors, given the restrictions of space. Even though Sassetta's *chapella di gesso* would have exploited the width of the encased altar to the maximum, as did the Opera Madonna, the heights of the two successive altarpieces and therefore of

altar, is not an addition that post-dates the transference of the Madonna, which possibly entailed the trimming of the panel). In 1872 it was brought to the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo; KIRCHEN 1985, vol. 1.1, pp. 330, 334, 336. F. Bisogni, 'L'iconografia di sant'Ansano', in ARGENZIANO & BISOGNI 1990, pp. 102-103. The triple recurrence of the size (the two altars in the church of Sant'Ansano, and the almost identical width of the Opera Madonna's successor in the cathedral) suggests it corresponded to the original width of the panel, although one cannot be absolutely certain. An original width of 217 cm for the Madonna is corroborated by a comparison with the proportions of the *Majestas Domini* antependium dated 1215, now in the Siense Pinacoteca, which measures 98 x 198 cm. The Opera Madonna could have easily been

some 20 cm larger, as it has been trimmed at both top (reduced to 97 cm) and bottom and was originally intended for a high altar of importance.

134 LUSINI 1911, vol. 1, p. 321 note 76, citing AOMS, 354 (num. Mosc. 201), fol. 72r, payments of the Opera at the end of June 1374 to the iron-worker Ambrogio di Giovanni, amongst which 30 *soldi* 'per dodici libre di ferro lavorato avemo da lui che si missero nella chappella del gesso ch'è a lato a la porta del duomo'.

135 By the end of the fifteenth century elaborate *casse* with shutters were documented in Italy and these illustrate some similarities in function with the canopies under discussion. They were often executed by the same carpenter and painter who had made the altarpiece itself; GARDNER VON TEUFFEL 2001.

12 Pietro di Francesco Orioli (attr.), The second bestowal of the keys to the Virgin, *Gabella panel*,
 1483, tempera and gold on panel, 59.1 x 40 cm, ASS, inv. nr. 41.

the crowning canopy cannot have corresponded. The canopy will be seen to complement and at the same time explain the exceptional, straight top of Sassetta's altarpiece.

In an attempt to envisage such a 'chapella di gesso intagliata', quite a few comparables can be found of altarpieces being surrounded, protected and hidden from sight by a variety of structures. Benozzo Gozzoli, for example, painted a wooden, rectangular case hooding over his *finto politico* in Montefalco in 1452. Such canopies must have been widely in use to protect the altarpieces from dust, while at the same time providing a convenient way of hanging the curtains that played both a liturgical and a protective role.¹³⁶ The altarpieces in the Sienese cathedral were fitted with superstructures and curtains, and on the Gabella panel attributed to Pietro di Francesco Orioli of 1483, the situation can be gauged (fig. 12). The inventories mention many such *tabernacoli*, *sopracieli* or *cappelle* above the altarpieces and the lavish superstructure over the *Maestà*, clearly visible on the Gabella panel, is called 'sopracielo d'ornato' (1420) or 'voltarella' (1423, 1435).¹³⁷ For Simone Martini's altarpiece with the *Annunciation*, which crowned the altar of Sant'Ansano, payments are recorded in 1333 'per due pontelli che s'adoperaro per la tettoia sopra a l'altare di Santo Sano' and 'per le tavole de la chovertura del altare di Sancto Sano'.¹³⁸ In 1403, all four of the patron altars received new *voltarelle*, sometimes also called wooden *tabernacoli*.¹³⁹ These structures consisted of a hooding element as well as of two 'spallette' panels that may have flanked the altarpiece and sustained the canopy.¹⁴⁰ *Voltarella* is therefore a term that here probably indicates the more gothic, wooden superstructures.

The canopy over the altar of Santa Maria della Neve was made of tooled plasterwork. In the abbey of Santi Salvatore e Cirino at Abbadia Isola (Monte-riggioni) a gesso canopy for an altar in a similar position has been preserved, and this may give us an impression of the original shape of the Madonna della Neve chapel (fig. 13). Immediately to the right of the door upon entering the church is a stucco, round-arched niche, the back of which was frescoed by Taddeo di Bartolo in the first decade of the fifteenth century.¹⁴¹ It is a unified composition of an enthroned Virgin with Child surrounded by four saints, with Christ the Redeemer and two angels represented in the archivolt. The fresco functioned as an altarpiece, although its altar has now disappeared. The cusped arch of the niche rests on two brackets and is surmounted by a chimney-like triangular superstructure. The presence of similar canopies over

136 Altarpieces could be put behind curtains, shutters of cloth or wood or even in cupboards; see previous note and ISRAËLS 2001, p. 538; PAARDEKOOPER 1996, pp. 170-176; A. Nova, 'Hangings, Curtains, and Shutters of Sixteenth-Century Lombard Altarpieces', in BORSOOK & SUPERBI GIOFFREDI 1994, pp. 177-199.

137 1420: ASS, Opera Metropolitana 28, fol. xliiv; 1423: ASS, Opera Metropolitana 29, fol. 16r; 1435: ASS, Opera Metropolitana 30, fol. 17r. MERZENICH 2001, p. 107, notes 744-746, mentions early examples of *sopracieli*.

138 BUTZEK 2001, p. 36; M. Butzek & A. Cecchi, 'Appendice documentaria', in CECCHI 2001, p. 129 doc. nr. IV, 6-7; BACCI 1944,

pp. 170-171.

139 BUTZEK 2001, p. 53; M. Butzek & A. Cecchi, 'Appendice documentaria', in CECCHI 2001, p. 131 doc. nrs. XXII, XXIII (the 1420 and 1423 inventories (on the altar of Sant'Ansano f.e.: 'cho' bela tavola in uno tabernacholo di legname' and 'voltarella da capo di legname bene tarsiato' respectively)).

140 BUTZEK 2001, p. 59 note 86 (on the chapel of San Crescenzo). The term *spalliera* or *spallierium*, derived from the term for high-backed benches, is also used for the back panel of altarpiece *casse*; see GARDNER VON TEUFFEL 2001, pp. 116, 154 note 16.

141 SOLBERG 1991, pp. 317-320.

13 Plasterwork canopy, next to the entrance in the church of *Santi Salvatore e Cirino* at *Abbadia Isola* (Monteriggioni).

altarpieces in the Sienese cathedral, although in a different material, is again proven by the Gabella panel, where the keys of the city are offered for a second time to the Virgin in front of the Renaissance chapel of Santa Maria delle Grazie (fig. 12).¹⁴² An apparition of Mary peeps out from underneath such a canopy. The structure is fixed against the back wall of the chapel and has the same chimney-like superstructure as in Abbadia Isola. However, instead of an arch, this canopy has a straight cornice. This canopy is described in the 1467 inventory as 'tabernacolo di marmo in mezo a detta cappella, dove ista la tavola detta de la Nostra Donna, intagliato di marmo e lavorato con più cuori, bellissimo, messo a horo' and apparently succeeded an inlaid wooden one described in 1458: 'uno ornato di tavole dipento tarsiato dove sta drentro'.¹⁴³

We can get a fair idea of the meaning of the term 'chapella di marmo intagliata', similar to the phrasing 'chapella di gesso' used in 1458 for the then recently re-embellished chapel of San Crescenzo, by comparing it to the chapel of San Calisto, similarly described as 'con chapella di marmo intagliata con figure et fogliame bella con uno tondo di marmo dentrovi la Nostra Donna con angioli dal lato' in the 1467 inventories. The Renaissance marble frame of the San Calisto Chapel, with an arched niche crowned by a pedimental structure, has been preserved by virtue of its transferral to the Cappella dei Signori in the Palazzo Pubblico.¹⁴⁴ Antonio Casini's chapel of San Sebastiano of 1430-1437 was also 'con una chapella di marmo' which housed a marble lunette (fig. 40) and, underneath, a painted image of the mar-

142 A. Angelini in BELLOSI 1993, pp. 366-367 cat. nr. 75.

143 1458: ASS, Opera Metropolitana 33, fol. xxviii; 1467: AOMS, 867 (num. Mosc. 1492), fol. 401r (insert 9, fol. 15r), published by KAWS-

KY 1995, pp. 225, 226 doc. nrs. 38, 40; GARRISON 1960-62 1, p. 17.

144 AOMS 867 (num. Mosc. 1492), fol. 401v (insert 9, fol. 15v); G. Borghini, 'La decorazione', in BRANDI 1983, pp. 258 fig. 339, 269.

tyrdom of Saint Sebastian. This image was an older polyptych which was bereft of its gable in order that it would still fit into the chapel once it was refurbished for Casini, and probably in order to give it a rectilinear top to go underneath the lunette, in accordance with the novel Renaissance taste in the cathedral ushered in by the Madonna della Neve.¹⁴⁵

Capella di gesso must have been a generally understood term. Bishop Antonio Casini, in the testament discussed below, asks for a 'capella di gesso' dedicated to the Purification to be constructed in the great hall of the stronghold of the Sienese bishops in Crevole for an amount of 60 ducats (Appendix I, doc. E.40).¹⁴⁶ The 'cierta chapella di giesso intagliata' above Sassetta's Madonna della Neve, the only one of its sort mentioned in the inventories, might well have resembled the surviving canopy in Abbadia Isola, perhaps with an architrave or a rectilinear ending instead of an arch, as in the Madonna delle Grazie nave-chapel. One is inclined to think so because of the unusual carpentry of the altarpiece that went under the *chapella di giesso*. Not only have the sides of the box-frame been left bare but also the sides of the carpentry of the crowning three-arched, baldachin-like structure above the panel which has been set back into the larger box-frame, thus receding almost seven centimetres from the sides (figs. 16, 17a, 17b). These recesses are not only undecorated laterally, but they also lack any signs such as nail-holes, which might indicate that separate wooden parts had once been fixed to the altarpiece. This situation could be explained if narrowly fitting brackets of a gessoed canopy had once filled the spaces left by the recesses in the frame. As was demonstrated above, hardly any space was left at the sides of the altarpiece. Given the absence of any traces of affixion either on the back or on the sides of any supplementary structures like pinnacles and fials, one might presume that the plaster superstructure formed a projecting cornice directly above the altarpiece. This presumption is reinforced by the fact that the top of the altarpiece itself is unprotected (fig. 20). In order to avoid an accumulation of dust in between the various planks, a protective superstructure was indispensable. The shape of the upper part of the canopy may have comprised some sort of arch or lunette, given the similarity of the description 'chapella di giesso' to the Renaissancistic lunette-frames of the 'capelle di marmo'. Alternatively, one can imagine a *super coelum*, also frequently encountered over altarpieces with rectangular fields, such as Fra Angelico's Annunciations, or Andrea di Giusto's 1437 altarpiece in the Florentine Accademia, with a unified picture field, crowned by three arches against a flat back panel that is in turn sur-

145 AOMS 867 (num. Mosc. 1492), fol. 400v (insert 9, fol. 14v): 'La chapella di Sancto Bastiano. Uno altare con tavola dipenta di suo martirio con tenda rossa con Nostra Donna da chapo di marmo et III figure di marmo coruna chapella di marmo con più figure messe a oro con l'arme del reverendissimo chardinale di San Marciello con due candellieri di ferro incatenati per li mocholi con grado di marmo.' In 1446 the pinnacles of the chapel's altarpiece were transferred to the church of Sant'Ansano in Castelvechio; AOMS, 867 (num. Mosc. 1492), fol. 290r (insert 6, fol. XLIIIIr): 'Una tavola

dipenta, fu il colmo della tavola di Sancto Bastiano quando si fece la cappella per lo cardinale di Sancto Marcello.'; from later inventories of the church of Sant'Ansano it appears that in total three pinnacles had been removed; BACCI 1929, pp. 338-339. On the Renaissance practice of adapting gothic altarpieces: HOENIGER 1995, pp. 101-126.

146 The Crevole residence is now as good as destroyed; P. Cammarosano and V. Passeri, in: CASTELLI DEL SENESE 1985, pp. 341-342 nr. 37.6.

14 Sassetta, Saint Francis giving away his clothes and Saint Francis dreaming,
1437-1444, part of the Borgo Sansepolcro altarpiece, tempera and gold on panel,
87 x 52.4 cm, National Gallery, London, inv. nr. 4757.

mounted by a super coelum. Beds also had such superstructures, as represented by Sassetta himself in *The wish of the young Saint Francis to become a soldier* in the Borgo Sansepolcro altarpiece and in the first scene of the Madonna della Neve predella (fig. 14, plate IV).¹⁴⁷ Sassetta's Madonna della Neve may have had a plaster baldachin either in the form of the Abbadia Isola niche, perhaps in a rectangular version, or a *super coelum*-like structure, in his case not integral to the altarpiece-frame, but part of the canopy. The now lost immediate surroundings of the altarpiece should thus be read as supplementary parts of it.

The Salvator requested in the 1430 contract, but missing from the surviving altarpiece, will have found a place as a fresco on or underneath the canopy. It has previously been suggested that the Salvator was depicted on one of the pinnacles surmounting the altarpiece. In the following chapter it will be shown that the construction of the altarpiece absolutely precludes the presence of attached pinnacles. Taddeo di Bartolo painted a Salvator on the archivolt of the gessoed canopy above his fresco of the Virgin in Abbadia Isola. The integrality of the concept of an altarpiece and the frescos surrounding it in its niche can be elucidated by many surviving examples. The fresco of a trompe l'oeil niche in Monticiano, for instance, shows a *finto polittico* with a lunette showing the scene of the Annunciation above it.¹⁴⁸ The pinnacles of the frescoed altarpiece project somewhat in front of the *Annunciation* and the physical implication is that of a wooden altarpiece underneath a fresco. Another such niche can be seen in the afore-mentioned Gabella panel showing the interior of the Sienese cathedral. The second chapel represented there, which would have been the chapel of Sant'Antonio, shows a gothic triptych over the full breadth of the niche and, above it, a discernable monochrome fresco of a Coronation (fig. 12). The same situation is suggested by Sassetta's own predella scene of *Vision of Saint Thomas Aquinas* in his Arte della Lana altarpiece (fig. 15). The vision experienced by the saint is in fact the badly damaged representation of a lunette-shaped fresco over an altarpiece, showing the frescoed Christ, angels and four saints (probably the four Latin fathers of the Church) who have come to life. A design of an elaborate pentaptych without figures fills a semi-circular niche in the church of Sant'Andrea, Siena. Above the arch of the niche is a fragment with a half-length figure of Christ surrounded by angels in a frescoed pediment. On a stylistical basis one may presume that this figure went with the design of the pentaptych datable to around 1370.¹⁴⁹ At a later stage, around 1440, a lunette with the Blessing Christ amidst cherubim was painted inside the niche, partly overlapping the design of the altarpiece.¹⁵⁰ Whereas the function of the impeccable drawing of the bare carpentry is not entirely clear, although it may have been a working plan for an altarpiece in construction, the two subsequent frescos with Christ obviously had

147 MERZENICH 2001, p. 107; IDEM 1996, p. 139.

148 S. Padovani, in EXH. CAT. SIENA 1979, pp. 86-88 cat. nr. 31.

149 This traditional disposition is, for example, also documented by Ambrogio Lorenzetti in the little scene of *Saint Nicholas conse-*

crated bishop, in the Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.

150 KIRCHEN 1985, vol. 1.1, pp. 286-287 (E. Neri Lusanna), vol. 1.2, figs. 350-351.

15 Sassetta, *Vision of Saint Thomas Aquinas*, 1423–1425, tempera and gold on panel, 25 x 28.5 cm, Budapest, Szépművészeti múzeum, inv. nr. 25.

to supplement an altarpiece below. It is interesting that such a fresco could be placed either inside or on top of the niche. The altarpiece and its surrounding chapel formed part of an integral artistic concept. In this spirit too, Freuler made several reconstructions of an altarpiece and the fresco decoration of its original niche, such as the Malavolti Chapel in the church of San Domenico. Bartolo di Fredi's altarpiece, showing the Visitation and the Trinity, was surrounded by eight angels frescoed by Paolo di Giovanni Feci, their gaze fixed in adoration upon the Trinity represented in the upper lunette of Bartolo's altarpiece. In these cases a close relationship existed between the frescoed chapel decoration and the altarpiece.¹⁵¹

For the reconstruction of the fresco decoration of the chapel of Santa Maria della Neve in Siena Cathedral, there is only circumstantial evidence. The vaults above the Porta del Perdono had been painted in 1415 by Gualtiero di Giovanni and Vittorio di Domenico. As to the chapel of Santa Maria della Neve, this task fell to Sassetta in 1430–32. As we saw in the second *lodo* dated 30th December 1432, the price set on Sassetta's work then covered 'la dipictura de la cappela e de le pareti'.¹⁵² This fact has been given too little attention in the literature. Pope Hennessy supposed, rather reformedly, that Sassetta had whitewashed the walls.¹⁵³ Van Os, however, realised that he had painted frescos around the altarpiece.¹⁵⁴ Up until that point, Sassetta was only known as a fresco painter through the badly damaged angel choirs above the *Coronation of the Virgin* on the Porta Romana. The technique he employed

151 FREULER 1994, pp. 341–365, fig. 313.

152 See p. 29 above.

153 POPE HENNESSY 1939, p. 26.

154 VAN OS 1990, p. 167.

there, especially the use of full-scale cartoons, proves him to be a fresco painter of note.¹⁵⁵ This second example of Sassetta's fresco work was lost during the construction of the Chigi Chapel. The testimony to the existence of Sassetta's frescos in the cathedral is an important addition to our knowledge of Sassetta's versatility as a painter in a variety of media, ranging from small-scale designs for embroidery work to large-scale frescos.

We do not know whether the Neve-chapel frescos covered the entire wall behind the altar or whether they were more modest in scale. The 180 florins that donna Ludovica finally had to pay for 'la dipictura de la cappela e de le parieti' must have also covered quite some fresco work. As to subject matter, the only indication is the 1430 commission, where Ludovica asks for the Salvator above the Virgin. It seems extremely likely that the Salvator was realised, not on panel, but on the wall, underneath or on top of its gesso canopy.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁵ ISRAËLS 1998.

¹⁵⁶ VAN OS 1990, p. 167, supposed the Salvator was omitted, since its presence above a Virgin crowned by angels would not allow for the usual christological, vertical reading of the gothic polyptych.

The arrangement can nonetheless be found, as f.e. in a small triptych by a follower of Sassetta's now in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena, inv. nr. 185.

In this chapter the Madonna della Neve's highly original construction will be studied in the context of both the original location and the specific requirements of the commission. The following information is based upon a technical examination of the altarpiece carried out during its 1998 restoration, when the present author was able to study it at close hand in the company of restorers Nicola McGregor, who took care of the polychromy, and Roberto Buda, who looked after the woodwork. We shall consider the construction of the support, the format with its undivided pictorial field, and the frame with its baldachin.

The carpentry and the painting of an altarpiece in this period constituted two separate stages of production. While in some cases the carpentry could be prepared before a painter had been hired, more often the painter himself would be appointed and would then subcontract a carpenter.¹⁵⁷ In the case of the Madonna della Neve it is inconceivable that Sassetta did not make regular visits to the carpenter's workshop: he was the designer of the altarpiece and must have provided drawings of the entire structure. Indeed it will be shown that the pictorial inventions in Sassetta's Madonna della Neve altarpiece were carefully related to the woodwork, or vice versa. In fact, the first arbiters to set the price for the altarpiece upon its completion in October 1432 were asked not only to consider the painter's work but also to take in account Sassetta's expenditures for 'mercedem dicte huiusmodi tabule'. Or, in the expert's own terms, not only the panel with its figures, scenes and the work that had gone into it, but also the 'ornamento facto pro dicta tabula'. This *ornamento* would have covered Sassetta's general design of the altarpiece, which the painter contracted out to a woodworker.¹⁵⁸ A substantial part of the 180 florins that Sassetta received in payment for his altarpiece would have been spent on the carpentry.¹⁵⁹ Sassetta was friendly with one carpenter in particular in these years: in 1426, 1428 and again in 1431, he was appointed godfather to three children of Giovanni di Bartolomeo of Abbazia San Salvatore, 'maestro di legname'.¹⁶⁰ Perhaps it was Giovanni di Bartolomeo who was responsible for the carpentry of the Madonna della Neve. The wooden structure will be discussed as a joint venture of Sassetta, who provided the design, and the carpenter, who executed it while Sassetta commented as he watched over the carpenter's shoulder.

The main panel consists of five vertical planks of poplar wood.¹⁶¹ These have been reinforced at the back across the entire surface by six horizontal

V

Carpentry

157 MERZENICH 2001, pp. 15–18, 28–31; GILBERT 1977.

158 See p. 28 above. See MERZENICH 2001, pp. 20–22; KEMP 1997, pp. 36–37.

159 On the apportionment of carpentry in the altarpiece's price, see MERZENICH 2001, pp. 77–84.

160 Martino Crescenzo on 11th November 1426, Vettorino Orsino

on 21st October 1428, Cristofano on 1st June 1431; BACCI 1936, pp. 346–347, note 1. On 5th August 1434 Sassetta was appointed godfather to Tommaso, child of Pietro del Minella, *maestro di legname*, who was contracted for the transformation of the chapel of San Crescenzo in memory of Carlo Bartoli; IBIDEM, p. 348, note 1.

161 *Gattice* or *populus alba*.

poplar planks (fig. 21).¹⁶² All the planks are about 3.5 cm thick and the whole, sturdy construction is held together by a large amount of nails. These have been hammered in from the front, through the entire thickness of the support, and hammered back in from behind with a U-turn. This technique must have required quite some expertise on the part of the carpenter (usually, nails were hammered either from the front or the back, and were then beaten flat). The horizontal planks are stacked up from the bottom, each connected to its upper neighbour by three dowels. The planking at the back is original and, during the 1998 restoration, these back planks were taken off and the undarkened blank wood of their inner sides exposed. Pelliccioli, who restored the altarpiece in the 1930s, had already cut through all the nails and had taken measures to counterbalance the effects of the warping of the wood (fig. 33).¹⁶³ The altarpiece's singularly sturdy construction may have been necessitated by the burden of the heavy crowning wooden architectural baldachin. It could also be explained by its proximity to the Porta del Perdono and a not unfounded fear of wind, changes in temperature and humidity, also due to the bell tower wall with its giant creep along the inserted pillar of the Duomo Nuovo. Usually two simple battens at the back sufficed to keep together the panels of an altarpiece of this size. The construction of frontal vertical planks nailed to horizontal planks at the back was in any case far from unknown in Siena Cathedral: Duccio's double-sided *Maestà* had been made this way, although in that case the horizontal planks at the back were much thinner.¹⁶⁴

The back of the altarpiece was first studied by Lilian Blauwkuip.¹⁶⁵ She not only discovered the remarkable construction of the wooden support of the altarpiece, but also invalidated the then prevailing opinion that pinnacles would have been attached to the main panel. In fact, there is no trace at all of a system to affix an upper tier of pinnacles at the back of the Madonna della Neve. There are no nail holes, nor are there any discoloured areas. The sides of the box-frame as well as those of the wooden three-arched architecture above are not finished off at all (figs. 16, 17a, 17b, 18, 19) but are covered by a strip of wood, the nail-heads uncovered. Usually, a layer of gesso covered by a simple layer of a red or ochre pigment would be applied to the sides if they were to be exposed. Sassetta himself used even more sophisticated finishings, for example the fake porphyry on the sides of the pinnacles of the *Annunciation*, now divided between Massa Marittima and New Haven (and this is in fact one of the reasons for disassociating them with the Madonna della Neve, as we shall shortly see). The box-structure of the predella is closed at the sides by two panels of bare chestnut wood, which were certain-

162 The second plank from the top is the largest and a crack down its middle should not be mistaken for a joint of two planks (this induced VAN OS 1990, p. 167 to count seven planks).

163 Due to its harness of nails and back support, the wood had made minor, nervous movements only. Pelliccioli made shallow, vertical fissures at the backs of the painted planks to straighten them, filled all cracks with glue and fixed them with shaped wooden butterflies. He

then re-affixed the back with screws, which were in 1998 substituted by a system of pins and lock-holes which allow for more movement.

164 GARDNER 1983, p. 297, citing *Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, Istituto Centrale del Restauro. Il restauro della 'Maestà' di Duccio*, Rome 1957, p. 17, and C. Brandi, *Il restauro della Maestà di Duccio*, Rome 1959.

165 BLAUWKUIP 1980.

16 (left) *Side of the carpentry of Sassetta's Madonna della Neve.*

17a (below) *Top of the carpentry of Sassetta's Madonna della Neve.*

17b (below) *Drawing of the top of the carpentry of Sassetta's Madonna della Neve.*

18 (left) *Upper part of the side of the carpentry of Sassetta's Madonna della Neve.*

19 (above) *Back of the carpentry of Sassetta's Madonna della Neve.*

20 Sassetta, Annunciating Angel, tempera and gold on panel, 59.8 x 49.5 cm, Museo del Palazzo Comunale, Massa Marittima.

ly intended to be hidden from view.¹⁶⁶ The top of the main panel has been left unprotected as well. To account for this situation it was suggested in the previous chapter that the altarpiece was, as it were, shrouded into the architecture of its makeshift chapel.

However, until recently a pair of pinnacles was still associated with the Madonna della Neve. In 1911 Mason Perkins discovered two pinnacles, one with the *Angel Gabriel* now in Massa Marittima and the other with the *Virgin Annunciate* now in New Haven (figs. 20, 21). Mason Perkins, followed by Pope Hennessy, suggested that they were the lateral crowning elements of the Madonna della Neve. A missing *Salvator* would have gone in between the *Annunciation* pinnacles.¹⁶⁷ In 1956, Zeri pointed out that this reconstruction was architecturally and stylistically incongruous and associated the Annunciation panels instead with the Arte della Lana altarpiece.¹⁶⁸ This sug-

¹⁶⁶ An extreme example of an altarpiece not only wider than its altar, but also with protruding elements and elaborate decorations at its sides, is Vecchieta's Spedaletto altarpiece (shortly after 1461), which was itself free-standing and probably backed by a panel supporting a canopy and curtain-rod; PAARDEKOOPE

1996, pp. 170-176.

¹⁶⁷ PERKINS 1911, p. 5; IDEM 1912, p. 196; IDEM 1913, p. 40; POPE HENNESSY 1939, p. 27; VENTURI 1945, pp. 13-14, plate VII, esp. fig. 2, with a hypothetical reconstruction.

¹⁶⁸ ZERI 1956.

21 *Sassetta, Virgin Annunciate, tempera and gold on panel, 59.5 x 50 cm, Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, inv. nr. 1959.15.5.*

gestion was rightly rejected by Christiansen, who, however, subsequently repropoed a *Madonna della Neve* provenance.¹⁶⁹ Yet Blauwkuip's findings had already clarified the situation.¹⁷⁰ The pinnacles cannot be associated with any other known work of Sassetta, and must therefore be considered as the only remnants of an altarpiece of so far unknown provenance.

The fact that the altarpiece had no pinnacles is of the utmost importance as it immediately increases the importance of this work's place in the develop-

169 K. Christiansen, 'The Arte della Lana altarpiece', in CHRISTIANSEN, KANTER & STREHLKE 1988, p. 65.

170 VAN OS 1990, pp. 167-68; BLAUWKUIP 1980, p. 13.

ment of the altarpiece. Sassetta's Madonna della Neve is thus one of the first altarpieces to have a unified composition on an almost square, undivided pictorial field, without lateral panels or pinnacles (the main panel measures 198 x 217 cm). In Siena it would be another thirty years before Matteo di Giovanni returned to the unified composition and developed a shape of his own, the 'round arched' altarpiece.¹⁷¹ Sassetta's innovation is more or less contemporary with Fra Angelico's *Annunciation* for the church of San Domenico of Cortona and it brings to mind the 1434 specification for the planned altarpieces of San Lorenzo in Florence, which should be: 'tabula quadrata et sine civoriis'.¹⁷² The Madonna della Neve predates Filippo Lippi's *Annunciation* for Brunelleschi's church of San Lorenzo in Florence and Fra Angelico's San Marco altarpiece, both datable shortly before 1440.¹⁷³ Fra Angelico's Annalena altarpiece with *Madonna and Child enthroned with six saints* may be datable *ante* 1434. This would make it more or less contemporary with Sassetta's in its unified pictorial field with a convincing, continuous space housing a non-narrative subject.¹⁷⁴ However, given that these Florentine works are nonetheless dated slightly later, it seems that Sassetta's experiment had no direct connection to the Florentine scene. Given our present knowledge, it is impossible to put a finger on the precise channel of influence. The character of the *pala* as presented by Sassetta is individual not only in its pictorial qualities, but also in the treatment of the frame. Sassetta's very own introduction and elaboration of this novel type of altarpiece, with its skittish handling of the newly generated space of the pictorial field and the quiet introverted mood that prevails in the painting leads one to suspect that it was an individual, independent development of this form. As to the carpentry, on the tortuous way from polyptych to Renaissance-*pala*, the Madonna della Neve is still indebted to the gothic tradition in the wooden tripartite baldachin, even though this in itself is already more monumental and horizontal than anything made before. It should not be forgotten either that the *chappella di gesso* may have given the impression of an upper tier.

The discovery of a solution analogous, though not identical, to Florentine developments seems to derive both from a pictorial search for representing space convincingly, as well as from particular structural problems inherent to the situation and location in the Siennese cathedral. Though it is evidently an early manifestation of a new artistic ideal, the traditional context and location of the altarpiece are fundamental. Sassetta's Madonna della Neve was the chronological apogee of the series of Marian altars in the Siennese cathedral, started by Duccio and continued through the complementary programme of the city patron altars, all featuring a scene from the Virgin's life on their central panel (f.e. figs. 22, 23).¹⁷⁵ In two respects, Sassetta and his carpenter

171 First exemplified by his altarpiece of 1460 for the chapel of Saints Anthony of Padua and Bernardino of Siena in the baptistery; PAARDEKOOPER 2002, pp. 19–21, appendix nr. 10, figs. 1–3.

172 On the evolution of the rectangular picture field in altarpieces, see most recently MERZENICH 1996; RUDA 1978.

173 GARDNER VON TEUFFEL 1982; EADEM 1983.

174 HOOD 1993, pp. 106–107. Technical considerations invalidate the reconstruction of Masaccio's Pisa-altarpiece as a unified pictorial space by SHEARMAN 1966; countered by GARDNER VON TEUFFEL 1977 and recently J. Dunkerton and D. Gordon, 'The Pisa Altarpiece', in STREHLKE & FROSININI 2002, pp. 89–109.

175 As in HUBACH 1996, p. 188. For the programme of the patron-

22 *Simone Martini*, *Annunciation with Saints Ansano and Massima*, 1333, tempera and gold on panel, 184 x 210 cm, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence, inv. nr. P 1024.

23 *Ambrogio Lorenzetti*, *Purification of the Virgin*, 1337-1342, tempera and gold on panel, 257 x 168 cm, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence, inv. nr. P 903.

echoed the altarpieces by Pietro Lorenzetti, Simone Martini, Bartolomeo Bulgarini and Ambrogio Lorenzetti. Firstly, the main panels of the city patron altarpieces all have similar large pictorial fields undivided by colonettes with a unified, albeit (as opposed to Sassetta) narrative composition. Secondly, they set the example of a tripartite partitioning attained by the division of the pinnacled frame in conjunction with the painted architecture. Sassetta varied the tradition and pushed the development further by omitting any of the lateral panels which still flanked the four patron saint altarpieces as well as Pietro Lorenzetti's iconographically more related Carmine Virgin enthroned with saints.¹⁷⁶ Another innovation was the straightening of the top contour of the frame, which had still been elaborately gabled in all four patronal altarpieces. The *Maestà* in turn offered Sassetta a lustrous example of a large undivided field with the Virgin enthroned surrounded by saints, although Sassetta was, of course, far removed from its hieratic representation of the celestial court (fig. 24). The architectonic peculiarities of the chapel of Santa Maria della Neve inspired the novel format too. The large unified pictorial space gave the much-needed optical sense of breadth in the much-restricted space of the chapel. In chapter VIII we shall see that there also existed an iconographic impulse for choosing this novel format.

altars in Siena Cathedral see a.o. NORMAN 1999, pp. 67-85 esp. 80-82; VAN OS 1988, pp. 77-89.

¹⁷⁶ NORMAN 1999, p. 223 note 15 for a useful survey of documents relating to the original appearance of the frames of the patron-saint altarpieces.

24 Duccio, *Maestà*, main panel off front, 1308–1311, tempera and gold on panel, 212 x 425 cm, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Siena.

It is above all in its frame that the *Madonna della Neve* echoes Siennese altarpieces of the early fourteenth century. A flat frame is applied to the main panel at the bottom and at the sides. The lateral parts of the frame turn inwards at 38 cm from the top of the altarpiece, to be broken off at only about two centimetres off the mitre joint by the inserted architectural wooden baldachin (plate 1, fig. 16). This kind of frame, known as a box-frame, was developed by Duccio and his circle around 1300 (fig. 25).¹⁷⁷ However, none of the fourteenth-century examples shows the mitring and horizontal continuation at the top as in the *Madonna della Neve*. Whereas Sassetta's carpenter revived a much older Siennese tradition, he added at the same time a novel, effective, illusionistic bend, by suggesting the continuation of the frame in its upper part, thus presenting the sturdy baldachin as an interruption. The frame of Duccio's *Maestà* has been lost and, given the lack of direct evidence, it is difficult to reach consensus over its reconstruction. White put forward the hypothesis that the *Maestà* had a box-frame. Arguing that the huge altarpiece could not have been supported by such a frame, Gardner von Teuffel suggested lateral supporting buttresses. One wonders whether these suggestions

¹⁷⁷ WHITE 1973, pp. 548–555; CÄMMERER-GEORGE 1966, pp. 137–139. Other examples are: Duccio and assistant, polyptych, Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena, inv. nr. 47; Olena Master, triptych, San Pietro, Olena (Chianti); anonymous Siennese painter of the fourteenth century, fragments of a polyptych with *Saints Giustino and Hugh*, Pinacoteca Civica, Volterra; Ugolino di Nerio, polyptych, Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, inv. nr. 61.40 (all in

STUBBLEBINE 1979, vol. 1, pp. 67–68, 91, 109–110, 120, 160–161, vol. II, figs. 140, 202, 262, 289–290, 385); Pietro Lorenzetti, small triptych with *Virgin and Child between Saints Paul and Peter*, Seattle Art Museum, Seattle (Kress Collection K. 277) (see VOLPE 1989, pp. 119–120). GARDNER VON TEUFFEL 1979 p. 39, signals the outmodish continuation of the use of this type of frame in the Siennese *contado* in the middle of the fourteenth century.

25 (upper left) *Ugolino di Nerio (workshop)*, detail of polyptych
Saint Augustin the martyr, early 1320s,
tempera and gold on panel, total 134 x 208 cm,
Museo Diocesano, Pienza.

26 (above) *Sassetta*, Palazzo Pubblico Madonna,
1438, tempera and gold on panel, 142.5 x 97.2 cm,
Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena, inv. nr. 325.

27 (lower left) *Lippo Memmi*, Madonna dei Servi,
tempera and gold on panel, 78 x 51 cm,
Santa Maria dei Servi, Siena.

are actually mutually exclusive but, in any case, it is interesting to bear White's suggestion in mind. Sassetta may have echoed Duccio not only in his composition and unified pictorial field, but also in his frame.¹⁷⁸

The gilded box-frame of the Madonna della Neve is embellished with a decorative pattern in red and blue glazes and punch-marks, as is also found in earlier box-frames. Sassetta would repeat a similar decorative motive in his *Madonna of Humility* for the Palazzo Pubblico of 1438, the frame of which is, in fact, almost identical in its profile to that of the Madonna della Neve (fig. 26). The shape of the Palazzo Pubblico Madonna panel and its frame are similarly inspired by early fourteenth-century Tuscan painting.¹⁷⁹ The strongest analogy in this case is offered by Lippo Memmi's *Madonna del Popolo* from the Sienese church of Santa Maria dei Servi, which shows a simple flat frame with glazed decorations on top of a rectangular panel with a truncated gable (fig. 27).¹⁸⁰

Sassetta effected a conscious revival of older methods of framing, while at the same time updating and refining them. Apart from the above-mentioned re-use of the box-frame and its pictorial decoration, Sassetta moreover elaborates upon a much less-studied feature of the manufacture of frames embedded in tradition: the architectural three-arched baldachin of the Madonna della Neve has an intentional curvature (figs. 17a, 17b). Gradually, the carpenter has linearly increased the thickness of the baldachin over the width of the lateral arches towards the central arch. As a result, the central arch projects five centimetres from the picture plane, to which it is again parallel, whereas the lateral arches project out only three centimetres at the sides of the main panel.

Though the deliberate projecting of frames hardly ever received any attention in the description of altarpieces, there are many precedents for this phenomenon. Just around the corner (fig. 2 nrs. 14) stood Gregorio di Cecco's altarpiece with the Virgin of Humility of 1423 (fig. 38). Bagnoli suggested that the workshop of the sculptor, carpenter and *maestro d'intaglio* Domenico di Niccolò dei Cori was responsible for its carpentry.¹⁸¹ Its central pinnacle is crowned by a tripartite gabled canopy, which is trapezoid in cross-section. The two lateral gables gradually come forward from the sides towards the projecting central gable. The canopy thereby creates a physical, three-dimensional niche for the flat image of the Virgin. All the other gables of the altarpiece display another such device, being constructed out of two planks, the thickness of which increases from the sides towards their join in the middle. The arches thus form hoods over the saints in a very subtle way. They not only enliven the

178 WHITE 1973, pp. 547-555; GARDNER VON TEUFFEL 1979, pp. 36-40. K. Christiansen in CHRISTIANSEN, KANTER & STREHLKE 1988, p. 7, remarks upon the close relation between the *Maestà* and the Madonna della Neve.

179 See also K. Christiansen in CHRISTIANSEN, KANTER & STREHLKE 1988, p. 7, though Simone Martini's *Saint Louis of Toulouse* now in Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte, Naples is not as good an analogy as it might seem. Unlike the simple Palazzo Pubblico Madonna, it was embellished with a gable, shafts, pinnacles and a pre-

della; CHRISTIANSEN 1989, p. 268; MARTINDALE 1988, cat. nr. 16, p. 192. Another example from the entourage of Simone Martini, though with a pointed gable, is the *Madonna della Misericordia* from Vertine, now in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena; A. Bagnoli in EXH. CAT. SIENA 1985, pp. 41-46 (cat. nr. 3).

180 CHRISTIANSEN 1989, p. 268. Its format is smaller (78 x 51 cm), and the Virgin is represented in half-length. The painting is discussed by E. Avanzati in EXH. CAT. SIENA 1985, pp. 86-87 cat. nr. 11.

181 A. Bagnoli in EXH. CAT. SIENA 1987, p. 198 cat. nr. XVII.

structure of the altarpiece as a whole, but the curved arches also draw real space into the presentation of the saints below. By means of their gradual curvature they appear to press forward the painted figures. It is a sculptural device, which is in fact frequently encountered in niches of carved figures affixed to a wall. In the Loggia della Mercanzia, for instance, the statues of Saints Peter and Paul by Vecchietta and of three of Siena's patron saints by Antonio Federighi are placed in Jacopo della Quercia's tabernacles of around 1435-1437. These have crowning arches, the spandrels and cornices of which come markedly forward from the sides toward the centre (fig. 28).¹⁸² The niches on the pillars of the Cappella di Piazza have protruding crowning arches, though the effect is achieved in a different way (fig. 29). The arch does not come forward from the sides towards the centre here, but it increases in thickness from the bottom to the top, creating a similar effect. This part of the Cappella di Piazza was edified in the last quarter of the fourteenth century.¹⁸³

In an endeavour to trace the development of the projecting, curved frame we can look to late fourteenth-century Florence, where baldachin-frames existed which can be seen as precursors to the curved frame under discussion here. Giovanni del Biondo's Cavalcanti altarpiece for Santa Maria Novella, Florence of around 1380, shows both the three main panels and the three pinnacles crowned by baldachins. These baldachins are all composed of three gabled arches based on free consoles, with the lateral arches coming forward to form a projecting structure.¹⁸⁴ Jacopo di Cione in his *Crucifixion* altarpiece in the National Gallery, London, datable to the late 1390s, uses a massive baldachin composed of seven cusped canopies, parallel to the picture plane.¹⁸⁵ Lorenzo Monaco, in his 1413 *Coronation of the Virgin* made for the high altar

28 Jacopo della Quercia, niche, over statue of Saint Paul by Vecchietta, circa 1435-1437, Loggia della Mercanzia, Siena.

182 HANSEN 1987, pp. 50-53. Antonio Federighi's statue of *Saint Victor* of 1459 is housed underneath an almost flat arch, far less pronounced than the others.

183 M. Cordaro, 'Le vicende costruttive', in BRANDI 1983, pp. 57-82, see figs. 81, 83-84. SOLBERG 1991, p. 881, also refers to these arches in connection with the device in the carpentry of one of

Taddeo's altarpieces.

184 The altarpiece is now in the Galleria dell'Accademia, Florence, inv. nr. 1890 n. 8606. CÄMMERER-GEORGE 1966, p. 183, figs. 32c-d; OFFNER & STEINWEG 1969, part II, pp. 107-114.

185 Whereas the middle one is somewhat higher and comes forward in relation to the others, the effect is essentially horizontal and

29 *Giovanni di Cecco, detail of niches over the sculptures of apostles by Mariano d'Angelo Romanelli and Bartolomeo di Tommè known as Pizzino, 1376, Cappella di Piazza, Siena.*

of Santa Maria degli Angeli in Florence, uses yet another kind of majestic, crowning baldachin. The three gabled arches, on hanging consoles which span the entire width of the undivided pictorial field, project considerably from it but are entirely parallel to it, thereby stressing the planes of panel and frame which have just been separated.¹⁸⁶ The hefty corbelling of these baldachins makes them rather independent from the picture plane. These baldachins are reverential in nature and do little to involve the painted surface in their sculptural effect. They do, however, create a niche-like space for the altarpiece.

This space-defining function made the baldachin-frames especially useful for tight spots. On the two piers in between the three main doors of the Florentine cathedral, two altars with special images over them could be found from at least the end of the fourteenth century until their demolition in 1842. The northernmost altar was dedicated to the Virgin and a much-venerated fresco was transferred there, because the large crowds it attracted could be

develops parallel to the picture plane. The central projecting canopy serves above all as a physical baldachin of honour for the crucified Christ underneath. The insides of the domes of the baldachin are painted blue with golden stars. The seven domes are made of sepa-

rate blocks of wood: BOMFORD, DUNKERTON, GORDON 1989, p. 142 (cat. nr. 7); DAVIES (GORDON) 1988, pp. 54-56 (cat. nr. 1468); OFFNER & STEINWEG 1965, pp. 75-78, esp. p. 76 note 6.

186 CÄMMERER-GEORGE 1966, pp. 181-182, figs. 33a-c.

better accommodated in such a clamorous position in the church. It was crowned by a gilded and painted wooden tabernacle ('celum'). The altar at the other side, dedicated to the Trinity, was given a similar baldachin. Each baldachin was probably composed of five cusps, similar to the Jacopo di Cione frame discussed above.¹⁸⁷ It is remarkable that in Florence also, altars positioned in tight spots, close to the church-entrance, are adorned by images crowned by elaborate baldachins, isolating the altar from the rest of the interior, just as in Abbazia Isola and in our case of the altar of Santa Maria della Neve near the Porta del Perdono of the Sienese cathedral. In Sassetta's case, it should not be forgotten that the crowning of the altarpiece was twofold: a gypsum superstructure and an ingenious wooden frame.

We shall now concentrate on the curved frame. Most of the sturdy Florentine baldachins discussed above are parallel to the picture surface (to be called method I). The Cavalcanti altarpiece employed a different device (here called method II), consisting of a three-arched canopy progressively protruding towards the central arch due to a slightly diagonal placement of the lateral arches. Method II is frequently encountered in the pinnacles of altarpieces whose frames are otherwise parallel to their panels. This can for example be seen in the three pinnacles in Lorenzo di Niccolò's *Coronation of the Virgin* made for San Marco in Florence and transferred to the church of San Domenico in Cortona in 1438.¹⁸⁸ Sienese painters also employed this device at an early stage as, for example, in Andrea Vanni's *Crucifixion* pinnacle of 1396.¹⁸⁹ The above-mentioned Gregorio di Cecco also applied method II to isolated pinnacles, as would Sano di Pietro in his *Gesuati* and *Santa Bonda* altarpieces. In pinnacles the device also seems designed to counterbalance the receding optic effect of their position high on the altarpiece. The three panels in Paolo di Giovanni Fei's *Birth of the Virgin* triptych of 1381 or 1391 are crowned by three gabled arches each, the lateral ones smaller than the middle one (fig. 30). Method II has been applied here too. However, due to a minimal bevelling of a few centimetres only, the frame does not become totally detached from the representation and starts to interact with the painted surface, making it bulge a bit and stressing the volumes of the figures and the painted architecture. This creates a peculiar optical effect.

A third and more subtle method developed in Siena, where an arch and its surmounting gable comprise two vertical planks which slightly increase in thickness from the sides towards the median join (method III). Gregorio di Cecco and Sano di Pietro's *Gesuati*-saints are all placed underneath such arches, their central pinnacles excepted. Gregorio's adoptive father, Taddeo di Bartolo, developed this in his altarpiece for the company of Saint Michael Archangel, datable around 1405-1406, as was first noted by Solberg (fig. 31).¹⁹⁰ Taddeo's gables show a bevelling from the median join of the planks

187 VERDON 2000; OFFNER & STEINWEG 1965, p. 76 note 6; MEISS 1953. The baldachins were removed between 1786 and 1790.

188 Figs. in EXH. CAT. CORTONA 1986.

189 Now in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena. Here, there is bevel-

ling on half of the lateral arches only. TORRITI 1990, pp. 131-132 (cat. nr. 114), fig. 159.

190 SOLBERG 1991, p. 881; see also VAN OS 1990, pp. 71-72 (fig. 54). A visit to this altarpiece in the company of Henk van Os,

30 Paolo di Giovanni Fieschi, *Birth of the Virgin*, 1381 or 1391, tempera and gold on panel, 259 x 204 cm, Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena, inv. nr. 116.

towards the sides, but the planks also decrease in thickness from the arch towards the top of the gable. Sassetta himself would use the very same device for his *Arte della Lana* altarpiece of 1423–25, as attested by the only remaining crowning elements, the two pinnacles with the prophets Elijah and Elisha (f.c. figs. 32a, 32b). The bevelling of the gables by Taddeo and Sassetta's carpenters lends the frame an illusionistic relief, emphasising the corporality of the figures below. In Taddeo's case, the tracing of the cusped arch, executed in *pastiglia*, is left behind, parallel to the flat surface. Gregorio di Cecco would detach also the tracing and include it into the projecting, bevelled arches, as did Sassetta in his pinnacles of the *Annunciation*, datable to the late 1430s

Ludwin Paardekooper and Caroline Villers triggered the present discussion. For the change of dedication of the company (now

known as the *Compagnia of Santa Caterina della Notte* underneath the *Spedale della Scala*), see GALLAVOTTI CAVALLERO 1985, p. 398.

31 *Taddeo di Bartolo, The Virgin and Child with angels and Saints John the Baptist and Andrew, circa 1405-1406, tempera and gold on panel, 150 x 115 cm, oratory of Santa Caterina della Notte, Spedale della Scala, Siena.*

(figs. 20, 21).¹⁹¹ We encountered the same device in the niches of the Loggia della Mercanzia and of the Cappella di Piazza. The introduction of this 'sculpted' frame in wooden altarpieces amounts to an evolution of the previous applied frame, which had served as flat surface decoration and demanded an increased skill on the part of the carpenter.

This development, the bevelling of the frame, often also entailed a different

191 The difference in the devices applied to the frames alone preclude the hypothesis that the prophets and the Annunciation pin-

nacles belonged to the Arte della Lana complex, as has been suggested by ZERI 1956, p. 38.

32a-b Sassetta, Prophet Elisha, with the side of the panel, pinnacle of the *Arte della Lana* altarpiece, 1423-1425, tempera and gold on panel, circa 53 x 20 cm, Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena, inv. nr. 95.

sequence in the work of carpenter and painter. Such a protruding frame would have to be applied after the main panels had been painted, instead of the previous procedure, whereby the carpenter would supply the painter with a fully prepared wooden structure, to be gessoed and painted in its entirety, including the frame. In fact, the baldachin of Sassetta's *Madonna della Neve* was gilded and decorated separately from the main panel, and attached only when both had been independently finished. No lipped edges can be detected at the top of the paint layer and the gesso and gold continues beneath the frame. This sequence of construction can easily be deduced from the ruinous state of the frame when the altarpiece was with the restorer Pelliccioli in the 1930s (fig. 33).

Sassetta's innovation is that he combined various framing methods to achieve a deliberately illusionistic effect. For a start he used a unified, tripartite baldachin spanning an undivided pictorial field, as was first introduced by Simone Martini in his *Annunciation* of 1333 (fig. 22).¹⁹² Secondly, he increased the above-described method II, of mak-

ing a frame come forward, to span the entire width of the altarpiece, instead of spanning just the usual pinnacle, or single polyptych-panel as in Fei's instance. Sassetta broke with the compartmentalisation of the altarpiece, in the use of horizontal planks on the back, in the unified composition and in the monumental baldachin-frame which, with a slight curve, spanned the entire width.¹⁹³ The lateral arches of the *Madonna della Neve* gradually come forward (a tapering of circa 2.4 centimetres) towards the central arch, which is parallel to the picture plane. The space taken by the Virgin and Child, angels and saints thereby seems to bulge forward, pulled along by the frame, while the figures also acquire an enhanced corporality, looming forward into the real space of the beholder. With enthralling subtleness, Sassetta's frame lends real space to his painting and thus the spectator is involved in its realm.¹⁹⁴

The frame therefore joins forces with the painter's composition and the

¹⁹² CÄMMERER-GEORGE 1966, p. 180.

¹⁹³ VAN OS 1990, p. 168.

¹⁹⁴ SHEARMAN 1988, esp. pp. 10-78 discusses the tendency in Renaissance art to engage the spectator in 'a shared space', as he dubs it.

33 *Sassetta's Madonna della Neve altarpiece with the restorer Pelliccioli, circa 1936.*

representation of his figures in an effort to create a convincing space, an illusion of continuation of the viewer's own space. In fact, tucked into a tiny corner of the cathedral, wedged between the entrance, the Campanile and a pillar, the chapel of the Virgin of the Snow was almost made up of the altarpiece and its plaster superstructure alone.¹⁹⁵ It is an altarpiece which creates its own space, which is its own chapel. Its figures respond to their surroundings in the cathedral. It was the first altarpiece that a visitor would come across when he entered the cathedral through the Porta del Perdono coming from the city centre and therefore, even more poignantly, also the last he would see upon leaving the cathedral by the same door. The visitor is immediately introduced to the Virgin by the pointing Baptist, the Holy Child welcomes him with his look, his gesture and his scroll and he is presented by Paul with the apostle's Letter to the Romans. When the devoted visitor approached the altar, crossing Turino di Matteo's grave, he was not only met but embraced by this vision of the Virgin of the Snow.

195 See also VAN OS 1990, p. 174.

34a-b *Domenico di Niccolò dei Cori, Grieving Virgin and Saint John, 1414-1415, polychromed wood, height circa 169 and 168 cm, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Siena.*

The choice for the snow-iconography had been made by the private patrons of the chapel, Turino di Matteo and donna Ludovica and their individualised patronage is a manifestation of a broader tendency which surfaced in Siena in this period. In this chapter we shall study the emergence of private patronage on other altars in the cathedral, in order to provide a context for the achievement of donna Ludovica and Sassetta. In the cathedral, the feverish re-decoration activities were concentrated mainly on the choir and transept areas. In the decoration of all altars here a shift in devotion took place towards a novel veneration of the Virgin. We shall also consider the general importance of private commissions in Sassetta's oeuvre and the way he gave shape to these patrons' requirements.

VI

Mentality

The highly personal input of donna Ludovica in particular in her chapel, as discussed in chapters I and II, is remarkable. Previously, the decoration of the cathedral had been the affair of the Opera del Duomo, the collegium of canons and the city-government.¹⁹⁶ A notable, early exception is the patronage of the important Malavolti family over the chapel of San Vittore, which operaio Bertoccio Malavolti and Azzolino Malavolti, canon and future bishop, managed to obtain. Although they probably paid for Bartolomeo Bulgarini's *Nativity*, the altarpiece itself complies entirely with the general programme for the four chapels of the city patrons and has no 'personalized' iconography.¹⁹⁷ The most opulent tomb in the cathedral, of Cardinal Riccardo Petroni by Tino da Camaino of 1318, was commissioned by the Commune itself in commemoration of its illustrious citizen.¹⁹⁸ The visual manifestation of the individuals who supported the cathedral and were buried there, was curtailed and channelled into civic and ecclesiastical values. In the fifteenth century, however, the quantity and importance of commissions by wealthy individuals grew steeply. More private patrons were involved and were allowed to exhibit themselves more exuberantly than ever before. The attention of the patrons was not exclusively focussed on their spiritual well being in the hereafter, but was self-consciously directed to create for themselves a more worldly memorial, concomitant with the beginning of the Renaissance. This development in the character of patronage resulted in a change of iconographic choices for chapel-decorations.

To begin with, on 10th July 1404, it was decided to remove the altars that stood against the choir screen.¹⁹⁹ This decision was taken by operaio Caterino di Corsino, the college of canons presided by its prior Francesco di Biagio Tolomei and a committee of twenty citizens elected for the purpose. This

196 VAN DER PLOEG 1993, p. 32.

197 BUTZEK 2001, p. 38.

198 GARDNER 1992, pp. 112-114; figs. 116-119; BIGNAMI ODIER

1956; LUSINI 1911, vol. 1, pp. 115-118.

199 MILANESI 1854, vol. II, p. 17 doc. nr. 11; these were probably the altars of San Giovanni Battista and of San Michele, mentioned in the 1389 inventory; AOMS, 864 (num. Mosc. 1489), fols. 12r-v. On the position and appearance of the choir enclosure in this period: STRUCHHOLZ 1995, esp. pp. 35-53.

intervention must have entailed a shift of emphasis in the cathedral interior: the way had been cleared for a more focussed view of the choir and the high altar behind it, as well as the ensemble of altars of the city's patron saints (fig. 2 nrs. 1-5). A more organic dynamic between the altars in the transepts and those behind the screen must have followed. In 1404, Taddeo di Bartolo was commissioned by Caterino di Corsino to fresco the chapels and pass ways ('passine') around the main altar.²⁰⁰ Shortly after, the chapels of the city-saints were subjected to a massive fresco-campaign.²⁰¹ The activities extended into the southern transept three years later, when Paolo di Giovanni Fei frescoed the chapel of the Passion near the chapel of the Crucifix.²⁰² Next, in 1415, came the chapel of the Crucifix itself and the vaults above the Porta del Perdono, painted by Gualtiero di Giovanni and Vittorio di Domenico.²⁰³

Once all these painters had frescoed almost the entire transept, it was the turn of the altars and their equipment to be renewed and it was here that private patrons made their entrance, bringing with them an iconography related to individual devotional practices. In the following we shall consider some neighbours of the Madonna della Neve: the chapel of the Crucifix of notary Galgano di Cerbone; the chapel of the Visitation, patronised by Francesco di Biagio Tolomei; the chapel of Saint Crescenzo claimed by Carlo Bartoli and, in the opposite transept, Antonio Casini's chapel dedicated to the Virgin and Saint Sebastian, the project for a chapel by Jacomo Pecci and, somewhat further away in the north aisle, the chapel of the Magi accorded to Giorgio di Andrea di Pietro Tolomei. We have already encountered three of these figures in the circle surrounding donna Ludovica. These munificent patrons seem all to have shared a common ideal, to propagate a personal identity and devotion, tied to a novel veneration for the Virgin.

The notary Galgano di Cerbone, well known to Turino di Matteo, acquired the patronage over the altar of the Crucifix (fig. 2 nr. 13). On 6th June 1407, he drew up a contract with operaio Caterino di Corsino on the institution of the chapel to be built 'a sua divozione e per l'anima de' suoi pasatti'. The small door in this bay of the transept was to be walled in order to make a place for his chapel. In exchange for his endowment of the chapel and its chaplaincy, he was permitted to erect his tomb in front of his chapel, consisting of a stone slab showing his coat of arms.²⁰⁴ In the late 1430s he would be buried there.

²⁰⁰ MILANESI 1854, vol. II, pp. 15-16 doc. nr. 9.

²⁰¹ BUTZEK 2001, p. 53 with further references. Chapel of Sant' Ansano, frescoed by Spinello Aretino in 1404, chapels of San Crescenzo and San Savino frescoed by Martino di Bartolomeo, chapel of San Vittore by Andrea di Bartolo (1405-1406).

²⁰² MILANESI 1854, vol. I, p. 38; in 1408 Fei receives 10 florins for 'dipentura della chapella de la Passione a lato al Chrocifisso, e per lo peno del telaio d'essa passione'. It is not clear how the chapel was positioned with regard to the altar of the Crucifix, although it was in the same bay and was probably identical.

²⁰³ MILANESI 1854, vol. I, p. 44.

²⁰⁴ Stipulations 'Ifraschritto sarà cierti chapitoli, patti, chondizioni fatti e choposti fra l'Uopara di Sante Marie e maggiore chiesa e chon

ser Galgano di Cierbone notaio citadino di Siena e cho' l'egregio chavaliere misser Chaterino Corsini operaio d'essa chiesa chate-d[r]ale e suo chonsilio per idifichare una chapela. In prima che 'l detto ser Galgano per chagione d'essa chapella fare a sua divozione e per l'anima de' suoi pasatti co' perpetua memoria dotare e fare ofciare per essa dotta di continovo a tutti li ofizi di e di notte in perpetuo la chapella del Chrociefisso la quale è posta a la porticiola piciola la quale si diè murare e chiudare per formare essa chapella in questo modo cioè. [...] Item che al detto ser Galgano sia licitto potere fare e alegiare la sua sipoltura in quello luogo a lui piacerà ponare la detta chapella.'; copy of part of his testament of 14th January 1437 starting: 'Item reliquit de dictis suis bonis et legavit sue capelle del Crocifisso in maiori ecclesie Senensis sita, videlicet

35 Alberto di Betto, Pictà, with the Virgin, Saints John and Mary Magdalene, 1421, polychromed wood, 99.5 x 164.5 x 42.5 cm, altar of Saint John the Evangelist, cathedral, Siena.

Domenico di Niccolò de' Cori made his intensely grievous Mary and John the Evangelist to mourn at the sides of the older, pre-existing *crocefisso delle vedove* in 1414–15 (figs. 34a, 34b).²⁰⁵ In 1421 more sculptures were commissioned to Alberto di Betto da Assisi to be put underneath the altar table (fig. 35). This second commission fell under the supervision of operaio Turino di Matteo, acting in the name of Galgano di Cerbone.²⁰⁶ The group of figures represents the *Lamentation over the dead Christ*.²⁰⁷

ante altare dicte capelle et c[r]ucifixi est tumulum dicti ser Galgani et sculta fieri in nuno dicti tumuli lapide arma dicti ser Galgani'; the two documents are preserved together in AOMS, 1848 (num. Mosc. 2166), doc. 10 (MOSCADELLI 1995, p. 240). Towards the end of the year 1407, work on Galgano's chapel was already under way, as the Lombard stonemason Marchese d'Adamo and his *compagni* are paid 20 lire and 10 soldi 'e quali sono per suo fadigha e magistero de la porta murò del Crocifiso e cchonciò el marmo'; AOMS, 385 (num. Mosc. 235), fol. 59r, see also fols. 56v, 57r. I thank Monika Butzek for drawing my attention to this document.

²⁰⁵ A. Bagnoli in EXH. CAT. SIENA 1987, pp. 116–118 cat. nrs. 26a–b, with references to previous literature.

²⁰⁶ Turino would have known the chapel as described in the inventory drawn up immediately following his death: 'La cappella

del Crocefisso rilevato in croce grande con 11 more da lato a decto altare, la figura di Nostra Donna, e Sancto Giovanni da pieci a la decta croce rilevata con ferri da capo, le tende d'intorno. In sull' altare del decto Crocefisso, vien dentro a una bella graticola di ferro a porporelle, una figura del nostro Signore rilevato levato di croce, co le figure de la Nostra Donna, di Sancto Giovanni e la Magdalena, stanno a pieci la croce, con predelle e 11 gradi e 11 sedi da le latora di legname tarsiati con 11 lampanarii pendenti, e con una tavoletta in tela di Nostra Donna.'; ASS, Opera Metropolitana 29, fol. 18v.

²⁰⁷ It is presently to be found underneath the small altar of Saint John the Evangelist to the side of the entrance to the Libreria Piccolomini (fig. 5). TORRITI 2000, p. 100; G. Aronow, 'A Description of the Altars in Siena Cathedral in the 1420s', in VAN

36 *Vecchietta, Pietà, 1445–1448, polychromed wood, height 96 cm, Museo Diocesano, Siena.*

Such a monumental group was new for Siena, and for Tuscany as a whole. Its origins must have been in the German *Vesperbilder* which could, in fact, be found in Alberto's native Umbria and in the nearby Marche.²⁰⁸ The theme of the *Pietà*, distilled from the story of Christ's Passion, had developed into an important devotional theme, inviting the beholder to contemplate Christ's suffering, but also confronting him at close range with Mary's sorrow (*Compassio Mariae*). The personal, devotional bias of this large-scale *Pietà* is shown by its subsequent fortune in Siena. Vecchietta followed the trail set out by Alberto di Betto. For his own devotion, he sculpted an impressive Virgin with an emaciated dead Christ hanging over her knees. It was once adorned by an inscription, reading: 'hoc opus fecit Laurentius dictus Vecchietto pro sua devotione' (fig. 36).²⁰⁹ Vecchietta's sculpture is an ideological precursor to

OS 1990, p. 235; CARLI 1979, pp. 102–103. For the commission, see MILANESI 1854, vol. II, pp. 101–102 doc. nr. 68.

²⁰⁸ STEINGRÄBER 1998; TRIPPS 1998, pp. 169–185, esp. 184, with many references to earlier literature; CARLI 1979, p. 102. A later version of such a *Lament*–group is in the church of San Domenico

in Siena: KIRCHEN 1992, vol. 2.1.2, pp. 554–555 nr. 27.

²⁰⁹ A. Bagnoli in EXH. CAT. SIENA 1987, cat. nr. 46, pp. 177–180; IDEM, 'Donatello e Siena', in BELLOSI 1993, pp. 162–163. The inscription was recorded by Chigi in 1625–6. Nothing is yet known on the original destination of the group, although Chigi in 1625–6

37 *Maestro dell'Osservanza*, Lament of the Virgin over the body of Christ deposed of the cross with the donor Peter Volckamer and Saint Sinibaldus, circa 1432, tempera and gold on panel, 101 x 71 cm, collection of the Banca Monte dei Paschi di Siena S.p.A., Siena.

the *Pietà*-groups that Michelangelo and, later, Bandinelli intended for their own tombs, both even incorporating their portraits in the guise of the figure of Nicodemus.²¹⁰

That the occurrence of the *Pietà* theme in Siena developed under a personal propensity is also attested by the subject's modest pictorial tradition in the

recorded it in the church now known as San Donato in San Michele Arcangelo, where it could be found until its recent removal to the Museo Diocesano in Siena.

²¹⁰ Michelangelo's Florentine *Pietà* of circa 1550-1555 is now in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo in Florence and Baccio Bandinelli's *Dead Christ supported by Nicodemus* of 1554-1560 is still

over Bandinelli's tomb-altar in Santissima Annunziata in Florence. Their function as tomb-sculptures was noted by VASARI 1568, vol. VI, pp. 188-189, vol. VII, p. 218. Titian similarly intended his *Pietà*-altarpiece to go over his tomb in the Frari, now in the Galleria dell'Accademia; see f.e. G. Nepi Scirè, entry in EXH. CAT. VENEZIA & WASHINGTON 1990, pp. 373-374.

city. Two fourteenth-century panels with a *Pietà*, both by the Master of the Campana *Pietà*, have been identified, their small size indicating monastic or maybe domestic use.²¹¹ Interestingly, the painted *Pietà* resurfaces in Siena in the cathedral in the early fifteenth century in connection with a private person: the Maestro dell'Osservanza painted a *Pietà*, most likely to serve as an epitaph, for the memory of Peter Volckamer, citizen of Nuremberg. Volckamer came to Siena with Emperor Sigismund, died there in 1432 and was buried in the cathedral. Volckamer's arms are displayed on the painting and he himself is represented kneeling in contemplation of the dead Christ, who lies on the lap of the Virgin underneath the cross (fig. 37).²¹² Both with Volckamer and with Galgano di Cerbone's chapel of the Crucifix, the theme of the *Pietà* had been brought from the more enclosed devotional sphere to the public space of the cathedral by means of a private person.

When Galgano di Cerbone added the sculptures of the mourning Virgin, Saint John the Evangelist and those of the *Lamentation* to the chapel of the Crucifix in the early fifteenth century, a change in emphasis in the perception of the death on the Cross was brought about. Instead of the sole Christ suffering his redemptive passion, the beholder was now presented, in particular, with Mary's grief over her dead son. Additionally, the Crucifixion and the Lamentation were both apt tomb images of death as well as promises of resurrection. Though little is known about the architectural decoration of the chapel, its patron Galgano was in any case present through the display of his arms on his tomb and on a *davanzale* of the altar.²¹³ Galgano turned his chapel of the Crucifix into a private tomb-chapel with a related iconography.

Another individual, Canon Francesco di Biagio Tolomei (†1432) came into possession of the patronage of an altar next to the chapel of the Crucifix shortly before 18th August 1422 (fig. 2 nr. 14).²¹⁴ In this case too, a more pronounced personal character as well as a Marian veneration, novel for the Sienese church altar, are at play. In 1368, the guild of stonemasons had constructed this altar and maintained it since that time. The guild had appropriately dedicated it to the sculptor saints of the *Quattro Coronati*, who had allegedly been martyred under Diocletian because they refused to carve an idol and venerate it.²¹⁵ Turino di Matteo relocated the stonemasons to the

211 D. Boucher de Lapparent in EXH. CAT. AVIGNON 1983, cat. nr. 93 pp. 252-253; MEISS 1946.

212 A. De Marchi in MONTE DEI PASCHI 1988, pp. 298-302; von ERFFA 1976, pp. 4-7. See also Vecchietta's detached *Pietà* fresco (1445-48) from the sepulchral chapel of the Martinozzi at San Francesco, f.e. A. Paolucci in BERTI & PAOLUCCI 1990, pp. 210-211 cat. nr. 75. Its size (109 x 208 cm) suggestst it went under the altar table, analogous to Alberto di Betto's sculpture group.

213 ASS, Opera Metropolitana 31, fol. XXIIIv: 'Uno davanzale di velluto vergato nero e rosso, con fregio d'oro in campo rosso, con fioretti azurri e bianchi] con l'arme di ser Galgano di Cerbone, foderato di panno lino bianco. Per l'altare del Crocefisso.' The altar was entirely renovated in 1651 by Dionisio di Francesco Mazzuoli; LANDI 1655, p. 52.

214 Canon Francesco di Biagio Tolomei, who died on 21st January 1432 (CRONACA FECINI 1477, vol. II, fol. 359r) should not be confused with the later Canon Francesco di Jacomo Tolomei who died in 1458 or 1459. It is the latter's tombstone that can be found in front of the chapel of the Visitation; MUNMAN 1993, pp. 148-149 cat. nr. 29. FREULER 1994, p. 312 note 49 mistakes Francesco di Jacomo for the patron of the chapel of the Visitation. The altar would have been moved from the southern wall of the transept to the western wall adjacent to it, following the walling up of the *porticiola piccola* in 1407 (which it originally flanked together with the primitive Crucifix-chapel) and the construction of the new chapel of the Crucifix (see note 204).

215 GOOSEN 1992, pp. 282-285. In Florence the guild of carpenters and stonemasons had commissioned Nanni di Banco to adorn their niche at Orsanmichele with figures of the same saints.

38 *Gregorio di Cecco, altarpiece of the Madonna of Humility, 1423, tempera and gold on panel, width circa 265 cm, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Siena.*

altar of San Daniele in the first bay of the north aisle of the nave, to make place for Francesco Tolomei.²¹⁶ The canon was swift in endowing his altar and changed its dedication to the Visitation. On 18th August 1422 the Opera del Duomo, on the authority of the patron, commissioned for the sum of 60 florins a marble superstructure for the altar, with capitals and pillars adorned with figures in niches, and with Tolomei's arms.²¹⁷ That same year, Gregorio di Cecco signed and dated his polyptych with the *Madonna of Humility* for Francesco Tolomei's chapel (fig. 38). Due to the earlier removal of the altars against the choir screen, an initiative of Francesco di Biagio Tolomei himself, his altar against a west wall was now more or less juxtaposed to Duccio's *Maestà* on the high altar.

Gregorio di Cecco's work for this chapel is the first known altarpiece inside the Sienese city-walls to introduce the Madonna of Humility.²¹⁸ The theme was a Sienese iconographic invention, but in its native city it had only fulfilled its role on small-scale panels, intended for individual devotion (f.e. fig. 39).²¹⁹ The creation of Gregorio di Cecco's *Madonna of Humility* inaugurated a modest series of Sienese altarpieces with this subject, of which Giovanni di Paolo's Malavolti and Branchini altarpieces (1426 and 1427) for the church of San Domenico are the best known examples.²²⁰ Gregorio presents a Virgin nursing her Child on the central panel, her humility expressed by her lowly seat. The sublimity of her humility was the reason for Mary's glorification and in fact, in Gregorio's central pinnacle, she is accompanied to heaven by seraphim.

The introduction of the novel subject matter on the altarpiece is related to the titulus of the altar. Canon Francesco's rededication of his altar to the Visitation is first attested in the year 1429.²²¹ This feast was hotly debated in the church in those years, having been instituted by papal bull in 1389, reconfirmed at the Council of Basle in 1441, and definitely accepted in 1451,

216 G. Aronow, 'A Description of the Altars in Siena Cathedral in the 1420s', in VAN OS 1990, pp. 235-236. Bartolo di Fredi probably frescoed the chapel for the guild and did not make an altarpiece for it as Aronow supposes, see FREULER 1994, pp. 105, 419 doc. nr. 25 (who however mistakenly already locates the activities at the altar of San Daniele (fig. 2 nr. 12). By 1425 the stonemasons had put their altarpiece on the altar of San Daniele as, in that year, San Bernardino borrowed it for his sermons on the Campo; ISRAËLS 2001, p. 539, note 49. In fact, it already figures in the 1423 inventory: ASS, Opera Metropolitana 29, fol. 18r: 'La cappella di Sancto Daniello con una tavola dipenta co le figure di Nostra Donna e de' IIII Coronati, con tende e ferro e predelle da pieci e II gradi e I campanella da capo.'.

217 AOMS, 708 (num. Mosc. 500), fol. 32r (18th August 1422): 'Misser Francesscho di Biagio Talommei chalonacho di duomo die dare a di XVIII d'agosto fiorini sesanta e quagli ci a promessi di dare e paghare per che noi gli dobbiamo adornare una chappella la quale è a lato al crocefisso di duomo, la quale chappella dobbiamo adornarla di marmo chon phapitogli chon cholone chon fichure e tabarnachogli e cho la sua arme per quello modo che ssta la chap-

pella di Sancto Bonifazio salvo che le cholonne deba essere di marmo bianco', followed by the payments in various instalments up to 8th May 1423 (see also fol. 220r). The elaborate ornamentation of the chapel seems to indicate the larger Bonifazio-chapel in the south aisle. I thank Monika Butzek for drawing my attention to this document. Nanni di Jacomo da Lucca walled 'sei fregi di colonna' in 1423; FREULER 1994, p. 312 note 49; LUSINI 1911, vol. I, p. 37 note 1.

218 On the altarpiece, see VAN OS 1990, p. 77; EXH. CAT. SIENA 1987, pp. 198-199 cat. nrs. XVII and XVIII (R. Bartolini, publishing a pinnacle with the angel of the Annunciation. There is no trace yet of its counterpart); EXH. CAT. AVIGNON 1983, p. 309 (L. Bellosi); CARLI 1979, p. 85; VAN OS 1969, pp. 122-123, 164. On Gregorio see also CORTI 1981.

219 On the iconography of the Virgin of Humility see: VAN OS 1990, pp. 75-85; IDEM 1969, pp. 101-142; MEISS 1978, pp. 132-156.

220 VAN OS 1990, pp. 77-85; I. Bähr, in KIRCHEN 1992, vol. 2.1.2, pp. 458, 732, 740-742, 766-768, 895-896; BÄHR 1987, pp. 357-361; BACCI 1938-1939, pp. 549-554.

221 See note 227 below.

shortly after the end of the Western Schism.²²² The Christian coupling of the concepts of humility and glory, as represented by Gregorio di Cecco, is crucial to the *Magnificat*, the words Mary spoke to Elisabeth on the occasion of the Visitation. One of its lines reads: 'Quia respexit humilitatem ancillae suae; ecce enim ex hoc beatam me dicent omnes generationes.'²²³ Gregorio's Virgin of Humility therefore perfectly suited the altar's dedication to the Visitation.²²⁴ Gregorio would have been well aware of the significance of the *Magnificat*, since he gilded and polychromed the statue of the *Madonna del Magnificat* for Sant'Agostino together with his adoptive father Taddeo di Bartolo and the entire text of the hymn is wound in *pastiglia*-letters around the hem of the Virgin's mantle.²²⁵

Still, the denomination of the altar in itself is not enough to explain Gregorio's iconography. He could have represented the Visitation as a narrative, in keeping with the famous patron saint altarpieces in the cathedral, and in analogy to Bartolo di Fredi's previous depiction on the Malavolti altarpiece in San Domenico. The reason to condense the significance of the Visitation into an image of the humble Virgin must be found in the context of the private and funerary character of the commission. The Madonna of Humility was an intimate theme that was a novelty for the public realm of the cathedral. Van Os has already pointed to the frequent funerary overtones of the occurrence of the Madonna of Humility.²²⁶ As prior of the chapter of canons of the cathedral, Francesco di Biagio Tolomei had requested as a special favour ('per singulare gratia') to be buried in front of his chapel on the occasion of its institution in 1429. Concluding a long list of endowments and requirements regarding the officiating of his chapel, he turns to the matter of the tomb, which was of such

39 *Andrea di Bartolo, Madonna of Humility, circa 1415, tempera and gold on panel, 52.7 x 34.3 cm, National Gallery of Art, Samuel H. Kress Collection, Washington.*

222 POLC 1967; WEHR 1954; MONUMENTA 1873, vol. III, pp. 959-961.

223 Lucas I: 46-55 (quotation: 48 'For he hath regarded the low estate of his handmaiden: for, behold, from henceforth all generations shall call me blessed.').

224 It was Henk van Os who noticed that the Virgin of Humility in

this case was not so obvious and that it was in fact a hitherto unobserved pictorial translation of the altar's titulus. I thank him for sharing this with me.

225 L. Bellosi, in EXH. CAT. SIENA 1987, pp. 166-168, cat. nr. 43; NERI LUSANNA 1981.

226 VAN OS 1990, pp. 74-85; IDEM 1969, pp. 75-142.

importance to him that two days before, on 9th July, he had sent a messenger round the city to convocate all the canons to (unanimously) ratify his request.²²⁷ Gregorio di Cecco's *Madonna of Humility* was therefore intended to accompany a tomb, stressing the image's funerary associations not only with Mary's role as mediatrix, but also as protagonist of a vision one dreamed of experiencing at the day of Judgment ('MADRE DI CONSOLATIONE' and 'MATER. PULCRE. DILECTIONIS'). The dedication of the chapel was perhaps not sufficiently clear to all through the iconography of its altarpiece alone. Between 1429 and 1435 a painting on a textile support was added, possibly to render the dedication of the chapel more explicit: 'uno telaio dipinto de la Visitazione di Santa Lisabetta'.²²⁸ The changes to Francesco Tolomei's chapel are yet more examples of the fifteenth-century transformations resulting from this new type of individual patronage, which in turn brought about a more emotional attitude towards the Virgin. The trend could still be felt when at the end of the fifteenth century, Paolo di Giovanni Fei's small *Madonna of Humility* of 1390 was cut down to be inserted in Andrea Bregno's marble chapel in the northern aisle of the cathedral. The construction of this chapel, dedicated to the Virgin had been the wish of another private patron, Cardinal Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini (the short-lived Pope Pius III).²²⁹

Shortly after the erection of the chapel of the Visitation, another Tolomei-altar came into existence, somewhat off-centre in relation to the examples under discussion here. Freuler has suggested that the Tolomei family had commissioned Bartolo di Fredi to paint his *Adoration of the Magi* for the nave-chapel of the Magi, presently in the Pinacoteca of Siena, by around 1385–1388 (fig. 2 nr. 10).²³⁰ This hypothesis is dubious, since Freuler's earliest documentary evidence for the presence of the Tolomei in the chapel is an inventory of 1458. It records the Tolomei coat of arms not on the altarpiece,

227 'E più adimando di gratia che el capitolo e canonici di Siena mi diano luogho per la mia sepultura presso alla dicta cappella come parrà a me et questo adimando per singulare gratia.'; or in the Latin version 'Franciscum priorem prefatum fuit facta sollemnis proposita et in eo dixit, exposuit et petiit sibi dari et concedi atque assignari de gratia singulari licentiam atque potestatem hedificandi et construendi et seu hedificari faciendi ante suam capellam per eum factam hedificatam et constructam in dictam ecclesiam chathedrali ad laudem Dei, sub titulo Visitationis Beate Marie Virginis, sepulturam sui corporis.'; ASS, Diplomatico, Archivio Generale, 1429 luglio 9 (notary Luca di Nanni of Siena); a seventeenth-century partial copy, as well as the 'Obblighi delli cappellani' can be found in AOMS, 1848 (num. Mosc. 2166), docs. 25 and 27 (MOSCADELLI 1995, p. 241). Tolomei appoints two chaplains who have to say mass five days a week, besides a duty to partake in the offices of the choir. To pay their salary he endows the chapel with a possession at Marciano that yields some 40 florins a year, another possession outside Porta Santo Viene worth more than 20 florins a year, and two shops, one in the vicinity of Piazza Tolomei worth 8 florins a year, the other on Piazza Tolomei itself worth 12 florins a year. Future chaplains are to be

chosen by two equal votes by a majority of the chapter of canons and by the descendants of Guido di Aldobrandino Tolomei.

228 ASS, Opera Metropolitana 30, fol. 19r, inventory of 1435: 'La cappella a lato al Crocifisso l'altare co la tavola sivii mesa a oro con figura di Nostra Donna con più santi con predella et gradi dappiei con due sedi dal latora con freri e tenda vermeglia co le frangie con due candelieri di fero in sul altare con uno telaio dipinto de la Visitazione di Santa Lisabetta da lato.' In the cathedral inventories of 1423 and 1429, where the transformed chapel is first described, the pictorial decoration of this chapel consists of Gregorio's altarpiece only: ASS, Opera Metropolitana 29, fol. 18v, inventory of 1423: 'La cappella a lato al crocefisso con una tavola di Nostra Donna e IIII santi da' lati ornati e belli con predelle da picie, e II gradi con II banchetti da sedere da lato con ferro e tende vermiglie e frangie.'; AOMS 867 (num. Mosc. 1492), fol. 70r (o. n. 18r), inventory of 1429: 'Cappella allato al Crocefisso coruna tavola di Nostra Donna e IIII santi da' lati.'.

229 VAN OS 1990, p. 84; CARLI 1979, pp. 127–129.

230 FREULER 1994, pp. 284–300, 290, 311 note 35 reference to the inventory, omitting its date.

but on the chapel's canopy.²³¹ In fact, as Monika Butzek kindly pointed out to me, the patronage over the chapel was actually conceded to a Tolomei in 1439-1440. On 23rd March 1439, an offer by Canon Giorgio di Andrea di Pietro Tolomei to endow the chapel of the Magi was rewarded by the concession of its patronage, out of the hands of the Opera who had apparently held the patronal rights before. That same day the Opera decided to heighten the arch of the chapel's niche, in order to align it with the other chapel-niches in the aisle.²³² Shortly before his death, on 11th August 1440, Canon Giorgio di Andrea di Pietro Tolomei, doctor in canon law, vicar general to the Sienese bishop and rector of the parish church of San Cristoforo, made up his testament.²³³ He provides for the endowment of his cathedral chapel and asks the Opera in return to take care of the provision of liturgical utensils for the chapel and of its decoration just as, the testator claims, they had done in the case of Francesco di Biagio Tolomei's chapel.²³⁴

Little is known about any resulting iconographic transformations of the chapel, although the personality of the new patron was certainly brought to the fore. From the testament it appears that the chapel was rededicated to both the Magi and Saint George, obviously a gesture towards its new patron. In 1447, when the arch of the chapel had been heightened, the Opera commissioned Nastagio di Guasparre, a close colleague of Sassetta's, to re-paint the fourteenth-century frescos on the niche's back wall.²³⁵ The above-mentioned 1458 inventory documents the presence of Tolomei's coat of arms: 'conn ornato di marmo sopra detta chapella conn armi de' Tholomei'. Giorgio Tolomei was already known to the tight circle of the influential new patrons in the cathedral, as is shown by the fact that he was present as a witness to the

231 Cathedral inventory: AOMS, 867 (num. Mosc. 1492), fol. 362r (insert 7, fol. 26r), published by LUSINI 1939, vol. II, p. 37, insert 8, fol. 26r (fol. 362r).

232 AOMS, 21, fol. 41r: '[in margine:] Pro capella Magi et domino Giorgio/ Etiam inteso che misser Giorgio Thalomey predecto a fiso ne la mente sua di fare uno doto a la capella de' Magi posta ne la chiesa maggiore per la quale possi tenere continuamente uno capellano o meglio in caso che a lui sia concessa la dicta capella. Et volendo bonifichare la chiesa in quel che l'è possibile. Solenemente tutti d'acordi i prefati operaio, consiglieri e camarlengo assente Jacomo [d'Andreuccio] antedecto uno de' decti consiglieri deliberoro acciò che la cosa abbi migliore effetto che sia pienamente rimesso et commesso nel operaio et in Meo di Nicolò predecto e quali a le spese del Uopera possino fare alzare l'arco de la dicta capella de' Magi al par de l'altre che sonno ine dal lato per orevoleza de la chiesa. Et da poy cederla, darla et concederla sicondo che s'usa di fare de le capelle al decto misser Giorgio dotandola in quello che saranno d'acordo i prefati operaio, misser Giorgio e Meo e con quelle conventioni, pacti et modi che saranno in concordia e questo fecero per ogni miglior modo etc. potendo fare di tutte le cose predecte scripture e rogi che vaglino e tengghino di ragione'; partial transcription, also of the continuation published in LUSINI 1939, vol. II, pp. 37-38 note 1.

233 He endowed the 'venerabile cappelle Magorum et Sancti

Georgii site in dicta maiori Senensis ecclesie' with half of the profits of five shops, asking in return: 'Et quod dominus operarius qui pro tempore fuerit quanto citius poterit ad laudem omnipotenti Dei et ad ipsius testatoris anime salutem vigore iam prehabite [?] conventiones et pacti cum presenti domino operario facere debeat construi et actari pingi et ornari sufficienter et commode dictam cappellam sumptibus et expensis dicte Opere ipsam que fulciri paramentes et ornamentes necessaries, convenientibus et condignis veluti, missali, calice aureo et aliis congruis ornamentis ad offitiandum dictam cappellam eo modo et forma qua et quibus et prout et sic pro cappella bone memorie quondam domini Francisci de Ptholomeis sita in dicta maiori senensis ecclesia dicitur fuisse provisum.'; ASS, Diplomatico Tolomei, 1440 agosto 11 (notary Jacopo di Nuccino di Duccio). I am indebted to Monika Butzek for drawing my attention to this document. For Giorgio Tolomei and his patronage of the chapel of San Giorgio in the church of San Cristoforo, see LOSERIES 1987.

234 See note 217 above.

235 Two frescoed arches at different heights, as well as Nastagio's *Saint Leonard* in substitution of the underlying fourteenth century fresco of the identical saint, can still be discerned in the fresco, which was uncovered and photographed at the occasion of the temporary removal of the present baroque altarpiece; FREULER 1994, pp. 281 fig. 255, 311 note 21; MILANESI 1854, vol. II, p. 291 note to

official assignment of donna Ludovica's chapel in 1426 (Appendix 1, document A.V.I and A.IX).

Carlo d'Agnolino Bartoli is another example, although he was less fortunate. Bartoli, who was bishop of Siena from 1427 up to his death in 1444, wanted to be buried in the chapel of San Crescenzo. His testamentary executors contracted Pietro del Minella for an ambitious restructuring of the chapel for the sum of 400 florins.²³⁶ It was to be about nine metres high and more than four metres wide, with statues mostly in marble. It is not known what programme Bartoli, his testamentary executors and Pietro del Minella had thought up. The medieval altar of San Crescenzo in the southern transept, immediately outside and adjacent to the choir screen, against the eastern wall, was one of the four altars of Siena's patron saints, adorned by Ambrogio Lorenzetti's *Purification of the Virgin* (figs. 2 nr. 5, 23).²³⁷ For fear the Bartoli project would intrude upon the unity of these four altars, the Opera del Duomo aborted the construction in 1447.²³⁸ Bartoli would still remain buried there, underneath a tomb-stone with his effigy as a bishop. The only other mark the Opera permitted his heirs to impress on the chapel was a marble step with Bartoli's arms.²³⁹ It was only when the Opera itself had the appetite to embellish all four patron chapels with marble niches, that Pietro del Minella's project was executed, complete with Bartoli's coats of arms.²⁴⁰

A request for private patronage over the chapel of Sant'Ansano befell a similar fortune, dragged by initial rejection. The rich bankers Rinaldo and Jacomo di Marco Pecci had solicited to obtain the patronage over the chapel of Sant'Ansano in 1406 (figs. 2 nr. 3, 22).²⁴¹ The Opera and the canons were taken by surprise and for confirmation played the affair as high as the supreme civic authority of the Concistoro, which in turn was undecided and advised asking the bishop. A disappointed Jacomo Pecci in 1412 started constructing

doc. nr. 205. Also in the 1440's, Nastagio had made a composition-drawing for the fresco of the *Coronation of the Virgin* on the Porta Romana that Sassetta would subsequently finish with highlights and adopt when he embarked upon this fresco in 1447; ISRAËLS 1998, pp. 437-438, 442-443 doc. nrs. IV, V.

236 MILANESI 1854, vol. II, pp. 226-227 doc. nr. 169.

237 LANDI 1655, pp. 52-53, 130 note 41, actually witnessed the destruction of the fourteenth-/fifteenth-century altar and frescos of the San Crescenzo Chapel and the construction of the present baroque altar next to it. His testimony is important for our knowledge of the original orientation of the altar of San Crescenzo. Carlo Bartoli's tombstone was actually given a quarter of a turn during the 1652 renovation of the altar by Dionisio Mazzuoli. The previous altar was situated against the eastern wall, whereas the present one is against the southern wall. 'Sopra a questo novello Altare [...] e sotto alla finestra al presente riquadrata, v'era di già un Altare dedicato a S. Crescenzo [...] fabbricato da Mons.re Carlo del Sig. Agnolo Bartoli Vescovo di Siena', 'Ma per essersi demolito il predetto Altare, è stato voltato il detto Sepolcro verso il novello Altare, situato dove era già dipinta la Traslazione di S. Crescenzo [...]; et io ho veduto fare tal rivolgimento.'

238 Literally phrased by the Opera: 'Conciò sia cosa chè per li fedeli commissarii de la buona memoria del veschovo Carlo, s'afermi, et già sia alogata a fare la capella di santo Crescentio [...], et di dare nuova forma all'altre tre degli Advocati et Padroni di questa nostra città et chiesa; pertanto, deliberarono, ch'essa capella non si tochi, nè se le dia altra forma che al presente s'abbia'; MILANESI 1854, vol. II, pp. 227-228 note to doc. nr. 169.

239 MILANESI 1854, vol. II, pp. 227-228 note to doc. nr. 169.

240 BUTZEK 2001, p. 54. In the 1450 inventory a 'voltarella intarsiata da chapo' (ASS, Opera Metropolitana 32, fol. 2r), whereas in the next inventory, of 1458, one can find 'con chapella di marmo a chapo detta/ tavola intagliata et ornata di più fichure con l'arme del vescovo Charlo ornato d'oro et di colori bella' (ASS, Opera Metropolitana 33, fols. xxvii-v). LANDI 1655, p. 53: 'da' lati di esso per riquadramento dell'arco vi erano l'Armi di detto Monsignore, le quali sono state murate in detto sito'.

241 Jacomo di Marco Pecci had been sent as one of the ambassadors of the Sienese government to meet Pope Martin V at Ponte d'Arbia on 20th September 1420, on his way to Rome. At the occasion, Jacomo Pecci accorded the pope a loan of 15,000 florins, taking in pledge the Rocca of Spoleto; MENGOLZI 1918, pp. 7-8.

40 *Jacopo della Quercia*, Saint Anthony Abbot presenting Cardinal Antonio Casini to the Virgin, 1437-1438, marble relief, circa 126 x 136 cm, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Siena.

a chapel outside the cathedral's walls, behind the altar of Santa Caterina, where the chapel of the Baptist would later be raised (fig. 2 nr. 7). He had it dedicated, appropriately, to his name saint but we know nothing about its decoration. In 1442 the Pecci Chapel was at a stage that allowed for the opening up of an entrance from the cathedral. However, fate had it that ten years later the Opera was in need of the area of Pecci's chapel and his heirs accepted, by an irony of fate, the chapel of Sant'Ansano instead.²⁴²

A clash of two eras is evident in the case of the chapels of San Crescenzo

²⁴² BUTZEK 2001, pp. 53-56.

and Sant'Ansano. In the preceding century, the decoration of the cathedral had been the affair of the Opera del Duomo, the chapter of canons and the city-government, while some rights were conceded to public institutions such as guilds. However, in the second quarter of the fifteenth century, commissions by rich individuals all of a sudden leapt to the foreground. Their urge to manifest themselves in the cathedral was initially treated with circumspect and was sometimes restrained, particularly in the case of the patron altars.

Carlo Bartoli's predecessor, Bishop Antonio Casini, created cardinal with the title of San Marcello by Pope Martin V in 1426, had been successful straightaway, restructuring the chapel of San Sebastiano in the northern transept of the Sienese cathedral (fig. 2 nr. 6). In 1430, he endowed the chapel with substantial funds, instituted two chaplaincies and re-dedicated it to 'Sancta Maria et Sancto Sebastiano', contributing again to an elaboration of the veneration towards the Virgin in the cathedral. Jacopo della Quercia executed an ornate design with marble sculptures. Casini's provisions for the chapel were protracted up to 1437. A lunette has survived, showing a full-size portrait of the kneeling Bishop Casini presented by his abbot-name saint to the seated Virgin (fig. 40).²⁴³ An unknown polyptych that had previously adorned the altar was reused but stripped of its three pinnacles.²⁴⁴ Casini's coats of arms must have been scattered across the complex.²⁴⁵ Casini thus strongly manifests his own personality in the chapel, even though this would not be his burial chapel, as we shall see later. Carlo Bartoli must have envisaged a project similar to the chapel of his predecessor on the episcopal see. Casini, a diplomat of great importance to the Sienese Commune, was in an advantaged position, while he had also been more fortuitous in choosing an altar that was less laden with collective Sienese history. Casini endowed his chapel at the same time as Sassetta started work on the Madonna della Neve. Ludovica and Casini must have known of each other's project, even though Casini was by then bishop of Grosseto and was frequently demanded at the papal court in Rome in his cardinal's vests. A similar spirit of self-propagation and manifest Marian devotion permeated both chapels. We shall later return to this point when discussing Casini as an adviser of Ludovica. Their artists must have been in contact too. Interestingly, a drawing showing the Virgin, a female saint and a donor, has been identified as a preparatory drawing by

243 BECK 1991, vol. 1, pp. 182-184 cat. nr. 16, vol. II, pp. 552 doc. nr. 501.6, 557 doc. nr. 503.6; SEYMOUR 1973, pp. 75, 76, 116-117, figs. 130-133; CARLI 1979, p. 103; BACCI 1929, pp. 277-344. The chapel was destroyed in 1645. The act of foundation of the two chaplaincies, drawn up in Casini's palace at the church of San Marcello at Rome: ASS, Diplomatico, Spedale, 1430, maggio 21 (notary Gregorio di Ser Neri Spetialini): 'Antonius miseratione divina tituli Sancti Marcelli Sancte Romane Ecclesie presbiter cardinalis [...] pro salute anime nostre disposuerimus perpetuos duos cappellanos in venerabili ecclesia Senensis continue ad divinum cultum tenere celebrando in cappella nostra Sanctorum Marie et Sebastiani sita in dicta ecclesia et stare in missis et aliis offitiis divinis'. See also ASS, Spedale 55, fol. 106v; AOMS, 19 (num. Mosc. 8) fols. 98v-100r, 107v (21st

May 1430, 6th March 1437), and Appendix 1, doc. E.3-6, 38, 66. On Casini and Jacopo della Quercia, see SANI 1987, pp. 492-497.

244 See p. 51 above.

245 AAS, Sante Visite 13, fol. 230r: the 'Inventario della chappella di Sancto Bastiano in duomo', drawn up in July 1466, mentions, apart from the endowment in immobilia, the *fornimenta* of the chapel: two chasubles, a missal, a chalice and 'Due davanza li uno di diapo chor-una tovaglia verghata di seta choll'arme del charde[n]alle di Sancto Marcello e una vi lassò misser Bastiano stanno in sagrestia.'. For the missal see f.e. the 1473 inventory: 'Uno messale a la moderna viso e buono miniato col arme del cardinale di Sancto Marciello et co la vesta verde. Tengelto e cappellani di Sancto Bastiano'; ASS, Opera Metropolitana 34, fol. 5r.

Della Quercia for the Casini Chapel. The sheet passed into the possession of Pisanello, but was also copied in the model book of Cecchino di Francesco da Verona, Sassetta's first arbiter in establishing the price of the Madonna della Neve.²⁴⁶

So, in the redecoration of the chapels in the transept of Siena's cathedral during the first half of the Quattrocento, a clear picture of their individual patrons emerges. We are witnessing here a broadening of the traditional pre-occupation of patrons with their spiritual welfare in the afterlife into a Rennaisancistic attention for the glory of themselves and their relatives.²⁴⁷ They make themselves present through the simple inclusion of their arms, or even by means of an effigy, as well as by markedly influencing the iconography generally more related to the individual religious sphere. The increasingly private character of patronage, unlike the civic- and cathedral-related projects of the preceding period, is reflected in a fresh emphasis on Marian spirituality. New themes are introduced such as the Madonna of Humility, the Pietà and, as we shall discuss below, the Virgin of the Snow, corresponding to a more focussed and emphatic devotion, echoing a religiosity that was much alive in the individual sphere, while at the same time expanding the general Sienese devotion towards the Virgin.²⁴⁸ This emergence of private patrons comes at a relatively late date in Siena. It could be said that the trend of individualising the cathedral space culminated with the cathedral of Pienza in the Sienese contado, constructed around 1460 by Pope Pius II, who turned it into a family affair, bestowing to his nephews three of its chapels, dedicated to their onomastic saints.²⁴⁹ Maginnis recently made a survey of late thirteenth- and fourteenth-century patronage of the arts in Siena, which poignantly highlights its pervasive communal, corporate character, almost to the exclusion of any private commissions at all.²⁵⁰

The privatisation of patronage over side altars was not limited to the cathedral and, as Sassetta's active life covers the second quarter of the fifteenth century, we can use his work as examples. And these examples reinforce the changes outlined above: apart from commissions by the city government, by a guild and by several convents, quite a few of his works appear to have been commissioned by individuals. Sassetta's altarpiece in the church of San Domenico in Cortona, significantly featuring a Madonna of Humility, was painted around 1434 for Niccolò di Angelo di Cecco, a rich merchant of that town. The chapel showed the patron's arms and the flanking saints on the altarpiece each represent one of the closest members of his family.²⁵¹ We also

246 The drawing now in the Albertina, Vienna, inv. nr. 9, Sc. R. 11, V7, discussed by BECK 1991, vol. 1, pp. 183-184; SEYMOUR 1973, p. 75; DEGENHART & SCHMITT 1968, vol. I.1, p. 211 cat. nr. 117, vol. I.3, fig. 163a; GOEBEL 2002, pp. 26-28, 165-168, however, doubts its relation to the Casini Chapel.

247 See COHN 1988, esp. pp. 58-71, 102-114, 155-158. High altars still remained the responsibility of the resident religious corporation; GARDNER VAN TEUFFEL 1999.

248 The veneration for the Virgin would continue to spread over the altars of the Sienese cathedral, as if to represent Mary in all

her facets. In 1500, Pietro di Daniele di Pietro acquired the patronage over the chapel of San Jacomo Interciso (in the fourth bay of the south aisle leaning against the bell tower) and had it rededicated to the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin; COHN 1988, p. 108.

249 PALLADINO 1994, esp. pp. 104-105.

250 MAGINNIS 2001, pp. 11-12, 119-160, esp. 148-149. On the corporate character of commissions for the convent-churches see VAUCHEZ 1977.

251 ISRAËLS 2003.

know of eight small-scale panels that Sassetta painted for personal use, all showing the Madonna of Humility, with the exception of the courtly *Adoration of the Magi*.

The custom of another Siennese family from the nobility can be surmised. The learned Fabio Chigi, future Pope Alexander VII, saw an altarpiece signed by Sassetta on the altar of the noble Petroni-family in the church of San Francesco in Siena, before the church was ravaged by fire in 1655: 'La tavola de' Petroni. Stephanus Io. de Senis me pinsit.'²⁵² The location of this altar seems to correspond to an altar of Saint Nicholas described in 1575 by Bossio who, however, confusingly states that it had no proper patron.²⁵³ In Chigi's manuscript, the Petroni-*tavola* immediately follows 'L'altare de' Tolomei'.²⁵⁴ The Petroni-panel (Chigi does call it *tavola* and not *altare*) may have been a satellite of the Tolomei altar, perhaps placed against a wall or over a smallish altar next to it when a new altarpiece, the *Magdalen* by Francesco Vanni seen by Chigi, was put up on the Tolomei altar.

Signs of these intertwined interests of the Tolomei and Petroni first appear in relation to donna Francesca, daughter of Francesco di Spinello Tolomei and widow of Niccolaccio di Caterino de' Petroni. In an unpublished act dated 4th July 1404, the well-to-do Francesca received a chapel in the basilica of San Francesco dedicated to Mary Magdalen. This chapel, situated to the left of the main entrance against the counterfaçade, had already been started and Francesca 'Petroni-Tolomei' was allowed to choose her burial-site there and to adorn the chapel with her arms and with frescos at her own expense. In return, Francesca was to provide the convent with the profit of two shops underneath her palace on Piazza Tolomei. She would give 40 florins to start work on the chapel and would furnish the altarpiece ('tabula picta') and pro-

252 CHIGI (BACCI) 1625-1626, p. 319, see note 254 below; on the Petroni altarpiece ROMAGNOLI 1835, fol. 427, quotes Chigi and also another guide of 1697, then the property of Sallustio Bandini but now lost, reporting the inscription as 'Stephanus Ioannis de Senis me pinxit.', adding that the work went up in flames. On altarpieces from San Francesco, both pre- and post-dating the fire, see G. Borghini, 'I dipinti della Chiesa di San Francesco nella Pinacoteca Nazionale di Siena', in TORRITI 1990, pp. 594-603.

253 BOSSIO 1575, fols. 669r-v (p. 984): 'Visitavit aliud altare sub titulo Sancti Nicolai lateritium et habebat petram sacram equatam mensae lignae, tres tobaleas vetustas et duo candelabra ferrea et ante palium ex serico figuratum, predellam ligneam latam et commodam et iconam pulcrum deauratam cum figura Sancti Nicolai et aliorum sanctorum in tabula. Quod altare dixerunt nullius esse et manu teneri a conventu et in eo celebrantur missae et anniversaria prout in aliis./Visitavit altare sub titulo Sanctae Mariae Magdalenae lateritium et mandavit super apponi mensam ligneam et petram sacram quae ibi aderat equari; et habebat tres tobaleas et pallium ex levi serico cerulei coloris, predellam ligneam et [fol. 669v] iconam cum imagine Sanctae Mariae Magdalenae auro ornatam in tabula depictam cum aliis sanctis. Quod altare est illorum de familiis Tolomeorum et Patritiorum et in eo celebratur ut in aliis altaribus

dictum est.'

254 CHIGI (BACCI) 1625-1626, pp. 318-319: 'L'altare de' Tolomei S. Maria Maddalena Francesco Vanni, lavoro di Flaminio./La tavola de' Petroni Stephanus Io. de Senis me pinsit. the altar at Chigi's time being adorned by a *Magdalen* by Francesco Vanni.

255 ASV, Fondo Veneto, I, 16152 (notary Pietro di Ser Monaldo di Ser Martino of Siena), the friars represented by Arrigho Salvetti, minister general of the Tuscan province of the Franciscan Order: 'unam cappellam iam inceptam sitam in ecclesiam ipsorum fratrum capitoli et conventi in navi existenti in dicta ecclesia ex latere sinistro in introitu de reggiis dicte ecclesie quam cappellam dicta domina Francisca vel alter pro ea possit et valeat fieri facere complere et ornare picturis et armis suis prout de se processerit voluntate omnibus inter suis dicte domine Francisce sumptibus et expensis, et in pede gradus dicte cappelle possit fieri et fieri facere sepultura eius'. The friars will say masses at the altar for the salvation of her soul and those of her beloved and in particular, Arrigho promises, will sing a mass of the dead: 'quolibet anno imperpetuum in die festivitatis Beate Marie Maddalene sub cuius titulo et vocabulo dicta cappella nuncupata et vocata'. In return: 'Item promisit prefata domina Francisca [...] ornare, fulcire dictam cappellam de tabula picta, paramentis, calice et missale et aliis cunctis necessariis ad dic-

41 (left) *Sassetta, Saint Nicholas, mid-1430s, tempera and gold on panel, 126.6 x 44 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. nr. RF. 1981-57.*

42 (right) *Sassetta, Saint Anthony Abbot, mid-1430s, tempera and gold on panel, 134.6 x 47.3 cm, collection of the Banca Monte dei Paschi di Siena S.p.A., Siena.*

vide for liturgical necessities.²⁵⁵ Donna Francesca drew up her testament on 11th March 1421.²⁵⁶ Although no further reference is made to the decoration of her chapel, it is conceivable that Sassetta was commissioned by her or, more likely, her heirs, to paint the altarpiece, which must have boasted the Petroni arms or Francesca's name, in turn enabling Chigi to identify it two centuries later. Francesca must have been a woman-patron comparable to donna Ludovica, moving in the same circles.²⁵⁷

Quite a few puzzles remain to be solved, as to the relation between the two altars of the Magdalen and of Saint Nicholas, their patron families and their altarpieces. From the inception, the title of Saint Nicholas may have had some relationship to donna Francesca's altar (perhaps as a secondary title?), since Francesca's husband had carried that saint's name. Following this line of enquiry we might further suggest, albeit cautiously, a candidate for the altarpiece: two lateral panels of a triptych, or maybe the outer panels of a pentaptych by Sassetta, a *Saint Nicholas* and a *Saint Anthony*, datable to the 1430s (figs. 41, 42).²⁵⁸ The presence of Saint Anthony could be accounted for if Cittadini is correct in affirming that Niccolaccio Petroni had a son by the name of Antonio.²⁵⁹ The Magdalen, titular saint of the altar, would then have

tam cappellam et altare dicte cappelle fuissent necessaria pro missis et divinis offitiis ibi celebrandis offitiandis et dicendis.'

256 She leaves money on the condition that 'sia obligata la detta compagnia [di San Francesco] fare ogni anno uno officio per l'anima sua nel convento de' frati minori da Siena con doppieri et candeled come è usanza et a le mantellate quattro lire di candeled et le candeled in mano a' frati che vadano a dire l'uffitio a la sua sepoltura. Et la pīanza a frati due staia di pane et due staia di buono vino et cinquanta libre di carne. Item sieno tenuti sempre ciascuna volta ch'e frati minori fanno capitolo provinciale a Siena, la detta compagnia facci fare uno officio per l'anima sua con doppieri et candeled al coro et a le mantellate et la pīanza a tutti frati onorevolmente di pane e di vino buono et carne d'ogni cosa abundantemente et le candeled in mano a' frati che vadano a ffare l'officio a la sua sepoltura.' A *particola* of the testament preserved in ASS, Diplomatico, Patrimonio Resti, Compagnie, 1421, marzo 11 (notary Mariano di Nicola, authenticated by two later notaries in 1470); see also ASS, Diplomatico, Spedale, 1422 aprile 1 (notary Mariano di Nicola), referred to by BANCHI 1877, p. 221, regarding Francesca's enormous donation of 3000 florins to the hospital of the Annunciation which she had constructed in Buonconvento and which she wanted to be governed by the Spedale della Scala in Siena.

257 Both lived near San Pietro a Ovile, and Francesca too obviously had a predilection for the Franciscans, the friars acting both as witnesses to her testament and serving as testamentary executors, together with a.o. the prior of the Compagnia di San Francesco and Giorgio di Andrea Tolomei, the canon and later vicar of the bishop who had partaken in the winding up of Ludovica's chapel affairs (Appendix 1, docs. A.V.1 and IX) and who later acquired the patronage over the altar of the Magi in Siena Cathedral.

258 In 1956 the *Saint Anthony* was discovered by ZERI 1956. This

panel was initially erroneously associated with the Arte della Lana altarpiece. Other considerations apart, it has convincingly been made clear that it formed a pair with a Saint Nicholas of Bari, now in the Louvre in Paris; RESSORT 1983; R. Bartalini in MONTE DEI PASCHI 1988, pp. 294-297, confirmed by the present author's examination of the size of the panels and the positions of dowel and batten marks. There are dowel holes at the inner sides of the panels only. K. Christiansen in CHRISTIANSEN, KANTER & STREHLKE 1988, p. 65, justly argues that the pinnacles with the Angel of the Annunciation (Massa Marittima) and the Virgin Annunciate (New Haven) did not belong to this complex. Bartalini (cited above) suggests the two panels could be identified with part of a Sassetta painting seen by Teofilo Gallacini at the beginning of the seventeenth century in a church of San Niccolò (in Sasso, according to Bartalini). One wonders whether Gallacini perhaps meant the convent-church of San Niccolò near the Porta Romana, founded by the Petroni; TURRINI 1997, p. 10. An eventual transferral of the San Francesco Petroni altarpiece would then make sense.

259 Nicolaccio di Caterino di Petrone had three sons: Francesco, Antonio and Pi[etro?], according to ASS, Particolari Famiglie Senesi busta 145, filza 1, *Studi genealogici, compilati da Celso Cittadini, si trovavano tra le carte miscellanee del convento di S. Niccolò Porta Romana nella filza 80*, fol. 1r. However, the genealogy is only partly reliable (for example coupling Francesca Tolomei with Nicolaccio di Petrone di Petrone). In Francesca Tolomei's testament no children of her own are mentioned, while she does make bequests to her nephews Jacomo and Spinello di Cristoforo Tolomei (see also ASS, Diplomatico Tolomei, 1422, giugno 20). Either Cittadini is mistaken, or the sons of Niccolaccio Petroni are for some reason absent in their mother's testament, or they are her stepsons.

figured on the central panel or, more likely, on one of two now lost lateral panels.²⁶⁰ The direction of the downcast glances of the two surviving saints could point to a lowly positioned main subject on the central panel, such as the child of a Madonna of Humility. Francesca's was the first private Petroni-related altar inside the church of San Francesco, even though the family had possessed a tomb-chapel with a monumental sculptural entrance in the main cloister since the preceding century.²⁶¹ This again attests to the trend, even in a mendicant church traditionally directed towards the laity, that private citizens were increasingly and more conspicuously taking over the public ecclesiastical space.

In addition to the Niccolò di Angelo altarpiece at Cortona and the Petroni altarpiece, we shall discuss in chapter IX a chapel endowed by Cardinal Antonio Casini in the cathedral of Grosseto, which was adorned by another Sassetta altarpiece. Apart from the well-known commission for the Madonna della Neve, documentary evidence thus brings to the surface the private character of another three out of the dozen or so major commissions that, as far as we know, were received by Sassetta.

When the Siennese urban elite belatedly entered the stage of commissions for altars in the cathedral as individuals, and when they started to explicitly assert their patronage over altars in monastic churches in early fifteenth-century Siena, they did so with a self-awareness tempered by the manifestation of an involved, personified religiosity. Before, patronage in Siena had been closely tied to its communal, collective spirit and state form: civic and ecclesiastical authorities had the say over the cathedral. Vauchez showed that civic influence was paramount even in the mendicant churches, where the Commune itself subverted the promotion of the cult of local saints.²⁶² It is significant that coats of arms as well as donor figures occur rarely, if at all, in Siennese altarpieces of the fourteenth century. In order to establish the specificity of this situation in Siena, it is worth considering briefly some examples of the range of patronage by individuals in churches of other cities in the fourteenth century.

In Florence, as in Siena, the cathedral as civic symbol should be our test case for the pervasiveness of the presence of private patrons.²⁶³ The organisation of the cathedral works in Florence already presents a picture quite distinct from its Siennese counterpart. From 1330-1331, the city's powerful guild of woolworkers supervised as patron the Opera of Santa Maria del Fiore.²⁶⁴ It therefore need not amaze us that the family of a high official of the Arte della Lana, Noferi di Giovanni Bischeri, could obtain an altar against a pillar in the cathedral and present his coats of arms, an inscription and likenesses of fam-

²⁶⁰ There was hardly a Siennese tradition for altarpieces of saints represented on the central panel; VAN OS 1990, p. 89. Bossio records both on the Petroni and on the Tolomei altar a gilded *icona* showing the titular saint with other saints (see note 253 above).

²⁶¹ SEIDEL 1978, pp. 119, 123; CARLI 1971, figs. 45-49.

²⁶² VAUCHEZ 1977.

²⁶³ BRAUNFELS 1953, pp. 145-147.

²⁶⁴ PAATZ 1940-1954, vol. III (1952), p. 325, on p. 391 is mentioned a now lost cathedral-altarpiece with the Madonna, commissioned in 1300 by domina Bonina, widow of Ceccho Ciuffoli.

²⁶⁵ The family was given a tomb in its vicinity. L. Becherucci, in BECHERUCCI & BRUNETTI 1971, vol. II, pp. 284-285 nr. 43, fig.

ily members on its *tabula* with Saint Catherine of Alexandria, executed around 1378.²⁶⁵

The mendicant churches called in the rich families of their neighbourhood to help enhance their churches. In Florence, the programme for the chapels itself, as Hueck shows for Santa Croce, had been designed by the friars.²⁶⁶ The effect was that lay patrons were allotted chapels whose dedication did not have a specific individual bearing. Patrons like the Bardi did, however, clearly proclaim their status and munificence not only by displaying their coats of arms, also the case in Sienese mendicant churches,²⁶⁷ but also by representing themselves as donors. Francesco Rinuccini's chapel in the sacristy of Santa Croce, to stick to the same church, provides a more pronounced example. In 1379 Giovanni del Biondo painted its altarpiece with an intricate image of the Madonna of Humility, an iconography that had individual devotional overtones as we have seen, and also included Rinuccini's name saint.²⁶⁸

In Florence, maecenatism of individuals had been dictated by the desire of its self-made families, their fortunes always remaining prey to the uncertainties of fate, to impress a visible stamp of their power, preferably in their neighbourhood churches. On the contrary, in Venice, apart from the class of wealthy citizens, the hereditary nobility had been formally secured its privileges in the late thirteenth century. They therefore had greater liberty in choosing a church of their liking and were often driven by personal motives in their patronage, as argued by Goffen.²⁶⁹ This liberal pattern of patronage did not extend, however, to the church of San Marco. The ducal church, although not the city's cathedral, certainly the most central and prestigious church, was supervised by the committee of Procurators. It filtered and tempered requests for private chapels and burials up to the sixteenth century, even those made by the *dogi* themselves.²⁷⁰ Though in Venice, as in Siena, there existed a certain reticence in the donor's self-promotion, we already encounter here small donor-portraits, for example on the Saint Donatus relief of 1310, which served as high altarpiece to the church of Santi Maria e Donato at Murano.²⁷¹

In Rome, the political power of Cardinal Jacopo Stefaneschi at the papal court enabled him to commissioning Giotto and his workshop a double-sided altarpiece for old Saint Peter's with an iconography referring to the main cults of the basilica, but complemented by the cardinal's portrait as donor.²⁷² Private commissions for chapels and altarpieces by rulers of autocracies in

258; PAATZ 1940-1954, vol. III, p. 403, on another Saint Catherine altarpiece with a donor attributed to Bernardo Daddi and datable around 1345, see *IBIDEM*, pp. 369, 400.

266 HUECK 1976; see also LONG 1988. JACOBSEN 2001, pp. 306-314, gives a very useful sketch of the patrons in early Renaissance Florence, stressing that initially the scene was not dominated by the Medici but mostly by their rival families.

267 To take one example only: the Sozzini Chapel in the church of San Domenico in Siena was provided already in the early fourteenth century with a relief with a coat of arms and an inscription

indicating the patronage; KIRCHEN 1992, vol. 2.1.2, p. 752 nr. 42.

268 OFFNER & STEINWEG 1969, part II, pp. 77-83.

269 GOFFEN 1986, pp. 22-29.

270 HUMFREY 1993, pp. 124-126.

271 *IBIDEM*, pp. 29-40, (p. 31 for the wooden Saint Donatus relief of 201 x 143 cm), 104-110, for a survey of earlier Venetian altarpieces and individual patronage; WOLTERS 1976, pp. 19, 149 cat. nr. 6, fig. 13.

272 See esp. KEMPERS & DE BLAAUW 1987, with further literature.

important churches of their cities would seem likely, although one should be careful in interpreting the evidence. It was, for example, thought that Pietro Lorenzetti's high altarpiece of 1320 for the important Pieve in Arezzo had been commissioned by Bishop Guido Tarlati, the later ruler of the city, as an individual patron. As a matter of fact, though, Tarlati commissioned the altarpiece as a representative of the clergy of the Pieve.²⁷³ The Aretine cathedral did, however, come to house the lavish tomb of Guido Tarlati in 1330 and also, in 1334, a chapel of a relative, Ciuccio Tarlati, now the only one remaining of the many fourteenth- and fifteenth-century chapels in the cathedral, which is still adorned by a fresco with a Crucifixion, Virgin and saints and the figure of the donor.²⁷⁴

Van Os has shown how at the end of the fourteenth century in Pisa, private families were accustomed to commission high altarpieces, a trend completely unthinkable in Siena. The Pisan patrons visibly left their stamp by including their coats of arms or by choosing representations of onomastic saints that could also be portraits in disguise.²⁷⁵ Similarly, Trasmundo Monaldeschi, bishop of Sovana, donated the high altarpiece to the church of San Domenico in Orvieto. It was painted by Simone Martini, who incorporated the diminutive figure of Monaldeschi presented in prayer to the Virgin.

In early fifteenth-century Siena, the symptoms of a changing patronage might have resulted from the bouncing back of the city after the period of hardship triggered by the Plague of 1348 and the shrunken capacities and appetites of human resources, both in terms of patrons and of painters.²⁷⁶ In the case of the cathedral this becomes manifest when we consider that the decoration campaign backed by individuals, as described above, was the first major intervention in the cathedral since the failure of the construction of the *Duomo Nuovo* (1339-1357). At the same time the new emphatic religiosity, aiming at a life in imitation of Christ and the Virgin, may have grown into a vogue of such impetus that its themes had ripened up to their acceptance, even desirability, on the public church-altar in Siena. The collective civic identity and the centrality of the divine witnessed in the city-state of the previous period gradually made way for a new spirit of the age, in which the human perspective was paramount. Politically and socially the republic of Siena in the fifteenth century moved slowly towards an oligarchy, thereby creating a class interested in the pursuit of private patronage in an arena where the more ostentatious presence of the individual was now embraced.²⁷⁷

The transformation of the altar near the Porta del Perdono engineered by Sassetta for donna Ludovica in the memory of her late husband Turino fits in with the developments sketched out above for the neighbouring cathedral chapels. This was a burial chapel. Both shields of arms of the patrons are present even on the altarpiece itself (plate 11). Ludovica commissioned the altar-

273 FRENI 2000, gainsaying a.o. KEMPERS 1987, p. 78 and VAN OS 1988, pp. 69-74.

274 TAFI 1978, p. 237; DEL VITA [s.a.], pp. 40-46; PASQUI 1880, pp. 83-86.

275 VAN OS 1990, pp. 65-73.

276 On the ensuing lacuna in Siena's political and artistic development see esp. VAN OS 1990, pp. 24-33.

277 ASCHERI 1985, pp. 9-56.

piece directly, without the intervention of the operaio, as had been the case with the chapels of Galgano di Cerbone, Francesco Tolomei and Giorgio di Andrea di Pietro Tolomei. Although the altar conceded to Ludovica was already dedicated to the Virgin, Ludovica and her advisers expressed a specific veneration for the Marian legend of the snow that left room for a particular, private manifestation of the patron, while at the same time introducing a new theme in the devotion to the Virgin. In chapter VII we shall endeavour to chart Sassetta's highly original responses to the trend of more individualised chapels to the special exigencies of his patron and the location of the altar. But before we can venture into the end-result of Ludovica's commission, a final determining agent in its genesis needs to be studied. We shall discuss the connotations of the snow-iconography more fully, particularly the way in which Turino and Ludovica learned in such detail about a specifically Roman legend.

THE EXTENSION OF THE SNOW-ICONOGRAPHY FROM ROME TO SIENA
In the context of the general reorientation towards the Virgin in Siena Cathedral as discussed above, the installation of the Madonna della Neve constituted an original addition. In this chapter we shall attempt to trace what specific interest the snow-miracle held for Turino and Ludovica and how they learned about the legend. This will bring us to Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome and to the protector and archpriest (archpresbyter) of this church, the intellectual and much-travelled diplomat Antonio Casini. We shall discuss Casini at length as a patron in his own right, since it is crucial to our understanding of his adviser's role in the genesis and realisation of Sassetta's Madonna della Neve. It will give us an idea of precisely what ideas and what advice he would have been able to provide to donna Ludovica and Sassetta in Siena.

VII

Adviser

From the outset, in 1423, Turino and Ludovica wanted to dedicate their chapel to the Virgin 'ad nomen gloriose Marie Virginis', because they firmly believed that Turino had overcome his first serious illness through the intervention of Mary and Saint Francis (Appendix 1, doc. A.II). Only on 25th March 1430, when Sassetta is commissioned to paint an altarpiece, do the surviving sources become more specific. Sassetta is to represent the Virgin and Child, saints Francis, Peter, Paul and John the Baptist, and is to devote the predella to the snow legend, 'quinque storiis Sancte Marie de Nive', eventually to become seven scenes. Ludovica's testament of 11th November 1432 records, for the first time, the new denomination of the chapel: 'sub vocabulo Sancte Marie della Nieve' (Appendix 1, doc. A.VII).²⁷⁸

Although the documents surrounding the testament were not at the time explicit, in 1423 Turino and Ludovica may well already have envisioned the installation of a chapel in the honour of the Virgin of the Snow specifically. As a matter of fact, during Turino's office as operaio, a new choir book for the cathedral had been ordered. This contained four new offices, amongst them the feast of Mary of the Snow: 'Uno libro grande basso nuovo coerto con tavole e cuoio rosso e coppe di ferro, nel quale sono quattro officii nuovi solfati [...lacuna] l'Etternità, el Corpo di Cristo, Sancta Maria de la Nieve.'²⁷⁹ Thus the introduction of the new feast in the Sienese cathedral can be credited to Turino di Matteo and his circle, and can be dated around 1423.²⁸⁰

The legend of the Virgin of the Snow, the founding-legend of the church

²⁷⁸ POPE HENNESSY 1939, pp. 50-51 note 62.

²⁷⁹ ASS, Opera Metropolitana 29, fol. 3v. Apart from the explicit denomination of the book as 'new' in 1423, it should be noted that the choir book does not appear in the preceding 1420 inventory. KEMPERS 1994, pp. 114, 131 note 102, is unaware that the book was already registered in 1423, and he refers instead to the inventory of 1429. Kempers therefore erroneously supposes that the *Festum Nivis* entered the cathedral's calendar only in 1429, long after Turino's term. The 1429 inventory does mention the first

office which the scribe of the 1423 inventory could not remember, though the handwriting is unclear. It certainly does not read 'la Spirito Santa' (as transcribed by Kempers), but maybe 'la semper [sp] Trinità'; AOMS, 867 (num. Mosc. 1492), fol. 55v (insert 2, fol. 3v).

²⁸⁰ The general acceptance of the feast may have had some teething problems since it coincided with the Feast of Saint Dominic. For that reason the Arte della Lana for example, was not yet observing the *Festum Nivis* in 1426; ASS, Arti 64, fol. xir.

43 *Filippo Rusuti, The dream of the patrician, circa 1300, mosaic, façade of Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome.*

of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome, already paraphrased in the introduction, consists of one of the most enchanting Marian miracles. A Roman patrician called Johannes and his wife had no children and, once they got to a certain age, they started to worry about what to do with their patrimony after their deaths. On the night of 3rd August 352, the Virgin appears to Johannes in his dream, declaring that a miraculous snowfall on Mount Esquiline would indicate to him the place where he would edify a church in her glory. Johannes thereupon rushes to the Holy Father, Liberius (352–366) and it transpires out that Mary has also appeared in a vision to the pope. Subsequently, a messenger arrives from Mount Esquiline to report that a miracle has indeed taken place. Liberius and Johannes together set out for the Esquiline, to find that snow has fallen from the summer sky and has remained unmelted on the hill

44 *Filippo Rusuti, The dream of Pope Liberius, circa 1300, mosaic, façade of Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome.*

in the form of the floor plan of the church that has to be built. Liberius humbly takes a spade to reinforce the contours of the plan. Some versions of the legend have it that the pope's gesture was rewarded with an additional miracle: the ground sunk within the contours of the plan, facilitating the laying-in of the church's foundation.

The feast of *Maria ad Nives* has been celebrated on 5th August since its institution by Pope Honorius III in 1222. The legend was probably only designed around the twelfth century to lend authority to the antedating of the church of Santa Maria Maggiore to the time of Liberius. It was claimed that Santa Maria Maggiore was the earliest Marian church of western Christianity. The larger, European dissemination of the snow-feast was due to the Franciscans, who adopted it, together with the entire curial calendar, in

45 *Filippo Rusuti, The patrician's visit to the pope, circa 1300, mosaic, façade of Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome.*

1223. The General Chapter of the order in 1269 once again stringently prescribed the celebration of the feast.

A *Bildtradition* for the representation of the miraculous foundation legend of Santa Maria Maggiore originated at the bosom of both Rome and the Franciscan Order. Nicholas IV (1288-1292) had directly succeeded Bonaventure as Minister General of the Franciscans, before being elected to the pontificate. It was Pope Nicholas IV who undertook the reconstruction and decoration of a new west end to Santa Maria Maggiore with a new apse and a transept, supported by Cardinals Jacopo (†1318) and Pietro (†1326) Colonna. After the pope's death, the Colonna cardinals continued the project and entrusted Filippo Rusuti with the decoration of the façade (figs. 43, 44, 45, 46). Rusuti's mosaics, now much restored and obscured by Ferdinando

46 *Filippo Rusuti*, The miraculous snowfall and the pope hewing out the ground-plan, circa 1300, mosaic, façade of Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome.

Fuga's eighteenth-century portico, show the legend of the Virgin of the Snow developing over four large scenes beneath a top register with Christ enthroned surrounded by saints. The nocturnal visions of the patrician and the pope are followed by the visit of the patrician and finally, coupled in one scene, the snow-miracle and the pope digging out the ground-plan. The patronage is made explicit through the Colonna arms and through a putative portrait of Pope Nicholas IV.²⁸¹ Rusuti's mosaics set the example of how the foundation legend could be used to reflect the situation of artistic patrons.

The local foundation legend of Santa Maria Maggiore held a fascination

²⁸¹ HUBACH 1996, pp. 154-157; DE BLAAUW 1994, vol. 1, pp. 359-365; WOLF 1990, pp. 195-196; DE BLAAUW 1987, pp. 178-181;

GARDNER 1973, pp. 22-41; VAN OS 1968, pp. 3-8.

that transcended the boundaries of Rome, due to a shifting of accents in its interpretation. Patrons identified themselves with the patrician Johannes and seized the opportunity offered by the legend for elegant self-presentations in a variety of artworks. Hubach coined this phenomenon 'Folie repräsentativer Selbstdarstellung'.²⁸² More than their contemporaries, the Franciscan Order realised the propagandistic potential held by representing the miracle. On top of its function as an ideal image of patronage, the legend offered the chance to reflect upon the benefit of collaboration between the Church and patricians. And on a different level, the revered snow legend attested to the Virgin's power to work miracles on her own. In this sense, the prominent miracle became a referential example for later, more obscure Marian interventions.²⁸³ Finally, composers of the liturgy for the *Festum Nivis* carved out an allegorical significance from the legend, as the snow became an attribute of the Virgin's purity and immaculateness.²⁸⁴

Outside Rome, representations of the snow legend first started to appear during the fourteenth century, particularly as miniatures accompanying the feast in liturgical books. The snow miracle was condensed into one scene only and, in accordance with the angle given to the story by the liturgical texts, the miniatures tended to single out the immaculate overtones of the whiteness of snow.²⁸⁵ Isolated instances of single scenes showing the foundation of Santa Maria Maggiore occur on predellas, in Taddeo di Bartolo's Volterra altarpiece for example, on windows and, once, in fresco and they mostly serve the social image of the patron.²⁸⁶ The beginning of the fifteenth century then witnessed Masaccio and Masolino's double-sided altarpiece as an important expression of the iconography again rooted in, and designed for, the Roman basilica. Its back central panel, which represents the miracle of the snow, is the most significant and chronologically related precedent for Sassetta's snow chapel in Siena Cathedral (plate XII and figs. 47-52). Still, Sassetta's Madonna della Neve is the first fully-fledged altarpiece entirely dedicated to the legend with a predella that recounts the story in no less than seven scenes, almost twice as many as the canonical Rusuti mosaics, which had so far been the most extensive cycle. Sassetta divided the actual snow-miracle and the pope digging out the ground-plan over two scenes, adding the novel scenes of the construction and consecration of the church. Given the initial spread of an abridged version of the legend outside Rome, Sassetta's sweeping cycle is all the more amazing (plates IV-X).

The circumstances of Turino di Matteo and his widow Ludovica blended beautifully with the legend and the opportunities it offered.²⁸⁷ Ludovica's conviction that the intercession of the Virgin herself had cured her husband in 1421 suggests a kind of divine, miraculous inspiration comparable to the apparition of Mary to the patrician Johannes in Rome. Turino and Ludovica

282 HUBACH 1996, pp. 158-166; the idea had already been developed in VAN OS 1968.

283 On the legend and its origins: SAXER 2001, pp. 320-327, 366-379; HUBACH 1996, esp. pp. 131-108; VAN OS 1968; PELAEZ 1953.

284 VAN OS 1968, pp. 26-31.

285 See the miniatures brought together by VAN OS 1968, pp. 24-32.

286 IBIDEM, pp. 14-24.

287 This was first observed by BLAUWKUIP 1980, pp. 24-31; followed by VAN OS 1990, pp. 173-174.

were a wealthy, childless couple and their decision to dedicate a large sum to the construction of a chapel could be neatly likened to the magnanimity of the childless Roman patricians in founding Santa Maria Maggiore. Turino and Ludovica also contributed to the cathedral in other ways, since Turino was to leave the rest of his fortune to the Opera del Duomo, according to the new legislation instituted by his predecessor Caterino di Corsino. A legend that centred round the construction of a church offered, of course, a lovely analogy with Turino's occupation as operaio. Sassetta represented this delicately in the sixth predella-scene where an operaio, probably a portrait of Turino, clad in the robes of his office, oversees the building activities, as we shall discuss more fully in the next chapter (plate ix). By presenting Turino as a patrician, he may furthermore have strengthened his social standing. Turino di Matteo was a non-name, he was not of noble descent but must have been himself responsible for gathering his considerable wealth and for gaining respect, probably by his activities as a merchant, which resulted in prestigious positions and a marriage to a woman from the aristocracy, as we saw in chapter I.

Apart from the similarities between the patrons of the legend and Turino and Ludovica, yet another comparison can be made between the Franciscan efforts for the promulgation of the legend and the Franciscan religiosity of the Sienese couple. As we have seen, Turino di Matteo had been a member of the confraternity of San Francesco in Siena, while Ludovica would become a Franciscan tertiary and had manifold ties with the church of San Francesco. This Franciscan environment seems to have been a source of inspiration for Turino and Ludovica's choice to institute the feast of the miracle of the snow and to dedicate a chapel to it in the Sienese cathedral.

Yet these similarities alone hardly seem sufficient to explain the grandiosity of Sassetta's snow-iconography, considering the unsurpassed breadth of its narrative. It must have been triggered not only by a general compatibility but, more directly, by an immediate cause and it seems legitimate to search for a specific source of information. The circle of friends surrounding Turino and Ludovica, which has emerged from the newly discovered documents, provides the answer. The link between Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome and Siena Cathedral is incarnate in Antonio Casini, bishop of Siena from 1408-1427 and well-versed in the scene of the Roman Curia of Pope Martin V, who created him cardinal with the title of San Marcello.²⁸⁸ The new documents now make clear that the foundation of Turino's and Ludovica's chapel was indeed already an issue during Casini's tenure as bishop of Siena and that Turino promoted the *Festum Nivis* during Casini's episcopate. From documents A.V, A.VI and A.VIII of Appendix I of the present study it now actually appears that the episcopal see of Siena oversaw the genesis of the chapel from 1424 to 1426. The official institution of the chapel and chaplaincy was ratified by Antonio Casini's vicar general, Pietro di San Pietro, a Pisan canon. The vicar took care of Casini's Sienese affairs since Casini mostly resided in Rome. However, Casini maintained ties with Siena over these years as shown, for

288 The first to put forward this suggestion was KEMPERS 1987, p. 181.

example, by the fact that his own chapel in Siena Cathedral was started in 1430, the same year in which Sassetta took up his brush for the Madonna della Neve. Casini's expertise was therefore still at hand. Ludovica probably knew Antonio Casini personally from the years of Turino's rectorate and contact between Ludovica and Bishop Casini would have been facilitated by the fact that Ludovica descended from a family of ecclesiastical aristocrats. One of her forefathers was Luca di Ser Ghino Bertini, bishop of Siena from 1378 to 1384.²⁸⁹ During Turino's term as operaio, he and Ludovica had lived quite near the mansion of Bishop Antonio Casini, with only the cathedral between them.²⁹⁰ In the following excursus, we shall briefly discuss not only Casini's life and his bonds to Siena and Rome in particular, but also his role as the commissioner of the Masaccio-Masolino altarpiece and that work's location and function. We shall discuss this patron and his commission in as far as they are vital as a precedent to Sassetta's Madonna della Neve. Of course, an entire book could easily be filled with the Masaccio-Masolino altarpiece, or for that matter with Antonio Casini. For the purpose of our study we shall therefore concentrate on Casini's career and the genesis, patronage, original location and iconography of the Santa Maria Maggiore altarpiece, especially in as far as they shed light on our understanding of the programmatical genius behind Sassetta's Madonna della Neve. In doing so we shall also take into account documents so far unknown in the literature on Masaccio and Masolino's altarpiece.

ANTONIO CASINI AND THE SANTA MARIA MAGGIORE ALTARPIECE

Antonio di Giovanni Casini, born around 1378, was a Siennese citizen.²⁹¹ He was trained as a jurist in both canon and secular law, while his diplomatic capabilities ensured him an important career in the Church as well as the confidence of the popes of his lifetime. After initial nominations as *pievano* of Signa, canon of the Florentine cathedral and papal sub-collector for Tuscany, he was appointed pontifical treasurer around 1408 (see also Appendix 1, doc. E.69, 86). In that year he also succeeded Gabriele Condulmer, who had just received his cardinalate, on the episcopal see of Siena. As the treasurer and main confidant of Pope Martin V (1417-1431), Casini mostly resided in Rome, where he reached the summit of his political influence. He was the intermediary *par excellence* between the pope and the city of Siena during the toilsome preparations for the Council of Siena (1423-1424).²⁹² On that occasion the

²⁸⁹ NARDI 2002, pp. 175-176; PECCI 1748, pp. 288-294; GIGLI 1723, vol. III, p. 876; UGHELLI 1718, col. 567 nr. 56.

²⁹⁰ Casini rented a house from the Opera next to the episcopal palace; BACCI 1929, pp. 286-294.

²⁹¹ BRANDMÜLLER 1978. Since the seventeenth century two nephews, both answering to the name Antonio Casini, have been confused. Our Antonio Casini, bishop of Siena and Grosseto, created cardinal of San Marcello in 1426, was a son of Giovanni di Bartolomeo Casini. Antonio Casini (†1429 old style), bishop of Massa was the son of Francesco di Bartolomeo Casini, a brother of Giovanni. Apparently both Francesco and Giovanni were doctors

to the papacy (the first to Martin V, the second to Innocence VII); BUTZEK 1996, p. 53 note 105; SALVINI 1752, p.27 nr. 262; SALVINI ante 1752, vol. I, sub anno 1395; PECCI 1748, pp. 304-316; UGHELLI 1718, cols. 570-572 nr. 61, cols. 721-722 nr. 34. BRANDMÜLLER 1978 still makes this mistake. Antonio Casini made a bequest to donna Checha, daughter of his uncle Francesco; in Appendix 1, doc. E.66, 91. Donna Checha herself had left Cardinal Casini a farm situated near San Giusto (a Rentennano?), Castelnovo Berardenga (Siena). She was the widow of the goldsmith Pietro di Bandino who is documented as an adviser to the Opera del Duomo from 1388-1389; MILANESI 1854, vol. I, pp. 354 doc. nr. 123, 365 doc. nr. 128.

Sieneſe diplomat Andreuccio di Marco Bindi, ſtressing Caſini’s key poſition at the papal court, remarked: ‘Il veſchovo noſtro, che è lo altro papa ... tutti li facti ſuoi maxime i ſegreti mi pare che paſſino per le mani d’eſſa ſua paternità.’²⁹³ Martin v expreſſed his gratitude by nominating Antonio Caſini cardinal with the title of San Marcello on 24th May 1426. Soon after this nomination Caſini changed his Sieneſe epiſcopate for the biſhop’s ſee of Grosſeto, although Caſini’s bonds with Siena remained intact throughout his career. Carlo d’Agnolino Bartoli ſucceeded Caſini in Siena and the two knew each other well. The Commune of Siena ſent Bartoli for negotiations to Pope Martin v and Caſini in Rome, on various occaſions between 1418 and 1427.²⁹⁴ In a 1436 addition to his will, Antonio Caſini nominated Carlo Bartoli as one of his teſtamentary executors, as had Turino di Matteo.²⁹⁵ Caſini had been actively involved in his Sieneſe ſucceſſion, initially ſuggeſting as a candidate Bernardino, future ſaint, whom he had met in Rome.²⁹⁶

By ſpecial bull of Pope Martin v, on 23rd November 1429 Caſini was permitted to draw up his teſtament (Appendix 1, doc. E.8, 69). A copy of the teſtament of 29th December 1431, with various codicils up to 2nd October 1438, compoſed by his private notaries Bartolomeo di Paulo of Pistoia and later by Gregorio di Ser Neri Spetialini, has been preſerved in the archive of the Sieneſe cathedral. This previously unpublished document gives us a clear picture of Caſini’s career and influential poſition at the Church and of the grandioſity of his patronage.

Casini travelled extenſively. He was preſent at the Councils of Pisa, Conſtance and Baſel.²⁹⁷ His wide-ranging intereſts in the welfare of churches and convents throughout Italy and even abroad, apart from the cities in which he reſided, ranged from Vienne to Bologna, Cervia, Fermo, Impruneta, Lucca, Perugia, Poggibonsi, Recanati and Loreto to Salerno, Signa and Venice, across all religious orders.²⁹⁸ Theſe intereſts are condensed into the myriad bequeſts of his teſtament (Appendix 1, doc. E.20, 35 41, 46-49, 62-63, 73, 78, 80-82, 93-99) and it ſeems that his teſtament favoured every ſingle church with which he was associated. In the churches at the heart of his functions and activities he founded chapels, for example in the cathedrals of Siena and Grosſeto, where he wore the biſhop’s mitre. In other inſtances he expreſſed his cloſe involvement through the foundation of chaplaincies, as in

292 BRANDMÜLLER 1968, pp. 84, 96, 105, 119-122, 126-129; MENG0ZZI 1918, pp. 53-54.

293 BRANDMÜLLER 1968, p. 84; IDEM 1978; in 1664 the memory of the diplomatic ſkills of their illuſtrious cardinal was ſtill alive in Siena. Caſini’s chapel of San Sebaſtiano in the cathedral was demolished, but his memory was perpetuated by operaio Annibale della Ciaia in 1653 by an inſcription-monument: ‘Antonio . Caſino. Franciſci [sic] . F. Bartholomei N./ Camere . Apoſtolice . Clerico . Theſaurario./ S.R.E. Preſbitero . Cardinali . tit. S. Marcelli/ Ob. utriuſque . iuris . peritiam . atque prudentiam . / Martino . V. et Eugenio . IV . Summ. Pontt./ A’ conſilijſ intimis . ac . ſummè caro/ Cuius Cinis Rome ab an. MCCCXXXIX [sic] . in Aede/ S. Marie Maioris diem Reſurrectionis expectat. / S.P.Q.

Senen. Civi optimo . Paſtori . ſuo vigilantiff.^o [...]’; BUTZER 1996, pp. 195-196.

294 BRANDMÜLLER 1968, p. 119; PRUNAI 1964.

295 Appendix 1, doc. E.69; in this codicil Caſini’s executors are to be Bartolomeo biſhop of Fieſole, Coſimo and Lorenzo de’ Medici, ‘el reverendo padre miſſere Carlo veſcovo di Siena’ and Baſtiano di Domenico, canon of Siena and prior of the church of San Giorgio. Carlo Bartoli is miſſing from the next liſt of executors.

296 MINUCCI 1988, vol. II, pp. 248-249. Bernardino rejected.

297 IBIDEM, vol. II, pp. 246-282; ſee Appendix 1, doc. E.93.

298 The ‘moniſtero di Sancta Fide in Sleſtat [?]’ del diocesi Argentine’ might be identifiable with a convent in the French city of Séleſtat (Appendix 1, doc. E.97).

47 Masaccio and Masolino,
Saints Paul and Peter, *part of the Santa
Maria Maggiore altarpiece*, circa 1428-1430,
tempera and gold on panel, 114.5 x 54.4 cm, John
G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia Museum of Art,
Philadelphia, inv. nr. 408.

48 (above) Masolino, Assumption of the Virgin,
part of the Santa Maria Maggiore altarpiece,
circa 1428-1430, tempera and gold on panel, 141.8 x 76 cm,
Museo e Gallerie Nazionali di Capodimonte, Naples, inv. nr. 33.

49 (on facing page) Masolino, Saints Gregory the Great and Matthias,
part of the Santa Maria Maggiore altarpiece, circa 1428-1430,
tempera and gold on panel, 116.2 x 55.4 cm,
National Gallery, London, inv. nr. 5963.

Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome, which we shall discuss shortly, and in the cathedral of Florence, where he was a canon (Appendix 1, doc. E.3-6, 38, 66 (Siena), 1, 12, 14, 64, 67 (Santa Maria Maggiore), 9 (Florence), chapter VIII for Grosseto).²⁹⁹ He wanted the sacristies of these churches to be his universal heirs, together with the sacristies of two convents where he lived during the last decade of his life. He held apartments at the Benedictine monastery

of San Savino near Pisa (Appendix 1, doc. E.45, 88, 101).³⁰⁰ His privileged Roman base was at his titular church of San Marcello, although this was sometimes exchanged for a secret residence at Santo Spirito in Sassia, near the Vatican.³⁰¹ The convent of San Marcello belonged to the Servites, and Casini became the order's protector.³⁰² He was a person of great piety, illustrated not only by all these bequests, but also by his provisions for many and far-reaching pilgrimages to be made after his death. For the welfare of his soul, the destinations were to be Compostella, the church of Saint Anthony of Vienne in France, the church of the Virgin at Montferrat, the church of the archangel Michael at the promontory of Gargano in Puglia, the church of San Niccolò in Bari and the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem (Appendix 1, doc. E.26-28). He was a person of great wealth, the total of his testamentary bequests amounting to some 8500 florins. He was also a person of great culture and wide reading, carefully instructing that writings by Saints Jerome, Remigius and Thomas Aquinas, which he had borrowed from various convent-libraries, should be returned after his death (Appendix 1, doc. E.89).³⁰³

After the elevation of Gabriele Condulmer, who had preceded Casini as bishop in Siena,

²⁹⁹ Act of institution of the Florence chaplaincies: ACF, parchment of 8th July 1430, drawn up by Casini's secretary Gregorio di Jacopo di Ser Neri Spetialini, the cardinal's seal appended ('Antonius miseratione divini tituli Sancti Marcelli [...] pro salute anime nostre ordinavimus perpetuo duos capellanos in venerabili ecclesia Florentina continue ad divinum cultum tenere et deputare celebrando et stare in missis et aliis divinis offitiis').

³⁰⁰ The abbey still exists, but was already suppressed in 1561; GUIDA TOSCANA 1997, p. 328. Casini also lodged at Ogni Santi while the papal court was in Florence around 1436, see Appendix 1, doc. E.70, 84, 89-90.

³⁰¹ Unfortunately, nothing remains of the medieval church of San Marcello and its cardinal's palace as Casini knew it; GIGLI 1996, pp. 16-31. The church was destroyed by fire in 1519. For Santo Spirito in Sassia, see Appendix 1, doc. E.59, 68.

³⁰² GIANI 1719, p. 441. Moreover, on 14th May 1427 Fra Ambrogio Traversari begged on behalf of his Camaldolese Order that Antonio Casini be asked to succeed in its protectorship Cardinal Rainaldo Brancaccio, who was mortally ill; LIGHTBOWN 1980, vol. 1, p. 81.

³⁰³ See also note 316 below.

to Pope Eugene IV (1431–1447) Casini's close association with the Roman Curia simply continued. In fact Eugene IV bestowed another honorary function upon Casini: in 1437 he nominated him cardinal-archpriest of Santa Maria Maggiore.³⁰⁴ Casini's affiliations with the basilica and its decoration had started much earlier. We shall shortly review the vicissitudes of this basilica during Martin V's papacy, before staging Casini's entrance onto its scene.

When Martin V was elected universal head of the Church at the Council of Constance in 1417, thereby ending the Avignonese period in the papacy and restoring the temporal sovereignty of the pontiff, the renewal of Rome immediately became one of his main objectives. His pontificate ushered in a new intellectual climate and a pursuit of a renaissance of the ancient glory of Rome. In Florence in 1417, when waiting for his departure for Rome, and again definitively in 1423, Martin V composed a committee of cardinals that had to inventurise the deplorable state of the Roman churches, and it was above all through the cardinals that the pope effectuated a complete face-lift of the neglected city. He ordered them to repair and embellish their titular churches. Martin V, to the secular world Oddone Colonna, must have felt particularly close bonds with the basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore, long affiliated with his family. In the first years of his pontificate he resided in its palaces during the summer and in the Vatican palace in wintertime, since the Lateran was as yet uninhabitable.³⁰⁵

Santa Maria Maggiore was not a titular, but a patriarchal church. A chapter of secular canons headed by a cardinal archpriest officiated there. Rainaldo Brancaccio, cardinal of San Vito in Macello, archpriest of Santa Maria Maggiore (1412–5th June 1427), who had elected and crowned the new pope, gave following to Martin V's request and initiated the restoration of this basilica.³⁰⁶ In 1428 Casini recalled that Cardinal Brancaccio had been generous towards the church of Santa Maria Maggiore: 'a qua et in qua multas utilitates et honores consecutus fuerat per plures annos in quibus fuit archipresbiter eiusdem

304 Appendix I, doc. E. 77; LUCIANI 1996, p. 264; the precise date of Casini's nomination is not known, but his predecessor died in 1437.

305 O'FOGHLUDHA 1998, esp. pp. 14–107, 240–271.

306 E. Venier, 'Santi, papi, cardinali arcipreti e artisti in Santa Maria Maggiore', pp. 219–288, in LUCIANI 1996, p. 264.

51 (above) *Masolino*, The miraculous snowfall or the foundation of Santa Maria Maggiore, part of the *Santa Maria Maggiore* altarpiece, circa 1428-1430, tempera and gold on panel, 144.5 x 76 cm, Museo e Gallerie Nazionali di Capodimonte, Naples, inv. nr. 35.

50 (on facing page) *Masaccio*, Saints Jerome and John the Baptist, part of the *Santa Maria Maggiore* altarpiece, circa 1428-1430, tempera and gold on panel, 115 x 56 cm, National Gallery, London, inv. nr. 5962.

52 *Masolino*, Saints John the Evangelist and Martin of Tours, part of the *Santa Maria Maggiore* altarpiece, circa 1428-1430, tempera and gold on panel, 114.5 x 54.4 cm, John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia, inv. nr. 409.

ecclesie'.³⁰⁷ It has been suggested that Rainaldo Brancaccio initiated, as a tribute to the pope, the commission to Masaccio and Masolino for their double-sided altarpiece. Some three years before Sassetta painted his Madonna della Neve in Siena, these painters would give the foundation legend a new home in Santa Maria Maggiore itself. One side of the now dismembered complex showed the miraculous snowfall and the foundation of the church flanked by four saints, whereas the other showed the Assumption, again flanked by four saints (plate XII and figs. 47–52).³⁰⁸

The proposal that Rainaldo Brancaccio initiated the commission seems unlikely, however, since he probably died before the commission could have been given. Moreover, Rainaldo Brancaccio was Neapolitan, his name calling to mind false associations with Felice Brancacci, the Florentine patron of Masaccio and Masolino. But in fact his long testament shows that his feelings remained with his native city throughout his life, as it was there that he grandly rebuilt a hospital and founded two chapels, as opposed to only one obligatory bequest of a chalice of 35 florins to Santa Maria Maggiore.³⁰⁹ Neither are the two following archpriests likely candidates. The Venetian Francesco Landi, cardinal of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, lavishly endowed a new chapel dedicated to Saint Francis and the Assumption in the basilica, its partial dedication to Saint Francis precluding any association with the Masaccio-Masolino altarpiece (fig. 54 nr. 12). Landi lived to be archpriest only for some months (1427).³¹⁰ His successor was Jean de la Rochetaillé (circa 1428–1437), cardinal of San Lorenzo in Lucina. The heart of this French cardinal probably lay elsewhere, and he would find a final resting place in Lyon.³¹¹

Instead, the commissioner of the altarpiece was Antonio Casini, who had a particular incentive of his own.³¹² He had a function and interest in the basilica predating his own archpriestate, which actually superseded Brancaccio, Landi and Rochetaillé. Casini did the honours at Santa Maria Maggiore, the crimson hat only just pressed on his head. He belonged to the very inner circle of Martin V's court. As a matter of fact, rumour has it that Antonio Casini, despite the facts that he had family in Florence³¹³ as well as in Siena³¹⁴ and

307 As in BAV, Manoscritti, Santa Maria Maggiore, cartella 72, pergamena 190, on which see notes 324–325 below.

308 Amidst the vast literature on this complex, see STREHLKE & TUCKER 2002; O'FOGHLUDHA 1998; JOANNIDES 1993, pp. 60–80, 414–422 (with previous literature); ROBERTS 1993, pp. 86–98; STREHLKE & TUCKER 1987; MEISS 1964.

309 Suggestion by Boskovits, elaborated in O'FOGHLUDHA 1998. Already rejected by STREHLKE & TUCKER 2002, pp. 124–125, 128 note 16. On Cardinal Brancaccio, see LIGHTBOWN 1980, vol. I, pp. 52–82, esp. pp. 68, 76, vol. II, pp. 293–297 (testament) esp. p. 295.

310 HERKLOTZ 1984; E. Venier, 'Santi, papi, cardinali arcipreti e artisti in Santa Maria Maggiore', pp. 219–288, in LUCIANI 1996, p. 264. His altar was situated to the right of the main altar in between the apse and the triumphal arch underneath the organ, his tomb nearby. Acts regarding the foundation of his chapel in the years 1423 and 1426 have been preserved, see FERRI 1907, pp. 157–158 nrs. CLXXXV, CLXXXVI, CXCIII, CXCIV. See also DE BLAAUW

1994, vol. I, p. 371; IDEM 1987, p. 184. Landi was buried in the basilica.

311 E. Venier, 'Santi, papi, cardinali arcipreti e artisti in Santa Maria Maggiore', pp. 219–288, in LUCIANI 1996, p. 264; VON PASSTOR 1958, pp. 268–270.

312 See note 325 below.

313 His sister Petra was a nun in the monastery of Sant'Apollonia, but while Casini wanted another sister, Agnola, as well as other *fratagli* to be remembered in Santa Trinita, his aunt Agnola and sister Maria were commemorated in San Giorgio; Appendix 1, doc. E.32–34, 36–37; see also STREHLKE & TUCKER 2002, p. 125. He also bestows gifts in the memory of his brother Bartolomeo, bishop of Pesaro (also recalled in Appendix 1, doc. E.50), and of his nephew, the late bishop of Massa (see Appendix 1, doc. E.61 and see note 291 above).

314 For his sisters Margarita and Benedetta, Casini institutes commemorative masses in San Francesco in Siena, for his grandfather

indeed called himself 'da Siena',³¹⁵ was related to Martin v through his maternal grandmother, who had been born to a Capocci father and a Colonna mother.³¹⁶ Antonio Casini's father Giovanni, as a doctor to the pope, may have met his spouse in Rome.³¹⁷ Both Casini's parents appear to have been buried in the Roman church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva, which must have housed a Capocci family-tomb, where their son wanted to remember them by memorial masses, a disposition he overruled in the end, favouring instead similar masses in Santa Maria Maggiore (Appendix 1, doc. E.19, 100).³¹⁸ Martin v carefully orchestrated his band of cardinals and, having elevated nepotism to a political level, elected amongst them, for example, his nephew Prospero.³¹⁹ On the occasion of the 1426 elections, Gentile da Fabriano made a now-lost portrait of the pope and the new apples of his eye, amongst them undoubtedly Antonio Casini.³²⁰ Martin v entrusted Casini with the care of the education of his orphaned nephews.³²¹ Crowning their close ties, from 1426 Casini and Martin v lived in neighbouring palaces in Rome.³²² Casini's kinship to Martin v would have sounded a note of personal interest to him in commissioning an altarpiece as a tribute to this Colonna pope for the church of Santa Maria Maggiore with its manifold associations with that family. Moreover, Casini must have been highly enthusiastic about the papal pomp which acquainted him with the main basilicas of Rome as, apart from Santa Maria Maggiore, he also made bequests to San Pietro, San Giovanni in Laterano, San Paolo fuori le Mura, San Lorenzo fuori le Mura and Santa Croce in Gerusalemme.³²³

In 1428 Casini's executive role as intermediary between the pope and the archpriest of Santa Maria Maggiore is first attested.³²⁴ In the name of Pope

at San Domenico in Siena; Appendix, doc. E.43.

315 See Appendix 1, doc. E.8, 10, 69.

316 SALVINI ante 1752, vol. 1 sub anno 1395: 'il Padre F. Isidoro Ugurgieri Azzolini nelle Pompe Sanesi stando in dubbio se egli sia figliuolo di detto Giovanni o di Francesco suo fratello, amendue medici del Papa e seduti nel supremo magistrato di Siena, ottimamente afferma poi contra l'opinione dell'Ughelli essere di Siena questa famiglia de' Casini e non fiorentina. Aggiugne di più coll'autorità di Celso Cittadini celebre autore senese in alcune annotazioni al Ciacconio che il nostro Antonio nacque d'una gentildonna romana de' Capocci nata per madre di Casa Colonna, zia paterna di Martino v, onde Antonio sarebbe stato nipote cugino di detto pontefice.'. The Capocci were treated as *consanguinei* by the mighty Colonna and the two families were related by marriage. Martin v belonged to the Palestrina-Genazzano line of the family. His father had two sisters, Giacoma and Francesca, both recorded in 1322 and one of whom could have been Casini's grandmother. Giordano, grandfather of Martin v, had married Margherita Capocci; REHBERG 1999, pp. 87-88, 546 Tafel II. Additional evidence of Casini's Colonna lineage is provided by a rare eleventh- or twelfth-century manuscript he possessed, containing Letters of Saint Jeremy, with annotations probably by Petrarch. Casini gave it to the sacristy of Florence Cathedral in 1430 (now in the Biblioteca

Medicea Laurenziana, Edili, 3). L. Fabbri, '“Sapientia aedificavit sibi domum”: Una biblioteca pubblica nella canonica di Santa Maria del Fiore', pp. 37, 53; A.C. de la Mare, pp. 102-103 cat. nr. 3, both in: FABBRI & TACCONI 1997. It may have been a Colonna family possession passed on to Casini. Petrarch had been a *familiaris* of Cardinal Giovanni Colonna in Avignon (1330-1347); REHBERG 1999, p. 486 nr. G 26.

317 Both Giovanni and his famous brother Francesco were papal doctors; SALVINI 1752, p. 27 nr. 262. See note 291 above.

318 Lello Capocci, murdered in 1415, was buried by his family in the church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva; FELICI 1975, p. 600.

319 LANCIANI 1897.

320 STREHLKE & TUCKER 2002, p. 126 with further literature; CHRISTIANSEN 1982, p. 136; DEGENHART & SCHMITT 1960, pp. 59-62; VON PASTOR 1958, pp. 235, 269.

321 STREHLKE & TUCKER 2002, p. 124.

322 Martin v had a palace built next to Santi Apostoli, where he lived since around 1424. This palace would have been opposite the entrance of the medieval church of San Marcello (now turned 180° around) and its palace; VON PASTOR 1958, p. 229.

323 Appendix 1, doc. E.21-25, 79.

324 Act drawn up in Casini's residence of San Marcelllo, on 24th May 1428; BAV, Manoscritti, Santa Maria Maggiore, cartella 72,

Martin v, Casini imparted the different destinations of two bequests to Cardinal-Archpriest Jean de la Rochetaillé and to the canons and chapter of the basilica. The first bequest of 100 florins, made by Pietro Morosini (†1424), cardinal of Santa Maria in Domnica, had been intended to exhume the body of Saint Jerome from its much venerated tomb in the basilica floor and to install it in a silver casket on top of its altar. Martin v and Casini judged that the amount fell far short of the expenditure involved in such an operation and decided to divert it to restore the church building 'in necessariis reparationibus ecclesie possit et debeat applicari', which fits in with the general restoration campaign of the churches of Rome ordered by the pope. The second bequest had been made shortly before by Rainaldo Brancaccio, who left 25 florins (sic) for a chalice. Since the basilica already possessed too many chalices, this sum too was to be used 'in dictam reparacionem et rin-nositatem dicte ecclesie'. This act does not seem to pertain to the altarpiece, as has been maintained, but rather to the architectonic restoration of the church. It does attest to Casini's intimate efforts in the affairs of the basilica.³²⁵

Significantly, no expenditures are registered in the Camera Apostolica for Santa Maria Maggiore up to 1437.³²⁶ The archpriests financed its restoration themselves. Similarly, Casini would have paid for the altarpiece out of his own pocket. The cardinals were not only spiritual and practical, but also financial backers to the pope. They paid him an *obligatio capelli* but also spent other money on his causes liberally.³²⁷ In his 1432 testament, Casini records the immense drain on his personal fortune during the papacy of Martin v, which forced him to sell his silver. He thus spent and lost his money not only on the wars and the indigence of the court, but also on the renovation of

pergamena 190, referred to by FERRI 1907, p. 158 nr. CXCv, transcription to be published in the forthcoming catalogue of the Philadelphia Museum of Art, as announced in STREHLKE & TUCKER 2002, p. 128 note 21. On the Santa Maria Maggiore *fondo*, see also COSTE 1973.

³²⁵ In a discussion of Casini's career in their 2002 article, which appeared during the preparation of this book, Strehlke and Tucker similarly suggest that Casini was involved in the genesis and commission of the Santa Maria Maggiore altarpiece and of his portrait which is incorporated in the altarpiece, unaware of Casini's testament. However, the interpretation they make of the two newly discovered documents is essentially mistaken. They regard the present document as the raising of funds for the altarpiece. Their argument, that Casini had an affiliation with the iconography because of an alleged Snow-chapel in Florence Cathedral, is incorrect. Only by the eighteenth century was this iconography known in Florence Cathedral, when the fourteenth-century *Madonna della Pila* (Museo dell'Opera di Santa Maria del Fiore) became venerated as a miraculous Snow-Virgin; HUBACH 1996, p. 133; G. Brunetti, in BECHERUCCI & BRUNETTI 1971, p. 281 cat. nr. 38, fig. 253. In fact only SALVINI ante 1752, referred to by Strehlke and Tucker, asso-

ciates Casini with a Snow-chapel: 'avendo fondato nel predetto nostro duomo due cappelle col titolo di Santa Maria della Neve sull'altar maggiore'. Casini did not endow two chapels, but provided for two chaplains to say masses for his salvation at the occasion of various feasts (not *Nivis*) at the main altar in Florence Cathedral; see note 299 above. Contrary to the case of the institution of the chaplaincies in Siena (see note 243 above), Casini makes no reference to an altar of his own in Florence Cathedral.

³²⁶ The restoration of San Giovanni in Laterano was financed directly by the papal treasury, while central funding for Santa Maria Maggiore started only in 1437; CORBO 1969, pp. 43, 54-57. STREHLKE & TUCKER 2002, p. 125, erroneously conclude that the architectonic reconstruction would not yet have been an issue during Martin v's reign.

³²⁷ In Casini's case a (partial) payment of 125 florins recorded under Eugene IV: ASV, Camera Apostolica, Oblig. et Solut., 63, fols. 230r-v 'Obligatio capelli Sancti Marcelli' (26th September 1432), which he paid via the Medici-bank. In 1432-1433, he revoked his 1431 promise of 1000 golden *ducati* to the memory of Martin v, leaving them to Eugene IV, through different channels, instead (Appendix I, doc. E.54-56, 60, 84).

Rome, 'le novità di Roma' (Appendix 1, doc. E.56). This might refer, among other things, to his expenditures for the Santa Maria Maggiore altarpiece. Obviously his testament does not mention projects Casini had previously brought to an end (see also Appendix 1, doc. E.74). Unfortunately, Casini's private archive seems to have been lost, either in the fire which destroyed his titular church of San Marcello in 1519, during the Sack of Rome, or due to other tortuosities of history.

The choice of artists for the double-sided altarpiece was probably Casini's. Casini was acquainted with Florentine painting: his tenure as canon of the Florentine cathedral, the church where he had established two chaplaincies and which would become one of his future universal heirs, brought him to the forefront of the early Florentine Renaissance (Appendix 1, doc. E.9, 29, 51, 69, 88).³²⁸ His bankers and later testamentary executors were Cosimo (1389-1464) and Lorenzo (1394-1440) de' Medici, stimulators *par excellence* of the new art (Appendix 1, doc. E.15, 69, 72, 87).³²⁹ Casini witnessed and appreciated the rise of the arts in Florence and, in accordance with his functions, developed a passion for beautiful ecclesiastical utensils, missals, mitres and paraments. He possessed an (unfinished) missal that had been illuminated in Florence and that he would leave to the sacristy of the Florentine cathedral.³³⁰ Lorenzo Ghiberti was probably invited by Casini to come to Siena to work on the baptistery font.³³¹ The humanist Leonardo Bruni (1369-1444) was amongst Casini's friends and this would have placed Casini in the front line of the novel taste and thought.³³² Casini was most certainly amongst Masaccio's clientele and he possessed the exquisite little devotional panel of the Madonna del Solletico by Masaccio's hand (fig. 53a). On its reverse are painted Casini's arms surmounted by the cardinal's hat (fig. 53b). It is usually dated around 1426, the year that Casini was elevated to the cardinalate, and it was possibly made for that occasion.³³³ It must have been Casini too who lured the renowned painter-couple Masaccio and Masolino to Rome. The enterprise of his chaplaincy and embellishments in Santa Maria Maggiore seems to have been a product largely imported from Florence, also given the fact that he initially opted for a Florentine chaplain (Appendix 1, doc. E.1). The execution of the Santa Maria Maggiore altarpiece indicates that the two

328 See note 299 above. Bequests to other Florentine and Fiesolan churches, amongst them San Lorenzo: Appendix 1, doc. E.30-37.

329 Casini, together with Rainaldo Brancaccio and Branda Castiglione, another patron of Masolino, was among those at the papal court most trusted by the Medici-bank; STREHLKE & TUCKER 2002, p.125; DE ROOVER 1963, pp. 203-204.

330 At first he intended the missal, illuminated in Florence, to go to San Lorenzo fuori le Mura, later changing its destination to the cathedral of Florence (Appendix 1, doc. E.24, 76); on the missal, now in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence, Edili 120, see: M. Tacconi, 'Secundum consuetudinem Romanae Curiae in Maiori Ecclesia Florentina': i codici liturgici della Cattedrale di Firenze', p. 67, and A. Dillon Bussi, 'La miniatura quattrocentesca per il Duomo di Firenze: prime indagini e alcune novità', p. 95,

and M. Taccani, cat. nr. 73, in: FABBRI & TACCONI 1997, taking it (erroneously?) to be Siense. On liturgical vestments bequested to Santa Maria del Fiore see Appendix 1, doc. E.29. See also POGGI 1988 [1909], vol. II, pp. 141 nr. 2124, 206-208 nrs. 2417-2421.

331 On Antonio Casini as patron and reviver of the arts in Siena, see SANI 1987, pp. 492-498.

332 LIGHTBOWN 1980, vol. I, pp. 162-163.

333 R. Bellucci, C. Frosinini and M. Parri, in STREHLKE & FROSININI 2002, pp. 204-205; STREHLKE & TUCKER 2002, p. 125; JOANNIDES 1993, pp. 153, 373-374, plates 127-128; A. Natali in BELLOSI 1992, pp. 56-58 cat. nr. 1; L. Berti, entry in BERTI & PAOLUCCI 1990, p. 174 cat. nr. 57. It emerged from a private collection in 1947.

53a-b Masaccio, *Madonna del Solletico*,
back: arms of Cardinal Antonio Casini, circa 1426,
tempera and gold on panel, 24.5 x 18.2 cm,
Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence,
inv. nr. 1890 n. 9929.

probably set out to work together, but that Masolino finished the lion's share. The inception of the altarpiece should therefore be dated slightly before Masaccio's death in Rome in 1428. It may have been the couple's first commission in the city. Masolino was to stay there for some time and deliver grand projects for other influential cardinals, such as the frescos in the chapel of Saint Catherine of Alexandria in San Clemente for Cardinal Branda Castiglione, and the cycle of famous men for Cardinal Giordano Orsini in the Orsini palace at Monte Giordano.³³⁴ It is interesting that Casini seems to have deliberately asked two Florentine painters to come to Rome, whereas local availability on the whole seems to have been a major incentive in the patron's choice of artist. A particular appreciation for their work may have been decisive, on top of the dearth of capable Roman painters at the time. Pope Martin v also invited various painters to Rome, amongst them Gentile da Fabriano,

334 O'FOGHLUDHA 1998, pp. 240-262; JOANNIDES 1993, pp. 184-209, 399-413 cat. nr. 22, 452-455 cat. nr. L9; ROBERTS 1993, pp. 100-120, 195-197 and 120-122, 207-208 (suggesting work on the

altarpiece was started in Florence. Masolino would have left for San Clemente in Rome only in 1429); MODE 1972.

who set out in 1419, and Pisanello, who probably arrived around 1430 and both of whom worked in the Lateran basilica.³³⁵

Apart from an artistic appetite for images, Casini also had great trust in their spiritual power. Four of his bequests relate to wondrous Madonnas (Appendix 1, doc. E. 12, 37, 42) and he asks for masses to be said by his own chaplain at the altar of the *Salus Populi Romani* icon in Santa Maria Maggiore, as we shall see shortly (figs. 54 nr. 8, 55, 56). A lamp has to be kept burning in front of the image of the Annunciate in the Servite church of the Santissima Annunziata in Florence at his expense and has to be addressed by two low masses every month. Similarly a lamp would burn in his perpetual memory in front of an image of the Annunciate at his church of San Marcello in Rome, much venerated by the cardinal.³³⁶ In Siena the street tabernacle of the Madonna dei Magalotti also enjoyed his special attention.³³⁷

After Casini's efforts for the basilica in the second half of the 1420s, his stake in Santa Maria Maggiore would only continue to grow. He became so attached to the basilica that on 29th December 1431 he decided he wanted to be buried there, above all the five other churches with which he had close associations. His eagerness was such that he provided for the transferral of his corpse in case he did not die in the eternal city (Appendix 1, doc. E. 10). He also instituted a chaplaincy in Santa Maria Maggiore, as we see below. A year after he had become archpriest himself, he decided to add the sacristy of Santa Maria Maggiore to the five other churches already chosen as his universal heirs.³³⁸ After his death, the inventories of the basilica mention the gifts of the cardinal of San Marcello, a chalice, altar cloths and a precious mitre (Appendix 1, doc. E. 13, 14, 77, 88).³³⁹

It is the earliest version of Casini's testament that provides not only further confirmation of Casini's role in the early fifteenth-century renovation of Santa Maria Maggiore, but also informs us about the liturgical layout of Santa Maria Maggiore in the early fifteenth century and brings us closer to the original location and significance of the altarpiece. When, in his 1431 will, Casini makes provisions to be buried in the church of Santa Maria Maggiore, he already has a precise idea of the exact location where the mosaic pavement would have to be opened up for his tomb, as he had previously pointed out to

335 SYSON & GORDON 2001, pp. 16–19, with further literature.

336 GIANI 1719, p. 441: 'Tanta enim fuerat devotione in Deiparam Annunciatam propensus, ut Rome moriens centum aureos.ii. (neque enim fuerat opulentus Cardinalis) ad luminaria ejusdem Sacelli conservanda pro sua pietate legasset.' See also Appendix 1, doc. E. 16–18, where Casini also provides for the ornament of the church's relics.

337 On the now lost Madonna-tabernacle in the Vicolo Magalotti, see LEONCINI 1994, p. 198.

338 A copy of the part of Casini's testament pertaining to the bequest to the basilica is preserved in BAV, Manoscritti, Santa Maria Maggiore, cartella 72, pergamena 199, on which see FERRI 1907, p. 159 nr. CCIV. It is drawn up in Florence, authenticated by five notaries and dated 21st February 1440 (old style).

339 BAV, Manoscritti, Santa Maria Maggiore, 116, fols. 5r, 6r, 15r (fifteenth-century inventory, see inv. SAXER 2001, p. 591) all following entries added by a somewhat later hand: 'Item unus calix argenteus deauratus cum pomo smaltato cum armis reverendissimi domini cardinalis Sancti Marcelli in pede cum patena sua cuio in medio est crucifixus cum stellis azuris ponderis uncias xx'; 'Item miniera relicta per reverendissimum dominum cardinalem Sancti Marcelli cum cassa sua. Que est ornata pernis sive lapidibus et est in similis ornatus pernis et lapide inteco[?] quem donavit reverendissimus dominus cardinalis.'; 'Item una tobalea de sirico cum listis aureis et de sirico diversorum colorum cum armis domini Antonii episcopi Senensis et nec cardinalis.'; on fol. 15v appears the altar-linen of his chapel in the Palazzo di San Marcello, as promised in his testament (Appendix 1, doc. E. 13, 14, 77).

54 Ground-plan of the basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome as it appeared at the beginning of the fifteenth century, (up-dated version of DE BLAAUW 1987, pp. 632-633).

canons of Santa Maria Maggiore as well as to two Siennese canons, Giovanni Lapi and Bartolomeo of Pistoia. His tomb is to be at the foot of the Epistle ambon at the right hand or northern side of the church, near to the stone choir in the direction of the wooden choir, at the side of the altar or chapel of the relics (fig. 54 nrs. 4, 6, 7, 9): ‘...dispose, ordenò et giudicò el corpo suo o vero cadavara essere portato a la sepultura et doversi seppellire ne la chiesa di Sancta Maria Maggiore di Roma a piei del pultito dove si dice la pistola apresso al coro de le pietre verso el coro de legname cioè da quella parte presso al altare de’ reliqui overo capella.’ (Appendix 1, doc. E.10 as well as 83, 87).³⁴⁰ The stone nave-choir survived in the basilica up to its demolition by Cardinal

³⁴⁰ Casini further provides for all costs to open and close the pavement and for a simple tombstone, for candles to be carried by the canons and for vestments for the members of his household; 650

ducati in total. He sets the rules for his own exequies. On the association of the Epistle side with the northern ambon, see DE BLAAUW 1994, vol. 1, pp. 91 note 276, 420; IDEM 1987, pp. 206, 415 note 251.

D'Estouteville around 1460, when only two ambons were left in the nave. The main choir was then relocated to the apse in front of the *cathedra*. As to the canon's choir, it was previously thought that, on the occasion of the transformation of the west end around 1300, it had been moved from an original location at the side of the main choir to the southern transept in front of the altar of Saint John the Baptist founded by Jacopo Colonna.³⁴¹ Casini's testament shows that in the early fifteenth century the twelfth-century enclosure of the main choir, apparently with remarkable Cosmatesque inlay-work, judging by the unusual use of the plural in its description ('de le pietre'), with its ambons was indeed intact.³⁴² More importantly, the wooden stalls of a canon's choir were still situated alongside it. The canon's choir has therefore never been in the southern transept, as De Blaauw hypothesised for the period 1300 to circa 1460.³⁴³ The canon's choir remained in the nave up to D'Estouteville's time. By then it could no longer have been relocated to the southern transept area, as this had become an entrance area, following the opening of two doors in the west end of the basilica.³⁴⁴ Once the wooden enclosure in the nave had been demolished, the canon's choir was probably integrated with the cardinal's choir in the apse. Casini's testament suggests a disposition of the two choirs as existed in San Giovanni in Laterano up to 1425 and in old Saint Peter's until after 1500.³⁴⁵ That said, at Santa Maria Maggiore the canon's choir was located at the other, northern side of the nave, possibly born out of a desire for the canons to be near to the sanctuaries of the *presepe* and Saint Jerome (fig. 54 nrs. 13, 14).³⁴⁶ In the documents no explicit mention is made of a canon's altar. However, for functional reasons, the presence of such an altar must be postulated. Contrary to the situation in San Giovanni in Laterano, for example, where the Magdalen-ciborium altar is explicitly recorded as the *altare capituli*, the ciborium altar of the relics in Santa Maria Maggiore appears to have been unrelated to the canon's altar, as in fact Casini mentions the canon's choir and the altar of the relics separately.³⁴⁷ The canon's altar would have been situated at the top of the choir and must have been free-standing. Both choirs, together with the twin ciboria, were indeed squeezed into the nave, which with a width of circa 17 metres is far smaller than the naves of old Saint Peter's and San Giovanni in Laterano.³⁴⁸ This disposition is further affirmed by the fact that Casini's tomb-slab, which he desired to be more or less in between the two choir-enclosures, is later recorded in the nave.³⁴⁹

This is of interest for the location of the double-sided altarpiece. De Blaauw, discarding the possibility of a high altarpiece has suggested, on the

341 DE BLAAUW 1994, vol. 1, pp. 395-397, 425-428; IDEM 1987, pp. 195-196, 208-210.

342 I thank Sible de Blaauw for noting that this precise phrasing would have indicated the precious nature of the choir-enclosure, which is corroborated by the fact that the ambons were certainly Cosmatesque work; PANVINIO (BIASOTTI) ante 1568, p. 24.

343 DE BLAAUW 1994, vol. 1, pp. 426-427; IDEM 1987, pp. 208-209.

344 DE BLAAUW 1994, vol. 1, pp. 427-428; IDEM 1987, pp. 209.

345 DE BLAAUW 1994, vol. 1, pp. 253-255, 428, 661-668, fig. 8. b-c, 25; IDEM 1987, pp. 122-123, 209, 341-344, fig. 7. b-c, 20.

346 DE BLAAUW 1994, vol. 1, pp. 406-410; IDEM 1987, pp. 200-201.

347 The ciborium-altar did not, therefore, function as choir altar (as in DE BLAAUW 1994, vol. 1, p. 428; IDEM 1987, p. 209).

348 DE BLAAUW 1994, vol. 1, p. 346; IDEM 1987, p. 171 (the width of the nave from core to core of the columns is 17.73 m).

349 See note 361 below.

basis of the central iconography of the Masaccio-Masolino altarpiece, that it would perhaps have been intended for the canon's choir, which he identified with the altar of Saint John the Baptist.³⁵⁰ In essence this holds true, although we now need to envisage the location of the canon's choir in the nave (fig. 54 nr. 7). The stone choir was used for the occasions when the pope came to celebrate at the high altar, which was reserved for him alone. The wooden choir, possibly with choir stalls, would have served the canon's daily offices.³⁵¹ The free position of an altar in the centre of the choir accounts for the double-sidedness of the Masaccio-Masolino altarpiece.³⁵² It must thus have stood on top of the choir altar in the lateral wooden canon's choir located in the northern side of the nave.³⁵³

The canon's masses were attended by the beneficiaries of private chapels in the basilica as well, all of whom were obliged to reside in its palace or adjacent buildings.³⁵⁴ Casini himself instituted a well-endowed chaplaincy in Santa Maria Maggiore in 1431, initially asking specifically for a Florentine priest (Appendix 1, doc. E.1, 11, 12, 14, 67). He proposes that a house has to be bought or built in the near vicinity of the basilica and that vineyards are to be bought totalling a dazzling 1000 *ducati* for the housing and maintenance of a chaplain to say masses in the church four days a week. It is the largest bequest that Casini made and its importance to him is shown by a 1433 disposition in his testament. When his finances grew tighter due to the war, he ordered that at least the bequests to the pope, to his servants and to the chaplain of Santa Maria Maggiore be financed, just as his funeral in the basilica (Appendix 1, doc. E.64). The chaplain had to officiate all year round at the already men-

350 His assumption that the canon's choir was located in the southern transept in this period is actually based upon an assertion to that effect of DE ANGELIS 1621, who does not give his source; DE BLAAUW 1996, pp. 90-91; IDEM 1994, vol. 1, pp. 426-428; IDEM 1987, pp. 208-210. On different grounds, the altar of Saint John the Baptist was designated as the probable original location of the double-sided altarpiece by DAVIES 1961, p. 355. Lately DE BLAAUW 1996, esp. pp. 91-92, stated that the Roman basilicas did not have any high altarpieces at all up to the sixteenth century, due to their specific liturgical layout and use. The high altar was reserved for the pope or, with special permission, occasionally for cardinals. Since the principal basilicas were built with the apse towards the west, the priest officiated behind the high altar. Due to *fenestellae* beneath the altar at the ridge of steep altarpodiums, there was in any case no place for the celebrant in front of the altar, according to De Blaauw. Some authors maintain that the double-sided altarpiece stood over the high altar of Santa Maria Maggiore (see most recently O'FOGHLUDHA 1998, esp. pp. 135-158, unaware of De Blaauw's publications).

351 In the 1430 inventory, altar cloths are mentioned for the 'altare maiori', for the 'altare conventualis' or 'pro usu cotidianis altaris et chori'; cited in DE BLAAUW 1994, vol. 1, pp. 425-426; IDEM 1987, p. 208. On the officiation of the choir altar, see SAXER 2001, pp. 194-196.

352 Another argument against the hypothesis of the ciborium altar

as choir altar (see p. 103 above), is the fact that the ciborium altars, according to the scaled engraving of DE ANGELIS 1621, pp. 87, 83, measured no more than circa 1.40 m in width and therefore could hardly accommodate the double-sided altarpiece (width circa 1.85 m without framing elements). Some sizes for the Capocci tabernacle of the relics can be found in GARDNER 1970.

353 A location in the canon's choir of old Saint Peter's is quite convincingly suggested for Giotto's Stefaneschi altarpiece in the important article of KEMPERS & DE BLAAUW 1987. It might be objected that the dedication to the Virgin of the canon's altar of old Saint Peter's is hardly reflected by the iconography of the altarpiece, showing only a small Virgin Enthroned in the predella on the Christ side. Yet, by force of analogy, our reconstruction of the location of the Masaccio-Masolino altarpiece reinforces their hypothesis. As in the case of the Masaccio-Masolino altarpiece in Santa Maria Maggiore, the iconography of the Stefaneschi altarpiece also ties together references to the main cults of old Saint Peter's and to the main saints venerated there. LISNER 1995, pp. 128-130 and GARDNER 1974, pp. 78-79, cling to the hypothesis of a high-altar destination, suggesting the Stefaneschi altarpiece was moved for mass.

354 As recorded in the statutes of 1448; BAV, Manoscritti, Santa Maria Maggiore, fol. 13r. On 20th December 1561, Archpriest Carlo Borromeo abolished all chaplaincies, instituting a *Collegio* of beneficiaries and clerics instead; ASV, Misc. Arm. VII, 46, fols. 484r-489v, 498r-499v.

55 (left) View of the nave of the basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore, with at the left the ciborium with the Salus Populi Romani icon and to the right the ciborium of the altar of the relics, from DE ANGELIS 1621, fig. 99.

56 (above) Madonna 'Salus Populi Romani', fifth/sixth century?, Cappella Paolina, Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome.

tioned altar of the relics, founded by Johannes and Vineia Capocci in 1256 and dedicated to the Virgin, containing the most venerated relics of basilica, amongst them the crib and windings of the Nativity (figs. 54 nr. 9, 55).³⁵⁵ Casini's chaplain also had to take care of the twin altar at the Gospel-side of the nave: 'a la capella de le decte reliquie, overo altare et etiandio al altare de la Nostra Donna, la quale di sopra si chiude, la quale è capella d'uno cardinale di Colonna' (Appendix I, doc. E. 12) (figs. 54 nr.8, 55).³⁵⁶ This altar had been erected by Cardinal Agapito Colonna underneath a Gothic ciborium which housed the most venerated Marian icon of Rome, the Salus Populi Romani (fig. 56).³⁵⁷ At a certain stage the altar was dedicated to Saint Gregory the

355 GARDNER 1970; on both tabernacles see CLAUSSEN 2000, pp. 234-238. On the preservation of the relics in this altar DE BLAAUW 1994, vol. I, pp. 402-403; IDEM 1987, p. 198.

356 In Casini's time the icon was indeed kept in the tabernacle erected over four pillars, behind closed shutters. Previously it had been placed over the door leading to the baptistery, up to the erection of the Madonna ciborium sometime between 1295 and 1378. It

was transferred to its present location, the Cappella Paolina, in 1613; WOLF 1990, pp. 102-106, 223-227; DE BLAAUW 1994, vol. I, p. 408.

357 Agapito Colonna was buried in front of the tabernacle of the Salus Populi Romani icon, the preferred option he gave in his testament of 9th December 1379: 'in ecclesia Beate Marie Maioris de urbe que dicitur de Nive meam eligo sepulturam in navi illa

Great, probably due to the procession that this bishop of Rome undertook with the icon in the year 590, miraculously curing the city from the plague.³⁵⁸ Casini thus asked for offices at two of the most central altars in the basilica. These two tabernacle altars had also been endowed by the two Roman families of the Capocci and the Colonna, to both of whom Antonio Casini was related through his maternal grandmother. On 20th January 1433, Casini bestows an extra 500 florins upon his chaplaincy, to be converted in properties (Appendix I, doc. E.67). The profits of these are to be used to distribute amongst those canons and chaplains present at different masses in the period around Christmas, at the feast of the Conception of the Virgin and for another mass to be said on 15th December in honour of the Virgin. In the latter instance Casini harks back to another office he had apparently supported in a similar way by a previous act, the *Festum Nivis*: 'con l'altro officio di Sancta Maria de le Nievi.' Three of the four masses of Nativity and its octave were included in the papal *statio* and would thus have been celebrated by the pope at the high altar.³⁵⁹ The other masses favoured by Casini would have been concentrated in the canon's choir. Casini thus put his imprint on the major feasts celebrated in the basilica by stipulating perpetual offerings in his name to those present and by providing a splendid backdrop and centrepiece to the ceremonies: the Masaccio-Masolino altarpiece. Casini's annual memorial mass was attended by the canons.³⁶⁰ Casini's chaplain would also have joined the communal choir-masses in front of the Masaccio-Masolino altarpiece over the choir-altar. Antonio Casini died in Rome on 4th February 1439 and was indeed buried in the nave of Santa Maria Maggiore, to be remembered by his own desired inscription on a tombstone.³⁶¹

The choir altarpiece was thus located in an area of great personal and great liturgical significance for Casini, an area that staged the fulcrum of activities during the first half of the fifteenth century. The chapels of two successive archpriests were situated there (fig. 54 nrs. 7, 12). The iconography of the

propinqua imagini Virginis gloriose vel ante tabernaculum de Virginis depictae manu Beati Luce'. Agapito furthermore institutes two chaplaincies at the altar beneath the Maria-tabernacle: 'in altari illo quod est subtus imaginem Virginis predictae possint et debeant vivere duo cappellani perpetui'; BAV, Manoscritti, Santa Maria Maggiore, cartella 70, pergamena 144; in LANCIANI 1897, pp. 448-449; FERRI 1907, p. 151 nr. CXLIII; DE BLAAUW 1994, vol. I, p. 406 note 291; IDEM 1987, pp. 473-474 note 272.

³⁵⁸ DE ANGELIS 1621, engraving in between pp. 82-83: 'S. Gregorii altare quod antiquitus beatissimae Virginis dicebatur'.

³⁵⁹ DE BLAAUW 1994, vol. II, pp. 805-807, 809, tab. 1, 3; IDEM 1987, pp. 568-570 tabellen 1, 3.

³⁶⁰ In Cardinal D'Estouteville's statutes of the basilica of 1448, ratified in 1451, are listed the awards for those canons attending the memorial masses of Antonio Casini a.o.; BAV, Manoscritti, Santa Maria Maggiore, 101, fol. 4r (see inv. SAXER 2001, p. 589).

³⁶¹ PANVINIO (BIASOTTI) ante 1568, p. 36, albeit localizing the tomb in the nave, confusingly situates it in front of the southern ciborium altar, together with Agapito Colonna's tomb: 'Cardinales

Agapitus et Cassinus in media nave ante Beatam Virginem'; DE ANGELIS 1621, p. 163: 'Antonius Cassinus Cardinalis, vir sumus, a Martino Quinto, et Eugenio Quarto Pontificibus, maximis obediendis occupatus, etiam hic quiescit, velut ex Archivio: Antonius Casinus Senensis Cardinalis S. Marcelli a Martino Quinto creatus, iacet in terra in medio Ecclesia.'; FORCELLA 1877, vol. XI, p. 25 nr. 39: 'S. ANTONII TIT. S. MARCELLI/ PRESB. CARD. DE SENIS/ QUI OBIIT AN. MCCCC XXXIX/ DIE IV FEBRUARII'. See also GIANI 1719, p. 441; Appendix I, doc. E.102. Casini himself had envisaged such an inscription, see Appendix I, doc. E.10. The old Cosmati pavement with its many inserted tombstones was completely renewed in the eighteenth century; DE BLAAUW 1994, vol. I, p. 358; IDEM 1987, p. 178. The tradition of interring illustrious family members near their ancestors could span centuries, as in the case of Cardinal Niccolò Capocci († 1368), entombed in front of the altar of the relics next to Cardinal Pietro Capocci († 1259); GARDNER 1992, p. 123. It now seems that Cardinal Casini, their distant relative, joined them yet three quarters of a century later.

Santa Maria Maggiore altarpiece that was designed under Casini's aegis linked together, for the convenience of the assembled canons and chaplains of lateral altars who officiated at the altar daily, references to the main venerated relics, altar-tituli and feast-days of the church. It formed an optical complement to Jacopo Torriti's mosaic of the *Coronation of the Virgin*, wedged in between the ciborium-altars with the *Salus Populi Romani*-icon, the altar with the relics, the altar with the tomb of Saint Jerome and the *presepe* chapel. The front of the altarpiece showed the *Assumption*, one of the most important feasts in the Marian basilica, implicitly referring to the venerated icon in the companion tabernacle altar, which was the protagonist of the festivities on 15th August, and to Archpriest Landi's recently-founded chapel close by (fig. 54 nrs. 8, 12).³⁶² To the left of the spectator, the altarpiece was flanked by the prime apostles Peter and Paul. To the right was Saint Gregory, who had effected the plague miracle by carrying the *Salus Populi Romani* in procession (fig. 56).³⁶³ At the extreme right stood Saint Matthias, whose relics and name adorned the papal high altar.³⁶⁴ Those visiting the *confessio* and the tabernacle altar at the back of the choir, as well as the canons in the rear part of the enclosure, would have been presented with the back of the altarpiece (figs. 50–52). At the outer positions were represented Saint Jerome, whose venerated tomb-altar was nearby, and Saint Martin, clad in a mantle adorned with a column-motive and letters M as a reference to the reigning Colonna pope, Casini's lord and parent. The two prominently positioned Saints John were echoed inside the church at the altar of Jacopo Colonna, which was dedicated to the Baptist.

Alternatively, it is conceivable that the two Saints John made a complimentary reference that stretched outside the church-walls to the Basilica Salvatoris, by then already known as San Giovanni in Laterano, which was associated with both Saints John and which also enjoyed the special attention of Martin v. The two basilicas were linked by the papal *statio*. Moreover, Santa Maria Maggiore had originally been constructed to take over some of the function of the Basilica Salvatoris.³⁶⁵ In this respect, another idiosyncrasy of the altarpiece gains significance too. Typical only of Roman representations of the *Miraculous foundation* is the *clypeus* showing the miracle actually being enacted by Christ, his mother standing behind Him (plate XII, figs. 46, 57).³⁶⁶ Leaving aside the theological implications, this Roman conception of Christ as an indispensable, capital force behind the founding of a church in Mary's honour might refer to the historic relation of the two basilicas. The two Saints Johns at the back of the double-sided altarpiece thus possibly further strengthened the ties with the Lateran. The Lateran enjoyed the predilection of Pope Martin v above even Santa Maria Maggiore. Martin v was eventually buried in San Giovanni in Laterano in front of the high altar, which con-

³⁶² WOLF 1990, pp. 37–59. I follow JOANNIDES 1993, pp. 414–415, in hypothesising that the *Assumption* formed the front of the altarpiece.

³⁶³ IBIDEM, pp. 131–169.

³⁶⁴ DE BLAAUW 1987, pp. 196–197. On the alterations in the posi-

tions of the saints on the back, probably of a compositional necessity and probably due to the death of Masaccio, see MEISS 1964, later elaborated by STREHLKE & TUCKER 1987 and 2002.

³⁶⁵ DE BLAAUW 1994, vol. I, pp. 335–341; IDEM 1987, pp. 165–168.

³⁶⁶ VAN OS 1968, p. 14.

tained the relics of the heads of the apostles Saints Peter and Paul, which in turn might account for the presence of these prime apostles on the front of the altarpiece, together with their general importance in the city of Rome.³⁶⁷

The central panel at the back presented the canons and priests with the foundation of their church, which had become a feast very much at the heart of the liturgy in the basilica, but which also provided an allegory of their own efforts for Santa Maria Maggiore (plate XII). The programme of the altarpiece seems to be a crystallisation of the campaign in name of Martin V to reconstruct Rome and this basilica in particular. Through its central panel with the *Miraculous Foundation*, the altarpiece claimed on the part of the cardinals their continuation of Liberius and Patritius' obedience of the Virgin's demand to honour her with a church. In the spirit of the miracle which induced Pope Liberius, Johannes Patritius and the people of Rome to construct a church in the honour of the mother of God, the current custodians of the church held themselves responsible for continuing to decorate it: 'Hodie tamen eam divinis maneribus et spiritualibus domus ampliare atque decorare dignatus est.', as proclaimed by a fifteenth-century version of the legend sung by the canons.³⁶⁸ The portraits of Martin V and of a cardinal can be detected in the representation of the miracle on the central panel of the altarpiece (plate XII). Strehlke and Tucker rightly suggested identifying Casini with this assiduously worked cardinal's portrait.³⁶⁹ The bullish head is similar not only to Jacopo della Quercia's relief-portrait of Casini, but also to the cardinal as represented in a miniature attributed to Nicola di Ulisse, although he is younger there. The miniature adorns a missal that Casini himself ordered following his elevation to the cardinalate, first using it at his titular church of San Marcello, then finally leaving it to the sacristy of Siena Cathedral (plate XIII).³⁷⁰ In the same way, and as we shall see, Masolino's portrait-head resembles the prominent cardinal in Sassetta's predella-scene of the pope hewing out the ground-plan of snow (plate VIII). It was the signature of patron Cardinal Antonio Casini on the altarpiece that he gave to Santa Maria Maggiore, the basilica he treasured at the core of both his family and his official life. It was a tribute to Pope Martin V by Casini, his closest attendant.

Masolino's representation of the snow legend embodies a social image of the patron, as did Rusuti's mosaics. This would be present yet again in Mino da Fiesole's relief for the 1461 canopy over the high altar of Santa Maria

367 On the tomb and Donatello's bronze tomb-slab: DE BLAAUW 1999, pp. 478-479; GARDNER 1992, pp. 62-63, fig. 18; ESCH & ESCH 1978; COLONNA 1929, p. 88.

368 SAXER 2001, pp. 324, 591 (BAV, Manoscritti, Santa Maria Maggiore, 115, fol. 4v).

369 STREHLKE & TUCKER 2002, pp. 124-126, figs. 120-123. This cardinal's portrait is another refuting argument against the hypothesis that Rainaldo Brancaccio was commissioner of the altarpiece; a 1424 description of Brancaccio mentions his grey eyes, an aquiline nose and the fact that he was 'taller by a head's length than other men'; LIGHTBOWN 1980, vol. I, p. 53.

370 He had at first intended the richly illuminated manuscript of the

Missale Romanum for his church of San Marcello (see Appendix 1, doc. E.18, 75). The papal *statio*-feasts are marked. It has been identified with BCS, ms. X.II.2, written in 1427-1428 by the scribe Antonio di Angelo of Borgo Sansepolcro; CIARDI DUPRÉ DAL POGGETTO 1984, pp. 115, 129-130; G. Garosi and G. Chelazzi Dini, entry in EXH. CAT. AVIGNON 1983, pp. 329-333 nr. 119; G. Chelazzi Dini, 'Lorenzo Vecchietta, Priamo della Quercia, Nicola da Siena: nuove osservazioni sulla *Divina Commedia* Yates Thompson 36', in CHELAZZI DINI 1977, pp. 206-208. See the 1446 cathedral inventory: 'Uno messale nuovo e bello coerto di velluto azzurro, minato d'oro. Con più armi del cardinale di Santo Marcello con affibbiato d'ariento dorati. Comincia 'A te levavi'.'; ASS, Opera Metropolitana 31, fol. 8v.

Maggiore (figs. 57, 58). Mino inserted a portrait of Cardinal and Archpriest of the church D'Estouteville under the guise of the patrician, as well as in the vests of an attendant to the *Assumption*.³⁷¹ In fact when, only a few decades after the altarpiece's erection, Archpriest D'Estouteville (1445-1484) made his radical changes to the basilica, among other things demolishing the choirs in the nave and installing a new choir underneath the apse, he transferred the iconography of the double-sided altarpiece to the ciborium which he constructed over the high altar, with the addition of a Nativity and Adoration scene relevant to the basilica's relics of both the crib and cave of the Nativity.³⁷² The Masaccio-Masolino altarpiece itself must have ended up, only a few decades after its manufacture, on the Colonna altar dedicated to Saint John in the southern transept, set against the wall, where Vasari and Michelangelo could actually only admire the *Foundation*-side.³⁷³

It can be concluded that the patrons who adapted the legend not only wished to use it to present themselves in a devout manner, but also to reflect upon a collaboration between the pope or the Church in general on the one hand, and the (ecclesiastical) patriciate on the other. This application of the legend proved a reason for its dissemination, on top of its allegorical Marian qualities and its use as 'Folie repräsentativer Selbstdarstellung'. We shall see that documented cases of works of art showing the snow legend, both inside and outside Rome, often reveal patrons from the ecclesiastical aristocracy. In their official religious functions, all of these patrons were involved in the building campaigns of churches. In Rome they were cardinals-archpriests, in Siena we met an operaio of the cathedral and below we shall come across a bishop and a provost.³⁷⁴

The documented affiliation of Casini with the church of Santa Maria Maggiore thus dates at least back to 1428-1431 but may have started even earlier with his cardinalate in 1426. He was closely involved in the vicissitudes of the basilica out of personal interest and as an intimate and relative of the papal court of Martin V, reconstructor of the western Church. He provided for memorial masses at two of the most venerated and central altars of the basilica which, moreover, belonged to his distant family. Given his personal as well as professional ties with the basilica, his acquaintance with Masaccio, the location of his tomb and the presence of his portrait on the central panel, it must have been he who ordered the double-sided altarpiece for the choir altar in the nave from Masaccio and Masolino, thereby sharpening and renewing the significance of the snow-legend. In 1431 Casini chose to be buried in an area that he himself had recently embellished. Casini's dispositions for Santa Maria Maggiore fit into a fixed formula of patronage consisting of provisions for the daily officiation of the basilica by the chapter, and the donation of an altarpiece or altar-ciborium, combined with a tomb for the donor that is also

371 CAGLIOTI 1987; J. Fernández-Alonso, 'Storia della basilica', in PIETRANGELI 1987, p. 31; F. Mancinelli, 'La basilica nel Quattrocento', in IDEM, p. 196.

372 DE BLAAUW 1994, vol. 1, pp. 363-365, 367-377, 395, 420-421, 868; IDEM 1987, pp. 180-187, 195, 206, 608.

373 VASARI [1906], vol. II, pp. 293-294 (only in the 1568 edition).

374 Heinrich Reitzmann, who constructed a chapel for the Virgin of the Snow in Asschaffenburg and commissioned Grünewald to paint the altarpiece, was a canon, studied theology and/or canon law and later presided over the archiepiscopal court; HUBACH 1996, pp. 13-15.

57 Mino da Fiesole, *Miraculous snowfall or the foundation of Santa Maria Maggiore*, circa 1461, marble relief, fragment of the ciborium over the main altar, Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome.

exemplified by Cardinal Jacopo Stefaneschi's munificence in old Saint Peter's and Cardinal Gherardo Bianchi's († 1302) in the Lateran basilica.³⁷⁵

Casini stood with one leg in the very centre of papal confidence, matters of the pontifical court, the renovation of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome, the daily officiation of the basilica, his commission to Masaccio and Masolino for a double-sided altarpiece for the choir, and the testamentary commission for his own tomb and for memorial masses in the basilica. He stood with the other leg in the middle of the bisdom of Siena, the diplomatic interests of this city and its cathedral. He was the bridge over which a subtly grasped version of the snow legend could travel and he was the link between two important altarpieces, that of Masaccio and Masolino in Rome and that of Sassetta in Siena Cathedral. The triad Casini, Sassetta and donna Ludovica, initially together with Ludovica's husband, would have discussed the project for the Sieneze Madonna della Neve at length. Casini's function must have resem-

375 For Bianchi, archpriest of San Giovanni in Laterano and for his tomb in front of the canon's altar, see DE BLAAUW 1999, pp.

477-478; GARDNER 1992, p. 87, fig. 66. For Stefaneschi, see KEMPERS & DE BLAAUW 1987, esp. pp. 89, 99-100.

58 Mino da Fiesole, Assumption of the Virgin, circa 1461, marble relief, fragment of the ciborium over the main altar, Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome.

bled the more formal involvement of his friend Leonardo Bruni, whom the Florentine guild of merchants, the Arte di Calimala, asked to compose the programme for Ghiberti's Gates of Paradise for the baptistery in 1424.³⁷⁶

It seems that Casini informed Ludovica and Sassetta above all about the iconography. One is tempted to suppose that Casini also shared his general experiences as a *mecenas* of the Florentine and Roman art-scene, as sketched above, with Sassetta and his patroness. One might thus account for the much-noted felicitous perspectival inserts in Sassetta's painting, such as the crown-bearing angels viewed from below, which seem to have had a breath of fresh air from beyond the Sienese boundaries and the *renovatio Lorenzettiana* alone (plate 1, 11). However style, contrary to iconography, is difficult to convey by words alone, and one would have to suppose that Casini carried drawings or other portable examples of the new art. Such a specific relationship is not warranted by the visual evidence, as no precise formal relationship between the Florentine painters and Sassetta is indicated in the Madonna della Neve. We should therefore give Sassetta's artistic genius more credit of its own. In a sty-

376 KRAUTHEIMER 1982, pp. 159-162, 372 doc. nr. 52.

listic respect the fact that the master of perspective himself, Filippo Brunelleschi, visited Siena in the late 1420s, might carry weight. Brunelleschi lectured on river works and harbours, as was recorded by the Siennese engineer Mariano Taccola. It is possible that this visit might also have afforded an occasion for an inquisitive artist such as Sassetta to consult Brunelleschi on matters of pictorial representation.³⁷⁷

As to Casini's stylistic taste, he opted for painters who were locally available, with the important exception of Masolino and Masaccio whom he personally persuaded to come to Rome. Casini's artistic appetite was not restricted to Florentine painters alone: Jacopo della Quercia designed Casini's chapel in the Siennese cathedral, Nicola di Ulisse illuminated his missal, and Domenico di Bartolo may have painted his theologically well-wrought Virgin of Humility for Casini in 1433.³⁷⁸ The cardinal's collaboration with Ludovica and Sassetta must have stirred his admiration for this Siennese painter. Around a year later Cassini invited Sassetta to paint an altarpiece, the Madonna delle Ciliegie, for the cathedral of his episcopal see at Grosseto, still in Siennese territory, as will be proposed in chapter IX.

377 PRAGER & SCAGLIA 1970, pp. 125-134. I thank Rémy Baudet for drawing my attention to this.

378 STREHLKE 1986, pp. 37-39; IDEM 1984, pp. 385-387.

How did Sassetta realise the ideas of the late Turino, his widow Ludovica and their counsellor Casini, and how did he give shape to the snow legend? How did the pictorial representation itself respond to the exigencies of the location and the patrons? And how did the altarpiece fit in with the novel devotional taste and the resurgence of Marian chapels in the cathedral? We shall now take a look at Sassetta's panels, to finally see how threads of the ingredients of its genesis come together.

The glory of the Virgin overshadows the importance of the theme of the snow legend in Sassetta's main panel, unlike in Masolino's version (plate XI). The altarpiece is essentially a *sacra conversazione* with the snow legend reserved for the predella. This was recognised in the 1435 cathedral inventory, where Sassetta's altarpiece is described as 'la tavola dipenta di Nostra Donna messa a oro et altri santi col miracolo della nieve' (Appendix 1, doc. B.1). The main panel is an early example of a unified composition on a unified surface with the Virgin enthroned, surrounded by saints who interact in a plausible pictorial space. The angels bearing platters full of snow, one of whom kneads a snowball, are the only references to the legend in the main panel (plate III). Sassetta adds an allegorical interpretation to the Virgin of the Snow, seizing the novel feast as a new manner in which to glorify the Virgin, using the snow as a Marian attribute of purity and immaculateness. This shows that when the feast was introduced into the *Civitas Virginis*, mainly through Turino di Matteo and Antonio Casini, it was not only the foundation of the faraway Santa Maria Maggiore that was on the minds of the Sienese.³⁷⁹ The Virgin of the Snow was presented as yet another way to venerate the glorious patroness of Siena, fitting into the early fifteenth-century introduction of new Marian themes at other altars, such as the Pietà at the altar of the Crucifix and the Madonna of Humility on the altar of the Visitation. The *sacra conversazione* served the purpose of an intimate, personal tomb chapel.³⁸⁰ It is a representation of the Virgin sharing a space with intercessory saints who plead with her on behalf of the private patron and the devotee, and thus open up an imagined channel for a spiritual dialogue with and within the celestial court. This had occurred before in a simpler, sculptural form in Siena Cathedral on top of the tomb-monument of Riccardo Petroni by Tino da Camaino of 1318.³⁸¹ Iconographic requirements, which literally asked for space to be opened up in order to provide a platform for the interaction of the represented figures as well as to give access to the devotee, thus also account for Sassetta's early use of the unified composition

VIII

Iconography

379 As observed by VAN OS 1968, pp. 33-35.

380 GOFFEN 1979.

381 GOFFEN 1979, p. 202; CARLI 1979, pp. 57-58, figs. LXXXIV-VII; LUSINI 1911, vol. 1, pp. 115-118.

and for the scenographic trick of the curved baldachin, knitting together real and pictorial space, as discussed in chapter v.

In the contract, Ludovica had called for 'unam tabulam [...] cum quinque figuris integris scilicet: Virginis Marie cum Christo Yhesu filio suo in brachiis suis, Sancti Francisci seraphici, Sancti Petri, Sancti Pauli et Sancti Iohannis Baptiste cum Salvatore a capite Virginis Marie'. All these saints, the Salvator excepted, were eventually painted on the altarpiece. Mary is seated on a suggestively foreshortened throne covered by a cloth with a peacock's feather pattern, and two angels hold a crown over her head in a delicate gesture. Unfortunately, the brocades of their dresses and the feathers of their wings have lost the intended effect due to the corrosion of the silver-leaf which extends over the entire surface of the wings and cloths underneath the glazes (plate 11). It can still be seen, however, that the colour schemes of the angels were designed as positive and negative counterparts. The feathers of the wings of the angel to the left are arranged in four bands starting with blue followed by silver, whereas the wing of the right-hand angel is silver at the top. The patterns of their dresses are also reversed; silver on blue versus blue on silver. This reversal of the colour scheme for two symmetrical elements in a picture later recurs in the pattern of the curtains depicted to the sides of Fra Angelico's San Marco altarpiece (1438-1440)³⁸² and in the garments of the angels attending Piero della Francesca's Madonna del Parto in Monterchi (circa 1455). Sassetta's crowning angels are seen from below and their faces are foreshortened accordingly. The viewpoint is rather low in this altarpiece and the horizon runs through Christ's lowest, left foot. Due to such stark foreshortenings in the painting, the impact of Mary, the Child, the angels and the two standing saints is majestic. The majesty of the Virgin is heightened by her crown, by which the angels present her as Queen of Heaven.

Two other angels at Mary's sides proffer another attribute, the snow-platter (plates, I-III). The much-damaged angel to the left holds the plate in front of his breast with two hands. The blissful smile on his face, exposing his teeth, corresponds to pictorial experiments being undertaken at the time. Domenico di Bartolo's *Madonna of Humility* of 1433 is a case in point, as is Filippo Lippi's fresco of *The confirmation of the Carmelitan rule* in the Carmine in Florence, possibly dating to the late 1420s. Pope Hennessy in fact traced all the threads to Filippo Lippi. Whereas the grimace or smile may correspond to Renaissance interests in convincing representation and variation of pose and expression foreshadowing Alberti's advice, it is also a revival of older experiments. The device can be found in Gentile da Fabriano's *Adoration of the Magi* and, for example, in the head of an angel on the inner side of the arch over Simone Martini's 1340-43 *Madonna of Humility* fresco in the portal of Notre-Dame-des Doms in Avignon.³⁸³ Sassetta's other angel in the Madonna della Neve has set down his platter on the throne of the Virgin and is pensively kneading a snowball in his hands. Sassetta was the first to fuse the

382 I owe this observation to Rembrandt Duits.

383 POPE HENNESSY 1939, p. 33. For the dating of the Lippi fres-

cos, see most recently RUDA 1993, p. 52. For Simone Martini's angel-head, see VAN OS 1969, taf. 8.

Roman legend and the Marian attribute into the poetic, playful form of a snowball (plate III).³⁸⁴ Originally the snow must have been sparkling white, since Sassetta used silver-leaf to suggest its intensity.

Mary's purity is enhanced by the snow-bearing angels at her sides and, in her honour, her garments are painted with the most costly materials. Sassetta employed gold, silver and lapis lazuli, materials which the painter provided himself and which were specifically stipulated by the 1430 contract: 'cum illa quantitate auri et illis coloribus decentibus dictam tabulam, predellam et figuris'.³⁸⁵ Most of the surface of the main panel is in fact covered with metal leaf. The Virgin wears a dazzling blue velvet voided mantle with a pomegranate pattern. Sassetta glazed the natural ultramarine over silver, which would originally have shown through.³⁸⁶ The depth of the voided pattern is suggested by white and black contours following the fall of light. The Virgin's withdrawn pose, her slender left hand chastely clasping the mantle, brings to mind an Annunciate.³⁸⁷ On the knee of the meditative Virgin a vigorous Christ child is poised in counterbalance. The spatial experiment involving his protruding right leg, which hovers in mid-air, is counteracted by the white cloth, optically levelling the height of his legs. The Virgin's mantle develops in folds once it reaches the mat on the ground.³⁸⁸ Its red border flames into a sinuous, elegant circle around her feet. It is the movement of this border, continuing through the flanking angels into the wings and arms of the crowning angels, that forms an imaginary oval, mandorla-like shape around the Virgin, setting her off in majesty from the rest of the composition. The inscription in her halo reads: 'SI.CONFIDIS.IN.ME.SENA.ERIS.GRATIA.PLENA.'. This text reminds one not only of the general veneration for Mary in the city of the Virgin and in its cathedral in particular, but may allude more precisely to the illustrious battle of Monteperti, which the Sienese had won through the intercession of the Virgin, as we have already seen. When Sassetta's altarpiece was installed, the dedication of its altar changed from 'Santa Maria delle Grazie' to 'Santa Maria della Neve'. Until 1446, the altarpiece was still flanked by the Opera Madonna which, according to legend, had been the direct recipient of the key of the city in 1261. The inscription of Mary's halo

384 VAN OS 1968, pp. 32-33 took two angels in the mandorla surrounding Masolino's *Assumption* of the Santa Maria Maggiore altarpiece as the first instances. However, as ROBERTS 1985, p. 295, points out, these golden balls should be seen as orbs, attributes of the Dominations of the angelic hierarchy. HUBACH 1996, p. 186 note 204, instead points to a precedent in the form of the personification of winter with a snowball in his hands by Ambrogio Lorenzetti (Sala della Pace, Palazzo Pubblico, Siena). This example of course belongs to the iconography of the seasons and totally lacks the Marian connotations of Sassetta's snowball.

385 Quotation from the contract of 25th March 1430 published by LAURENT 1935, p. 260; in the first *lodo* of 29th October 1432, Sassetta is to be paid 'pro suo labore, magisterio, auro et col-

oribus'; IDEM, p. 263.

386 HOENIGER 1989, p. 257, who however supposes it is glazed over gold; ultramarine glazes over silver occur in Sassetta's Borgo Sansepolcro altarpiece too; J. Plesters, 'A Technical Examination of Some Panels from Sassetta's Sansepolcro Altarpiece', in: WYLD & PLESTERS 1977, p. 12.

387 VAN OS 1990, p. 169.

388 It is in fact a straw mat with a pattern in black and red probably from Spain or North Africa, though it is often mistaken for a tapestry. Sassetta used just such a mat for the floor of the central panel of the *Madonna of Humility* from the Cortona altarpiece, as discussed in THORNTON 1991, p. 63. The mat's rich texture must have appealed to the painter, while its division into rectangles invited a perspectival measurement of space.

may thus be a subtle reference to its venerated predecessor on this altar and to the miraculous events with which the latter was associated.

With the use of gestures and texts, Sassetta spun a network of relations not only between the Virgin and the saints kneeling and standing around her, but also between the protagonists of the painting and the faithful visiting the cathedral. Saint John the Baptist, identified as the greatest of all sons of women 'MAIOR.INTER.NATOS.MULIERUM.IOHANNES.', kneels in the foreground, looking out of the frame in the direction of the door and pointing to the Holy Child, thus immediately introducing those entering the Porta del Perdono to the Christ Child. A sacramental touch is added by the scroll the saint holds '[E]CCE.AGNIUS DE[I]'. The Child on his mother's lap also looks and gestures towards the devotee who has just entered the cathedral, presenting him or her with an inscription inviting them to come to Him 'all ye that travail and I will refresh you', the text of Mathew 2:28: 'VENITE AD ME O[MNE]S QUI LABORATIS ET HONERATI ESTIS ET EGO REFICIAM VOS'. Following a diagonal, a third figure welcomes those entering the cathedral, a pensively staring Saint Paul. In his mantle Sassetta repeats the red lake pigment of his diagonal counterpart, Saint John. Saint Paul rests his sword horizontally on his right wrist and left thumb at the same time holding up with his right hand a card identified as 'AD ROMANOS SECU[N]DO', his letter that refers to the judgment of God. Around his head are the words: 'VAS.ELECTIONIS.SANCTUS.PAULUS.'. The other privileged apostle, Saint Peter, is to the left of the throne and is presented by the inscription in his halo as 'PRINCEPS.APOSTOLORUM.SANCTUS.PETRUS.'. He looks at the Holy Child and holds the keys in one hand, and in the other a book in which are visible three pages with readable text. It is a passage from his first letter (1 Peter, 1, 24-26, 2, 1-3) discussing the vanity of all mortal things and urging the pursuit of salvation as 'children newborn' through the 'soul's pure milk'.

Upon entering or leaving the cathedral through this important door, the visitor was confronted with Sassetta's large celestial vision, which of course alluded to Duccio's *Maestà*. Saints Peter, Paul and John the Baptist undoubtedly added to the general prestige of the image, yet one wonders whether they might have had a greater significance and whether Casini may have had a hand in suggesting them too. And in suggesting, as a matter of fact, all three figure on the Santa Maria Maggiore altarpiece as well. Saints Peter and Paul might have to be seen in the light of the association of the Porta del Perdono area with the consecration of the Sienese cathedral. Pope Alexander III had conceded a general indulgence every 27th November, the day of the Sagra, in analogy to the practice in the churches of Saint Peter and Saint Paul at Rome, which had allegedly been consecrated on the same day.³⁸⁹ The situation is more specific in the case of the fourth saint, Francis. In the 1430 commission

389 UGURGIERI AZZOLINI post 1649 – ante 1667, fol. 52v (referred to by M. Butzek, 'La cappella Chigi nel duomo di Siena', in ANGELINI, BUTZEK & SANI 2000, p. 410): 'In prima concede il Santissimo Padre in Cristo e Sommo Pontefice Papa Alessandro terzo sanese nel dì che fù consacrata questa santa chiesa quel medes-

imo Perdono, et indulgenza, che è in Roma nella chiesa di San Pietro, e di San Pavolo nel dì che esse chiese furono consagrate; imperò che questa santa chiesa fù consacrata nel dì della consacrazione di dette chiese di San Pietro e di San Pavolo, cioè la remissione di tutti i peccati.'

he was the only desired saint who received an epithet; 'Sancti Francisci seraphici'. Of course, he occupied a special place in the religious life of the patrons, which centred round the confraternity of San Francesco and the Franciscan Third Order. Ludovica believed that Saint Francis, together with the Virgin, had cured Turino from his first serious illness. The figure of Saint Francis functions in the painting as a link between the Virgin, to whom he points, and the cathedral space, as he looks up from the lecture in his book and glances obliquely out of the frame. The pointing gesture made by Sassetta's Saint Francis, with his thumb up, could not be more Siennese. It is a candid wink to Pietro Lorenzetti, who used it on various occasions, for instance in the figure of John the Baptist in the Carmine altarpiece as well as in the same saint on the polyptych of the Pieve in Arezzo, and even in the fresco in the transept of the lower church of San Francesco in Assisi in the figure of the Virgin indicating the Holy Child on her arm a lateral Saint Francis (known as the Madonna dell'Autostop or 'Hitchhike Virgin'). In the Madonna della Neve, the light is parallel with Saint Francis' orientation, striking at an acute angle from the top right through the entire painting. Sassetta's imaginary source of light would thus have to be identified with a point on the Campanile wall that flanked the altarpiece, while the real light flooded in from the left of the altarpiece, from the Porta del Perdono and the window above it. Francis' light-greenish habit balances Peter's yellow one in the opposite corner. The inscription on Francis' halo reads: '.PATRIARCHA.PAUPERUM.FRANCISCHUS.'³⁹⁰ The Virgin, central to the efforts of all the gesturing saints surrounding her, is the only figure in the altarpiece looking directly at the faithful who knelt in front of the altar.

The six small, half-length saints in the spandrels of the arches of the baldachin-frame also look and gesture towards the Virgin. Even though they are high up and far from the beholder, Sassetta painted these saints with meticulous care, still glazing their garments over gold-leaf, just as he splendidly tooled architectural and floral decorations into the gold of the frame, an example of devoted craftsmanship. The saints are, from left to right, Catherine of Alexandria, Matthew, Bartholomew, Dominic and a female martyr saint, probably Agnes.³⁹¹ Sassetta played with the shape of the spandrels: Saint Augustine's crosier just disappears behind the painted niche, while Catherine's wheel is tucked into the deepest corner of the spandrel. Only the insertion of Saint Dominic seems explicit, because his name day coincided with the *Festum Nivis* on 5th August.

The arms of Ludovica Bertini and Turino di Matteo figure in an unusually prominent place for a Siennese altarpiece, that is on the throne, in close vicinity to the Virgin.³⁹² At the right is a shield with the Bertini arms, showing the black anvil on a yellow background.³⁹³ To the left, in a much-damaged area of

³⁹⁰ An identical inscription, a well-known poetic denomination of the saint, runs around the halo of *Saint Francis in Glory* of Sassetta's Borgo Sansepolcro altarpiece; VAN OS 1990, p. 94.

³⁹¹ POPE HENNESSY 1939, p. 53 note 68 suggested this female saint might be Lucy. In an analogy with Duccio's *Maestà*, Agnes is

here proposed as a more likely candidate.

³⁹² VAN OS 1990, p. 173.

³⁹³ Compare f.e. UGHELLI 1718, col. 567; *Compendio istorico di sanesi nobili per nascita* ..., compiled in 1694-1697, BCS, ms. A.VI.54, fol. 78r.

the painting is a shield that, logically, must have shown Turino's arms. On a dark field can be seen a central yellowish bar, possibly increasing in thickness towards the centre. In 1862, Brogi still thought he could discern a rose in the upper half.³⁹⁴ Turino had been knighted only two years before his death and, since he had no offspring, his coat of arms must have been used for a restricted period only. In an effort to find a complement to Sassetta's now barely legible specimen, the ceiling of the Sala dei Conversari in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo is of some help. The vaults are adorned with the coats of arms of all the operai up to modern times, accompanied by their names and the dates of their offices. These arms were re-painted between 1867 and 1880 by Giorgio Bandini and were based on older originals.³⁹⁵ 'Turinus Mathei/Anno Domini M.CCCCXX' is accompanied by a coat of arms showing a field divided in two by a yellow bar (plate XVI). Above the bar is a blue field with a white rampant lion, and underneath is a red field with a six-pointed yellow star. Too little is left of the shield on the throne of Sassetta's Madonna della Neve, but the arms of the Sala dei Conversari might aid our mental reconstruction of it. Turino, a self-made man, must have been particularly proud of his knighthood and as a widow of noble birth, Ludovica Bertini must have shared this pride. In 1426 she is already permitted to decorate the altar 'cum armis supradicti olim domini Turini ibidem apponendo et pingendo arma supradicti olim domini Turini.' (Appendix I, doc. A.V). This might account for the unusually prominent place Sassetta gave to their heraldry on the throne of the Virgin.

THE PREDELLA

The predella of the Madonna della Neve offered the most eloquent place for the patrons to unfold their version of the snow legend and to present themselves. The 1430 contract asks for a 'predellam cum quinque storiis Sancte Marie de Nive'. Previous authors have seen the fact that the final altarpiece counts seven predella-scenes as one of the major deviations from the original plan (plate I).³⁹⁶ It has not yet been remarked that the change from five to seven scenes was actually made when the work was already in an advanced stage. The carpentry of the predella had been constructed to accommodate five scenes. In the upper and lower predella frame, refilled V-shaped indentations can be discerned where the originally applied wooden mouldings of circa

394 BROGI 1897, p. 124: 'Nel mezzo della tavola principale vi sono due stemmi gentilizi, che poco si distinguono. In uno sembra sia una fascia accompagnata da una rosa posta in capo: nell'altro la figura di una ancudine.'

395 They must be based on much older originals, perhaps on a collection of arms unknown to us. The Sala dei Conversari was in use as a theatre in the nineteenth century and was then known as the Saloncino dell'Alfieri. When it was converted to the new Museo Cristiano, the vaults appear to have already been decorated with the arms of the operai. As part of the preparation for the opening of the Museo Cristiano in the building, the painter Giorgio Bandini was entrusted with the task of redecorating the ceilings. In 1879 he gives

an estimate for the work 'per pasporre/e ridipingere gli stemmi e le iscrizioni dei due soffitti del già saloncino' and then writes an invoice for 'I centoquattordici stemmi dei rettori dell'Opera Metropolitana di Siena, e le centotrentacinque iscrizioni relative al tempo d'ufficio dei medesimi; per essere rinnovate nelle due soffitte del Museo Cristiano'; AOMS, 936 (num. Mosc. 1627) nr. 6, letters of 28th September 1879 and 17th January 1880. I am grateful to Susan Scott for drawing my attention to the coats of arms in the Sala dei Conversari.

396 F.e. VAN OS 1990, p. 169, who explains the deviation from the contract as a wish to present a continuous pictorial representation; POPE HENNESSY 1939, p. 29.

3.8 centimetres wide divided the five scenes (plates v, viii, ix). In the damaged paint surface of the predella itself the original subdivision can also be seen. The predella with applied mouldings had already been entirely covered in linen. When the mouldings were removed, bare strips of wood remained without the linen covering the rest of the plank. These bare strips were gessoed and over-painted, but the extreme conditions to which the predella was exposed over more than 500 years caused the gesso and paint layers to detach in these areas particularly as, for example, right through the middle of the third scene, *The dream of the pope* and the sixth, *The construction* (plates vi, ix). The central scene of the original lay-out was wider than the others (the four lateral scenes were approximately 34 cm wide, the central one measured 57.5 cm). When the change occurred, no carpenter was called in to make new mouldings. Instead, Sassetta himself gilded little strips in between the scenes. This also meant that the available space could be used in the most profitable way to accommodate seven scenes.

One can only guess at the reason why the number of predella-scenes was increased during the work. It would have been an automatism to conceive of a predella of five scenes, corresponding to a main panel with five figures, as demanded by the contract. When Sassetta developed his unified composition in the main panel with its lack of even the least trace of a partition into five fields, this may have spoiled the initial plan for the predella. Or maybe the idea to sublimate references to Turino's office as operaio through the inclusion of scenes with the construction and the dedication of the church crystallised only at a later stage. Enthusiasm about Casini's detailed report of the snow-legend may have led the painter and his patrons to spin it out in full breadth.

The predella has been much damaged by humidity, being exposed to the winds near the Porta del Perdono and, from 1591 onwards, to the humidity and leaking roofs in its subsequent home in Chiusdino (see Appendix II. 3, 4). Pelliccioli imaginatively completed the scenes, but the most recent restoration has removed his additions and the rather sad remains of the original can now be seen properly. The sequence is as follows: *Apparition of the Virgin to the patrician Johannes in his dream*, *Miraculous snowfall on Mount Esquiline*, *The vision of Pope Liberius in his dream*, *The patrician Johannes visits the pope*, *Pope Liberius humbly hews out the snow ground-plan*, *The construction of the church*, *The dedication of the church* (plates iv-x).

Sassetta's representation of the snow legend has by far the most episodes compared to earlier and later cycles of the subject. Rusuti made four mosaic-panels in Rome, showing *The dream of the patrician*, *The dream of Pope Liberius*, *The patrician's visit to the pope* and *The miraculous snowfall*, the latter combined in one scene with *The pope hewing out the ground-plan* (figs. 43-46). With this division of scenes, Rusuti put the accent on the collaboration between the ecclesiastical patriciate and the pontiff. This had, in fact, been a reflection of the relations behind the commission, of Pope Nicholas IV and the two Colonna cardinals who had joined forces to accomplish the embellishment of Santa Maria Maggiore.

59 Matteo di Giovanni, *Miraculous snowfall*, height 26.5 cm, predella panel of his *Madonna della Neve* (plate XIV).

60 Matteo di Giovanni, *Pope Liberius hewing out the ground-plan*, height 26.5 cm, predella panel of his *Madonna della Neve* (plate XIV).

In order to set off the singularity of Sassetta's predella-cycle, we shall also take a short look at two Sienese painters and their patrons who followed Sassetta's example. The city of the Virgin proved to have receptive soil for the introduction of this poetic Marian mystery. However, though Sassetta's altarpiece struck a sympathetic chord, the snow-cycle was never echoed as elaborately again. In 1477 Matteo di Giovanni signed an altarpiece for a newly built church in Siena dedicated to Santa Maria della Neve (plate XIV). In a petition to the city council of 1470, Giovanni Cinughi explains his reasons for dedicating a church to the Virgin in Siena: 'ed in questa, la quale si chiama Città

61 Matteo di Giovanni, The dedication of the church, height 26.5 cm, predella panel of his Madonna della Neve (plate XIV).

de la Vergine non c'è in nome suo se non la chiesa cathedrale.³⁹⁷ The church was probably instituted by testamentary bequest and Cinughi's heirs commissioned the altarpiece.³⁹⁸ Matteo di Giovanni obviously turned to Sassetta for inspiration. His main panel, just as Sassetta's, shows a *sacra conversazione*, where the snow plays a subordinate role as an attribute of the Virgin. His representation of the story, as well as smaller details such as the angels with the snowballs, are grafted from Sassetta (plates I, III, XIV). Matteo di Giovanni contented his patron with three predella-scenes only, completely leaving out the early events, the visions and the visit (figs. 59, 60, 61). The miraculous snowfall, with the Virgin and angels hovering over a deserted Esquiline, is followed by the pope hewing out the contours of the church that has to be built and then by the dedication of the church. By selecting the scenes pertaining to the actual construction of the church according to the Virgin's wishes, Giovanni Cinughi thus presented himself as a *Bauherr*. Giovanni Cinughi is another ideal snow-patron. A patrician and an ecclesiastic, he was created bishop of Pienza and Montalcino by Pope Pius II on 30th September 1462. Under that guise, Cinughi witnessed Pope Pius II's transformation of Corsignano into Pienza and the construction of its Renaissance church. He had provided for the edification of the small church of Santa Maria della Neve in Siena. Cinughi used the legend of the foundation of Santa Maria Maggiore as a referential miracle for his own pious vision to dedicate a church to the

397 Quoted by HUBACH 1996, p. 188 note 212 (ASS, Consiglio Generale 233, fols. 139v-140r (23rd May and 5th June 1470)).

398 BURICCHI 1998, pp. 52-54 cat. nr. 16; HUBACH 1996, pp. 188-189; VAN OS 1990, pp. 184-189; PESCATORI 1988, p. 7; B. Santi, 'La pala di Matteo di Giovanni in Santa Maria delle Nevi a Siena',

in IBIDEM, pp. 36-39; TRIMPI 1987, pp. 221-224 cat. nr. 73. Measures reported wrongly in the literature. Panel without the frame as measured by Ludwin Paardekooper: 268.6 x 179 cm, with framing elements circa 327 x 224 cm; see also PAARDEKOOPER 2002, appendice nr. 13 (panel 264 x 179 cm); IDEM 1993, p. 192.

62 Girolamo di Benvenuto, main panel of his *Madonna della Neve* altarpiece, 1508, tempera and gold on panel, 184 x 203 cm, Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena, inv. nr. 414a.

Virgin's glory, as stated in his petition of 1470. His intentions are reflected in the choice of predella-scenes.

In 1508 Girolamo di Benvenuto painted an altarpiece which presents us with the third Sienese example of a *Madonna della Neve* in the guise of a *sacra conversazione* on the main panel (fig. 62). In the predella, four scenes show the dream of the patrician, the dream of the pope, the snow-miracle and the pope hewing out the ground-plan, flanking a central scene with the Resurrection of Christ. The layout of all these snow-scenes is based on Sassetta's example. Girolamo painted his altarpiece for the Sozzini family for their chapel immediately to the left of the main chapel in the church of San

Domenico.³⁹⁹ In the last scene with the pope reinforcing the snow-shape (present location unknown; before Detroit, Collection Graham), a man with portrait-like features holds the pope's cape and looks out straight from the picture (fig. 63). It can be surmised that this is again a patron presenting himself, although we don't know the background for his selection of scenes, which is quite similar to Rusuti's cycle. It is possible that provost Niccolò Sozzini, present at the institution of Ludovica's chapel of the Virgin of the Snow, had an early stake in the genesis of the San Domenico snow-chapel (Appendix 1, doc. A.v).

By choosing a comprehensive depiction of the legend, Ludovica, her counsellors and Sassetta could make a double point. On the one hand, they were able to emphasise Turino and Ludovica's pious patronage and Turino's position as operaio through the last three scenes. On the other hand they used the weight of four scenes to emphasise the importance of collaboration between the nobility and ecclesiastical authorities. This co-operation was exemplified in Turino's function as the operaio, appointed by the Consiglio Generale, and standing midway between the civic supervision over the cathedral-works on one side, and the canons and the bishop on the other. The reforms in the office brought about during the tenure of Turino's predecessor, discussed earlier, had been specifically aimed at increasing the influence of the Commune in the cathedral works.⁴⁰⁰ Turino could easily identify with Johannes 'Patritius', since he had just been knighted. During his short office, Turino had prepared the Council of Siena. We have seen that a Sienese priest, Ser Leonardo and two Sienese bishops, Antonio Casini and Carlo Bartoli, were involved in the genesis of the chapel of the Virgin of the Snow. This balancing presence of civic and ecclesiastical authorities in the commission is probably reflected in the first scenes of the predella, narrating in detail the joining of the secular and ecclesiastical domains around the mir-

63 *Girolamo di Benvenuto*, Pope Liberius hewing out the ground-plan of Santa Maria Maggiore, predella panel belonging to fig. 62, present location unknown, before collection Graham, Detroit.

399 SCHMIDT 1997, p. 217; HUBACH 1996, pp. 189-190; I. Bähr, in KIRCHEN 1992, vol. 2.2, pp. 753 nr. 42, 757-758 nr. 52 (her presumption that the chapel, which already belonged to the Sozzini fam-

ily in the fourteenth century, was at that time already dedicated to the Madonna della Neve, is unfounded); TORRITI 1990, pp. 308-310.

400 See also SANI 1987, pp. 498-507.

acle. Sassetta changed the sequence of the story as related by the literary accounts and by Rusuti's mosaics. Instead of showing the miraculous snowfall after the two nocturnal visions and the meeting of pope and patrician, Sassetta inserted the snowfall on the Esquiline in between the two visions, as if compositionally stressing the amazing simultaneity of these identical visions. As a result, the *Visit of Johannes to the pope* now occupies the central panel of the predella and, by this position of honour, stresses the convergence of the secular and the ecclesiastical realms. Because of this exchange, the predella also achieves a somewhat more playful alternation of architectural and landscape scenes.

In an elaborate setting, recalling not only Pietro Lorenzetti's Carmine predella, as Van Os has remarked, but also Sassetta's own settings in the Arte della Lana predella, Johannes and his wife are asleep (plate IV). An apparition of the Virgin hovers over their bed, telling them in their dream that she will show them how to spend their heritage. In the second scene the Virgin appears in the sky and makes it snow, surrounded by angels, some of them throwing snowballs (plate V). Only the paint-layer of the upper part of this scene survives. Matteo di Giovanni and, later, Girolamo di Benvenuto painted more or less identical scenes with the same apparition of a foreshortened Mary in the midst of angels, again with snowballs in their hands (fig. 59). It is probable that Matteo and Girolamo also took the setting of Mount Esquiline from Sassetta. Through a curtain of snow, city walls are visible in the distance, while below the white ground-plan can be seen. Of the third scene, which would have shown the appearance of the Virgin to Pope Liberius in his sleep, summoning him to build a church in her honour on the Esquiline, only the top of an architectural setting with a loggia, balcony and a statue has survived (plate VI). The fourth and central scene is again placed in the setting of a palace (plate VII). Under a colonnade are seated various officials, although only a few survived the damage to the predella. Sassetta repeated this composition in *Saint Francis in front of the pope* in his Borgo Sansepolcro altarpiece. The composition is otherwise, once again, borrowed from the Lorenzetti, best exemplified in two scenes from Pietro's Carmine altarpiece. The patrician Johannes kneels before the enthroned pope. The latter, upon hearing the news of the apparition of the Virgin to Johannes which corresponds to his own nocturnal vision, folds his hands in prayer and looks up to the sky. The architecture comprises a four-partite hall, sliced open for the viewer, with a vault ending in pendant little arches, on top of which are depicted three antiquicising putti bearing garlands. They recall Ambrogio Lorenzetti, who used the same motif on top of his temple in the *Purification of the Virgin* for the altar of San Crescenzo in Siena Cathedral (fig. 23).

The last three scenes are all set in a landscape, yet this is not a continuous landscape, similar to experiments by Masaccio and Uccello, as has been suggested.⁴⁰¹ The very same landscape is actually repeated in the three scenes

401 K. Christiansen, 'Painting in Renaissance Siena', in CHRISTIANSEN, KANTER & STREHLKE 1988, p. 8, who relates the pre-

sumed continuous horizon to Masaccio's frescos in the Brancacci Chapel, where in two frescos converging in a corner, the hills con-

64 Sassetta, *The legend of the wolf of Gubbio*, 1437-1444, part of the *Borgo Sansepolcro* altarpiece, tempera and gold on panel, 86.4 x 52.1 cm, National Gallery, London, inv. nr. 4762.

with a good sense of the unified narrative, indicating the same building site of the church three times. From scene to scene, Sassetta repeats the hills and their crowning castles, but varies the skies to indicate the passage of time. It is a temporal spacing between the various stages of the genesis of the church. The interest in a naturalistic landscape and sky is exemplified early in Siena, in Ambrogio Lorenzetti's *Allegory of Redemption* and in his frescos in the Sala della Pace.⁴⁰² It would have been more marked in the lost fresco-cycle by Ambrogio in the cloister of San Francesco in Siena, which is only known through Ghiberti's comments, when he praises the convincing representation of a hailstorm in one of the frescos.⁴⁰³ Sassetta had experimented with skies before, in the *Temptation of Saint Anthony* and *The burning at the stake of the heretic Nicolaus* on the predella of his Arte della Lana altarpiece. The skies in the Madonna della Neve predella, with their meteorological interest and their lyrical observation of nature, form an accompaniment to the events below on earth. A calm sky with harmoniously striped clouds accompanies the suspense of the passage when the pope humbly starts to clear the ground-plan (plate VIII). The group of birds (possibly swallows) in the sky seems like a pagan omen, inserted to stress the Christian miraculousness of the August snowfall. Sassetta would use the same device to accompany the cortege of the Magi in his small-scale *Adoration* and in another miracle scene with *Saint Francis and the wolf of Gubbio* in his Borgo Sansepolcro altarpiece (fig. 64). The pact between the saint and the ferocious animal he has just tamed is echoed here in the sky by a flight of birds. To the left in the crowd of the *Pope Liberius hewing out the snow ground-plan of the church*, three men look up towards the birds in the sky. The man with the raised stick, about to hit a person clad in black with his hand protectively in front of his head, adds to this atmosphere of magic. It seems almost like Saint Peter at the betrayal of Christ dealing with the incredulity of Malchus by cutting off the latter's ear. In the following predella-scene of *The construction of the church*, agitated wind-driven clouds reflect the hustle and bustle of the many workers on the building site below (plate IX). Finally, all is serene at the solemn dedication of the finished church in the last scene (plate X).

Cardinal's red is the predominant colour in *Pope Liberius hewing out the snow ground-plan of the church* (plate VIII), much more so than it had been in Roman predecessors of the representation of this scene (plate XII, figs. 46, 57). The pope hews out the ground-plan, once sparkling white due to the (now tarnished) silver-leaf, in the middle of a court of cardinals who discuss this act. At the far right of the scene stands a cardinal with a beret instead of a cardinal's hat, pointing to the ground-plan and holding a cross. The cross interrupts the horizontality of the clouds, the skyline and the isocephaly of the crowd. It is tempting to identify this prominent cardinal with Antonio Casini, cardinal of San Marcello. In Casini's effigy by Jacopo della Quercia in the

tinue across two adjacent scenes; CARLI 1957, p. 26, compares it to the continuous landscape in Uccello's predella with the legend of the profanated Host in Urbino.

⁴⁰² TORRITI 1990, pp. 73-75 cat. nr. 92.

⁴⁰³ Ghiberti 1447-1455 (1998), p. 88.

relief with the Virgin, to whom the cardinal is presented by his name-saint Anthony, a similar broad, round face on a sturdy neck characterises the cardinal, just as in Masolino's *Foundation* and to some extent in Nicola di Ulisse's miniature in Casini's missal (plates VIII, XII, XIII, fig. 40).⁴⁰⁴ Sassetta flanks the cross-bearing cardinal with a man and a woman, the patrician Johannes and his wife, in accordance with the legend. The man devoutly folds his hands, while his wife opens hers in amazement. The man has a grey cap over his head and the woman is dressed in a habit with a grey over-cape, a cap with a broad white border and a white tunic. In the first deep fold in her tunic from the right, a chord with knots might be hidden. A general habit for the Franciscan Third Order was styled only in 1447 and it consisted then of a tunic, a cappuccio and the traditional Franciscan chord. Until the eighteenth century the habit was grey (*cenerino*).⁴⁰⁵ The patrician's wife might therefore be a portrait of Sassetta's patron, donna Ludovica, the Franciscan tertiary, who mirrored herself in her legendary counterpart. She is addressed by the prominently placed cardinal, quite probably Antonio Casini, who was also her counsellor in real life. As witnesses to the foundation of the church, Sassetta thus seems to have represented the three people who constituted the driving forces behind the institution of the chapel of the Virgin of the Snow in the Sienese cathedral: Turino di Matteo, who instituted the chapel by testamentary wish, donna Ludovica, who boldly realised the project and Antonio Casini, who shaped the religious intentions of the patrons as well as the programme of the chapel, apart from being a source of information on the Roman snow legend as well as the hinge between Masaccio and Masolino's work in Rome and Sassetta's in Siena.

Ludovica's late husband, Turino di Matteo, the operaio who was actually buried in front of this altarpiece, is the pivotal figure in the next episode. The representation of the construction of the church with its attention for daily detail is not common at all and seems to be Sassetta's own invention (plate IX).⁴⁰⁶ The operaio, Turino, oversees the various activities, clad in an elegant dress with a *mazzocchio*-like hat. Two mules or horses bring new materials. A workman takes bricks from a large heap, while another brings them to the bricklayers in a basket on his shoulder. Two bricklayers place the bricks, with hammer and trowel, on two walls that are under construction. From behind the back wall a man emerges carrying mortar on a plank on his head and next to him a man sieves sand, in preparation for the mortar. In the foreground the operaio addresses a stonemason who is seated on the ground carving a capital on a low bench.

The predella culminates in a scene of the completed church, a brick building with a portico, and its dedication (plate X). The brick structure and the façade with mosaics suggests that Casini had informed Sassetta about the basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore with its medieval loggia and about Rusuti's

404 See CARLI 1979, p. 103 and fig. CLV.

405 R. Pazzelli, 'Terz'ordine regolare di S. Francesco', in ROCCA 2000 nr. 82, pp. 337-339.

406 VAN OS 1990, p. 170 mentions one earlier example, a miniature by Andrea da Bologna in a missal of Bertrand de Deux, adjusted version of IDEM 1968, p. 32 and fig. 26.

decoration of the upper façade, although the layout precludes any direct knowledge of the Roman church. The pope with the patrician/ Turino at his side is about to enter the church, followed by a procession of cardinals. Whereas the pope and those closing the procession are focussed on the new church, the patrician and two cardinals look backwards at someone kneeling in the middle of the procession. Again, the paint is badly damaged, but those backward glances suggest a person of honour, like the cardinal of the processional cross of two scenes earlier, or maybe even the woman, donna Ludovica. Matteo di Giovanni represented the same unusual episode of the dedication in his Cinughi altarpiece more than forty years later, painting a frontal close-up of the portico of the church (fig. 61). The cardinal's red seems a remnant picked up from Sassetta, but no longer with any specific meaning. The introduction of such a large amount of cardinals is a Sieneſe peculiarity. At the beginning it had a precise meaning and referred to a particular commission in which a Sieneſe cardinal had actually been intimately involved. Later occurrences of the snow-iconography in Siena, in the altarpieces by Matteo di Giovanni and Girolamo di Benvenuto, had no individual Roman source, but were derived directly from Sassetta. In Sassetta's case, the cardinals referred to the ecclesiastics attending the original miracle, to the fifteenth-century situation at Santa Maria Maggiore itself, and to the counsellor of the Sieneſe patrons, Cardinal Antonio Casini.

The snow-legend as Casini would have recounted it to the munificent patrons Ludovica and Turino had intrinsic qualities and analogies with their own circumstances and convictions, as indicated above. Turino and Ludovica presented their personal patronage in the spirit of the divinely inspired act of Johannes Patritius and his wife, just as the archpriest and the canons at Santa Maria Maggiore stressed in their celebration of the *Festum Nivis* that they were acting in the tradition of the snow-miracle by embellishing their church. The Virgin of the Snow was a beautiful addition to the Marian programme as it developed in the fifteenth century in the Sieneſe cathedral. The foundation legend of the oldest church of western Christianity dedicated to the Virgin, moreover, seemed befitting of the Sieneſe cathedral of Santa Maria Assunta. In this respect, the symbolism of the direct physical context of Ludovica and Turino's chapel is of importance. The location next to the Porta del Perdono guaranteed a psychological connection with the founding of the Sieneſe cathedral that seems to have been deliberately exploited by Sassetta and his patrons. The Porta del Perdono was known by that name since, traditionally, Pope Alexander III would have entered by that door on the day of the cathedral's consecration. On that occasion he bestowed indulgencies upon those entering through the Porta del Perdono.⁴⁰⁷ Therefore, the Porta del Perdono, next to Sassetta's altarpiece, was related to the consecration of the church.

407 UGURGIERI AZZOLINI post 1649-ante 1667, fol. 51v: 'l'indulgenza che detto Papa Alessandro terzo pose alla porta di detto duomo, nominato perciò la porta del Perdono, e diceva che chiunque entrava per quella porta in duomo, e diceva uno Pater

Noster et un Ave Maria, facendo il passo dell'armicella di detto papa, che è ivi in terra di marmo giallo inserto nella soglia di detta porta, acquistava per ciaschuna volta trenta giorni di perdono', see also fol. 53r.

Ludovica and her counsellors may have grasped this association and used it to enforce their own presentation of themselves as patrons and constructors of a chapel.

In front of the Porta del Perdono in Siena Cathedral, an emphasis on the foundation and founders of churches in a masquerade of interwoven references would later be continued in a pavement panel. In April 1451, the Opera del Duomo expressed its shame at the filthy, neglected state of the area at the top of the stairs leading up to the Porta del Perdono. In August of that year the Opera, under the rectorate of Mariano Bargagli, commissioned Corso di Bastiano to place there a marble inlaid pavement. Following the use of the foundation of Santa Maria Maggiore as a metaphor for operaio Turino's care for the Sienese cathedral, as seen in the first chapel upon entering the Porta del Perdono, the pavement panel represented the mythical consecration of Siena Cathedral by Pope Alexander III in 1179.⁴⁰⁸ The glass window above the Porta del Perdono with an unknown subject, made by Guasparre di Giovanni in 1434 for the Opera, may already have joined in this 'programme'.⁴⁰⁹ In the sixteenth century the emphasis on the foundation of the cathedral in the decoration of the area around the Porta del Perdono was stressed again by Giugurta Tommasi (operaio 1590-1607). On 5th June 1591 he entrusted Filippo Cafaggi with the task of making a sculpture of the alleged founder of Siena Cathedral, Pope Alexander III. Tommasi intended to put the sculpture near the Porta del Perdono. He cleared the area and on 1st April 1591 he removed the altar of Santa Maria della Neve and sold Sassetta's altarpiece (see Appendix II.3). However, the statue seems to have been destined to go to the other side of the Porta del Perdono, where a niche can still be seen on the seventeenth-century ground-plan (figs. 9a, 9b).⁴¹⁰ Around the same time, Tommasi commissioned Flaminio di Girolamo del Turco and Pietro di Benedetto da Prato to make a wall monument to Pope Alexander III, with a plaque containing a laudatory inscription. This monument was positioned on the outside of the Campanile on its southern wall, in between the Porta del Perdono and the archiepiscopal palace (fig. 28).⁴¹¹ Tommasi's intentions to evoke once again the memory of the foundation of the cathedral are clear. Donna Ludovica's choice, to dedicate the altar of her late husband operaio Turino di Matteo next to the Porta del Perdono to the miracle of the Virgin of the Snow, can be seen as the first visual expression of a tradition of emphasising the consecration and building of the cathedral in the decoration of this particular corner of the edifice.

408 The panel was executed by Corso di Bastiano following a drawing by 'Guasparre dipintore'. ARONOW 1985, pp. 176-181, 432-433 doc. nr. 89; MILANESI 1854, vol. II, pp. 269-270 doc. nr. 189. The pavement panel was lost during the construction of the Chigi Chapel.

409 Payment dated 15th July 1434; MILANESI 1854, vol. II, pp. 198-199 note to doc. nr. 155. See also LUSINI 1939, vol. II, p. 31 note 2. With the glass covering a surface of $9\frac{5}{8}$ braccia or circa 3.30 m², the window was quite considerable.

410 The historian Tommasi wrote a treatise in which he tried to

prove the story that Alexander III had indeed founded the cathedral in 1179. Due to conflicts with the bishop, the statue of Pope Alexander III would never be erected near the Porta del Perdono. Instead, a statue of Pope Paul V by Fulvio Signorini was put there in 1609; BUTZEK 1980, esp. pp. 18-22, 28, 53-54 doc. nrs. IV-X, and see note 114 above.

411 BUTZEK 1980, pp. 20-22, 54-55 doc. nrs. XI-XIII. The remnants of the monument with the inscription can now be found in the passage of the present lateral entrance.

Sassetta's predella attests to a meticulous knowledge of the snow legend in all its narrative detail. In the predella the painter has seized the opportunities it offered for an interpretation related to the modern actuality of a fifteenth-century Sienese couple. Through an identification with the mythic patrician Johannes and his wife, pushed so far as to include portraits, the social standing of the knighted Turino and his noble wife are underlined, as is their pious gesture. Turino was the first operaio to be granted a chapel and a burial-place of his own in the cathedral and the reasons for this privilege are reflected in a detailed pictorial account of his activities as operaio, again under the guise of the acts of Johannes 'Patritius'. Ludovica chose an allegorical commemoration of her late husband and herself. She did not opt for the usual manifestation of the patron through the representation of name-saints, nor did she add any commemorative inscriptions. Through the inclusion of both Turino's and Ludovica's arms (his in the place of honour, to the Virgin's right) and through the choice of the representation of a legend which reflected the ambitions of both husband and wife, containing both their portraits, Sassetta's altarpiece became an expression of a remarkable degree of equality between a late husband and his widow. This degree of equality may have been determined by Ludovica's noble descent in contrast with Turino's self made fortune. Turino's position as operaio, on the brink of the civic and the cathedral authorities, and Ludovica's position as widow in charge of the institution of a chapel, had made them dependent upon the ecclesiastical powers of their day, such as the canons, the bishop, the rector of the Spedale and, above all, diplomat-cardinal-bishop Antonio Casini. This close co-operation is presented in the predella as the co-operation between the pope and his cardinals on the one hand and the patrician couple on the other.

As a conclusion to the delicately spun web of patrons, counsellors and painters outlined above, we shall, in this final chapter, consider an altarpiece that Sassetta painted immediately after his Madonna della Neve. Not only does it spring forth from the same social context, it also elaborates compositionally upon its predecessor in Siena Cathedral.

Antonio Casini exchanged the bishop's see of Siena for that of Grosseto in 1427 and he would remain bishop of Grosseto and as such head of its cathedral, until his death in 1439.⁴¹² In the case of the Madonna della Neve, Casini had circled around Sassetta in his capacity as adviser to the painter's patrons, but he also actually commissioned the artist himself while bishop of Grosseto. It will be argued that their collaboration resulted in the now fragmentary altarpiece of the Madonna delle Ciliegie or 'Madonna of the Cherries', which was discovered in the sacristy of Grosseto Cathedral in 1904.⁴¹³ Mason Perkins, who came across the panel, recognised it as a Sassetta and this attribution, and a date of around 1435, have since been accepted (plate xv).⁴¹⁴

The history of the Grosseto Madonna prior to its discovery in the cathedral sacristy is shrouded in mystery. Pope Hennessy at first inferred that it would have been painted for the cathedral itself, but later unconvincingly attempted to link it to Chigi's reference to the Petroni altarpiece in the church of San Francesco in Siena.⁴¹⁵ The sacristy of Grosseto Cathedral was the obvious gathering place for altarpieces and objects from the cathedral itself once they had become redundant after various redecoration campaigns or, occasionally, for works from ill-fated churches in its diocese. Francesco Anichini, chancellor of the episcopal curia of Grosseto, actually describes the situation in his compilation *Storia ecclesiastica [...] di Grosseto* of 1751: 'la sagrestia ripiena nelle sue pareti di quadri da altare antichi in tavola'.⁴¹⁶ Pope Hennessy's first intuition, that the Madonna is the remnant of an altarpiece in the cathedral itself, is thus more likely. We shall consider the historical situation in Grosseto and its cathedral before turning to the commissioning of Sassetta's Madonna delle Ciliegie.

Grosseto is situated on a plane in the Maremma not far from the sea, on the

IX

Sequel

412 GNONI, MAVARELLI & MARTINI 1996, p. 45; PETRONI 1971, p. 64; PECCI post 1759, pp. 133-134; IDEM 1748, p. 314.

413 96.3 x 70.4 cm (author's measurements. Due to extreme curvature, the back is narrower: 61.7 cm at the top and 60.9 cm at the bottom; EXH. CAT. SIENA 1904, p. 342, sala XXXV nr. 11, as 'Scuola senese del secolo xv').

414 PERKINS 1904 I; IDEM 1904 II, p. 581, plate II on p. 587. This date, in between the Madonna della Neve and the Cortona altarpiece in f.e. VAN MARLE 1923-1938, vol. IX (1927), p. 342; POPE HENNESSY 1939, pp. 62, 89 note 20; BRANDI 1949, p. 55; CARLI 1957, pp. 36-38; IDEM 1964, p. 24; VAN OS 1969, pp. 123-124, note 150 erroneously discusses it in the context of Madonnas of Humility; K. Christiansen, in CHRISTIANSEN, KANTER & STREHLKE 1988, p. 95

sub cat. nr. 7; F. Fumi Cambi Gado, 'Opere d'arte del secolo xv nella Cattedrale di Grosseto', in GNONI, MAVARELLI & MARTINI 1996, p. 45; B. Santi, in IBIDEM, pp. 131-132.

415 POPE HENNESSY 1939, p. 62. IDEM 1956, p. 365, coupling it with the Louvre *Saint Nicholas* and the Monte dei Paschi *Saint Anthony*. R. Bartolini in MONTE DEI PASCHI 1988, p. 297, refuted the hypothesis, pointing to differences in carpentry and in the tooling of the gold on these panels.

416 ANICHINI 1751-1752, vol. I, fol. 38v; transcribed by S. Buetti in GNONI, MAVARELLI & MARTINI 1996, p. 94. On the Anichini himself, and on this work, see S. Buetti, 'L'opera di Francesco Anichini come fonte per la storia urbanistica e architettonica del centro storico di Grosseto', IBIDEM, pp. 87-90.

road between Rome and Pisa. The city had been under Sienese hegemony since 1336. In 1138 Pope Innocence II had transferred the cathedral of San Lorenzo in the nearby decayed city of Roselle to the new prosperous centre of Grosseto, where it merged with the *Pieve* of Santa Maria Assunta.⁴¹⁷ Construction of a new cathedral in Grosseto probably started in 1295. The cathedral was dedicated to Saint Lawrence, but the Virgin continued to play

no less important a role in this church, as is attested by the fact that the cathedral works were called the Opera di Santa Maria. At the beginning of the fifteenth century, Grosseto had been reduced by the pest to a sorry population of only 180 men. According to a petition made by the *Grossetani* to the Sienese government, they could no longer even man their walls and city-gates. Eventually this was resolved by an influx of Pisans, who were received with open arms by Grosseto, while the Sienese Concistoro, recognising the importance of the immigrants, granted them the same rights as native *Grossetani*. In the same period, a channel was dug from Grosseto to the sea-port of Talamone to enable the passage of ships carrying grain.⁴¹⁸ The cathedral was a ruin: in 1434 part of the building collapsed and possessions of the cathedral works had to be sold to pay for the repair.⁴¹⁹

Upon his arrival in Grosseto in 1426, Cardinal Casini must have encountered this desolate situation. The new bishop saw to the construction of the presbytery and of the episcopal palace.⁴²⁰ He must have embarked on

these projects early in his career, as reflected in his testamentary dispositions of 29th December 1431, in which he bequests 200 ducats to the sacristy of the cathedral of Grosseto, to be used for the benefit of the church and the neighbouring buildings of the *vescovado* (see Appendix 1, doc. E. 44). Casini's coats of arms were apparently scattered over the annex buildings of the cathedral. One has survived, walled into a flank of the Campanile (fig. 65).⁴²¹ Casini's

65 Coat of arms of Cardinal Antonio Casini, marble, between 1426 and 1439, flank of the Campanile of the cathedral, Grosseto.

417 CAPPELLI 1910, pp. 11, 18.

418 PECCI post 1759, pp. 133-135.

419 This appears from cathedral-books now lost, but obviously known to ANICHINI 1751-1752, p. 93 (fols. 36r-v): 'Nel 1434 rovinò buona parte della nostra chiesa e rinviensi deliberato che, affine di rimettersi nello stato primiero e con stabilità, si vendesse etc.'.

420 PECCI post 1759, p. 134: the memory of Casini's piety in Grosseto lived on thanks to a.o. 'la fabrica del Palazzo Vescovile e Canonica'.

421 BOLDRINI 1760, p. 176: 'di marmo parimente son quelle [arme gentilizie] del Conte Casini e di Mons. Agazzari, che sono all'esterno del Palazzo Vescovile per quella parte, che si dice Pretoria, del detto Conte Antonio Casini sono ancora altre due Arme simili nelle casette della Canonica, contigue al Duomo.'. The surviving marble plaque was already signalled by F. Fumi Cambi Gado, 'Opere d'arte del secolo XV nella Cattedrale di Grosseto', in GNONI, MAYARELLI & MARTINI 1996, pp. 45, 56 note 2.

individual input in the cathedral seems to have outstripped his official responsibilities.

Almost five years later, Casini adds the sacristy of Grosseto Cathedral to the list of his universal heirs, a list which already consisted of the sacristies of the church of San Marcello in Rome and of the cathedrals of Florence and Siena (see Appendix 1, E.69). Shortly before his death he then stipulates that, in return for his heritage, each of his heirs (the list now comprising six sacristies) should provide for an oil lamp to burn continuously in front of the tabernacle with the Sacred Host in those churches and that they should perpetually celebrate the anniversary of his death (see Appendix 1, doc. E.88). On 17th October 1441, one of Casini's testamentary executors laid down in a notarial act that 400 florins, apparently the sixth part of Casini's heritage, would be given to the cathedral works of Grosseto, on various provisions.⁴²² A lamp should indeed be kept burning, and a most elaborate mass was to be celebrated every 4th or 5th February (the former being Casini's day of death) with at least twelve priests present, accompanied by the liberal distribution of candles and gifts. Additionally, a separate chaplain to be called 'il cappellano dell'eredità di monsignor di San Marcello' was to be maintained and was to celebrate all year round whenever other chaplains officiated at the cathedral's altars. The Grosseto Cathedral works acquitted itself grudgingly of these prerequisites, which were hardly covered by the 400 florins. The extra requirements were probably fanciful additions by Casini's testamentary executor, apparently Sienese priest Sebastiano di Domenico, and the Grossetans tried in vain to lay their hands on the original testament.⁴²³ Whereas Casini's executors had thus made him rule from the grave in a somewhat despotic manner, during his lifetime Casini did make generous and worthwhile contributions to the cathedral.

As bishop of Siena, Casini had been eager to acquire a chapel in the Sienese cathedral, which he would endow in 1430. It was to be expected that Casini also founded a chapel in his second episcopal church, the cathedral of Grosseto. Fortunately, later visitors to the cathedral rather elaborately discussed the chapel of the Crucifix, founded by Antonio Casini, cardinal of San Marcello. Strangely, in contrast to the chapel in the cathedral of Siena, in Casini's 19-page long testament, no mention is made of a chapel or chaplaincy in Grosseto. It may have reached completion during his lifetime and in fact Casini himself stipulates in the testament that bequests only be carried out in cases where he had not already provided for the churches in question during his lifetime (Appendix 1, doc. E.74).

Don Vittorio Burattini of the Archivio Vescovile in Grosseto pointed the way to the detailed Apostolic Visit to Grosseto and its diocese by Francesco Bossio of 1576, now in the Archivio Segreto Vaticano, for which I am very

⁴²² This act, drawn up in Grosseto by notary Baldino di Domenico di Baldino of Lucignano in Val di Chiana, was known to Anichini through a copy in a *Libro di ricordi of monsignor Borghesi* of circa 1550. Quoted in extenso by ANICHINI 1751-1752, vol. 1, fols. 40r-

42v. It is referred to by Bossio in his Apostolical Visit of 1576 (see Appendix 1, doc. F. 13).

⁴²³ ANICHINI 1751-1752, vol. 1, fols. 42v-43r.

grateful. Copies of Bossio's visits to Siena, Massa Marittima, Montalcino and Pienza, were also sent to the Vatican and are still to be found there.⁴²⁴ The manuscript was unknown to previous writers on the cathedral and other churches of Grosseto and its diocese. Its discovery is of importance, given the fruits that the study of Bossio's longer-known Apostolical Visit to Siena and its diocese has already born and continues to yield to post-war (art)historians of Siena and its churches, especially regarding the original decoration of churches and the dedication of their altars. The discovery is of particular importance in light of the fact that early archival records for Grosseto and for its much-troubled cathedral are scarce.⁴²⁵ Bossio, bishop of Perugia, embarked upon his visit to Grosseto on 11th February 1576 by papal mandate of 22nd April 1575 (see Appendix 1, doc. F.1).⁴²⁶ About a third of the locations Bossio visits in Grosseto and its immediate surroundings are in ruins, due to hardships the city had endured by the first half of the sixteenth century. Another pest epidemic struck the city in 1527 and, in the decades leading up to the fall of the Sienese Republic, Grosseto had been occupied by the Spanish, then fortified by the befriended French, but had finally been taken by Grand Duke Cosimo I in 1559.⁴²⁷ More tranquil, though hardly more prosperous, times had followed with the subjection of Grosseto to the Medicean State of Florence in 1559. The cathedral itself was in a deplorable state. In the following we shall examine Bossio's manuscript regarding his observations of the cathedral interior and regarding Casini's involvement in its construction and decoration in particular.

Garzelli, in her monograph on the cathedral, has clearly outlined the sixteenth-century stages of its construction. She found that the transformation of the cathedral was undertaken by the Sienese architect Anton Maria Lari in 1538. Works were well advanced and the first five bays at the western end of

424 Resp. ASV, Congr. Vescovi e Regolari, Visita Apostolica, 58, 59, 61, 62.

425 A fire reduced the communal residence and its archive to ashes in 1560; GARZELLI 1967, p. 115. On the state archives and the Archivio Vescovile, with similarly late material, see resp. PETRONI 1971, and S. Bacci, *L'Archivio Vescovile di Grosseto*, Grosseto 1988, to be consulted in the archive itself. On Bossio's visit see also BLOUIN 1998, p. 27 nr. 3.1.2.23.

426 Bossio's records of churches in the diocese consist of: Montepescali, Batignano, Campagnatico, Roccastrada, Lattaia, Gavorrano, Scarlino, Castiglione della Pescaia, Badiola al Fango, Istia d'Ombrone, Montorsaio, Sticciano, Buriano, Colonna, Caldana, Ravi, Giuncarico, Montemassi, Sassofortino, 'Arci Riodorigoni' (Castel Federighi?), Tatti, Boccheggiano, Torniella, Belagaio, Casale di Pari, Sasso di Maremma (or Sasso d'Ombrone), Colle Massari, Vicarello.

427 Bossio visited the following locations inside the city of Grosseto: the cathedral, the parish church of San Michele Arcangelo, the ruined parish church of Santa Lucia, the *commend*a of San Leonardo, the collapsed churches of San Benedetto, San Galgano and San Jacopo, the conventual church of San Francesco, the

church of the monastery of Santa Chiara, the confraternities of the Carità, of San Gherardo and of the Misericordia, the hospital of Santa Maria della Scala of Grosseto, the operaio of the cathedral works, the chapel of Santa Maria della Neve, San Giovanni and the collapsed church of Sant' Andrea. On the historical situation in Grosseto during those years, see PECCI post 1759, pp. 143-145.

428 GARZELLI 1967, pp. 40-45, on p. 42: 'È probabile però che per accelerare l'uso della fabbrica fosse stata lasciata incompleta la zona dell'abside con una chiusura provvisoria in prossimità del transetto.' The nineteenth century witnessed another burst of transformations, under the sceptre of architect Fabio Nuti; see F. Rotundo, 'Gli interventi ottocenteschi nella Cattedrale di Grosseto', in GNONI, MAVARELLI & MARTINI 1996, pp. 73-86 (pp. 73-74 with a useful resumé of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century interventions; GARZELLI 1967, pp. 34-37; P. Vichi, *Geo-Carte Manoscritte e a Stampa nell'Archivio di Stato di Siena*, Siena 1990, p. 124, is mistaken in identifying a ground-plan in the ASS, Quattro Conservatori 137 (Mappe) with Lari's project for the cathedral of Grosseto. The church represented is the cathedral of Pienza, while the drawing and handwriting is probably seventeenth-century or later.

66 Hypothetical ground-plan of Grosseto Cathedral with its altars in 1576.

the church were in use in the second half of the century, but the demolished eastern end had, according to Garzelli, been closed off with a wall at the height of the transept, the church thus extending probably no further than four or five bays, a situation witnessed by Bossio (fig. 66). The church was eventually finished in 1610 and consecrated in 1655.⁴²⁸ In Bossio's time, the standing parts of the cathedral were still in a bad condition: the roof was leaking, the pavement was brittle, the walls had holes in them and windows had been walled (Appendix 1, doc. F. 12, 18). Bossio describes a total of eight altars. To the left of the main altar for those entering the cathedral, at the northern side (*ad cornu Evangelii*, the Gospel as a protection to this most 'evil'

side) was situated an altar dedicated to the Annunciation (Appendix 1, doc. F. 7) (fig. 66 nr. 2). The choir was in a strange position, to the right of the main altar, because the part behind the main altar had only just been demolished to make way for the new construction project (fig. 66 nr. 8).

Fortunately for our present investigation into Casini's patronage, Bossio recalls that an altar of the Crucifix endowed by the cardinal of San Marcello had been situated in the demolished part of the church, of which hardly any vestiges remained (Appendix 1, doc. F. 13) (fig. 66 nr. 12). To Bossio's dissatisfaction, its title had not yet been transferred. Bossio records that Cardinal Casini wanted the *ius patronatus* to pass on from provost to provost. That much had been notarially fixed on 17th October 1441, posthumously that is, and thus probably by Casini's testamentary executors. In Bossio's time, mass had to be said twice a week at this altar, with an additional twelve masses a year. Bossio also admonishes that Casini's lamp be reinstalled in front of the Sacrament and that celebrations of his annual memorial, which had dwindled, be taken seriously (Appendix 1, doc. F. 18, 19).⁴²⁹

During the building activities, the altar of the Crucifix as well as its title and duties had entirely disappeared. Bossio therefore urges that the title of the altar of the Crucifix be moved to the altar of Saint Catherine of Alexandria, as long as the reconstruction of the church and of the altar of the Crucifix have not been accomplished (Appendix 1, doc. F. 19) (fig. 66 nr. 3). It is unclear where the chapel's inventory was stored, though the crucifix that would undoubtedly have belonged to it may have been temporarily moved to the sacristy.⁴³⁰

In 1751-1752 Anichini witnessed the new, baroque location of the chapel of the Crucifix in the southern transept arm and he was still aware that the chapel as an institution had been founded by Casini.⁴³¹ He even continues to quote literally the acceptance of the endowment of this chapel on the part of the cathedral Opera of Santa Maria on 6th October 1468.⁴³² He thereby offers us, in addition to Bossio's 1441 document, another record of the pacts for the endowment of the chapel. The endowment consisted of various houses, grounds and a mill in and around Grosseto. Amongst them was a vegetable garden next to the church, later bought by the Opera and converted into a cemetery.⁴³³ As in the case of the oil lamp, 'il cappellano dell'eredità di mon-

429 In the eighteenth century the lamp was still there: ANICHINI 1751-1752, vol. 1, fol. 40r, as transcribed by S. Buetti in GNONI, MAVARELLI & MARTINI 1996, p. 95; PECCI post 1759, p. 133: 'lasciò memoria in Grosseto della di lui singolare pietà, con un lume continuo avanti l'Altare del SS. Sacramento e la frequenza quotidiana a' Divini Officii d'un Sacerdote di vantaggio'.

430 Appendix 1, doc. F. 16, mentions a crucifix, as well as pedestals, and various *panicali* to cover it at different occasions. On fol. 18r of the same manuscript is mentioned a 'Crux lignea pro mortuis', which might be identifiable with the small early fifteenth-century crucifix, now in the Museo Archeologico e d'Arte della Maremma e Museo Diocesano di Arte Sacra, Grosseto, on which see A. Bagnoli in GNONI, MAVARELLI & MARTINI 1996, pp. 127-

129, cat. nr. 6. No altarpiece, candle-sticks or the like coming from the chapel of the Crucifix are described in the sacristy.

431 ANICHINI 1751-1752, fol. 43r; transcription by S. Buetti in GNONI, MAVARELLI & MARTINI 1996, p. 95. A second *benefizio* under the title of the Crucifix had been added to the altar in 1612 by testamentary bequest of Baldassare Baccellieri; *IBIDEM*, fol. 44v, p. 95.

432 ANICHINI 1751-1752, fols. 43r-43v; omitted by S. Buetti (see previous note). The parchment, which in Anichini's time was preserved in the archive of the Curia, had been cut at the bottom, leading to the loss of the notary's name.

433 ANICHINI 1751-1752, fol. 37v; transcription by S. Buetti in GNONI, MAVARELLI & MARTINI 1996, p. 94; see also A. Famiani,

67 *Ground-plan of Grosseto Cathedral at present*
(after A. Famiani in GNONI, MAVARELLI & MARTINI 1996, p. 100).

signor di San Marcello' and the commemorative masses to be held on each anniversary of Casini's death, the legacy hardly covered the services that Casini had asked in return, and the cathedral works regretted having accepted.⁴³⁴ At the start, the chaplain was obliged to celebrate mass daily at Casini's altar, later mitigated to mass twice weekly.⁴³⁵ It is not entirely clear to what degree the bequest for the chapel of the Crucifix was intertwined with the testamentary legacy discussed above. This bequest to the sacristy of the cathedral had consisted of one sixth of Casini's fortune, amounting to 400 florins.

'Ricostruzione grafica della struttura della Cattedrale e delle aree adiacenti', in *IBIDEM*, p. 104.

⁴³⁴ ANICHINI 1751-1752, fols. 43v-44r.

⁴³⁵ 'Questo beneficiato ex fundatione parebbe obligato alla celebrazione quotidiana, tuttavia trovasi, che fino dalla visita apostoli-

ca applicava due sole messe la settimana, ed il medesimo monsignor Bossio gli fisse i giorni, che furono il martedì, e venerdì come può vedersi al fascio visite A da monsignor Turamini in quella del 1637. si dice, che avesse l'obbligo anche di far la festa di Sancta Croce il 3. di Maggio'; ANICHINI 1751-1752, fol. 44r.

68 Chapel of the Crucifix, with fifteenth-century crucifix, attributed to Vecchietta, inserted in a Neo-Renaissance niche by Domenico Iardella of 1860, southern transept, cathedral, Grosseto.

It is clear that rather a lot of paperwork regarding the chapel has gone missing.

So we now know that Antonio Casini had provided not only for a lamp to burn and memorial masses to be said at the main altar, but that he had also endowed a chapel of his own, dedicated to the Crucifix.⁴³⁶ Prior to the sixteenth-century transformations of the cathedral, this chapel was situated in the posterior part of the church. Generally, altars of the Crucifix had a central position in the church, often erected against the choir-screen and serving

⁴³⁶ The chances that Casini had a further stake in the main altar are slim, and it is even less likely that he saw to the realisation of a main

altarpiece. Though much could have changed in the meantime, the altar was devoid of an image in 1576, see Appendix 1, doc. F. 6.

69 Chapel of the Madonna delle Grazie, with the marble niche by Antonio di Ser Ghino (1474) and the cut-down panel of Matteo di Giovanni's Assumption of the Virgin, northern transept, cathedral, Grosseto.

as the layman's altar.⁴³⁷ This may have been the case in Grosseto Cathedral before the sixteenth-century transformations. Alternatively, it may have been positioned to one of the sides of the main altar, at the Epistle-side, opposite the chapel of the Annunciation. In Siena Cathedral too, we saw that the altar of the Crucifix was located to the side, in the southern transept (fig. 2 nr. 13). The appearance of the primitive cathedral corresponded in the width of the aisles to the present one and was presumably just as long. It did not have the transept at this point, and had an irregular, polygonal apse (fig. 66).⁴³⁸

437 BRAUN 1924, vol. 1, pp. 401-406.

438 GARZELLI 1967, pp. 45-50.

Once the transept had been constructed, the altar of the Crucifix was re-instituted in the south arm of the transept (fig. 67). The present chapel of the Crucifix is the result of nineteenth-century transformations. In that century it was known as the chapel of the Holy Sacrament. Around 1860 the marble balustrade and niche were made by Domenico Iardella from Lucca, in explicit imitation of Antonio di Ser Ghino's 1474 niche for Matteo di Giovanni's *Assumption* or *Madonna delle Grazie*, which had been moved in the same year to the opposite transept chapel (figs. 68, 69). His Neo-Renaissance style, as other antiquicising styles in the cathedral at this time, seems at first glance misleadingly authentic.⁴³⁹

Given the desolate state of fifteenth-century Grosseto outlined above, it comes as no surprise that it was an 'imported' foreigner who started on a personal decoration campaign, for the simple reason that the much-plagued citizens of Grosseto did not have the surplus of time and money to embark on such a project. Similarly, no artisans from Grosseto could be hired, but all had to come from the much more prosperous Siena. The only remnant of early fifteenth-century decoration still preserved in Grosseto, Sassetta's *Madonna delle Ciliegie*, should almost inevitably be linked to the presence of Antonio Casini as probably the one noticeable foreign official who was, furthermore, familiar with the painter. The city itself had only bounced back sufficiently in the sixteenth century, as only then was the cathedral seriously rebuilt. It cannot have been by accident that another, late fifteenth-century burst of decorative activities in the cathedral was related to the drive of another foreigner, this time an *operaio* of the cathedral works, Salvatore di Lemmo, who came from Castellamare (Naples). From Bossio's visit it now appears that the *Assumption of the Virgin* by Matteo di Giovanni was actually intended from the outset to be framed by Antonio di Ser Ghino's marble niche of 1474 (which features the arms of Giovanni Agazzarri (bishop of Grosseto 1452–1458)), inserted in the back wall of the chapel of the Assumption. This was a semicircular niche projecting outside the perimeter of the church wall in the first bay to the left of the church. The altarpiece and its tabernacle were probably set up behind a free-standing altar-block ('icona que est post altare in muro condita') (Appendix 1, doc. F.9) (fig. 66 nr. 4).⁴⁴⁰ In the bay at the opposite side of the church could be found Salvatore di Lemmo's extraordinary

439 E. Rotundo, 'Gli interventi ottocenteschi nella Cattedrale di Grosseto', in GNONI, MAVARELLI & MARTINI 1994, pp. 80–81.

440 Since the publication of Anichini's manuscript, it is clear that its altar was originally situated in the first bay of the northern aisle, prior to its relocation in 1614 to the opposite bay in the southern aisle. It is now in the northern side chapel, for the second time inserted in Antonio di Ser Ghino's marble tabernacle, though much cut down. This marble niche originally fitted it like a glove, judging by Bossio's description. The populace of Grosseto already held the *Madonna of the Assumption* in the sixteenth century (it was also known as *Madonna delle Grazie*) in deep veneration, affixing ex-votos next to it. Its location must have been similar to that of the chapel of Santa Maria delle Grazie in the Sienese cathedral, where

the *Madonna del Voto* was also positioned behind the altar, in the recess of the deep chapel, see figs. 1, 12. I thank Ludwin Paardekooper for sharing with me his thoughts on Matteo di Giovanni's *pala*, thoughts which he will discuss at length in his forthcoming dissertation. On the fragmentary *Madonna* and the marble niche of 1474 by Antonio di Ser Ghino which originally contained it, see: PAARDEKOOPER 2002, p. 28, appendice nr. 11, fig. 22; BURICCHI 1998, pp. 57–58; F. Fumi Cambi Gado, 'Opere d'arte del secolo XV nella Cattedrale di Grosseto', in GNONI, MAVARELLI & MARTINI 1996, pp. 46–49, 53–56; ANICHINI 1751–2, fols. 55r–56r, transcription by S. Buetti in GNONI, MAVARELLI & MARTINI, p. 98; TRIMPI 1987, pp. 144–146, with the now untenable theory that Matteo designed his *Madonna* to fit the present format.

70 Vecchieta (attr.), Monumental Crucifix, late 1430s,
polychromed wood, southern transept, cathedral, Grosseto.

baptism font of 1470, also sculpted by Antonio di Ser Ghino (fig. 66 nr. 5). The glass windows with theological virtues, prophets and saints, possibly by Benvenuto di Giovanni around 1470–1475, are suspiciously close in date to the two documented projects of Salvatore di Lemmo.⁴⁴¹

Now that we have recovered documents that reveal that Antonio Casini instituted such a chapel, we can see that the Madonna delle Ciliegie must have been intended for the chapel of the Crucifix. It is now time to establish, as far as possible, how the cardinal decorated his chapel at Grosseto Cathedral. Unfortunately, no descriptions survive of the chapel prior to the sixteenth-century transformations, as Bossio visited the cathedral only after the demolition of the original chapel. Undoubtedly, the chapel boasted a substantial crucifix, which as a matter of fact the present chapel still does (figs. 68, 70). It has been suggested, without documentary evidence, that Cardinal Giuliano Cesarini, Casini's successor on the bishop's see of Grosseto (1439–1444), donated this large wooden sculpted crucifix (fig. 70). Fumi Cambi Gado accepted this unfounded supposition, but dated it to the 1460s or 1470s and attributed it to Vecchietta.⁴⁴² With the new perspective afforded by the patronage of Antonio Casini over the chapel of the Crucifix, of which she was unaware, we may now explore the possibility that Antonio Casini donated the crucifix or, alternatively, that the sculpture may have been delivered after Casini's death under the episcopate of Cesarini.⁴⁴³ This hypothesis does entail a reconsideration of the style and date of the crucifix.

A discussion of the original location, authorship and chronology of the crucifix is relevant both to the iconographic link between the crucifix and Sassetta's altarpiece for the chapel, and to the relationships between the patron, the sculptor and the painter involved. The decoration of the chapel appears to have consisted of a combination of a crucifix by Vecchietta and an altarpiece by Sassetta. We shall start by reviewing the period in which, on stylistic grounds, the crucifix may have been executed. Vecchietta was inscribed in the Sienese painters' guild in 1428, but appears to have been absent from the city until 1439, perfecting his art, and growing in independence, in the workshop of Masolino. On his return to Siena he was employed by the cathedral works to polychrome a sculpture group of the Annunciation.⁴⁴⁴ Vecchietta's activity as a sculptor can thus be documented from quite early in

441 F. Fumi Cambi Gado, 'Opere d'arte del secolo xv nella Cattedrale di Grosseto', in GNONI, MAVARELLI & MARTINI 1996, pp. 46–56.

442 F. Fumi Cambi Gado, 'Opere d'arte del secolo xv nella Cattedrale di Grosseto', pp. 45–46, and A. Mazzolai, 'Una Cattedrale per la città', p. 27 (as Florentine school), both in GNONI, MAVARELLI & MARTINI 1996, pp. 45–47. Fumi Cambi Gado quotes A. Mazzolai, *Maremma, Storia e Arte*, 1967, p. 101, for the suggestion of Cesarini's patronage. Another crucifix is preserved in the cathedral. Given that it seems to have been produced in a late Gothic context at the very beginning of the century, it is probably unrelated to the chapel of the Crucifix, while its size (a height of 65 cm) seems inadequate for a dedication of an entire

chapel to the Crucifix. See note 430 above.

443 F. Fumi Cambi Gado, 'Opere d'arte del secolo xv nella Cattedrale di Grosseto', in GNONI, MAVARELLI & MARTINI 1996, pp. 45, 56 note 2, remarks that no records seem to survive of eventual commissions by Casini for the Duomo, but she fails to notice Anichini's record of the chapel of the Crucifix for the cardinal of San Marcello (transcribed in the same volume), as she is unaware that Antonio Casini and the cardinal were one and the same person.

444 MILANESI 1854, vol. II, p. 369; VIGNI 1937, pp. 11, 18, 59 note 6; C. Strehlke, in CHRISTIANSEN, KANTER & STREHLKE 1988, pp. 258–259, erroneously takes the 1439 document to refer to a sculpture.

his career, which immediately involved prestigious commissions: the Annunciation in 1442, followed by a wooden Salvator, both carved and polychromed by the artist ('intagliatura et dipentura') and intended for the main altar of the Sienese cathedral.⁴⁴⁵ A sensitivity to Donatello's strong expression of the inner stirrings and the spatial development of figures originated early in Vecchietta's career. This may have been prompted by Donatello's collaboration on the Sienese baptism font at the end of the 1420s or, alternatively, by the travels of the Sienese artist who, as a member of Masolino's workshop, could have encountered the Florentine sculptor when the latter visited Rome during the years 1430-1433.⁴⁴⁶ This dramatic feeling is pronouncedly present in Vecchietta's *Pietà*, datable between 1445 and 1448 (fig. 36).⁴⁴⁷ The Grosseto Crucifix could therefore be related to this early work, instead of to the more agitated bronze Salvator of 1476, as Fumi Cambi Gado proposed.⁴⁴⁸ Christ's exasperation is expressed in both sculptures through the open mouth, half-closed eyes and swollen veins that Vecchietta would emphasise far more in the late Salvator. Stylistic idiosyncrasies also correspond in the two Christ-figures, such as the low implant of the parted hair and the meagre chest with the rectilinear ribs, narrowing towards the breastbone, looking much like the rushed seat of a chair.

Though no other sculpted crucifix by Vecchietta is documented, he was experienced in the subject through the medium of fresco painting. The execution of the nervous, narrow wrinkles of the drapery of the perizoma adhering to the body is like a first attempt when compared with the pliable, light fabric suggested for the Salvator perizoma, as is the quite unyielding posture of the body. Vecchietta and his workshop had painted a Crucifixion in the hospital sacristy in 1441 before they embarked on the cycle of the Creed and on the decoration of the Reliquary in the same room. In this fresco, the body of the Crucified has a straight, upright contour, without any gross curves deviating from the shape of the cross, just as the sculpted Grosseto Crucifix.⁴⁴⁹ Vecchietta represented the theme for a second time in the chapel of Saint Martin in the palace of Cardinal Branda Castiglione at Castiglione Olona in the latter half of the 1430s. Of the fresco only the torso of the Crucified remains, displaying a great vigour in the bony anatomy, with the peculiar ribs now heightened in white and with a mouth distorted in pain.⁴⁵⁰

445 MILANESI 1854, vol. II, p. 369; VIGNI 1937, pp. 47, 85-86. A wooden statue of the Salvator formerly in the church of Vico Alto was previously associated with this Vecchietta commission. It has now been authoritatively identified as the statue carved by Domenico di Niccolò and polychromed by Giovanni di Paolo, both in 1442, to be put (on feast days) on top the altar of the hospital church in Siena; A. Bagnoli, entry in EXH. CAT. SIENA 1987, pp. 129-132, cat. nr. 31.

446 LIGHTBOWN 1980, vol. II, pp. 323-324.

447 See p. 78 and note 209 above.

448 For which see most recently A. Bagnoli, entry in BELLOSI 1993, pp. 212-215, cat. nr. 32.

449 GALLAVOTTI CAVALLERO 1985, p. 423 nrs. 212-214; VAN OS

1977, p. 448; IDEM 1974, pp. 16, 38, fig. 25.

450 See f.e. O'FOGHLUDHA 1998, pp. 243-247; BERTELLI 1998; IDEM 1987 (fig. 24 for the Crucified); GOLAY 1995; NATALI 1984; PULIN 1984. The discussion on the dating of the fresco-cycles at Castiglione Olona and the division of work between Masolino, Vecchietta and Paolo Schiavo is tangled. The Collegiata frescos are datable to 1435, but for the two lateral scenes with the Martyrdoms of Saints Stephen and Lawrence. They are probably followed by the baptistery and San Martino Chapel frescos respectively, Vecchietta gradually attaining a more important share of work. Although the lion's share appears to have been done in the 1430s, I agree with VAN OS 1977, pp. 448-450; IDEM 1974, pp. 54-61, that Vecchietta's *Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence*, as well as the fresco on

71a-b Sassetta, *Mourning Virgin and Mourning Saint John, fragments of the San Martino Crucifix*, 1433, tempera and gold on panel, 67 x 56 cm, Palazzo Chigi-Saracini, Siena (collection of the Banca Monte dei Paschi di Siena S.p.A.).

These comparisons make a date in the late 1430s, before even the *Pietà*, feasible for the expressive Grosseto Crucifix.

Antonio Casini must have met Vecchietta in Siena, during his Sienese episcopate or, alternatively, the young talented artist could have been presented to Casini by his fellow-cardinal, Branda Castiglione, in Rome. Both cardinals were patrons of Masaccio and Masolino. Shortly after Casini's Santa Maria

the back wall, should be dated considerably later, perhaps even to the 1460s. Stylistic arguments apart (especially the disposition of figures is inconceivable for the 1430s), Vecchietta's representation of a male and female donor is compulsive evidence for Van Os' hypothesis that those frescos were commissioned by the cardinal's heirs after the latter's death in 1443. The tapestries covering the lat-

eral walls during Pizzolpasso's visit in 1431 would have served much longer, being anyhow far more prestigious and desirable than frescos. Van Os' thesis has been rejected with little attention to his arguments by f.e. JOANNIDES 1993, p. 248; C. Strehlke in CHRISTIANSEN, KANTER & STREHLKE 1988, pp. 258-259; NATALI 1984, p. 12 note 17.

Maggiore altarpiece, Branda Castiglione commissioned Masolino to fresco the chapel of Saint Catherine in the church of San Clemente in Rome (1429–1431), followed by the invitation to decorate the *Collegiata* and the palace of Castiglione Olona in the cardinal's hometown near Milan. Vecchietta may already have been employed in Masolino's workshop in Rome. Vecchietta certainly travelled in the years preceding his return in Siena.⁴⁵¹ He could have worked on the crucifix elsewhere and had it transported to Grosseto upon completion. In this case Casini could thus be tentatively identified as a patron of Vecchietta too.

Another part of the decoration for Casini's chapel was finished earlier: Sassetta's *Madonna delle Ciliegie*. The panel shows the Madonna, wearing a blue mantle over her head, with a once gilded and glazed, but now tarnished, vermilion dress underneath, sitting on a throne with projecting arms (plate

⁴⁵¹ BERTELLI 1994, pp. 382–396; JOANNIDES 1993, pp. 199, 403.

xv). With her right hand she holds the Christ Child upright on a brocaded cushion on her right knee, looking staringly at him and proffering a handful of cherries. The Child, holding the hems of his mother's mantle clasped together in front of her breast, has just put a cherry in his mouth, as he is holding its stalk to detach it. The rather crude delineation of the hair of the infant, of the transparent veil that his mother draws over his back compares well to the broad technique of the San Martino Crucifix of 1433, to the coarsely undulated hair of the grieving Saint John for example (figs. 71a, 71b). Another idiosyncrasy of the Sassetta of these years, the missing fingers of the foreshortened hands of the mourning Virgin of the San Martino Crucifix, also occurs in the left hand of the Grosseto Madonna, which holds the cherries. The hand appears to have four fingers only. Another experiment with this kind of foreshortening is the tilting of the disks of the Madonna's irises in her slanted eyes. The halos of the Grosseto Madonna and Child do not yet have the rays that Sassetta starts to employ from the time of the Cortona triptych onwards. The Madonna delle Ciliegie should therefore be dated to 1433 or shortly after. The Cortona altarpiece of around 1434 already marks a return to a greater delicacy.⁴⁵² The similarity of the throne with the seat of honour of the Madonna della Neve is obvious, with its high structure and projecting arms covered by a red velvet cloth, achieved by glazing a lake over metal leaf. As the solution for the throne in the Madonna delle Ciliegie is much simpler than the pavon-cloth covered structure with the angelic attendants of the Madonna della Neve of 1432, the Grosseto panel is likely to be a derivative and thus posterior to it.

The Madonna is a fragment of the central panel of an altarpiece, cut down along all its four sides. The figures are set beneath a perfect round arch, lined with punches in the shape of a gothic trilobate arch, finished off with a small trefoiled punch. Along this arch, the lipped edge of the paint layer has been preserved, where the engaged frame is now missing. By completing the semi-circle, one can calculate the loss of 5.5 cm to the left, 3.5 cm to the right of the panel and 5.0 cm at the top, arriving at an original width of the painted surface of around 79.5 cm. The centre of the arch is positioned in the *stella maris* on the Madonna's right shoulder. It is unlikely that the original altarpiece had a rectangular format such as the Madonna della Neve – its structure is different and has none of the exceptional heavy double panelling of the altarpiece for the Sienese cathedral. At the back of the panel of the Grosseto Madonna, traces of a horizontal batten circa 8 cm thick can be found (fig. 72). The rough wood of this panel has been dubbed to attain an acceptable level for the batten. Four nails, hammered in from the front, are still visible. This batten would have fastened the central panel to lateral panels of what therefore would originally have been a triptych or polyptych.⁴⁵³ Dowel marks are

452 On the date of the Cortona altarpiece, see ISRAËLS 2003.

453 I am very grateful to Maria Grazia Celuzza, who enabled my examination of the panel in a depot when it was awaiting its installation in the new museum at Grosseto. The central panel itself is composed of a large middle plank, with two smaller strips (4.8 cm

wide at the left, 5.0 cm wide at the right, as seen from the back) added at the sides. The top of the batten would have been situated around 35 cm from the top of the present panel. Its thickness varies from 3.2 to 3.7 cm.

visible in both sides of the panel.⁴⁵⁴ Its lateral panels appear to have been lost, notwithstanding Pope Hennessy who claimed that the *Saint Nicholas* (now in the Louvre, Paris) and the *Saint Anthony* (now in the Monte dei Paschi collection, Siena) were its lateral panels.⁴⁵⁵ This is impossible, as neither the dowel marks, nor the width of the batten, correspond.⁴⁵⁶ The Grosseto Madonna seems to have formed part of a triptych or polyptych with a central panel with a semicircular top, just as the altarpiece in Cortona.

Given the fact that Sassetta's fragmentary Grosseto altarpiece can be dated during Casini's tenure, and given Casini's particular efforts for the chapel of the Crucifix and his previous contact with Sassetta during the execution of the *Madonna della Neve*, the conclusion that he commissioned the *Madonna delle Ciliegie* altarpiece and that he intended it to go over his altar seems a natural one. The combination of a fully fledged triptych or polyptych

with a monumental sculpted crucifix, need not be of any surprise. The outfit of the chapel of San Jacomo Interciso in the Sienese cathedral, for example, consisted of a marble statue of the Virgin and Child on top of the altar and a three-dimensional crucifix above it.⁴⁵⁷ The Bellanti altar of the Crucifix in the church of San Domenico in Siena in 1575 showed an altarpiece with various saints surmounted by a sculpted crucifix and flanked by yet another Marian image.⁴⁵⁸ In Grosseto itself a similar arrangement, possibly an echo of the Casini Chapel, could be found in the convent church of San Francesco, where

72 Back of the panel of Sassetta's *Madonna delle Ciliegie* (plate xv).

454 Two at the left: 13.7 cm from the top and 18 cm from the bottom and two at the right: 15.0 cm from the top and 20.9 cm from the bottom, all circa 0.1.5 cm.

455 RESSORT 1983, referring to a letter by Pope Hennessy; POPE HENNESSY 1987, p. 109; followed with hesitation by R. Bartolini, entry in MONTE DEI PASCHI 1988, p. 297.

456 The interstice between the upper dowel holes of the lateral altarpiece panels is circa 50 cm, whereas this interstice measures circa 64.5 cm in the case of the Grosseto Madonna. The batten of the *Saint Anthony* and the *Saint Nicholas* was approximately 6 cm in width, whereas the batten of the Grosseto Madonna was approxi-

mately 8 cm in width.

457 ASS, Opera Metropolitana 30, fol. 19r (31st December 1435): 'La capella di Santo Jacomo Interciso l'altare con una Nostra Donna di marmo col suo figliuolo in collo rilevata messa a oro con uno crocifisso rilevato da capo ...'. The same configuration appears in the earlier inventories of 1420 and 1423.

458 BOSSIO 1575, as transcribed in KIRCHEN 1992, vol. 2.1.2, p. 919 doc. nr. 169 [14]: 'iconam vero cum figuris variorum Sanctorum in tabulis depictis, et desuper Crucifixum opere elevato... et a sinistro latere aderat imago Beate Mariae Virginis ...'. See also I. Bähr, in IBIDEM, p. 768 nr. 73. The altar is documented from 1358.

Bossio describes, to the left of the main altar, a chapel of the Crucifix with an altarpiece surmounted by the image (in an unspecified form) of the crucifix.⁴⁵⁹ There is thus strong evidence that both Sassetta's altarpiece and a crucifix attributable to the young Vecchietta were designed for Casini's chapel in Grosseto. This also means that the two artists may have had the opportunity to collaborate or tune their ideas to each other. A sign of the professional friendship that must have existed between the artists is also provided by the fact that in 1452, Sassetta's heirs chose Vecchietta to establish the price of Sassetta's work on the fresco on the Porta Romana that had been truncated by Sassetta's death.⁴⁶⁰ It is remarkable that Casini displayed an interest in coupling the sculptural and pictorial arts in his chapels, both in Siena and in Grosseto.

There is another, iconographical indication that Sassetta's Madonna delle Ciliegie altarpiece originally adorned Casini's chapel of the Crucifix, apart from the familiarity of the patron of the chapel of the Crucifix and the painter. The cherries held by the Christ child of Sassetta's Madonna delle Ciliegie may actually be a reference to the title of the altar of the Crucifix.⁴⁶¹ Carli saw the influence of Masaccio's Pisa altarpiece in the motif of the cherry-eating Child. But in fact, Masaccio's Child holds a bunch of grapes and suckles his other hand. Sassetta's Christ child has picked a cherry out of the hand of his mother, holding with his left hand its stalk and waiting for the cherry itself to come off in his mouth. This is an invention pictorially and iconographically unrelated to Sassetta's Florentine contemporary. As the first tree to flower in spring, the cherry can be a reference to the Annunciation and the Incarnation, heralding the start of Redemption of mankind.⁴⁶² Cherries are also taken to symbolise the heavenly fruit that Christ brought mankind and they therefore express the hope of Salvation.⁴⁶³ Due to the colour of its juice, this fruit was taken to suggest the blood of Christ, spilt at the cross. As such, the cherry was often used in paintings with a eucharistic context.⁴⁶⁴ Sassetta is the first painter who makes his Christ Child eat the cherry. By consuming the fruit that points to his Passion and to future Salvation, the Child turns the cherry from symbol into action and the story of Salvation is set in motion. Mary offers the cherries to the Child with melancholy and thereby makes explicit her contribution to Salvation. Christ's actual sacrifice must have hovered over the altarpiece in the form of Vecchietta's crucifix. The now-lost parts of the altarpiece, such as a predella or a central pinnacle, may of course have been used to express the title of the altar even more explicitly. One can only guess at the identity of the lateral saints. That the altar, from the outset, had a link

459 ASV, Congr. Vescovi e Regolari, Visita Apostolica, 60, fol. 30v, 'Crucifix a sinistris altaris maioris habet pulcrum iconam, et supra imaginem Crucifixi'.

460 ISRAËLS 1998, p. 438; POPE HENNESSY 1939, pp. 120, 144-145 notes 64, 65; MILANESI 1854, vol. II, pp. 274-278 doc. nrs. 192-193.

461 CARLI 1957, p. 38, and IDEM 1964, p. 24.

462 SEGAL 1983, p. 38; LEVI D'ANCONA 1977, pp. 89-93, esp. 90. Sam Segal shared with characteristic generosity his information on

the significance of cherries in painting. I am very grateful to Wolfgang Augustyn, editor of the *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, who kindly checked his material on cherry-symbolism for me. No textual sources could be found to explain the attribute of Sassetta's Christ child.

463 As in a series of Madonnas by Joos van Cleve and Quinten Matsys; FALKENBURG 1988, p. 71; BERGSTRÖM 1955, p. 304.

464 LEVI D'ANCONA 1977, p. 90, again without a source.

to the Virgin too, might be confirmed by the affiliation of the confraternity of the Santissima Vergine del Suffraggio with the altar that started in 1741.⁴⁶⁵

On top of the historical, social and iconographical indications, the shape of the throne of the Madonna delle Ciliegie can be adduced to suggest that Casini may have wanted to imitate part of the success of the Madonna della Neve, the altarpiece that he had been involved with in an advisory role in the period 1423-1432, immediately predating his own Grosseto commission to Sassetta. This analogy consolidates the connections between Sassetta's Madonna delle Ciliegie altarpiece of around 1433, Antonio Casini and his chapel of the Crucifix in Grosseto Cathedral.

⁴⁶⁵ ANICHINI 1751-1752, fol. 46r; partial transcription by S. Buetti, in GNONI, MAVARELLI & MARTINI 1996, p. 95.

The chapel of Santa Maria della Neve was instituted in the Sienese cathedral in fulfilment of the last wish that Turino di Matteo (operaio 1420-1423) uttered at his deathbed. Previously, he had pledged to dedicate a chapel to the Virgin and Saint Francis, because he believed that it was they who had restored him to health after a serious illness. Turino therefore actually stood at the cradle of the chapel, as it were, and tributary references to his life as operaio of the cathedral can indeed be found in Sassetta's eventual altarpiece. His widow, Ludovica di Francesco Bertini († 1433), took the reins in realising the project. With the aid of influential characters such as bankers and wealthy merchants as well as two consecutive bishops of Siena, Antonio Casini and Carlo Bartoli, she managed to obtain and realise the chapel that she and Turino had wished to erect in the prestigious cathedral. She showed an unprecedented degree of autonomy for a woman patron in achieving her aspirations. Donna Ludovica commissioned Sassetta to paint the *Madonna della Neve* altarpiece in 1430.

Conclusion

Both in its construction and in its imagery the altarpiece is a carefully formulated response to the exigencies of its location. Its altar was squeezed in between the Porta del Perdono and the Campanile wall. Sassetta invented a frame with a baldachin with an intended curvature, which, when originally combined with a gypsum superstructure, set off the altarpiece in its corner. The baldachin enhances the impact of the majestic image of the Madonna and saints on a unified rectangular field and makes it interact with the cathedral space. This is a partial and practical explanation for the early occurrence of this type of *tavola quadrata*, which was fully developed in Florence in the following decade. Sassetta's unified pictorial surface optically exploits space to the maximum. At the same time it should not be forgotten that the altarpiece was seamlessly crowned by a canopy of plasterwork, probably with a fresco of the Salvator, which would have been an integral part of the altarpiece's design. Architectonically, the altarpiece formed a chapel in itself. It must have been this interplay between circumstances and the artist's own inventiveness that induced Sassetta to resort to such a novel type of altarpiece. Sassetta's thorough understanding of the devotional requirements of the iconography of the *sacra conversazione*, to involve the various figures of the celestial court as well as the spectator, provides an additional explanation for his choice of a unified group of figures in perspectively quite convincing surroundings. It is therefore unnecessary to look back to florentinocentric tendencies in Sassetta's career to account for his innovativeness.

The Madonna della Neve succeeded the venerated Opera Madonna on its altar near the entrance. This early thirteenth-century image had played a crucial role in the famous Sienese victory of Monteperti (1261), to which the inscription around the halo of Sassetta's Madonna still alludes. The Porta del Perdono was traditionally associated with Pope Alexander III's consecration

of the cathedral. The snow-iconography of Sassetta's altarpiece, based on the foundation legend of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome, embellished this theme.

The scope of Turino's and Ludovica's chapel went further than a genuflection towards the traditions of the city and the cathedral. The chapel was one of the first private chapels in Siena Cathedral after the predominantly civic commissions of the preceding century. The introduction of a new Marian theme on its altarpiece was in keeping with a general renewal and intensification of the devotion towards the Virgin in the cathedral at the beginning of the fifteenth century. We are therefore witnessing in Siena the belated introduction of the patronage of individuals over public altars, which brought along a novel religiosity with related imagery, an iconography previously restricted to more individual settings (the Madonna of Humility; the *Pietà*; an early form of the *sacra conversazione*) as well as a Renaissance manifestation of the person who was the patron. In tracing this tendency at work on neighbouring altars in the cathedral, we came across new facts about the institution and decoration of chapels by various patrons. Bishop Antonio Casini, Bishop Carlo Bartoli, Canon Francesco di Biagio Tolomei, Canon Giorgio di Andrea di Pietro Tolomei, banker Jacomo Pecci and notary Galgano di Cerbone, almost all pertained to donna Ludovica's social circle. In addition, the background of the commission of another altarpiece by Sassetta, commissioned by an individual patron, was tentatively reconstructed. Francesca Tolomei, widow of Niccolaccio Petroni, commissioned an altarpiece for an altar in the mendicant church of San Francesco.

Ludovica carefully manipulated the design of the chapel to build an image of herself and her late husband for posterity and their own afterlife. The iconography of the snow legend was used to reflect their social position as well as the pious nature of their patronage. It offered the opportunity to display the importance of Turino's rectorate and his position, midway between the civic authorities and aristocracy on the one hand and the Church on the other. Sassetta distilled from his patron's wishes an altarpiece that is essentially a *sacra conversazione* in honour of the Virgin, reserving for the predella an exposition of the snow legend tailored to fit Ludovica and Turino to such an extent as to include their portraits and to add extra scenes that had not appeared before in representations of the theme. Sassetta's comprehensive depiction of the legend on the predella, the first of a triad of such altarpieces in Siena, was informed by the direct contact of his patrons with the archpriest of the basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome, the legendary foundation of which is central to the snow-legend.

Antonio Casini was their man. Bishop of Siena from 1409-1427, bishop of Grosseto from 1427-1439, cardinal from 1426, and archpriest of Santa Maria Maggiore from 1437-1439, he is the pivot of our story. As an adviser, he instructed Ludovica and her circle of intimae on the legend and its aptness for her chapel. He himself had supervised the restoration of the basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore. In this study it was found that it was Casini who, as a relative and close associate of Martin V, ordered the double-sided altarpiece from Masaccio and Masolino, to be erected over the canon's choir in the nave of the

basilica, close to where Casini's own tomb would be. Casini's role in the genesis of Ludovica's Madonna della Neve brought him into contact with Sassetta. Shortly afterwards, around the year 1433, he himself commissioned Sassetta to paint an altarpiece for his chapel of the Crucifix in the cathedral of Grosseto, which the present study identifies with the fragmentary Madonna delle Ciliegie. A crucifix by Vecchietta completed the chapel.

It is the network of the patron that ties together the threads of the present story. Contacts between artists as well as relations between art-works were mediated through patrons and their advisers in the early fifteenth century. In mobility the elite of patrons still superseded an artist such as Sassetta, who was more locally bound, thus maintaining a local style, his territory essentially restricted to the Sienese city walls, with a few excursions, to his native Cortona and to Borgo Sansepolcro. The taste of a *mecenas* such as Casini could range from the works of Masaccio, Masolino, Jacopo della Quercia, Vecchietta and Sassetta to Nicola di Ulisse. The deliberate invitation to Masaccio and Masolino for an excursus to Rome formed one of the first deviations from the principle of opting for the availability of local artists. The momentum of a group of high-brow patrons determined the outlook of Sassetta's career during the first half of the 1430s. In a functional and iconographical respect, the patron's exigencies left their imprint on the new art. In great self-consciousness, Turino di Matteo, Ludovica Bertini and Antonio Casini entrusted Sassetta to create an image of their patronage.

Colour plates

11 Sassetta, *Madonna della Neve*, detail of the main panel.

1 Stefano di Giovanni, known as Sassetta, *Madonna della Neve*, 1430-1432, tempera and gold on panel, 240 x 216 cm, Collezione Contini Bonacossi, Florence.

111 Sassetta, *Madonna della Neve*, detail of the main panel (Angel kneading a snowball).

IV Sassetta, *Madonna della Neve*,
Apparition of the Virgin to the patrician Johannes in his dream,
31 x 27.5 cm, detail of the predella.

v Sassetta, *Madonna della Neve*,
Miraculous snowfall on Mount Esquiline,
31 x 27.5 cm, detail of the predella.

VI Sassetta, *Madonna della Neve*,
The vision of Pope Liberius,
31 x 27.5 cm, detail of the predella.

vii *Sassetta, Madonna della Neve.*
The patrician Johannes visits the pope.
31 x 30 cm, detail of the predella.

VIII *Sassetta, Madonna della Neve,*
Pope Liberius humbly hews out the snow ground-plan,
31 x 27.5 cm, detail of the predella.

ix *Sassetta, Madonna della Neve,
The construction of the church,
31 x 27.5 cm, detail of the predella.*

x Sassetta, *Madonna della Neve*, The dedication of the church, 31 x 27.5 cm, detail of the predella.

x1 (on facing page) The commission of the *Madonna della Neve* to Sassetta, followed by the election of two arbiters and their appraisal of the finished altarpiece (25th March 1430, 23rd and 29th October 1432) drawn up by notary Luca di Nanni of Siena, ink on vellum, ASV Fondo Toscano I 16192 (transcribed by LAURENT 1935, pp. 260-264).

xiii Nicola di Ulisse (attr.), Crucifixion with the figure of Cardinal Casini,
shortly after 1428, tempera and gold on vellum, 35.5 x 26.5 cm,
miniature in *Missale Romanum*, BCS, x.ii.2, fol. 162v.

xii (on facing page) Masolino,
The miraculous snowfall or the foundation of Santa Maria Maggiore,
central part of the back of the Santa Maria Maggiore altarpiece,
circa 1428-1430, tempera and gold on panel, 144.5 x 76 cm,
Museo e Gallerie Nazionali di Capodimonte, Naples, inv. nr. 35.

XIV Matteo di Giovanni, *Madonna della Neve*, 1477.
tempera and gold on panel, 327 x 224 cm, Santa Maria della Neve, Siena.

xv Sassetta, Madonna delle Ciliegie, fragment of the central panel of an altarpiece, circa 1433, tempera and gold on poplar, 96.3 x 70.4 cm, Museo Archeologico e d'Arte della Maremma e Museo Diocesano d'Arte Sacra, Grosseto.

xvi *Giorgio Bandini, coat of arms of operaio Turino di Matteo, fresco,
Sala dei Conversari, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Siena.*

1423, 27th and 29th November: The testimonies of those present at Turino di Matteo's deathbed on 20th August 1423 are recorded in order to legalise Turino di Matteo's last wish regarding the construction of a chapel in the Sienese cathedral (ASS, Opera della Metropolitana 36, Insert 26 (booklet in parchment of four sheets); discovered and transcribed by Monika Butzek)

In nomine Domini amen. Hi sunt testes et eorum dicta et attestaciones inducti et producti ob veritatem de coperiendam et liquidandam super quadam hedificatione seu constructione cuiusdam capelle fiende in ecclesia cathedrali civitatis Senarum ut dicit relicte in sua novissima et ultima voluntate per spectabilem militem dominum Turinum Mathei de Senis operarium dudum dicte ecclesie, iurati ex delatione mei notarii infrascripti interrogati et diligenter examinati per me Lucam Nannis notarium infrascriptum Senensem ex commissione in me facta a spectabili milite atque egregio decretorum doctore, nec non rectore hospitalis Sancte Marie de Schala de Senis, domino Karulo Angelini de Senis et prudentibus viris Johanne Galgani de Bichiis bancherio et Nicholao Guidi Finette lanifice de Senis fideicommissariis et executoribus testamenti spectabilis militis domini Turini Mathei predicti de Senis ut constat in testamento manu ser Bartholomei Guidi notarii Senensis a me notario infrascripto viso et lecto.

Sub annis Domini millesimo quadringentesimo vigesimo tertio, indictione secunda, tempore pontificatus beatissimi in Christo patris et domini domini Martini divina providentia Pape quinti, Romanorum Imperatoris sede vacante ut communiter Senis fertur, diebus et mensibus infrascriptis

die xxvii^a mensis Novembris

Domina Lodovica filia olim Francisci Vannis Bertini et uxor olim spectabilis militis domini Turini Mathei, nec non operarii ecclesie cathedralis Senensis, testis inducta et producta quo ad veritatem liquidandam, et inquirendam si dictus dominus Turinus disposuerit super quadam hedificatione cuiusdam capelle vel quadam capella dotanda, interrogata et diligenter examinata super predicta hedificatione ex commissione in me Lucam Nannis notarium Senensis facta a spectabili et honorabilibus viris domino Karulo Angelini milite nec non decretorum doctore et domino hospitalis Sancte Marie de Schala de Senis, Johanne Galgani de Bichiis et Nicholao Finette fideicommissariis testamenti dicti/ domini Turini, et iurata ex delatione mei notarii infrascripti suo iuramento testificando dixit se scire hoc super dicta hedificatione, videlicet:

Quod ipsa testis semper erat secum quando erat in domo sua et maxime quando dictus dominus Turinus habuit

unam infirmitatem, iam sunt duo anni vel circa, ex qua liberatus fuit et in ea fecit quoddam testamentum, et eo facto dixit pluries dicte testi: 'Io vorrò fare una capella'. Et dicta testis respondit: 'Io credo che lla Vergine Maria et Sancto Francesco v'abbi renduto sanità però'. Et allora et pluries et pluries dixit eidem testi: 'Io vorrò fare una capella'. Et post dictam infirmitatem vocavit dictam testem et dixit eidem, omnibus aliis de dicta domo sua expulsis, in camera dicte domus: 'Io voglio pur fare quella capella'. Et dicta testis dixit eidem domino Turino: 'ubi vultis eam facere?', et dictus dominus Turinus respondit: 'Io la farò dove Dio me la farà fare'. Et quod iam sunt tres menses et ultra dictus dominus Turinus existens eger, et maxima infirmitate gravatus in domo Opere dicte ecclesie cathedralis in quadam cucina dicte domus sita Senis in Terzerio Civitatis et populo Sancti Johannis infra suos confines super quodam lecticciuolo dicte domus, et dicta testis sentiens ad dictum dominum Turinus corpus Dominicum venire, dixit dicta testis eidem: 'El corpo di Christo viene a voi, volete voi innanzi che voi pigliate el corpo di Christo dire niente?'. Tunc dictus dominus Turinus dixit eidem testi: 'Vedi, io voglio che sopra alla tua conscientia mi prometta che tu facci una capella per l'amore di Dio et della Vergine Maria'. Et tunc dicta testis dixit: 'Et dove volete ch'ella si faccia?'. Et tunc dictus dominus Turinus dixit: 'Io vorrei quella che è presso al Crocefisso'. Et tunc ser Leonardus presbiter et capellanus dicte ecclesie dixit: 'Missere, voi no' lla potete avere, però che voi l'avete data a misser Francescho Thalomei'. Item dictus ser Leonardus dixit eidem: 'Quare non facitis eam, o domine, ibi ubi est sepultura vestra et ubi vultis sepelliri?'. Et tunc dictus dominus Turinus dixit: 'Io so' contento'. Et tunc dicta testis dixit eidem domino Turino: 'e di che la fo?'. Et dictus dominus Turinus respondit: 'de bonis meis'. Et dicta testis respondit: 'de quibus?'. Et tunc respondit eidem teste: 'De una apotheca, quam habeo in civitate Senarum in contrata que dicitur Calzolaria infra suos confines, seu de mercantiis que in dicta apotheca sunt, et volo quod in dicta capella, seu in dote ipsius quadringentos quinquaginta seu quingentos florenos auri expendas'. Interrogata ad quam reverentiam volebat quod fieret dicta capella, seu dotaretur, respondit: 'ad nomen gloriose Marie Virginis'. Interrogata quibus presentibus dixit se teste, domina Mea Christofori Nutini clamidata Sancti Francisci, ser Leonardo predicto, domina Antonia uxore Dominici eius mediarii, Arrigho eius famulo, domina Minuccia eius famula, domina Simona Bartholomei Pepi et domina Andrea uxor Nicholai Guidi Finette. Interrogata infra quantum tempus dicta capella deberet fieri, dixit quod idem dominus Turinus respondit quod dicta capella fieret citius quam posset et sic remisit in pectore mei testis et super anima mea.

Die dicta

Domina Minuccia filia olim Cioli et olim uxor Mathei

Bertini de Lucignanello comitatus Florentie testis inducta ut supra et jurata et diligenter examinata per me commissarium suprascriptum, ex commissione in me facta ut supra, supra quadam hedificatione cuiusdam capelle, seu dotibus ipsius suo iuramento testificando dixit se tantum scire de et super hedificatione predicta seu dote ipsius capelle, videlicet:

Quando dominus Turinus erat infirmus et de tali infirmitate, quod omnes dicebant quod ipse nunque de dicta infirmitate evaderet, in domo contigua ecclesie maiori civitatis Senarum, ubi habitabat/ operarius dicte ecclesie, et ubi habitabat ipse dominus Turinus, in quadam ipsius domus cucina super quodam lecticiuolo infirmus iacebat, et dixit hec verba versus dominam Lodovicam uxorem suam: 'O Lodovica, io voglio che sopra la tua conscientia et anima tua facci una capella, penes portam Indulgentie ecclesie maioris civitatis Senarum'. Interrogata ad quam reverentiam, dixit se nescire.

Et dixit tunc dicta domina Lodovica: 'Et di che volete che io la facci?', et tunc dictus dominus respondit: 'de meis bonis'. Et tunc dicta domina Lodovica respondit: 'de quibus?', et ipse dominus respondit: 'de illis que habeo in apotheca coariurum'. Interrogata ubi est dicta apotheca dixit se nescire, et dixit continuando sua verba 'de illis que habeo in dicta apotheca, et volo quod expendas in dicta capella quadringentos usque ad quingentos florenos auri'. Interrogata si dictus dominus Turinus dixit quod volebat quod expendaretur in dicta capella dicta quantitas occasione hedificationis seu dotium ipsius, respondit se non audivisse aliud ab eo domino Turino nisi prout supra testificata est.

Interrogata de tempore respondit de mense Augusti proxime preteriti.

Interrogata quibus presentibus dixit se teste, domina Lodovica uxore dicti domini Turini, Arrigo eius famulo et pluribus aliis de quorum nominibus dixit se non recordari. Interrogata infra quantum tempus dixit quod dicta capella deberet fieri dominus Turinus, respondit quod dixit citius quanto posset ipsa domina Lodovica uxor sua.

Die dicta

Mea filia Christofori Nutini clamidata ordinis Sancti Francisci de Senis testis inducta super hedificatione cuiusdam capelle seu dotibus ipsius, fienda in ecclesia ma/iori Senensis pro liquidatione veritatis predictorum, interrogata et diligenter examinata per me commissarium suprascriptum ex commissione suprascripta, suo iuramento testificando dixit se tantum scire super hedificatione seu dotibus predictis, videlicet:

Quiam ipsam testis quando erat in domo habitationis domini Turini Mathei contigua maiori ecclesie Senensi, dum erat infirmus et maxima infirmitate gravatus in cucina dicte domus super quodam lecto ubi jacebat, et sentiens idem dominus Turinus corpus Dominicum ad se venire, domina Lodovica eius uxor dixit eidem domino Turino

eius viro: 'vultis aliquod dicere antequam capiatis Domini corpus mihi seu ser Leonardo?'. Et tunc dictus dominus respondit si: 'O Lodovica, io voglio che tu facci, et sopra l'anima tua voglio che'l me'l prometti, una capella nella chiesa maggiore'. Et allora dixit essa monna Lodovica 'et dove?', et ipse respondit: 'ego vellem illam Crucefixi'. Et ser Leonardus presbiter et ipsius ecclesie capellanus 'vos non potestis habere eam' dixit, 'cum hoc sit, quod sit concessa'; 'et tu la fa presso a quella'. Et tunc idem ser Leonardus respondit: 'et voi fate quela che è presso alla porta del Perdono, ubi penes vultis sepelliri'. Interrogata ad quam reverentiam, dixit se nescire. Et continuando sua verba dixit: 'faciatis quod fiat illa que vocatur Sancta Maria delle Gratie overo di Sancto Yvo'.

Et tunc dicta Domina Lodovica respondit: 'e di che la fo?', et ipse extendit manum et dixit: 'de meis bonis', et domina Lodovica respondit: 'de quibus?', et ipse dixit: 'de illis que habeo in apotheca mea coariurum'. 'E quid vis quod expendatur in dicta capella?', tunc ipse dixit:

'quadringentos quinquaginta seu quingentos florenos auri expendas'. Interrogata infra quantum tempus volebat/ quod fieret dicta capella, seu eam dotari respondit: 'citius quam potes tu Ludovica, et hoc in te remitto'. Interrogata quibus presentibus respondit: se teste, domina Lodovica eius uxore, Arrigo e domina Minuccia eorum famulis et ser Leonardo capellano dicte ecclesie.

Interrogata de tempore respondit: de mense Augusti proxime decursi.

Actum Senis in domo dicte domine Lodovice presentibus Guido Nicholay Guidi Finette et Jacobo Petri ligritterio de Benintendis de Senis testibus rogatis.

Die xxviii dicti mensis

Arrigus Marci de Alamania et ad presens habitator Senis testis inductus et productus pro liquidanda veritate super hedificatione seu dote cuiusdam capelle fiende in ecclesia maiori civitatis Senarum per heredes spectabilis militis domini Turini supradicti, interrogatus et diligenter examinatus per me Lucam commissarium suprascriptum, suo iuramento testificando dixit se tantum scire de contentis super predictis hedificatione seu dote ipsius capelle, videlicet:

Quia ipse testis erat quotidie in dicto domo dicti domini Turini, quoniam famulus suus erat, sito Senis in Terzerio Civitatis et popolo Sancti Johannis contigua ecclesie maiori dicte civitatis, in qua dominus Turinus prefatus jacebat infirmus, et maxima infirmitate gravatus, in cucina dicte domus super uno lecto, et sentiens ad se dictum dominum Turinum corpus Dominicum venire, domina Lodovica, filia Francisci Bertini et uxor dicti domini Turini, dixit eidem: 'vultis vos antequam capiatis corpus Christi aliquid dicere ser Leonardo sacristano dicte ecclesie de Campagnatico et/ mihi?', et tunc dictis verbis auditis et volvens faciem suam circumcirca et dixit 'mai si' [*recte*: 'ma si'], et hec fuerunt in effectum: 'Io voglio che tu facci quella

capella che io già t'ò ragionato'. Et ipsa domina Lodovica respondit: 'et dove volete ch'ella si facci?'. Et ipse dominus Turinus respondit 'in ecclesia predicta et vellem illam Crucifixi'. Et tunc dictus ser Leonardus ibi presens dicit: 'vos domine non potestis habere, cum alteri sit concessa', et ipse dicit: 'ego vellem illam, que illam penes est', et ipse ser Leonardus dicit: 'non scitis vos, quod domino Francisco de Tholomeis concessistis, et ei concessa est, sed vos potestis habere illam, que vocatur Sancta Maria delle Gratie, et que est penes portam que dicitur del Perdono'.

Et domina Lodovica eius uxor respondit: 'et de quo debeo eam facere?'. Et tunc ipse dominus Turinus respondit: 'de meis bonis', et ipsa domina Lodovica respondit: 'de quibus?', et iterum respondit: 'de miei. Non lassio io tanti beni miei che'lla si possi fare, di quelli della buttiga, overo delle mercantie che sono dentro in essa'. Interrogatus ubi dicta apotheca est et in qua contrata respondit: 'Senis et in Calzolaria, qua apotheca vocatur Nicholai Johannis Neronis'.

Item interrogatus quot denarios volebat quod per dicta capella expendantur, dicit quod ipse dominus Turinus dicit quadringenti quinquaginta vel quingenti floreni. Interrogatus si dicti denari et floreni expendi deberent pro hedificatione seu dote ipsius capelle, respondit quod dictus dominus Turinus dicit quod de dictis florenis dotari debeat dicta capella. Interrogatus infra quantum tempus dotari deberet dicta capella, si dicit dictus dominus Turinus, dicit quod ipse tempus dotandi remisit in pectore dicte domine Lodovice uxoris sue, et quod eam ipsa domina Lodovica faceret quanto citius posset.

Interrogatus de tempore quod dictus dominus dicit hec supradicta respondit quod fuit de mense Augusti proxime decursi.

Interrogatus quibus presentibus respondit: se teste dictis, domina Lodovica et ser Leonardo, domina Andrea sorore carnali dicte domine Lodovice et domina Minuccia ipsius domini tunc famula et nunc ipsius domine Lodovice et pluribus aliis de quibus nominibus dicit ad presens se non recordari.

Interrogatus de loco respondit ut supra testificatus est. Actum Senis in universitate iudicum et notariorum civitatis Senarum, presentibus ser Johanne Ricciardi de Senis et Christofero Bartholomei alias Robba Cerdone testibus presentibus et rogatis.

Die dicta

Ser Leonardus Francisci Simonis de Campagnatico cappellanus ecclesie chatedralis civitatis Senarum testis inductus et productus super liquidatione veritatis de hedificatione seu dote cuiusdam capelle fiende in ecclesia predicta pro anima dicti domini Turini, interrogatus et diligenter examinatus per me Lucam notarium et commissarium suprascriptum, suo juramento testificando dicit se tantum scire de hedificatione seu dote ipsius capelle, videlicet:

Quia ipse testis est presbiter et capellanus dicte ecclesie, et valde diligebatur a dicto domino Turino, tunc operario dicte ecclesie, erat in domo/ ipsius domini Turini seu habitatione sua sita in Terzerio Civitatis et popolo Sancti Johannis contigua ecclesie predictae in cucina ipsius domus, in qua dominus Turinus super uno lecto iacebat eger maxima infirmitate et dictus ser Leonardus testis prefatus dicit cum dicta domina Lodovica eius uxor: 'videatis, ego volo dicere que mea interest, esset bonum ipsum communicare et dare sibi corpus Christi', et tunc dicta domina Lodovica: 'voi dite bene diciagli', et tunc ipsi ser Leonardus et domina Lodovica dixerunt eidem domino Turino: 'O domine, esset pur bonum, quod coim[?] Deo communicaretis'. 'Ego sum contentus et date expeditionem'. Et tunc ipsi ser Leonardo et domina Lodovica sibi dixerunt: 'vultis vos domine ante communionem aliquid nobis dicere?', et ipse statim respondit: si. 'Io voglio che tu facci una capella e vorrei quella che è appresso a quella del Crocifisso'. Et tunc ser Leonardus testis predictus dicit: 'vos non potestis eam habere, non scitis vos', quaeret, 'quod est alteri concessa, videlicet domino Francisco de Tholomeis de Senis, sed vos potestis habere illam que vocatur Sancta Maria delle Gratie, penes quam sepelli vultis'. Et tunc ipse dominus dicit: 'vos bene dicitis, et ita volo, et ita remitto in tuo pectore, o Lodovica, quod tu eam facias citius quanto potes'.

Et dicta domina Lodovica dicit: 'e di che vuoi che io la facci?', et ipse brachium extendendo dicit dominus Turinus: 'de meis bonis', et ipsa domina respondit: 'de quibus?', et iterum dicit: 'de meis, de illis quae habeo super mea apotheca coiariorum, et volo in dicta capella expendi quadringentos seu quingento florenos auri, et quadringenti quinquaginta seu/ quingenti floreni deberent expendi pro hedificatione dicte capelle seu dote ipsius, et si ita dicit dictus dominus Turinus, respondit quod ipse dicit, quod dicti floreni expendantur pro dote ipsius capelle, quia secum cum dicto teste ratiocinium habuerat de dicta capella construenda, tempore vite sue, et dicit: 'hoc remitto, Lodovica, in pectore tuo, et super animam tuam quod citius quantum poteris eam facere debeas, et tunc dicta domina Lodovica posuit manum super pectus suum et dicit: 'domine, et ita faciam'.

Interrogatus quibus presentibus respondit: se teste, domina Lodovica predicta, domina Andrea uxore Nicholay Guidi Finecte et Arrigo eius famulo et pluribus aliis de quorum nominibus dicit se non recordari.

Interrogatus de tempore dicit: de mense Augusti proxime preteriti, die vigesima dicti mensis.

Interrogatus de loco respondit ut supra.

Actum Senis in universitate iudicum et notariorum civitatis Senarum presentibus ser Ugolino Augustini et ser Nicholao ser Pietri Cechini de Senis testibus rogatis. Ego Lucas filius Nannis Petri Jannini de Senis, publicus

imperiali auctoritate notarius atque iudex ordinarius, et tunc tempore facto dicte examinationis notarius scribaque et commissarius in suprascripta examinatione spectabilis militis atque egregii decretorum doctoris domini Karuli, et prudentum virorum/ Johannis et Nicholay fideicommissariorum et spectabilis prelibati militis domini Turini testamenti executorum suprascriptorum, omnibus et singulis dictum sit agerentur interfui eaque rogatus scripsi et publicavi et in fidem testimonium premissorum signumque meum apposui consuetum.

A.III

1424, 27th July: The vicar of the bishop approves of the conditions for the patronage, of the right to appoint a chaplain and of the endowment of donna Ludovica's chapel in the cathedral, as set out by Ludovica and the fideicommissaries of Turino's testament. He lengthens the term for its completion (ASS, Diplomatico, Metropolitana di Siena, 1419 luglio 27 [*inventorised under an evidently erroneous date*]; notary Niccolò Taddei. The present document is a copy executed in November 1424 by the notary Antonio del fu Pietro Vanucci da Monte Santa Maria, authenticated by notary Bencivenne di maestro Angelo; transcribed by Monika Butzek; another copy exists in AOMS, 1848 (num. Mosc. 2166), doc. 9, first parchment)

In nomine Domini amen. Anno Domini ab eiusdem salutifera Incarnatione MCCCXXXIII, Indictione 2^a, die XXVII mensis Julii, tempore e pontificatus sanctissimi in Christo patris et domini domini Martini divina providentia Pape quinti anno settimo, sede Imperatore vacante ut Senis comuniter dicitur.

Ex hoc publico instrumento sit omnibus manifestum, quod cum hoc sit quod spectabilis miles dominus Turinus quondam Mathey Turini, olim operarius maioris ecclesie Senensis, suum ultimum condiderit testamentum et ultimam voluntatem manu publici notarii et multa legata in dicto suo testamento reliquit, voluit et mandavit per eximium decretorum doctorem dominum Karolum Angelini, rectorem ecclesie seu hospitalis Sancte Marie de la Scala, dominam Lodovicam, uxorem olim dicti domini Turini, Johannem Galgani de Bichis, Nicolaum Guidoni Finetti, fideicommissarios et executores dicti sui testamenti et ultime voluntatis executioni mandari a me notario viso e lecto. Et qualiter certa legata dicti sui testamenti sunt executioni mandata per dictos suos fideicommissarios et executores dicti sui testamenti, igitur constituti dicti fideicommissarii et executores predicti testamenti coram eximio decretorum doctore domino Petro de Sancto Petro, canonico Pisano, reverendi in Christo patris et domini domini A[ntonii] Dei et apostolice sedis gratia episcopi Senensis in spiritualibus et temporalibus vicario generali, habita de predictis plena fide et cognitione, dictus dominus

vicarius sedens pro tribunali ad eius solitum banchum iuris et pro iure reddendo, ut moris est, omni meliori modo et causa, vigore et auctoritate sui lucumtenentis offitii et vicariatus approbavit et confirmavit omnia et singula acta et gesta ac omnes et singulas distributiones pro dictis legatis factis per dictos executores et fideicommissarios testamenti dicti domini Turini, tam circa adsignationem dotium dicte domine Lodovice olim uxoris sue, quam etiam in omnibus et singulis aliis legatis debitis solutis promissionibus versum [?] factis et omnibus et singulis aliis expensis factis de bonis olim dicti domini Turini.

Insuper qualiter dictus dominus Turinus voluit et mandavit verbis nudis quod in maiori ecclesia Senarum dotaretur unum altare vel capella sub titulo et vocabulo Sancte Marie Gratiarum quod est situm iuxta portam dicte ecclesie vocata la porta del Perdono per suprascriptos suos fideicommissarios et executores dicti sui testamenti, ne dictus olim dominus [Turinus] sua intentione et pia dispositione aliquo tempore contingeret defraudari, sed potius volentes et intendentes autem dicti executores predictam suam voluntatem et piam dispositionem adimplere, domina Lodovica et alii fideicommissarii et executores suprascripti domini Turini ad interrogationem et requisitionem suprascripti domini vicarii sedentis pro tribunali, ut supra, sponte et ex certa scientia et non per errorem confessi sunt dictum dominum Turinum sic mandasse nudis verbis, ut supra, hac tamen conditione adiecta, quod dicta domina Lodovica olim eius uxor sit patrona dicti altaris vel capelle dum vivit. Et post eius mortem per patronos antedicti altaris, qui pro tempore fuerint ad dictum altare, eligatur et presentur capellanus domino episcopo Senensis seu eius vicario prout sibi videbitur et placebit. Et in potestate ipsius domine Lodovice, dum vivit, sit deputare, constituere et nominare, ad quem post eius mortem spectet et expectare debeat in posterum ius presentandi ad dictum altare tamquam ad verum et legitimum patronum dicti altaris, dummodo quod dicta domina Lodovica non possit cogi, dum vixerit, adsignandum et consignandum dotes suprascripto altari, sed toto tempore dicte domine Lodovice teneatur et sit obligata, dum vixerit dicta domina Lodovica, tenere et deputare ibidem unum capellanum per ipsam ad libitum sui deputandum, qui missam et offitium divinum celebret ad dictum altare seu capellam, incipiendo in kalendis Septembris proxime futuris MCCCXXXIII. Et eidem cappellano dicta domina Lodovica teneatur et sit obligata solvere florenos sexdecim anuatim. Et capellanus qui pro tempore fuerit non possit habere [alium] salarium, offitium, benefitm et administrationem in dicta maiori ecclesia, sed dumtassat teneatur ipse capellanus deservire dicto altari et esse contentus dicto salario et redditibus antedicti altaris qui pro tempore antedicto altari deputabuntur. Qui dominus vicarius sedens ad eius solitum banchum iuris omnia et singula suprascripta approbavit rata et grata huic

ac confirmavit et eisdem suam auctoritatem pariter et decretum interposuit presentibus et intelligentibus suprascriptis fideicommissariis consentientibus et petentibus tamen suprascripto domino Karulo, uno ex fideicommissarios suprascriptis absente. Insuper dicta domina Lodovica ad executionem omnium predictorum in casu in quo hereditas dicti domini Turini non sufficeret ad omnia et singula exequenda, ut supra dictum est, ad dotandam dictam capellam vel altare, promisit de suis bonis propriis dotare dictum altare et ad predictam obligavit se et suos heredes et bona presentia et futura et dotes suas quas recipere tenet ab heredibus dicti domini Turini et de ipsius hereditate et bonis usque ad summam CCCC florenorum et ultra dictam summam CCCC florenorum et totum et quicquid haberi et exigi posset de bonis dicti domini Turini pro hornamentis dicti altaris, scilicet calice, missali, palliis et aliis necessariis ad ornamentum dicti altaris prout et sicut dicte domine Lodovice et soprascriptis aliis fideicommissariis et executoribus videbitur et placebit, renuntians omnibus suis iuribus, actionibus, petitionibus et pignorum obligationibus realibus et personalibus, utilibus et directis, tacitis et expressis sive mixtis et omnibus aliis sibi competentibus et competituris pro dotibus suis et lucro donationis vel alia quacumque de causa. Promittens dicta domina Lodovica per se et suos heredes et mihi notario inscripto, ut publice persone, et suprascripto domino vicario recipientibus et stipulantibus pro dicto altari omnia et singula suprascripta observare et adimplere et non contra facere vel venire per se vel alium sub pena et ad penam dupli obligationis predictae, que pena totiens solvatur quotiens commissa fuerit, et pena soluta vel non predicta omnia et singula firma perdurent. Renuntians dicta domina Lodovica exceptioni non sic celebrati contractus non facte obligationis, promissione beneficio velleans, fori privilegio et omni alii legum auxilio et favori, certificata per me Nicolaum notarium infrascriptum de iuribus suis et privilegiis, dotibus suis et lucro donationis. Et iuravit dicta domina Lodovica sacrosanctis evangeliiis corporaliter manu tactis scripturis omnia et singula suprascripta facere et observare et in aliquo non contra facere vel venire per se vel alium ad suprascriptam penam. Cui domine Lodovice presenti et predictis consentienti ac omnia et singula confitenti preceperit. Ego notarius infrascriptus nomine iuramenti e quarantie secundum formam iuris statutorum Senensis quod omnia et singula suprascripta observet et adimpleat.

Actum Senis in Terzerio Civitatis in palatio episcopalis et in curia Senensis coram ser Antonio Pietri, Doccio Jacobi factori Opere maioris ecclesie Senensis, Antonio Mathey de Senis testibus presentibus ad hec vocatis spetialiter et rogatis e adhibitis.

Post que statim eximus decretorum doctor dominus Karolus Angelini rector hospitalis Sancte Marie de la Scala

de Senis, unus ex dictis fideicommissariis et executoribus dicti domini Turini, habens de infrascriptis cognitionem et notitiam, auditis omnibus et singulis ad sui plenam intelligentiam et maxime auditis obligationem factam per dictam dominam Lodovicam, consensit omnibus et singulis suprascriptis.

Actum Senis in Terzerio Civitatis in domo hospitalis Sancte Marie de la Scala coram Johannem Galgani de Bichis, Doccio Jacobi testibus presentibus ad hec vocatis spetialiter et rogatis.

Insuper dictus dominus vicarius sedens pro tribunali ad eius solitum banchum iuris pro jure reddendo, ut moris est, habita fide quod alique executiones testamenti dicti domini Turini restant fiende per suprascriptos fideicommissarios et exequutores et maxime suprascripti altaris Sancte Marie Gratiarum sito in suprascripta Senensi maiori ecclesia, et quod de bonis hereditaris dicti domini Turini ad presens defacili certe pecunie haberi non possunt super quibus litigium vertitur, considerans bonam puram et sinceram rationem suprascriptorum executorum et fideicommissariorum omni modo, via, iure, causa qua et quibus magis et melius fieri potest et ex certa scientia et non per errorem sedens pro tribunali, ut supra, ad ei solitum banchum prorogavit termini suprascriptis fideicommissariis et executoribus presentibus, intelligentibus et acceptantibus usque ad quattuor

annos proxime futuros incipiendos in kalendis Augusti MCCCXXIIII ut dicta legata dicti domini Turini infra dictum terminum debeant executionem mandare. Qui dominus vicarius mandavit mihi Nicolao Taddey notario infrascripto ut de predictis omnibus et singulis suprascriptis publicum conficere instrumentum.

Actum Senis in Terzerio Civitatis in curia episcopali Senensi coram ser Anthonio Pietri notario curie episcopalis Senensis, Doccio Jacobi factori Opere ecclesie maioris, Anthonio Mathey nuptio dicte eius testibus presentibus ad hec vocatis spetialiter et rogatis etc.

A.IV

1424, 28th July: Ludovica's dowry is restituted to her and she receives a deposit of 140 florins for the construction of a chapel in the cathedral (ASS, Gabella 178, fol. 16r; notary Luca di Nanni of Siena)

Item denuntiat quod die xxviii Julii domina Lodovica filia Francisci Vannis Bertini et olim uxor domini Turini recepit unam possessionem sitam in communi Sancte Rine infra Massam Senensis pro sexcentis sexaginta florenos auri pro dotibus suis et pro antifatos florenos LX ab expectabili milite domino Carulo Agnolini et sotiis supra hereditatem deputatis floreni vi^c LX

Item recepit supra dictam possessionem centum quadraginta florenos auri pro parte quadringentorum florenorum quorum debet habere ipsa domina Lodovica a

dictis fideicommissariis pro hedificatione unius capelle fiende in ecclesia maiori civitatis Senensis.

Solvit fratri Paulo Tomè camarlengo fo. 14 die 9
Septembris 1424 pro utraque partis lire centum sex soldi
xiii denari quatuor. Et pro eis solvit Nicholaus Ghuidonis
Finette.

A.V

1426, 4th and 20th November: The official assignment and approbation of the endowment of the chapel, with conditions for its decoration and its officiation. Appointment of the chaplain (ASS, Diplomatico, Metropolitana di Siena, 1426 novembre 4 (two parchments); discovered and transcribed by Monika Butzek)

[1] In nomine Domini amen. Cunctis presens instrumentum publicum inspecturis pateat evidenter quod hoc sit quod spectabilis miles dominus Turinus quondam Mathei Turini olim operarius Opere maioris ecclesie Senensis, infirmus corpore, mente vero et intellectu sanus, existens inter alia voluit et mandavit verbis nudis quod in maiori ecclesia Senensis dotaretur unum altare vel cappella sub titulo et vocabulo Sancte Marie Gratiarum, quod est situm iuxta portam dicte ecclesie, vocata la porta del Perdono, per eximium decretorum doctorem dominum Karolum Angelini rectorem ecclesie seu hospitalis Sancte Marie de la Scala, dominam Ludovicham olim uxorem dicti domini Turini, Johannem Galgani de Bichis et Nicholaum olim Guidonis Finetti fideicommissarios et executores dicti sui testamenti et ultime voluntatis. [*Partial copy of document A. III of 27th July 1424 is inserted here: 'domina Ludovica et alii...' to '... omnia et singula suprascripta observiet et adimpleat.'*]

Ideo dicta Domina Ludovicha suprascripta volens adimplere ultimam voluntatem dicti domini Turini, et ipsam executioni debite demandare, in presentia supradicti domini vicarii auctorizantis et suum decretum interponentis, assignavit et consignavit suprascripto altari Sancte Marie Gratiarum in perpetuum pro dotibus dicti altaris unam possessionem cum domo super se in qua detinetur hospitium, cui ab uno latere strata publica, ab alio Anthonius ser Stefani rigatterii, ab alio Laurentius et Ghinuccius olim Petri Ghinuccis de Azzolinibus, ex alio Mansionis Templi, reservato tamen sibi domine Ludoviche usufructu dicte possessionis toto tempore vite sue naturalis, satisfacto tamen sacerdoti dicti altaris de florenis sedecim, cappellano qui pro tempore fuit prout continet in institutione dicti altaris et obligatione per ipsam dominam Ludovicham factam, non derogando tamen iuri sui patronatus infrascriptis et suprascriptis ut patet manu ser Nicholai Taddei publici notarii Senensis, cum hac conditione et pacto in principio, medio et fine huius contractus habito apposito et repetito quod dicta possessio

non possit vendi vel alienari, et in causa quo venderet vel alienaret dicta possessio revertatur[?] et devolvatur ad hospitale Sancte Marie de la Scala de Senis, cum suprascripte onere et pacto.

Quapropter strenuus miles dominus Bartholomeus quondam bone memorie Johannis Cecchi, operarius Opere Sancte Marie ecclesie Senensis, in presentia supradicti domini vicarii pro executione omnium predictorum et maxime pro executione ultime voluntatis dicti olim domini Turini, dedit, concessit et assignavit et consignavit presente consentiente et acceptante domine Ludoviche suprascripte, supradictum altare Sancte Marie Gratiarum et locum in quo situm est dictum altare prope portam dicta la porta del Perdono, cum omnibus iuribus pertinentibus et adiacentis ad dictum altare, cum pacto bailia et auctoritate, quod dicta domina Ludovicha et successores qui in dicto iure patronatus possint valerint et eis liceat crescere, et augmentare dictum altare in edifiis et pingere et pingi facere et ornare dictum altare, cum armis supradicti olim domini Turini ibidem apponendo et pingendo arma supradicti olim domini Turini. Preterea dictus dominus Bartholomeus operarius dicto operariatus nominis, per solepnam stipulationem convenit et permisit suprascripte domine Ludoviche, presenti et stipulanti per se et successoribus suis patronis dictis altaris, et pro cappellano qui pro tempore erit dicti altaris, dare et concedere et dari et concedi facere, et operari iter et taliter cum effectu quod sacriste dicte maioris ecclesie qui ad presens sunt et pro tempore erunt in perpetuum permittant et permittent, quod rector et sacerdos sive cappellanus in perpetuum eligendus, nominandus, deputandus et presentandus ad dictum altare Sancte Marie Gratiarum utatum et fruatur et uti et frui possit et debeat per missis celebrandis ad dictum altare paramentis necessariis et oportunis ad celebrandum missas et divinum offitium ad dictum altare, scilicet calice, missali, planeta, camicis, amicto, stola, manipulo, cingulo et aliis necessariis ad celebrandum missam et divinum offitium, sacriste dicte maioris ecclesie et clericis dicte sacrestie, qui nunc sunt et pro tempore erunt, et omnibus aliis necessariis ad celebrationem missarum prout et sicut habent et utuntur cappellani perpetui dicte maiori ecclesie Senensis.

Qui cappellanus eligendus deputandus et presentandus ad dictum altare ut dictus est, teneatur et debeat celebrare ad dictum altare missam et divinum offitium ad minus tribus diebus in singula ebdomoda et duabus dominicis in singulo mense ultra illos tres dies. Et si contingeret dictum cappellandum non dicere et non celebrare dictas missas ut dictum est, dominus operarius qui nunc est vel pro tempore fuit possit, teneatur et debeat condemnare prout condepnat alios cappellanos perpetuos dicte ecclesie maioris in missis dumtaxat. Post vero mortem dicte domine Ludoviche, patroni dicti altaris ipsius domine Ludoviche successores in iure patronatus, per ipsam eligendos vel

electes dicti altaris ordinent et disponant de missis et aliis divini officii ad dictum altare pro libito voluntatis, propter augmentum dotis quod superveniet ex morte supradicte domine Ludoviche, ultra suprascriptes sedecim florenorum quos suprascripta domina Ludovicha solvet suprascripto cappellano. Et predictam ordinationem suprascriptarum missarum facere debeunt suprascripti patroni insimul dum operatio suprascripte ecclesie qui pro tempore fuit. Preterea suprascriptus dominus Bartholomeus dicto nomine volens ad suprascripta teneri et obligari, ex certa scientia et non per errorem per solemnem stipulationem convenit et promisit domine Ludoviche presenti et stipulanti et recipienti sumptibus dicte Opere solvere Comuni Senarum omnibus gabellam que solvi deberet et contingeret, occasione predictorum Comuni Senarum, scilicet consignationis dicte dotis facte dicti altari. Et de predictis suprascriptam dominam dominam Ludovicham et eius heredes et bona conservare indemne. Insuper dicta domina Ludovicha per solemnem stipulationem convenit et promisit suprascripto domino operatio dicto nomine expendere in et pro dicto altari et pro ornamentis dicti altaris, scilicet paramentis, calice, missali vel picturis florenos quinquaginta auri, ad rationem librarum quattuor pro quolibet floreno, de bonis suis ipsius domine Ludoviche ita tamen quod dicta domina Ludovicha omni tempore vite sue naturalis non possit compelli a dicto domino vicario, nec ab aliquo alio cogi vel compelli ad solutionem dictorum quinquaginta florenorum. Et si contingeret ipsam dominam Ludovicham non expendisse in vita sua vel non expendere dictos quinquaginta florenos ex nunc ipsa domina Ludovicha pure libere et inrevocabiler inter vivos ita quod causa ingratitudinis vel aliqua alia causa presens donatio revocari non possit, donavit et titulo donationis dedit et concessit suprascripto domino Bartholomeo operario dicto nomine de bonis suis ipsius domine Ludoviche florenos quinquaginta auri ad rationem librarum quattuor pro quolibet floreno per ipsum dominum operarium expendendos in calice, missali et paramentis pro ornamentis dicti altaris ut dictum est. Quam quidem donationem suprascripta domina Ludovicha convenit et permisit suprascripto domino operario presenti stipulanti et recipienti pro se et successoribus suis et pro suprascripta Opera, semper et omni tempore habere et tenere formam et ratam, et contra in aliquo non facere vel venire per se vel alium aliquo modo vel jure ullo umquam tempore ad penam dupli dictorum florenorum quinquaginta stipul. per misam, absolventes et liberantes prefati domini vicarius et operarius suprascriptam dominam Ludovicham et eius heredes et bona ab obligatione florenorum sedecim pro quolibet anno duorum annorum preteritorum, in quibus obligata erat dicto altari et cappellano dicti altaris qui presentari debeat ad dictum altare. Rogantes et requirentes me Karolum notarium infrascriptum ut de predictis unum

et plura publicum et publici conficerem instrumentum et instrumenta.

Actum Senis in curia episcopalis Senensis presentibus discretis viris ser Francisco notario quondam Johannis Barbuti notario et cive Senensis qui de predictis etiam rogatus fuit, Johanne Galgani Bichi cive Senensis, ser Mariane Johannis Traferi cappellano maioris ecclesie Senensis et Paulo Jacobi cive Senensis testibus ad hoc vocatis, habitis et rogatis. Anno Domini ab eius salutifera incarnatione millesimo quadringentesimo vigesimo sexto, indictione quinta, die lune quarta mensis Novembris, pontificatus sanctissimi in Christo patris et domini domini Martini divini providentia Pape quinti anno nono, serenissimo principe et excelso domino domino Sigismundo Romanorum Imperatore regnante.

In nomine Domini amen. Cunctis presens instrumentum publicum inspecturis pateat evidenter quod venerabilis vir dominus Nicholaus de Ugorgeriis de Senis canonicus maioris ecclesie Senensis, ac etiam syndicus et procurator canonicorum et capitoli maioris ecclesie Senensis, ad hoc et alia facienda, ut de dicto suo mandato dixit constare per cartam inde rogatam a ser Antonio quondam Petri notario de Monte Sancte Marie notario et cive Senensis sub suo datali, lecto per ipsum dominum Nicholaum dictis nominibus dicto instrumento institutionis et dotationis dicti altari Sancte Marie Gratiarum, et ab eo plenarie intellectu, ut dixit, dictum instrumentum institutionis et dotationis dicti altaris suo nomine proprio et tamquam procuratore et procuratorio nomine dictorum dominorum canonicorum et capitoli maioris ecclesie Senensis in presentia venerabilis viri domini Petri de Sancto Pietro canonici Pisani, reverendissimi in Christo patris et domini domini Antonii miseratione divini tituli Sancti Marcelli presbiteri cardinalis ac commendatarii episcopati Senensis vicarii generalis, ac etiam presentibus consentientibus et volentibus venerabilis viri domino Georgio Andree domini Petri de Tolomeis de Senis et domino Niccolao Sozini proposito Senensis dictum instrumentum institutionis et dotationis dicti altaris Sancte Marie Gratiarum et omnia et singula in eo comprehensa confirmavit ratificavit asservavit et emologavit ut pote bene facta gesta et laudabiliter ordinata. Rogans me Karolum notarium infrascriptum ut de predictis publicum conficerem instrumentum. Actum Senis in curia episcopali Senensis presentibus circumspectis viris domino Petro ser Francisci de Monte Ulcino et ser Mariano Johannis cappellano maioris ecclesie Senensis et Musciatto Johannis de Cerretanis de Senis testibus ad hec vocatis habitis et rogatis. Anno Domini ab eius salutifera Incarnatione millesimo quadringentesimo vigesimo sexto, indictione quinta, die vigesima mensis Novembris, pontificatus sanctissimi in Christo patris et domini domini Martini divini providentia Pape quinti anno decimo, serenissimo principe et excelso domino domino

Sigismundo Romanorum. Et ego Karolus filius quondam Henrici de Vecchiano, civis Pisanus, imperiali auctoritate iudex ordinarius atque notarius et curie episcopalis Senensis scribe publicus, predictis institutioni dotationi confirmattioni rattificationi approbationi et emologationi et omnibus et singulis suprascriptis una cum prenomatis testibus dum sic ut premictitur agerent et fierent interfui et ea rogatus scripsi et publicavi cum meis signu et nomine consuete in fidem et testimonium predictorum.

[2] [*Same opening as A.V.I* 'In nomine Domini ...' to '... observet et adimpleat.')] Et ideo dicta domina Ludovicha patrona predicta, dicto patronatus nomine, ad quam dicto nomine jus patronatus et jus eligendi seu presentandi seu nominandi cappellanum seu rectorem ad dictum altare Sancte Marie Gratiarum spectat et pertinet plene jure vigore dicti testamenti dicti olim domini Turini e dicte sue ultime voluntatis, et que domina Ludovicha est in possessione vel quasi dicti juris patronatus et juris eligendi seu presentandi et nominandi rectorem et cappellanum ad dictum altare pro mandando executioni dictum testamentum et piam ultimam voluntatem dicti olim domini Turini, nolens quod dictum altare Sancte Marie Gratiarum propter diutinam vacationem seu propter negligentiam in spiritualibus seu temporalibus substeat aliquam lesionem, sed volens dicto altari Sancte Marie Gratiarum de rectore idoneo celeriter providere, et de circumspectione prudentia et virtute ser Jacobi quondam Antonii presbiter Senensis plurimum confidens ac sperens quod per ipsum ser Jacobum dicto altare bene et feliciter servietis ad laudem et reverentiam omnipotentis Dei et Beate Marie semper Virginis matri suis et Beate Marie Gratiarum sub eius vocabulo dictum altare decoratum et totius curie celestis, omni jure, causa, via, modo, forma et nomine quibus magis et melius potuit dictum ser Jacobum Anthonii presbitero Senensis elegit, nominavit, presentavit in rectorem dicti altaris Sancte Marie Gratiarum. Rogus et requires me Karolum notarium infrascriptum ut de predictis publicum conficerem instrumentum.

Actum Senis in curia episcopali Senensis presentibus discretis viris ser Francisco notario quondam Johannis Barbuti notario et cive Senensis, Johanne Galgani Bichi cive Senensis et Paulo Jacobi cive Senense testibus de hec vocatio habitis et rogatis. Anno Domini ab eius salutifera incarnatione millesimo quadringentesimo sexto, indictione quinta, die lune quarta mensis Novembris.

Et ego Karolus filius quondam Henrici de Vecchiano, civis pisanus, imperiali auctoritate iudex ordinarius atque notarius et curie episcopalis Senensis scribe publicus, predictis electioni presentationi nominationi acceptationis et omnibus et singulis suprascriptis una cum prenomatis testibus dum sic ut promictitur agerentur et fierent interfui et ea rogatus scripsi et publicavi cum meis signo et nomine

consuetis in fidem et testimonium omnium promissorum. Et quia de predicta additione quam per oblationem obnuperam [?] mihi constat, ideo propria manu scripsi.

A.VI

1426, 4th November: The vicar of Bishop Antonio Casini formalises the appointment of the chaplain for Ludovica's chapel (AAS, Bollari 102, fols. 93v-94r; notary Carlo di Enrico of Vecchiano)

[*in margine*] Confirmatio altaris Sancte Marie Gratiarum maioris ecclesie

Petrus de Sancto Pietro decretorum doctor canonicus Pisanus reverendissimi in Cristo patris et domini, domini Anthonii miserationi divini Sacrosancte Romane Ecclesie tituli Sancti Marcelli, presbiteri cardinali ac episcopi Senensis vicarius generalis, visa et diligenter examinata electione seu presentatione facta et canonice celebrata hodie per nobilem mulierem dominam Ludovicham relictam domini Turini patronam altaris seu cappelle Sancte Marie Gratiarum siti seu site in maiori ecclesia Senensis iustam portam dictam la porta del Perdone de ser Jacobo quondam Anthonii presbitero ad rectoriam, et rectoriam et regimen dicti altaris seu cappelle. Et visa acceptatione facta per dictum ser Jacobum dicte electionis seu presentationis de quibus electione seu presentatione constat per cartam vide hodie rogatam a te Karolo notario suprascripto. Et viso, edito, emanato pro nostri parte ad petitionem dicte domine Ludovice et dicti ser Jacobi ut siquis vellet aliquid dicere vel opponere contra electionem seu presentationem predictam, aut contra eligentem seu presentantem predictum ser Jacobum, aut contra personam electam predictam. Quare dicta electio seu presentatio a nobis confirmari, rattificari et dictus ser Jacobus [*fol. 94r*] in rectorem dicti altaris institui non debeat infra certum terminum in dicto edicto appositum iam elapsam coram nobis in curia episcopali Senensis conparere debere ad obiectionem huiusmodi faciendam. Et viso quod infra dictum terminum nec postea nullius conparuit aliquid obiecturus, examinata electione seu presentatione predicta meritis eligentium seu presentantium predictorum persona electa seu presentata predicta ydonea et sufficienti recepta ad rectoriam et regimen dicti altaris seu cappelle et omnibus inventis rite concurrere Cristi nomine invocato ad laudem et reverentiam omnipotentis Dei et beate Marie semper Virginis matris et Beate Marie Gratiarum sub cuius vocabulo dictum altare decorat, et totius curie celestis, dictam electionem seu presentationem factam de dicto ser Jacobo predictam dominam Ludovicham ad rectoriam et regimen dicti altaris seu cappelle Sancte Marie Gratiarum confirmamus, rattificamus, instituimus et approbamus et dictum ser Jacobum instituimus in rectorem dicti altaris seu cappelle, spiritualium et temporalium omnium curam

et administrationem dicti altaris seu cappelle sibi plenarie committendo, investientes eum de predictis pro nostri anuli traditione, committentes insuper cuicumque sacerdoti quem ipse ser Jacobus duxit eligendum quatenus ipsum ser Jacobum in corporalem possessionem et tenutam dicti altarius iuriumque et pertinentes ipsius auctoritate nostra mictat pariter et inducat in forma ecclesie consueta. Qui ser Jacobus de lato sibi iurem a nobis iuravit ad sancta Dei evangelia super animam suam tangendo corporaliter scriptis bona iura et honores dicti altaris manutenere et conservare et de hiis nil vendere vel alienare sive expressa licentia domini Senensis episcopi. Rogantes te Karolum notarium suprascriptum ut de predictis publicum conficias instrumentum, datum et actum Senis in curiam episcopali Senensis presentibus ser Francischo notario quondam Johannis Barbuti, notario et cive Senensis, Johanne Galghani Bichi cive Senensis et ser Mariane Johannis Trafieri cappellano maioris ecclesie Senensis testibus ad hoc vocatis habitis et rogatis. Anno Domini ab eius salutifera incarnatione millesimo quadringentesimo vigesimo sexto indictione quintii die lune quarta mensis Novembris pontificatus sanctissimi in Christo patris et domini domini Martini divini providentia Pape quinti anno nono, serenissimo principe et domino domino Sigismundo Romanorum Imperatore regnante.

A.VII

1432, 11th and 14th November: The last will of donna Ludovica, with dispositions on the patronage and chaplaincy of her chapel in the cathedral (ASS, Diplomatico, Archivio dello Spedale, 1432 novembre 11, first parchment. The second parchment is a copy of the part relevant to the Spedale della Scala. I thank Menno Polak for his help with the transcription)

In nomine Domini amen. Sapientissima domina domina Ludovica filia olim Francisci Bertini de Senis et relicta spectabilis militis domini Turini Mathei de Senis clamidata ordinis Sancti Francisci sana mente et intellectu licet corpore languens. Considerans suaque in mente revolvens quod nil certius morte et nil hora mortis incertius. Nolens intestata decedere ac volens testari de anima, corpore et bonis suis per hoc instans testamentum nuncupatum quod dicitur sine scriptis facere procuravit hunc in modum et in hac forma, videlicet:

In primis cum a nobilioribus incohandum sit et anima corpore sit nobilior, itaque quando eam mori contigerit et anima a corpore suo separabitur, illam devotissime summaque cum reverentia Deo omnipotenti eiusque matri gloriose Virgini Marie recommendavit ut eam in brachiis suis recipiant ad eorum gaudia paradisi.

Item reliquit quando eam mori contigerit et corpus suus ab anima separabitur, illud voluit, iussit et mandavit sepeliri in ecclesia Sancti Francisci de Senis in sepultura

clamidatarum dicti Sancti Francisci et ibi et in dicta sepultura et apud dictam ecclesiam sui corporis elegit sepulturam.

Item reliquit domino Senensi episcopo quinque solidos denariorum Senensium pro omni sua canonica portione. Mandans quod de bonis suis et dicte sue hereditatis plus petere vel habere non possit.

Item reliquit amore [*sic*] et pro remedio peccatorum suorum opere venerabilis maioris ecclesie civitatis Senensis decem solidos denariorum Senensium pro attamine dicte ecclesie et augmento dicte opere.

Item reliquit amore Dei et pro salute anime sue et remedio peccatorum suorum infirmarie Sancti Francisci prefati unum suum lectum cum cultrice, pennarum, duobus capezalibus, materazia, saccone, cannis, lettica, bancha, duobus goffanis qui sunt ante lectum predictum, tribus paribus lentaminum cum cultrice ad dorsum, uno celone, uno tappetto. In quo lecto iacebat dicta testatrix tempore sue vite ad predicta autem exequenda, in dicto legato contenta. Fecit suos fideicommissarios et executores guardianum dictorum fratrum qui tempore sue mortis fuerit, et abbatissam clamidatarum dicti ordinis Sancti Francisci que tempore sue mortis fuerit. Et quod de predictis rebus aliud minime possit fieri, nisi quod eas ponant ad servitium dicte infirmarie et prope ad huiusmodi servitium stare debeant et non ad aliud de quibus omnibus gravat eadem testatrix conscientiam eorum.

Item reliquit amore Dei et pro remedio peccatorum suorum reverendo patri magistro Danieli ... [*sic*] sacre theologie professori ordinis Sancti Francisci qui fuit ad sepulcrum domini nostri Iesu Christi, unum goffanum, qui stat ad pedem lecti dicte testatrix et unum par lentaminum.

Item reliquit amore Dei et pro salute anime sue sacristie fratrum capituli et conventus Sancti Francisci prefati decem et octo staria grani et decem et octo staria vini quolibet anno imperpetuum. Et quod dicti fratres teneantur et debeant quolibet anno imperpetuum dicere seu dici facere in dicta ecclesia unum solemne offitium mortuorum in die sequenti post festum Sancte Helisabette clamidate ordinis Sancti Francisci predicti pro anima sua dicte testatrix et domini Turini viri sui et antenatorum suorum.

Item reliquit amore Dei et pro salute anime sue domine Simone Johannis del Verre de Aquapendente et reverente Barptolomei Pepi de Senis unum sottanum pani bigii ad dorsum suum dicte testatrix.

Item reliquit iure legati Magdalene filie Nannis Francisci Bertini de Senis et nepti sue florenos centum de IIII^{or} libris denariorum Senensium pro quolibet floreno, quando nubet et coniuget se sacrosancto matrimonio et si obiret antequam nuberet et vel post nuptum quandocunque sine filiis legitimis et naturalibus tunc dictos centum florenos subdelegavit, reliquit iure prefato Francisco fratri suo

carnali dicte Magdalene et filio dicti Nannis et ad eum casu prefato adveniente voluit pervenire dictos centum florenos sine aliqua exceptione.

Item reliquit iure legati dicto Francisco nepoti suo et filio dicti Nannis centum florenos de quatuor libris denariorum Senensium pro quolibet floreno.

Item cum dicta testatrix solverit nonnullos denarios pro prestantiis impositis pro libra nova, que ad presens viget in Communi Senensi et cui vigore prestantie ponuntur et nonnullosolvere sperat, attentis temporibus presentibus qui secundum statuta Senensia sibi debent poni super monte de novo ordinato solutos et solvendo positos et ponendos super dicto monte usque ad mortem suam huiusmodi denarios cum provisione incursa et incurrenda usque ad dictam suam mortem iure legati reliquit et legavit Francisco prefato; qui denarii huiusmodi cum provisione ex eis debenda a Communi Senensi perpetuo sint dicti Francisci et ita voluit et mandavit dicta testatrix.

Item reliquit iure legati Guido Nicholaii Guidi Finetti de Senis nepoti suo florenos decem et octo ad dictam rationem III^{or} librarum denariorum Senensium pro quolibet floreno.

Item reliquit iure legati domine Taddee filie dicti Nicholaii et uxore Nicholaii Salamonis de Ricasulis nepti sue sedicim florenos ad dictam rationem.

Item reliquit iure legati domine Bindoccie filie dicti Nicholaii et relicte Nicholaii Bernardi nepti sue sedicim florenos ad dictam rationem.

Item reliquit iure legati Nanni et Iboni Angeli fratribus carnalibus fornaciariis de Sancta Reina infra Massam Senensem de suo terreno quod incipit a certis lateribus et malis cotognis qui sunt siti pro confinibus infra dictam testatricem et Nannem et Ibonem prefatos viginti quatuor brachia. Legavit etiam ius omne si quod habet in terreno quod est inter fornacem et dictos confines necnon et plateas que sunt circum circa fornacem predictam. Quibus rebus ex duobus ser Johannis Nicholaii Cechini de Vignano notarii et civis Senensis exadverso strata publica et exadverso bona dicte testatricis et siqui sunt dictis rebus plurimum aut veriores vel renovati confines.

Item cum hoc sit quod ipsa testatrix construxerit in venerabili ecclesia chathedrali civitatis Senensis in unam cappellam pro anima sua, domini Turini et mortuorum suorum prope portam Perdoni dicte ecclesie sub vocabulo Sancte Marie della Nieve et non bene ipsa cappella debito gubernaretur absque patronibus et ipsa testatrix non habens parvam confidentiam in subscriptos. Idcirco voluit iussit et mandavit quod dicte cappelle de cetero sint patrones Guidus et Barptolomeus Nicholaii Guidi Finetti et Franciscus filius dicti Nannis nepotes sui, in patrones et pro patronibus eiusdem cappelle elegit et nominavit si viverent ipsi vel aliquis ipsorum vel descendentes ex eis vel aliquo eorum ut supra sint patrones huiusmodi cappelle. Sui [?] autem elegit, deficientibus ut supra ipsis patronibus et omnibus descendentes ex eis vel aliquo eorum per

lineam masculinam, operam dicte venerabilis maioris ecclesie, rectorem hospitalis Sancte Marie de Schala de Senis qui pro tempore fuerint, fratres capitulum et conventum Sancti Francisci de Senis cum illa potestate et balia quam habebat eadem testatrix tempore sue vite et quando presenti fungebatur vita.

Item reliquit, voluit, iussit et mandavit quod ser Jacobus presbiter et cappellanus ad presens dicte cappelle et filius olim [*lacuna*] de Senis tum ad ipsum post obitum dicte testatricis perveniat una possessio cum domibus supra ipsa sita sita [*sic*] in comuni Sancti Vieni infra massam Senensem vel alius cappellanus qui pro tempore fuerit, teneantur et debeant dicere et celebrare duas missas pro qualibet edomoda ultra eas que ad presens dicuntur per dictum ser Jacobum dare. Item quolibet anno imperpetuum unum starium olei sacristie dicte ecclesie maioris pro lampade eiusdem cappelle et tenere item unum par doppleriorum cere cum staggiuolis ad arma dicti domini Turini ut moris est per alios nonnullos cives Senenses in dicta ecclesia.

Item voluit, iussit et mandavit eadem testatrix quod omnes et singule scripture dicte cappelle debeant stare penes dictum Guidonem unum ex dictis patronibus donec ipsi et sui descendentes viverent, postea devenire debeant ad dictos alios patrones.

Item cum dictus ser Jacobus cappellanus dicte cappele, pro servitio dato in officiendo dictam cappellam habeat, habere a dicta testatrice voluit, iussit et mandavit quod ea mortua quod ipse Guidus teneatur facere calculum rationis cum eo, eo que facto statim de bonis suis dicte testatricis satisfaciatur eidem ser Jacobo de eo quod debet habere sua propria auctoritate sine alia requisitione infrascripti heredis.

Item reliquit et legavit iure legati Matheo Gricciuoli mediario dicte testatricis et ad presens possessori Sancte Reine infra Massam Senensem atque eidem remisit omnes et singulos denarios atque debitum quos et quod dare tenetur idem eidem testatrici ex causa mezarie. Et si dictus Matheus tempore mortis ipsius testatricis non viveret, non valeat dictum legatum, sitque penitus nullum cassum veritum et inane.

Item reliquit iure legati domine Granuccie .. [*lacuna*] Corse famule sue, ultra suum salarium unum sciugatorium, unum sottonum panni romagnuoli, unam camisiā novam ad dorsum ipsius testatricis.

Item asservit et affirmavit eadem testatrix in verbo veritatis se dare debere domine Ghelle ... [*lacuna*] quatuor libras denariorum Senensium.

In omnibus autem aliis bonis suis mobilibus et immobilibus, iuribus et actionibus et nominibus debitorum presentibus et futuris ubicumque sunt et inveniri poterunt per quecumque loca vocabula et confines, pium hospitale Sancte Marie de Scala de Senis suum heredem universalem instituit fecit et esse voluit cum omne, videlicet quod

imperpetuum dictam hospitale seu eius rector, fratres et capitulum non possint ullo tempore, iure vel causa alienare, donare vel vendere nec ad vitam concedere alicui parte communi collegio et universitati possessionis de Sancta Reina infra Massam Senensem infra suos confines, nec domum vel partem ipsius domus et possessionis de rebus dicte hereditatis. Et quod dictum hospitale teneatur facere seu fieri facere suis dicti hospitalis expensibus funeralia sua, videlicet sepulturam, exequia, vigiliis et anniversale prout ipsam testatricem decet.

Et si dictum hospitale rector fratres et eius capitulum nollent acceptare dictum hereditatem vel in ea se immiscere vel predictis modo aliquo contrafecerint directe vel indirecte, tunc substituit eidem hospitali Operam maioris chathedralis ecclesie civitatis Senensis, cum modis, oneribus et conditionibus suprascriptis et factis et invenctis [?] ut supra dicto hospitali. Et si dicta Opera seu eius operarius nollent se immiscere in dicta hereditate, vel noluerint acceptare eam, vel predictam observare ut supra continetur et expressum est, tunc substituit eidem Opere ecclesiam parrochialem Sancti Pietri de Uvili de Senis, cum modis et conditionis atque onere suprascriptis, videlicet ut supra quod non possit alienare dictam possessionem de Sancta Reina, et facere funeralia, exequia, vigiliis et anniversale predictis. Et ad predicta legata exequenda et executioni mandanda suos fideicommissarios et presentis testamenti executores fecit et esse voluit Guidum et Franciscum prefatos. Quibus dedit licentiam et liberam potestatem de bonis suis et dicte sue hereditatis vendendi, alienandi et in solutionem et pagamentum dandi et concedendi et omnia et singula faciendi que eadem testatrice facere poterat quando presenti fungebatur vita. Et hoc est et esse voluit suum ultimum testamentum sua ultima et suprema voluntas quam et quod valere et tenere voluit iure testamenti et si non valebit non tenebit iure testamenti valeat et teneat iure codicillorum vel donationis causa mortis, vel alio quovis iure ultime et supreme voluntatis, quo de iure et secundum formam statutum Senensium melius valere et tenere possit. Cassans, irritans et annullans omne et quodlibet aliud testamentum ultimam et supremam voluntatem hactenus per eam factum et factam manu cuiuscumque persone tam publice quam private et specialiter manu mei Luce notarii infrascripti. Non obstantibus quibuscumque verbis tam derogatoriis quam non in eo [...faded ink] appositis que eam penitet apposuisse. Et voluit hoc presens testamentum omnibus aliis prevalere suis. Rogans me notarium infrascriptum quod de predictis publicum officium instrumentum.

Factum et conditum fuit dictum testamentum et ultima voluntas per dictam testatricem sana mente et intellectu et ultima voluntas per dictam testatricem sana mente et intellectu licet corpore languentem et iacentem egram in camera domus dicte testatricis ad Planum Sale existentis situm Senis in Terzerio Kamollie populo Sancti Pietri de

Uvili et in contrata de Uvili cui ante via comunis ex adverso rectricis claudatarum Sancti Francisci prefati et siqui sunt dicte domui plures aut variores vel renovati confines. Coram iurisperito viro domino Nicholao Nannis, Antonio Angeli Pietri pizicaio et Ambrosio Minucci famulo dominorum dominorum priorum Senensium de subscriptibus testibus presentibus vocatis adhibitis et a dicta testatrice rogatis. Sub anno Domini ab ipsius salutifera Incarnatione millesimo quadragentesimo trigesimo secundo indictione undecima, die undecima mensis Novembris secundum usum et consuetudinem notariorum civitatis Senensis. Tempore pontificatus beatissimi in Christo patris et domini domini Eugenii divina providentia Pape quarti, Romanorum regnante serenissimo Rege Sigismundo semper augusto secundum usum loquendi dicta in civitate.

In nomine Domini amen. Domina domina Ludovica prefata sana mente et intellectu licet corpore languens, sciens voluntatem hominis esse ambulatoriam usque ad mortem, volens codicillari et presentibus codicillis, supradicto testamento per eam facto et rogato per me notarium infrascriptum addere et corrigere illud hoc modo et forma prout infra, videlicet:

In primis codicillando ademit dicta codicillans de dicto testamento quoddam legatum factum sacristie Sancti Francisci prefati de decem et octo stariis grani et decem et octo stariis vini quolibet anno imperpetuum amore Dei cum certa gravedine in ea contentam, et corrigendo iure legati reliquit et legavit dicte sacristie dicte ecclesie Sancti Francisci amore Dei et pro salute anime sue quinquaginta florenos de ^{III} libris denariorum Senensium pro quolibet florenum convertendos in ornamentis dicte sacristie eo modo et forma quibus utilius videbitur fratribus dicti conventus Sancti Francisci, quos voluit, iussit et mandavit dare debere per heredum suum infrascriptum spatio et tempore unius anni incipientis in die qua facta erit pax inter Senenses et Florentinos de guerra inter eos impresentiarum vigenti.

Item presentibus codicillis addendo iure legati reliquit et legavit domine Taddee prefate duodecem staria vini vermili.

Item addendo presentibus codicillis voluit, iussit et mandavit quod Guidus suprascriptus teneatur de bonis dicto suo hereditatis sua propria autem satisfacere ser Jacobo presbitero et cappellano suo dicte testa[tri]eis cappelle prefate et eo quod debet habere a dicta testatrice pro suo salario pro tempore quo officiauit dictam cappellam.

Et hi sunt codicilli facti et compositi per dictam dominam Ludovicam mentis composita, quibus voluit antedictum testamentum fore et esse confirmatum quos voluit valere et tenere iure codicillorum et si non valebunt et non tenebunt iure codicillorum, voluit quod valeant et

teneant iure donationis causa mortis nihil alio quovis iure ultime voluntatis quo valere et tenere possit de iure et secundum formam statutum Senensium. Rogans me notarium infrascriptum de predictis publicum conficiam instrumentum.

Facti et conditi fuerunt dicti codicilli per dictam dominam dominam Ludovicam codicillantes prefatam ut supra egram et iacentem in camera prefata domus supranominate et confinate coram Angelo Alberti Altesis, Stefano Antonii Stefani ligritterio de Senis et Antonio Angeli prefato testibus presentibus, adhibitis, vocatis et rogatis a dicta codicillante anno, indictione, pontificatu et regnante rege suprascriptis die quartadecima dicti mensis novembris.

Ego Lucas filius Nannis Petri Iannini de Senis publicus Imperiali auctoritate notarius atque iudex ordinarius predictis omnibus et singulis interfui ea quod rogatus scripsi et publicavi et in fidem et testimonium omnium premissorum signum meum apposui consuetum.

A.VIII

1435, between 30th December 1432 and 22nd July:
The ratification of the realisation of the chapel by the chapter of canons of the cathedral (AOMS, 1848 (num. Mosc. 2166), doc. 9, second document (added to copy of A.III above; name of notary not recorded)

A Paulo Jachobi per domino Bartolomeo operario
Cum hoc sit quod olim egregius miles dominus Turinus quondam Mathei Turini olim operarius Senensis maioris ecclesie nudis verbis post sui ipsius domini Turini ultimam conditum testamentum, voluit et disposuit pro anima sua et perpetuum suorum, dotari quoddam altare situm in dicta Senensis maiori ecclesie coram portam dicte ecclesie iuxta portam dicte ecclesie vocatam la porta del Perdono nuncupatam sub titulo et vocabulo Sancte Marie Gratiarum usque ad summam florenorum ^{CCCC}orum de suis bonis. Et Domina Ludovica et ...[sic] commissarii et executores dicti olim domini Turini recognoverint et approbaverint dictam piam et ultimam voluntatem isti olim domini Turini in presentia venerabili et egregii viri domini Petri de Sancto Petro decretorum doctorum reverendi in Christo patris et domini domini Antonii Dei gratia episcopi Senensis vicarii generalis. Et ad predicta exequenda ista domina Ludovica obligavit dotes suas et omnia et singula bona sua et heredes certis conditionibus, et pactis insertis apponitis et nominatis de quibus ac omnibus et singulis istis latuis continetur manu publica ser Antonii olim Petri quondam Vannucci de Monte Sancte Marie, civis et notarii Senensis et ser Bencivennis magistri Angeli de Senis notarii, et in actis olim ser Niccolai Thadei de Senis notarii et scribo curie episcopalis Senensis. Et predictis omnibus et singulis ac contentis in dicto instrumento iste dominus vicarius suam interposuerit auctoritatem et pariter

decretum venerabilis viri [sic] canonici predicte Senensis maioris ecclesie qui sunt maioris et summo pars canonicorum ad presens residentium congregati capitulariter in sacristia dicte maiori ecclesie loco ad hic et similia expendenda alii deputato habentes notitiam de predictis, et viso et lecto isto publico instrumento et plene examinatus omnibus et singulis continentis in dicto instrumento, nec non et pia ac laudabile ultima voluntate isti olim domini Turini et affectione iste domine Magdalene quam habuit ad adimplendum predictam piam intentionem et dispositionem isti domini Turini ad laudem et gloriam omnipotentis Dei et gloriose Virginis Marie cuius titulo decoratur dicta maior Senensis ecclesia et dictum altare omni via, modo et forma quibus melius de iure possunt et valent et ex certa scientia omnibus et singulis actis accertatis et gestis per istam olim dominam Ludovicam et fideicommissarios et executores antedictos, prout predicto publico instrumento constat et apparet, consenserunt et sunt sicut predictorum canonicorum collegialiter et capitulariter [congregati] assensum pariter decretum et anellem interposuerunt ratificantes et approbantes ac rata et firma habentes omnia et singula ista contenta infrascripto instrumento, predictum quidem altare superius nominatum deputaverunt, consignaverunt et statuerunt ac esse voluerunt ad predictam iuxtam voluntatem ac piam et ultimam dispositionem isti olim egregii viri domini Turini cum omnibus singulis modis iuribus preheminentiis et conditionibus et obligationibus contentis in isto publico instrumento etc.

Nobilis et egregius vir dominus B[artolomeus] operarius iste Senensis maioris ecclesie una cum infrascriptis suis consiliariis .. [lacuna] consituti in Domo..[lacuna] ubi [al.] sunt soliti ad predicta et alia facienda et expedienda congregari de voluntate et consensu omnium predictorum omni iure, via, modo et forma quibus melius potuit et ex certa scientia omnibus et singulis gestis actis dispositis et ..[spo]itatis per istam dominam Magdalenam ac commissarios istos prout et sicut isto publico instrumento constat publicato ac lecto in presentia sui et predictorum suorum consiliariorum, ac plenius examinato et omnibus et singulis in eodem contentos ad laudem et gloriam omnipotentis Dei et gloriose Virginis Marie sub eius vocabulo dicta [verso] maiorem Senensis ecclesiam et altare predictum sunt insignita consensit et suum assensum prebuit et impertivit dictum quidem altare dedit, tradidit, consignavit et deputavit ad predictam iuxtam voluntatem et ultimam dispositionem isti olim domini Turini et intentionem iste domine Magdalene et predictorum fideicommissariorum et executorum ratificans, approbans et affirmans, rata et firma huius omnia et singula contenta infrascripto publico instrumento acta et gesta per istam dominam Magdalenam et fideicommissarios et executores antedictos nec non omnia et singula ista gesta et facta per venerabiles ... [lacuna] canonicos iste maioris Senensis

ecclesie cum omnibus et singulis pactis moris iuribus preheminentiis, contentis et insertis in isto publico instrumento publicato manibus istorum notariorum superius expressorum et cetera.

A.IX

Undated, probably shortly after 1436: The chaplain of the chapel of Santa Maria della Neve complains that the income from Ludovica's endowment has decreased (AOMS, 3012 (num. Mosc. 113), fasc. 2, doc. 20)

Dinanzi a voi egregio dottore misser Giorgio Talomey per la Dio grazia vicario generale di misser lo veschovo di Siena e dina[n]çi da voi, signori chalonaci misser Pietro arcidiachono e misser Nicholo di Ciecho Ugurgieri chanonaci di Siena, vi si fa noto e manifesto per me ser

Jacomo d'Antonio chapellano della chappella di Santa Maria della Nieve della quale chappella fu dotata d'una posizione e [al]bergo insieme, la quale posizione si conprò quattro cento trenta e due fiorini, per dota d'essa chappella se n'aveva inna[n]zi la guera vinti e du fiorini di pigiune [sic], e facta la pace se n'ebbe XII fiorini e questo an[n]o passato s'apigiono XIII fiorini, el piginale [sic] s'è andato con Dio e fugito co la pigione. D'uno anno è rimasto serato e la vignia soda, se hora la voglio apigionare trovo ell'anno fiorini otto per tempo d'anni cinque e la dota della sopradetta chapella. So' hobrigato due domeniche dell mese e due dì della semana e tenere uno paio di dopieri ell'anno e la lanpana fornita a la detta chapella secondo che si contiene nel tastamento [sic] che fu della buona memoria di monna Lodovica, donna fu di misser Turino di Matteo operaio di questa chiesa, esso fu edificatore d'essa chapella. Amen.

B

Descriptions of the altar of Santa Maria della Neve in the Sienese cathedral

B.I

1435, 31th December: Description of the altar of Santa Maria della Neve in the cathedral inventory (AOMS, 867 (num. Mosc. 1492), fol. 119r (insert 3, fol. 19r); published by DE NICOLA 1913, p. 238 note 8; POPE HENNESSY 1939, pp. 51-52 note 63; GARRISON 1960-62 I, p. 5; see also ASS, Opera Metropolitana 30, fol. 19r)

L'altare di Santa Maria della Nieve a lato a la porta del Perdono si è l'altare sivii la tavola dipenta di Nostra Donna messa a oro et altri santi col miracolo della nieve con predella da ppici et ferro con tenda vermogliia con due candelieri di ferro in sul altare e rincontra al detto altare si è la tavola antica di Nostra Donna che stava prima al detto altare.

B.II

1439: Description of the altar of Santa Maria della Neve in the cathedral inventory (AOMS, 867 (num. Mosc. 1492), fol. 167r (insert 4, fol. 19r); partially published by GARRISON 1960-62 I, p. 6)

La cappella di Santa Maria della Nieve altare e tavola messa a oro colla Nostra Donna e altre figure col miracolo della nieve. Predella a piei, ferro [*deleted*: e tenda rossa e; *later addition*: la tenda posta a fo.4] due candelieri di ferro e riscontra v'è la tavola antica che prima stava in sul detto altare [*later addition*: la deta tavola è a la cappella di Sancto Sano in Castelveccchio].

B.III

1446, 30th December: Description of the altar of Santa Maria della Neve in the cathedral inventory (ASS, Opera Metropolitana 31, fol. XXVIIIv)

La cappella di Santa Maria della Nieve
Uno altare con tavola dipenta figura di Nostra Donna e altre figure con miracolo della nieve nuova, grado, tenda rossa e candelieri di ferro.

Uno banchetto a goffano covertato di tavole duve si vendono le candele a lato a la porta del Perdono. Una campanella di bronzo con batachio a capo, tre sedie nuove intorno al campanile, due telai attaccati al muro, sopra l'uscio del campanile, uno telaio dipento del Giudicio e l'altro dell'Anuntiata e Natività del Nostro Signore.

Idem (AOMS, 867 (num. Mosc. 1492), fol. 274v [*o.n.* XXVIIIv])

La cappella di Sancta Maria della Nieve
Uno altare con tavola dipenta con la Nostra Donna e altre figure col miracolo della nieve, grado candelieri di ferro e tenda rossa.

Uno banchetto a goffano covertato di tavole duve si vendono le candele al lato alla porta del Perdono, con una campanella di bronzo con batachio da capo, con tre sedie nuove intorno al campanile. E due telai attaccati al muro sopra l'uscio di detto campanile cioè uno dipento del Giudicio e l'altro de la Natività di Cristo.

B.IV

1450: Description of the altar of Santa Maria della Neve in the cathedral inventory (ASS, Opera Metropolitana 32, fol. 2r; see also 1449 inventory with minor variations in AOMS, 867 (num. Mosc. 1492), fols. 316r-v (insert 7, fols. 22r-v))

La chappella di Sancta Maria della Nieve
Uno altare con tavola dipe[n]ta figura di Nostra Donna e altre figure con miracholo della nieve nuova, grado, tenda rossa e candelieri di ferro, uno banchetto a gofano covertato di tavole dove si vendano le candele al lato alla porta del Perdono, una campanella di bronzo con batachio a chapo detto banchetto, tre sedie nuove intorno al campanile. Due telai atachati al muro sopra a l'uscio del campanile cioè uno telaio e di dipento della Anuntiata e Natività di Nostro Signore.

B.V

1458: Description of the altar of Santa Maria della Neve in the cathedral inventory (ASS, Opera Metropolitana 33, fol. XXVIv; see also AOMS, 867 (num. Mosc. 1492), fol. 362v (insert 8, fol. 26v))

La chapella di Sancta Maria della Nieve
Uno altare con tavola dipenta con ficura di Nostra Donna et altare [*sic*] ficura con miracolo della nieve, tenda azurra con due chandelieri di ferro tondi da 'nmocholi et da capo cierta chapella di gesso intagliata*, uno banchetto a gofano covertato di tavola dove si vendano le chandele alla porta del Perdono, una chanpanella di bronzo atachata a chapo detto bancheto, tre sedie nuove intorno allo chanpanile, uno telaio di panno lino apichato al muro sopra l'uscio dello chanpanile dipento l'Annuntiata et la Natività di Nostro Singniore con gradi a piei detto altare di lengio. E più uno gofano buono sta dove si vendano i chandeli. E più uno telaio di panno lino dipento con cierti chardenali et altre figure appichato al chanpanile.

* AOMS: 'da chapo cierta chapelletta di gesso intagliata'

B.VI

1473: Description of the altar of Santa Maria della Neve in the cathedral inventory (ASS, Opera Metropolitana 34, fol. 16r; see also the 1467 inventory in AOMS, 867 (num. Mosc. 1492), fol. 401r (insert 9, fol. 15r))

La capella di Santa Maria de la Nieve

Uno altare con tavola dipinta con figura di Nostra Donna e altre figure col miracolo de la nieve, tenda azurra con due candelieri di ferro tondi da mocioli e da ccapo con capella di giesso con uno banchetto a goffano covertato di tavole dove si vendano le candele alla porta del Perdono, tre sedie intorno al campanile e più uno goffano dove si vendano e candeli.

B.VII

1482: Description of the altar of Santa Maria della Neve in the cathedral inventory (ASS, Opera Metropolitana 35, fol. 16r; see also inventory *post* 1488 in AOMS, 867 (num. Mosc. 1492), fol. 467r (insert 11, fol. 16r))

La cappella di Sancta Maria della Nieve

Uno altare con tavola dipinta con figura di Nostra Donna et miracolo de la nieve, una tenda azzurra con due candelieri di ferro con uno banchetto et goffano covertato di tavole dove si vendano le candele et tre sedi dintorno al campanile et più uno goffano dove si vendano i candeli.

B.VIII

1489, 16th December: Description of the altar of Santa Maria della Neve in the Pastoral Visit of Monsignor Battista de Auro of Bologna, vicar general of Archbishop Francesco Piccolomini (AAS, Sante Visite 18, fol. 17v)

Item visitavit cappellam Sancte Marie ad Nives ubi invenit venerabilem virum ser Laurentium Cole cappellanum dicte cappelle. Qui dixit eam fundatam fuisse per quemdam dominum Turinum operarius ecclesie predictae. Et quod ius patronatus spectaret ad quemdam Franciscum de Bertinis de Senis [...]

B.IX

1500 (1525, 1536): Description of the altar of Santa Maria della Neve in the cathedral inventory (AOMS, 868 (num. Mosc. 1493), fol. 24v (insert 1); the same description, with minor linguistic variations is repeated in 1525 (IBIDEM, fol. 60r (insert 2)) and in 1536 (IBIDEM, fol. 96v (insert 3))

Uno altare con tavola dipinta con figura di Nostra Donna e miracolo della nieve con una tenda azurra con due candelieri di ferro, con uno banchetto e goffano covertato

di tavole due si vendano le candele e tre sedii intorno al campanile e più uno goffano due si vendano le candele.

B.X

1563, 23rd September and 22nd October: The Council of the Opera admonishes the rector to end the patrons' struggle over the chapel of Santa Maria della Neve and to construct a new altar at a location and at the expense of whichever person at his discretion (AOMS, 32 (num. Mosc. 17), fols. 28r-v)

[*fol. 28r*] Similmente inteso la lite mossa sopra la cappella di Santa Maria de la Nieve mossa da' padronari, deliberorno dare e derno piena autorità quanto tutto il capitolo al signor rettore con due eletti da suoi signori di negoziare, spendere, comporre tal lite e fare intorno a ciò tutto quello che giudicarano a proposito. Misser Niccolò Gostanti, misser Acchille Orlandini.

[*fol. 28v*] Sopra de la remissione dell'altare del Bertini sotto il nome di Santa Maria de la Nieve e nuova costruzione di esso, attesa la menta de' padronarii, deliberorno che il magnifico rettore habbi piena commissione e autorità di far rifare il detto altare a dove giudicarà a proposito a spesa di chi li parrà conveniente.

B.XI

1563: Note of the temporary removal of Sassetta's altarpiece to the altar of Saint Anthony in the inventory of the cathedral (AOMS, 868 (num. Mosc. 1493), fols. 131v, 132r (insert 4, fols. 10v, 11r))

La cappella de la Madonna de la Nieve

In luogo di detta cappella per esarsi guasto l'altare et messa la sua tavola al altare di Santo Antonio, vi si è messo un quadro in tela grande con la Natività. [...]

La cappella di Santo Antonio

In detta cappella di Santo Antonio, vi si è messa la tavola di Santa Maria della Nieve che vi sono due candelieri di ferro.

B.XII

1575: Description of the altar of Santa Maria della Neve in the Visita Apostolica of Monsignor Bossio (AAS, Sante Visite 21, fols. 35v-36r, 39v (unpublished full transcription by S. Fineschi and G. Catoni, pp. 58-59, 65); partly published by DE NICOLA 1913, p. 283 note 10; POPE HENNESSY 1939, p. 52 note 64)

[*fol. 35v, p. 58*] Visitavit capellam Sanctae Mariae ad Nives prope una ex partis [*recte*: portis] dictae ecclesiae, quae habet altare lapideum ut supra cum mensa lignea, sed sine petra sacra, quam asservit sacrista esse in sacristia, cum ibi non soleat celebrari nisi unica vice in festo Sanctae Mariae Nivis quolibet anno licet adsint onera ibidem celebrandi, et hoc propter impedimentum quod prestant petentes

helemosinas iuxta ilam portam et ventus qui ex ea vehementer spirat.
Nec crux neque candelabra aderant. [*p. 59*] Predella erat vetus et indecens.

Icona adest cum imagine beatae Virginis in tabula depicta, cui capellae deservit unus capellanus cum infrascripti emolumentis et oneribus, videlicet: [*fol. 36r*] ser Iulius Domini Iohannis Baptistae de Ballottis cuius onus imminet celebrandi. Percipit ex dicta capella singulis annis libras denariorum centum septuaginta quatuor in circa ex bonis illius inferius descriptis et annotatis. Quae capella, ut pretenditur, est de iure patronatus domus et familiae Bertinorum et ad presens deservit ser Antonius Maria Bartolini cum annexo onere celebrandi decies in mense, videlicet in prima hebdomada in die dominico, mercurii et veneris; et idem in tertia hebdomada; in secunda vero martis et veneris; in quarta lunae et iovis. [*fol. 39v, p. 65, sub 'Visitatio sepulcrorum'*] Prope altare Sanctae Mariae Nivis adest pilus versus portam nimis altari propinquus.

B. XIII

1578: Description of the altar of Santa Maria della Neve in the cathedral inventory (AOMS, 868 (num. Mosc. 1493), fol. 165r (insert 5, fol. 14r))

La cappella della Nieve

Una tavola dipenta della Madonna con il miracolo della nieve messa à oro con l'arme de' Bertini, disse misser Agnolo Venturi essere il patronato di essa di madonna Beatrice Venturi come figlia di Ascanio Bertini.

B. XIV

1584, 12th May: Record of the altar of Santa Maria della Neve in the pastoral visit of Archbishop Ascanio Piccolomini (AAS, Sante Visite 24, fol. 6v, and Sante Visite 25, fol. 6v, with minor variations)

Cappella Sancte Mariae ad Nives iuris patronatus domine Beatricis de Bertinis, cuius rector est dominus Hieronimus Fanthius Theologus, tenetur duobus diebus Dominicis et octo ferialibus [*ending in Santa Visita 25 with an illegible, stained passage and 'moneatret altare'*].

B. XV

1590: Description of the altar of Santa Maria della Neve in the cathedral inventory (AOMS, 868 (num. Mosc. 1493), fol. 259r (insert 8, fol. 15r))

La cappella de la Nieve

Una tavola dipenta de la Madonna con il miracolo de la nieve messa a oro, con arme de' Bertini.

B. XVI

1616, 2nd March: Recollection of the position, patronage and altarpiece of the altar of Santa Maria della Neve by its erstwhile chaplain (AAS, Cappelle 3469, Filza I.3, loose papers (notes about the chapel dating from 1549 to 1891); partly published by DE NICOLA 1913, p. 283 note 12; POPE HENNESSY 1939, p. 52 note 66)

Inventario de' beni che al presente possiede la cappella della Madonna della Nieve in domo dato per me Girolamo Fanti canonico senese et rettore di detta cappella [...]
La detta cappella era posta nell'entrar della porta del duomo a mano destra, vi era una tavola fatta da casa Bertini, alli quali s'aspettava il padronato, hoggi a misser Austo Venturi, et fu lasciata detta tavola da misser Iugurta Tommasi operario, et venduta a una compagnia di Iusdino.

C

The sale of the altarpiece and its sojourn in Chiusdino

C.I

1591, 1st April: Record of the removal of the altar of Santa Maria della Neve (AOMS, 24 (num. Mosc. 28), fol. 46v; partly published by DE NICOLA 1913, p. 283 note 11; POPE HENNESSY 1939, p. 52 note 65)

Memoria come questo di primo di aprile si sono rimossi di Duomo due altari cioè l'altare di Santa Maria della Nieve, che era acanto alla porta del Perdono, la capella del quale è padronato di madonna Beatrice Bertini, donna che fu da Guido di Mariano Venturi, et al medesimo faceva la festa sua e vi portava l'offerta l'Arte de' Merciai. Il quale altare disse che ordinò che si rimovesse monsignore reverendissimo arcivescovo nostro quando fece la visita. E da qui inanzi la capellania di detto altare con in medesi obblighi et emolumenti doverà esercitarsi dal retore di detta capella all'altare della Visitazione di Nostra Donna che così a ordenato il molto reverendo signor vicario del arcivescovo. [*note about the removal of the altar of Santa Caterina*]

Le tavole del uno e del a[l]tro altare si sono riposte nelle stanze del Opera et i paramenti co le biancarie e pietre sagrate si sono riposte in sagrestia. Io Fausto Melari, vicario sopradetto, affermo che li sopradetti due altari furno remossi e transferiti come sopra di mio consenso per ordine havuto da monsignor illustrissimo e reverendissimo arcivescovo.

C.II

1592, 8th June – 1594, 22nd April: Matteo di Matteo Biagini of Chiusdino acquires the Madonna della Neve, paying its price of 84 lire in three installments (AOMS, 732 (num. Mosc. 668), fol. 122v)

Mattio di Mattio Biagini da Giusdino dè dare a di 8 di giugno lire ottantaquattro. Sono per una tavola d'altare, quale già stava acanto alla porta del Perdono a man' dritta in Duomo, da pagharla in questo modo cioè, la metà al presente e l'altra metà per tutto il mese di novembre prossimo, e di poi hanno [?] piacere; one [?] paghando ci promette come prencipale Giovanagnuolo Giovanagnoli, restati d'acordo con il signor rettore et in fede affermerà quanto sopra lire 84. E io Giovanagnuolo affermo.

Anne dati questo di 8 di giugno lire quarantadue contanti da Giovanagnuolo, quali denari disse essere di detto Mattio
lire 42

1593. Poste a entrata a fo. 62 le lire 42

E a di 15 di ferraio lire trentasei di denari contanti da detto

Matthio come a entrata di me Flaminio Landucci
camarlengo a fo. 5 lire 36

1594. E a di 22 d'aprile lire sei di denari havea date al
signore rettore misser Giovanagnuolo sopra[?] come a
entrata di me Flaminio scripto a fo. 11 lire 6
lire 84

C.III

1593, 15th December: Record of Matteo Biagini's payment of the first installment for the altarpiece (AOMS, 496 (num. Mosc. 361), fol. 61v)

L'Opera del Duomo lire quaranta due soldi sono per la
metà della tavola da altare venduta più fa a Mattio di
Mattio Biagini da Giusdino come al bastardello longho a fo.
123 lire 42

C.IV

1678, 7th January: Description of Sassetta's Madonna della Neve standing in the Oratorio di sotto di San Galgano in Chiusdino (AVV, Visita Pastorale di Monsignor Carlo Filippo Sfondrati, 1, p. 58; transcription provided by Monsignor M. Bocci)

Chiusdino, Oratorio di San Galgano
Oratorio di sotto (Casa di San Galgano)
Icona altaris donatus a dominis de Blasinis exhibet in medio
Beatissimam Virginem cum puerulo Jesu, a cornu evangelii
Sanctos Petrum et Paulum, et a latere epistolae Divos
Joannem et Franciscum.
Altare unus est. Gradus ligneus deauratus idem est
ornamentum iconae.

C.V

1682-1698: Notes about the vicissitudes of the altarpiece in the Oratorio di sotto of San Galgano in Chiusdino (ASF, Compagnie Religiose Soppresse da Pietro Leopoldo, S. Galgano, 2940, vol. 1, fols. 167r-v, vol. 11, fols. 10v, 49r-v, 66v)

[*Libro Primo, fol. 167r, sub anno 1682*] Nella chiesa di sotto, si messe nell'altare un quadro in tavola di pittura celebre et antica con colori a ricami, et oro donato al nostro collegio dal dottor Giulio Vincenzo, e Giuseppe Isidoro figli del fu dottor Galgano Maria Biagini [...] Nel detto quadro è dipinta in mezzo la Beata Vergine Maria con Nostro Signore bambino in collo alla quale due angeli con tutto 'l corpo humano dipinti sostengono con le mani [*fol. 167v*] la corona, e due altri angeli simili assistono, di poi a destra in luogo sublime è effigiato San Pietro Apostolo, a sinistra San Pavolo Apostolo, a destra in luogo più inferiore San Giovanni Battista, a sinistra San Francesco d'Assisi. Nella cornice messa a oro è effigiato S. [*lacuna*] S. [*lacuna*] S. [*lacuna*]

Nondimeno è rimasta quasi che dismessa detta chiesa di sotto, e tutta la frequenza alla chiesa di sopra.

[*Libro Secondo, fol. 10v, in between 1684 and 1692*] La chiesa di sotto, che ha l'entrata nella facciata australe, e l'altare nella settentrionale, si lasciò nel suo essere, solo, che invece della tavola levata, vi si pose altra tavola donata dalli figli del dottor Galgan Maria Biagini, quale in hoggi si va premeditando levarla, essendo tavola insigne, e per liberarla dall'humido, si dispone fargli altare nella chiesa di sopra nella facciata di settentrione più contigua alla porta dell'entrata.

[*in the margin: Sacrestia della chiesa di sopra*] Si è destinata la sacrestia nella camera della casa contigua alla chiesa per la parte settentrionale, e nella facciata tra la chiesa, e detta sacrestia rifare il campanile per sonare da parte di sacrestia, e liberare la volta della chiesa dall'acqua, che viene per la fune della campana.

[*Libro Secondo, fol. 49r-v, 2nd April 1692*] Il medesimo ser Biagini priore dal luogo di sua residenza ... [*fol. 49v*] disse, come più volte in voce si è restato di resarcire la

chiesa di sotto, e procurare di levare al possibile l'humidità, che in essa sono, e far quei resarcimenti possibili e perché la tavola insigne di essa chiesa di sotto, anzi, che all'anni passati fu collocata in detta chiesa di sotto, e che avanti fu donata dalla casa di detto dottor Biagini patè di humidità, è bene, si è discorso, e prega detto dottor Biagini, che si ritorni in chiesa di sopra, e gli [?] si faccia un altare nella parete verso San Michele, e di sotto si ritorni la tavola, che è sopra la porta della chiesa di sopra, acomodandosi l'altare in detta chiesa di sotto al presente con l'adornamento che al presente è in deposito in detta chiesa di sotto.

[*fol. 66v*] La chiesa di sotto si principiò a resarcire nel cadente marzo 1698 [...] Era l'altare attaccato al muro settentrionale in faccia alla porta che è dalla parte di mezzogiorno; quale altare si demolì e si trovò di terreno sodo, e pietra tenacissimo, che si roppa a forza di marza, et era detto terreno, dal volgo chiamato teschio, foreiato di mattoria dove da due parti trapelava qualche poca d'acqua, et fece l'altare spiciato dal muro, e vuoto.

D

The Arte dei Merciai at the altar of Santa Maria della Neve

D.I

1517, 3rd August: The Arte dei Merciai pays the Opera for a marble step for the altar of Santa Maria della Neve (AOMS, 720 (num. Mosc. 511), fol. 375; document signalled to me by Monika Butzek)

L'Università e Arte de' Merciai e per loro Pierantonio di ser Giovanni Bossoli, retore di detta arte, Cipriano di Francesco, loro camarlengo, denno dare a dì III d'agosto lire vinti soldi [-] e sono per la monta di una predella di marmo, anno comprata da noi per l'a[l]tare di Santa Maria della Nieve in Duomo, acanto a la porta del Perdono, de' quali danari gliene facciamo tempo due anni prossimi.

D.II

1525: In the statute of the Arte dei Merciai the celebration of the feast of their patroness is instituted on the day of Santa Maria della Neve (ASS, Arti 97, fols. iv, 5r)

[*fol. 1v*] Che li merciai habbino per avvocata la Nostra Donna. Rubrica prima

Providero, et ordinarono che l'Arte delli Merciai habbi per advocata la gloriosa Vergine Maria, e che di lei si facci festa, e solennità nel dì di Sancta Maria della Neve, e epsò [*sic*] di a suo divotione si guardi per sacramento et faccisi festa, et che in quello dì per nessuno modo nissuno sotto posto alla detta arte possa vendere ne tenere aperto buttiga sotto pena di lire vinticinque da pagarsi di fatto al kamarlengo di detta università et a quella offerire libbre XII di cera in duo paia di doppieri et una libbra di cera in duo cerelli in sul altare, et fare celebrare una messa di Nostra Donna.

[*fol. 5r*] Che s'accompagnino el rettore et kamarlengo.

Rubrica XIII

Sieno tenuti li maestri, et li sottoposti, e conferenti, e tutti quelli alli quali sarà comandato per lo rettore sotto pena di soldi xxxx di denari da pagarsi de fatto per quello che sarà disobidente, a andare accompagnare li rettori et kamarlenghi quando andaranno a offerire per la festa di Santa Maria della Nieve principale dell'Arte et per la festa del Corpo di Christo, et per la festa di Santo Bernardino et di Santa Caterina e se per altri tempi accadesse rettori, et kamarlengi che per li tempi saranno almeno per vigore de li presenti statuti sieno tenuti per tutte le sopradette feste andare a offerire come è ordinato per li presenti statuti et comandare a chi lo parrà li accompagnino alle dette offerte così allo andare come allo tornare.

The testament of Antonio Casini

1431, 29th December – 1438, 2nd October (AOMS, 22 (num. Mosc. 26); a few excerpts published by BACCI 1929, pp. 284, 324-327)

[6th March 1437]

[1] [*fol. 2r*] Testamento di misser Antonio cardinale di Sancto Marcello.

Al nome di Dio amen. El tenore del presente publico instrumento a tutte et ciascuna persone presenti et future appaia manifesto. Che conciosia cosa che altra volta el reverendissimo in Cristo padre et signore misser Antonio del titolo di Sancto Marcello de la Sancta Romana Chiesa prete cardinale nel suo testamento in questo quaderno di socto denotato continente faccie dieci abbi ordenato, disposto et lassato che doppo la morte sua de' beni suoi si comprassero vigne et pezi di terre o case per fiorini octocento cinquanta et cento cinquanta si spendessero per una casa da farsi o veramente compra[r]si per uno capellano da tenerlo ne la venerabile chiesa di Sancta Maria Maggiore di Roma, el quale dovesse officiare in certo modo e altre cose fare negli officii e anniversarii. Et dovesse avere per la sua vita et per fare le sopradecte cose certa pecunia. Et continuamente stare ne la decta chiesa per lo divino culto. Et doversi eleggiare per lo arciprete et canonici de la detta chiesa et convento de' frati de' Servi di Sancto Marcello, et officiali de lo Spedale di Sancto Salvatore decto del Signore ne la decta città di Roma come appare ne la faccia terza di questo quaderno del decto testamento. Et dapoi etiandio agiunse cinquecento fiorini correnti con certe altre graveze come apare ne la faccia quartadecima di questo quaderno. Hora di presente el medesimo reverendissimo signore cardinale predecto similmente sano del corpo de la mente et de lo intellecto et nel medesimo optimo proposito et in buona meditatione persistendo perché ordenò che ogni anno el decto capellano avesse fiorini septanta di suggelo nel Monte di Fiorenza de' quali fiorini septanta dichiara et vuole che fiorini quaranta sieno per lo capellano da essere posto ne la decta chiesa ad officiare et trenta per li decti anniversarii ovvero officii da farsi ne la decta chiesa, da dividersi intra canonici et capellani de la decta chiesa, in certi modi ne le sopradette carte contenti et largamente apparra per lectere patenti del prefato reverendissimo signore cardinale del suo suggelo grande suggellate, con alcuna additione, et che el decto capellano ovvero prete sia da Fiorenza o del suo contado da essere electo [*fol. 2v*] o deputato per li signori officiali del Monte, et in certo caso per li excelsi signori priori et gonfaloniere di iustitia de la decta città, et ultimo per lo reverendo padre misser lo arcivescovo come ne le decte lectere pienamente si contiene. Et però al presente annulla et revoca el decto legato

o vero dispositione, ordinatione de' detti fiorini octocento cinquanta di camera, et de' cinquecento correnti di Roma, et de la electione del decto prete da farsi per lo arciprete et canonici de la decta chiesa di Sancta Maria Maggiore et convento di Sancto Marcello, et officiali de lo Spedale del Signore soprascripti in tutte l'altre suoi parti rimanenti ferme. Facte furono queste cose a Bologna ne le case de la residentia del prefato reverendissimo signore cardinale cioè ne la camara sua, presenti e venerabili huomini misser Alexo d'Antonio licentiatto in ragione canonica, misser Giovanni di Lapo canonico senese, misser Macteo di Nofrio canonico di Todi et Benedetto di Tommaso degli Spinellini da Fiorenza testimoni ad queste cose chiamati spetialmente et pregati nel anno da la Nactività del Signore mille quattrocento trentasepte. Inditione quintadecima a di sei di marzo nel pontificato del sanctissimo in Cristo padre et signore nostro signore Eugenio per la divinia providentia Papa quarto anno sexto.

[2] Et io Gregorio per lo adietro di Jacomo di ser Neri Spetialini cherico pisano per imperiale autorità iudice ordenario et notaio et del Apostolica Camera scriptore ad tutte le predecte cose mentre si componevano et facevano insieme co' prefati testimoni fui presente et esse così farsi viddi et udi. Et per questo questo [*sic*] presente publico instrumento dinde o composto, et in questa publica forma l'o ridocto et il segno et il nome miei usati et consueti o segnato pregato et richiesto in fede et testimonianza di tutte le cose predecte.

[3] Dapoi ancora ne lo infrascripto luogo, ne' sopradetti anno, indictione et di et pontificato de' quali di sopra, incontanente presenti e decti testimoni, conciosiacosa che el prefato reverendissimo signore cardinale altra volta nel decto suo testamento lassasse quattrocento cinquanta fiorini di camera per una posissione da comprarsi doppo la morte sua de' beni suoi per mandare ad executione le cose ordinate secondo la dispositione et volontà sua contenti ne la sexta carta, hora adunque. El predecto reverendissimo signore cardinale sano etiandio de la mente del corpo et de lo intellecto nel medesimo proposito et buona volontà persistendo lasso etiando [*fol. 3r*] dugento cinquanta fiorini simili de' quali si compri doppo la morte sua un'altra possessione per mandare ad executione quello che è ordenato nel testamento et carte soprascripte: se alcuna cosa mancasse et de la decta possessione da comprarsi di nuovo et comprati abbino e capellani per la sua prima signoria deputati o da deputarsi per officare la capella di Sancta Maria et Sancto Sebastiano posta ne la venerabile maggiore chiesa di Siena, et altre cose da farsi ne la detta chiesa secondo la detta ordinatione facta o che si facesse lire vinti per ciascuno di moneta senese sì che in tutto habbia ciascuno de' decti capellani lire cento computati quello che per lo adietro è stato ordenato ne lo prefato reverendissimo signore cardinale, perché erano ottanta lire per ciascuno di loro come appare per sue patenti lectere suggellate di suo

suggello scripte e publicate per me Gregorio notaio soprascripto nel anno da la Nactività del Nostro Signore mille quatrocento trenta. Indictione octava a dì vintuno del mese di maggio nel pontificato di Papa Martino quinto anno tertio decimo.

[4] Anco lasso et volse et vuole che facti e pagamenti a decti suoi capellani de le decte lire cento per ciascuno se alcuna cosa restasse de le rendite et fructi de le decte posissioni comprate et che si compraranno de' decti fiorini septe cento in tutto, quello che restasse si spenda in torcie per honorare el Sacratissimo corpo di Cristo quando si leva apresso de lo altare maggiore et de la Beata Maria et Sebastiano predecti.

[5] Anco perché el reverendissimo signore cardinale predecto altra volta de le decte sue lectere patenti rogate per me Gregorio notaio soprascripto come di sopra si dice, ordinò, providde, statui, dispose et volse che doppo la morte sua e venerabili huomini preposto, archidiacono et quatro canonici più antichi di Siena nel chiostro residenti o la maggiore parte di loro per una voce, el rectore di Sancta Maria della Scala per una voce, gonfalonieri maestri de la decta città o due di loro per una voce et che due voci de le decte tre avessero a deputare e capellani predecti hora adunque per lo presente publico instrumento dichiara et vuole che perché dice nel chiostro risendenti et chiostro non si à al presente ne la decta chiesa che questo a sano et dricto sentimento s'intenda et abbi luogo quando sarà [fol. 3v] facto el chiostro nel quale e predecti preposto archidiacono et canonici dovessero et potessero risedere. In questo mezo s'intenda di quegli e quagli officiano la chiesa continuamente o a tempi.

[6] Et a decti preposto, archidiacono et canonici et maestro de lo Spedale et gonfalonieri agionse l'operaio de la decta chiesa senese, el quale per li tempi sarà, siché el decto operaio sia per una voce. Et così le voci de' deputanti sieno quatro. Et vuole et dichiara che de le decte quatro voci, le tre voci deputare possino e capellani predecti doppo la morte sua, con questo che la voce del proposto archidiacono et canonici sia sempre de le decte tre, siché senza loro non si possa fare alcuna cosa.

[7] Io Gregorio per lo adrieto di Iacomo di ser Neri Spetialini cherico pisano predecto perché ad tutte et ciascuna predecte quando si facevano insieme co' prenominati testimoni fui presente me o soscripto. Et perché come si dice gli strumenti proximi a la suscriptione nel mezo de' decti instrumenti si contiene fare viddi et udii questo presente publico instrumento dinde o composto et in questa publica forma ridocto et il segno et il nome mio usati et consueti o segnato et pregato et richiesto in fede et testimonianza de le cose predecte.

[1431, 29th December]

[8] Al nome de la Sancta et individua Trinità Padre, el Figliuolo et lo Spirito Sancto amen. El tenore del presente

publico instrumento a tutti et ciascuno presenti et futuri appaia manifesto come del anno da la Nactività del Nostro Signore Iesu Cristo mille quatrocento trentauno a dì vintinove del mese di dicembre nel pontificato del sanctissimo signore nostro signore Martino per la divinia providentia Papa quinto, anno quartodecimo. El reverendissimo in Cristo padre et signore misser Antonio da Siena per la divina misericordia del titolo di Sancto Marcello prete cardinale sano de la mente et del corpo et in buona et perfecta meditatione persistendo, considerando niuna cosa essere più certa che la morte, et niuna cosa più incerta che l'ora d'essa morte volendo de' beni che a lui da Iddio gli sono stati dati debitamente et salu-[fol. 4r] tevolmente provvedere avendo per le bolle apostoliche piena licentia di testare et piena autorità dal sanctissimo signore nostro signore Martino Papa quinto predecto, date in Roma socto el dì vintitre di novembre del suo pontificato anno duodecimo, scripta per misser Bartolomeo da Montepulciano del decto nostro signore papa secretario. In presentia di me notaio publico et testimoni infrascripti ad questo spetialmente chiamati et pregati et iurati personalmente costituito di tutti e suoi beni da lo altissimo Creatore a lui concessi per salute del anima sua et per debito de la ragione et per recognitione dessi e' quali a lui in questo mondo esso Iddio a donati come sa confa a ciascuno fedele cristiano per ogni migliore modo, via, ragione cagione et forma per le quagli più sicuro et efficacimente a potuto, fece, ordenò et dispose questo presente suo testamento o veramente ultima volontà come di sotto apparrà.

[9] Et prima l'anima sua racomando al'onipotente Iddio et a la Beata Vergine Maria madre sua, et ad tutti e' sancti come vero et fedelissimo cristiano et servo di Dio ne la cui misericordia pienissimamente confidandosi, ne lo quale sempre el suo cuore a dirizato et etiandio tutta la sua speranza fu in lui, è et sarà confermando approvando et ad cautela di nuovo dispose et ordenò due cappellani inperpetuo da tenersi ne la chiesa fiorentina co le responsioni a essi da farsi de la pecunia del Monte di Fiorenza et uno in Sancta Maria Inpruneta del diocesi di Fiorenza co la risposta etiandio da farsi di simile pecunia con quegli modi conditioni et graveze per lui ordenati come appare per publico instrumento composto socto el dì octavo di luglio nel anno mille quatrocento trenta per le mani di ser Gregorio di Iacomo Spetialini notaio pisano et la dichiarazione ovvero ordinatione d'esso nel medesimo instrumento socto el dì xxvi d'octobre del decto anno per li cappellani ne la chiesa fiorentina. Et similmente per lo capellano di Sancta Maria Inpruneta socto el dì xxviii di settembre et de la dichiarazione ovvero ordinatione sotto el dì xxvi d'octobre del predecto anno mille quatrocento trenta. Et anco due altri capellani ne la chiesa di Siena per li quali sono comprate certe possessioni ovvero buctighe de la pecunia d'esso signore cardinale come appare l'ordinatione

overo disposizione sotto el dì XXVI di maggio del detto anno per mano del decto ser Gregorio pisano.

[10] [*fol. 4v*] Secundariamente dispose, ordenò et giudicò el corpo suo o vero cadavara essare portato a la sepultura et doversi seppellire ne la chiesa di Sancta Maria Maggiore di Roma a piei del pultito dove si dice la pistola apresso al coro de le pietre verso el coro de legname cioè da quella parte presso al altare de' reliqui overo capella. El quale luogo disse avere mostracto ad alcuni canonici de la decta chiesa et a misser Giovanni Lapi et a misser Bartolomeo da Pistoia canonici senesi et a me familiari miei et che si ponga sotto terra senza altro lavorio. Et che si rifacci el pavimento et musaico a le spese d'esso signore cardinale come stava prima. Excepto che in esso musaico overo pavimento si ponga una pietra di due overo tre palmi ne la quale s'intaglino lectere simili cioè SEPULTURA DANTONIO DA SIENA DEL TITOLO DI SANCTO MARCELLO PRETE CARDINALE EL QUALE MORÌ A DÌ . . . et pongasi el dì de la morte el mese et l'anno. Et in caso che morisse fuore di Roma, volse et ordenò che el corpo suo si porti ad Roma et pongasi ne la decta chiesa di Sancta Maria Maggiore ne' luogo di sopra nominato a le spese d'esso signore cardinale come di socto si dirà. Anco lasso volse et ordenò che in caso che passi de la presente vita nella città di Roma, el corpo suo el dì che morrà si porti a la decta chiesa di Sancta Maria Maggiore et seppellischisi in quello luogo del quale di sopra è facto mentione con quaranta torce o vero intorciate a canonici et capellani, cherici et religiosi che vi saranno et acompagnaranno el decto corpo sieno proveduti di candeled ad mano et ad l'altare come agl'infrascripti executori parrà et piacerà vestito co la sua pianeta et socto uno palio o dossale comunale. Et dapoi si faccino gli osequii al tempo debito con quaranta altre torce et che si ponga sopra el sepolcro uno panno lino bianco ad modo di cennere con una † nera overo rossa per traverso con cantando la messa. Et non si dieno candeled o cera se non a canonici, capellani, cherici et religiosi che vanno co' le croci o che sono consueti d'andare. Ne le quali tutte cose in questo capitolo contenute si spendano ducati dugento cinquanta al più. Et quello meno che si spendesse, quello che restasse sia a' poveri. Et se caso fusse lui passare de la presente vita fuore di Roma, si spendino ducati cento più se necessario sarà per lo portare el corpo a la decta chiesa di Sancta Maria Maggiore, altrimenti no. Et anco lassa quatrocento ducati simili così per le vestimenta de' famegli come per loro remuneratione avenga Iddio che sempre gli abbi bene tractati et spetialmente in dare le vestimenta o pecunie da dividarsi secondo la di-*[fol. 5r]* scretione degli executori o la maggiore parte di loro. Item lassa vinti ducati simili per aconciare el musaico o vero pavimento che si guastarà per fare la sepultura per aconciare dentro et di fuore.

[11] Item lassa cento ducati simili per celebrare le messe del dì de la morte sua incominciando et fornendo infra l'anno ne' luogo dove finirà l'ultimo suo dì, cioè ne la città o

vero terra et ne la chiesa di Sancta Maria Maggiore et ne la chiesa di Sancto Marcello predecte et iandio si fuore di Roma morisse da dividarsi et partire come parrà agli executori o a la maggiore parte di loro. Et dichansi le messe de' morti et de la Beata Vergine, de la Trinità, Resurrectione, Ascensione, Pentecoste, Corpo di Cristo et degli altri sancti et sancte come ordenaranno gli executori o la maggiore parte di loro.

[12] Tertio volse et dispose che de' beni suoi si spendino ducati mille d'oro di camera per comprare vigne et case o parte vigne et parte case per uno capellano da porsi ne la chiesa di Sancta Maria Maggiore predecta, de le quagli case et posissioni abbi el fructo rendita et pigione, reggimento et administratione et che si compri casa ne la piazza de la decta chiesa o si construisca presso per l'abitatione del decto capellano per la quale casa si spenda ducati centocinquanta de le decte pecunie. El quale continuamente debbi risedere et servire a la capella de le decte reliquie, overo altare et et iandio al altare de la Nostra Donna, la quale di sopra si chiude, la quale è capella d'uno cardinale di Colonna ne la decta chiesa di Sancta Maria Maggiore da Roma. Con questo che ogni anno debbi nel dì de la morte del prefato cardinale in uno officio nel quale sieno canonici et capellani che vi vorranno essare lire dieci di denari di moneta romana da dividarsi intra loro per esso capellano, et in cera a presso al'altare de le reliquie due ceroci di peso d'una lira et mezo per uno et ad mano due lire di candeled minute comunali. Et anco apresso a la sepultura in candelieri due ceroci di simile peso et due lire di candeled et tre altre lire ad mano a canonici et capellani. Et che el decto capellano sacerdote debbi dormire nel chiostro de la decta chiesa, o veramente ine presso nella casa da essare comprata overo constructa per lui, et celebrare ne' decti altari al meno e di de le domeniche, lunedì, venardi et sabbati, dividendo e luoghi come sa confà, et se può nel dì de la morte sua se non viene ne' decti quatro dì, et se non può de' decti quatro dì uno di lassi de' decti quatro, acciò che facci nel dì de la morte. El quale capellano se legha per misser lo arciprete de la decta chiesa et capitolo o per luogo tenente del decto arciprete et maggiore parte del capitolo per una voce, per l'altra gli ufficiali e quali per li tempi saranno de la Compagnia del Ospedale el quale si dice del Salvatore o del *[fol. 5v]* Signore. Et pro tertia voce prior et conventus fratrum de la chiesa di Sancto Marcello del titolo suo. Et tutto quello che de le decte tre voci faranno le due senza alcuna confirmatione sia valido et fermo. Et goda el decto capellano pagato prima ciascuno anno le decte lire di pecunia et lire di candeled di cera come di sopra si pone secondo el costume romano e fructi responsioni o vero rendite de le decte vigne overo case comprate de' decti mille ducati. E le decte case et vigne si comprino per li executori del detto signore cardinale di socto nominati o per la maggiore parte di loro.

[13] Item lega et lassa a la predecta chiesa di Sancta Maria

Maggiore paramenti bianchi col pievale e quali usava la signoria sua coruna bellissima tovaglia di quelle che si trovavano ne la casa sua.

[14] Item lassa a la decta chiesa di Sancta Maria Maggiore per uso del decto capellano da tenersi pianete, admicti, stole, camici, messale et calice e quali usano o vero usavano e suoi capellani per le loro persone, quando celebravano ne la capella sua piccola del palazzo et habitatione del titolo d'esso signore cardinale.

[15] Item lassa che si paghi ad tutti coloro e quali si trovasse dovere avere legittimamente et mostrassero avenga Iddio che per insino al presente di xxviii del predicto mese di dicembre disse non essere tenuto ad alcuno che si ricordi et iandio facta investigatione solenne excepta certa scripta di conto la quale tiene o a tenuta co la compagnia di Cosmo et Lorenzo de' Medici da Fiorenza abitanti in Roma ne la quale alcuna volta debitore alcuna volta creditore si truova et è quietato dal sanctissimo signore nostro signore nostro per recto per vigore de la compositione facta co la sanctità sua di tutti comunali et minuti servigi et qualunque altre admunistrationi di vescovadi, monasterii, priorati et altri qualunque suo beneficii per infino a di viii di calende dicembre per le bolle apostoliche expedite per la camera per misser Bartolomeo da Montepulciano secretario del prefato nostro signore et scripture per Giovanni da Norcia scriptore apostolico. Sotto el dato di nona kalenda di dicembre nel pontificato d'esso signore nostro anno duodecimo.

[16] Quarto lasso a la sacrestia de la chiesa di Sancto Marcello prefata ducati simili cento di camera per ornamento de le reliquie d'essa chiesa prio ma cioè di Sancto Marcello et di Sancto Cosmè et Damiano, et da poi per li paramenti da farsi per li decti executori suoi o la maggiore parte di loro.

[17] Item lasso a la sacrestia de la prefata chiesa di Sancto Marcello cento ducati simili per una vigna da comprarsi overo casa da tenersi, reggersi et governarsi per li frati de la decta chiesa di Sancto Marcello de le cui entrate ogni anno cioè el di [fol. 6r] de la morte sua si facci per lo decto convento annovale nel quale si spenda quindici libra di cera o vinti infra torcie et cande da mano et pictanze et il resto sia del decto convento de la decta chiesa. Et dove e frati di Sancto Marcello predicti questo non facessero allora et in quello caso et per quella volta tanto la Compagnia di Sancto Salvatore apresso ad Sancto Giovanni Laterano faccia el decto annovale de l'entrate di quello anno le quagli pigli et il resto de l'entrate del decto anno sia de lo spedale predicto la quale vigna overo casa non si possa vendere ne permutare per alcuno modo per li decti executori ne et iandio per lo decto convento di Sancto Marcello.

[18] Item lasso a la decta sacrestia di Sancto Marcello uno bello messale et grande et fornito di tutte le cose contenenti.

[19] Quinto lasso al convento de' frati predicatori de la

Minerva di Roma ducati simili centovinti di camera per comprare una o due vigne in utilità loro per lo decto convento da reggiarla et governarla o da reggiarle et governarle le quali vendere o permutare non si possino per li decti executori o vero convento per alcuno modo ne possa. E quali frati sieno tenuti et debino ogni anno de' fructi de la decta vigna o vero vigne per l'anime de' parenti d'esso cardinale e quali sono ive sepulti et degli altri fedeli passati a di xxx di gennaio fare annovale co la messa cantando et altre cose come sa confa in simile annovale et pongano quindici lire di cera parte al altare parte a la sepultura et ad mano et il resto sia d'essi frati. Et dove questo non facessero allora et in quello caso et per quella volta tanto cioè che questo lassassero la Compagnia de lo Spedale di Sancto Salvatore decto del Signore di Roma presso a Laterano faccia el decto annovale et pigli e fructi di quello anno del decta possessione overo possessioni et il resto per quello anno rimagna a lo spedale prefato come di sopra nel capitolo di Sancto Marcello precedente similmente si contiene.

[20] Sexto lasso al monasterio di Sancta Balbina di Roma del ordine di Sancto Guglielmo ducati simili cento cioè cinquanta per fare in celle per li monaci novitii et per reparatione de' refectorio et tecto solamente et gli altri cinquanta che restaranno de' decti ducati cento per li paramenti più necessarii per celebrare al quale monasterio di Sancta Balbina tucto quello che al tempo de la sua morte gli dovessero dare lo dono et rimisse.

[21] Septimo lasso a la chiesa di Sancto Pietro di Roma la pianeta rossa et dalmatica co' la tonicella co' la tovaglia.

[22] Item lassa a la chiesa di Sancto Giovanni Laterano la sua mitria di perle co la tovaglia.

[23] Item lasso a la chiesa di Sancto Pavolo fuore di Roma el pievale rosso co la tovaglia.

[24] [fol. 6v] Item lasso a la chiesa di Sancto Lorenzo fuore de le mura di Roma uno bello messale el quale fu miniato a Fiorenza non fornito per lo abbate del decto monistero quando celebra.

[25] Item lassa a la chiesa di Sancta Crocie in Jerusalem per uno messale da compra[r]si ducati quaranta.

[26] Octavo lasso per uno prete el quale vada ad Sancto Jacomo del mese d'aprile allora prosimo che verrà immediate doppo la morte sua o vero inanzi et ad Sancta Maria Magdalena ne la Provincia o a la Provincia dove è el corpo suo. Et ad Sancto Antonio di Vienna. Et ad Sancta Maria di Monteferrato ducati simili sexanta di camera.

[27] Item lassa a uno altro prete ducati simili trentatre el quale vada nel decto tempo overamente prima se fare si può ad Sancto Michele da Monte Gargano et ad Sancto Niccolò di Bari im Puglia.

[28] Item lasso a uno altro prete ducati simile septantadue di camera el quale vada nel decto tempo o inanzi se fare si può al Sancto Sepolcro.

[29] Nono lasso a la chiesa cathedrale di Fiorenza

paramenti neri cioè la pianeta, dalmatica, tunicella et pievale co la tovaglia.

[30] Item lassa a la chiesa di Fiesole ducati simili sei di camera per uno annovale ogni anno da farsi ne la vigilia di Sancto Romolo, co la messa et nota ne la decta chiesa, et candele ad mano et al'altare con due torce. Ne la quale cera si spenda tre ducati, et la decta cera rimanga a la sacrestia, et tre altri ducati si diano ad mano. Et quello di coloro che participaranno de' decti tre ducati, o il di doppo la festa del detto Beato Romolo dicano dividendo infra loro due messe in Sancto Alexandrino et una in Sancta Maria Primerana.

[31] Item lassa a la chiesa di Sancto Lorenzo da Fiorenza ducati sei di camera simili et che el di doppo la festa di Sancto Lorenzo ogni anno e canonici co' capellani dichino una messa con nota et per cera expendino ducati tre simigli. Et gli altri tre che restano de' decti sei fiorini si diano ad mano. Et che ogni mese cioè el di de la mezedima faccino celebrare una messa bassa per uno sacerdote al'altare del Purgatorio.

[32] Item lassa a la chiesa di Sancta Apollonia di Fiorenza ogni anno ducati simili quatro per uno officio da farsi ogni anno ne la decta chiesa ne la vigilia di Sancto Pietro et di Sancto Pavolo apostolo per l'anima di Petra monacha del decto monistero et sorella del decto testatore et di tutti e suoi morti et spendasi in cera uno ducato simile.

[33] Item lassa a la chiesa di Sancta Trinita di Fiorenza cinque ducati simili per uno annovale da farsi per l'anima d'Agnola sorella del decto testatore et de' suoi frategli ine sepeliti et degli altri morti cioè a di septe di maggio dove sieno l'abbate et monaci. Et expendansi de' decti cinque ducati due ducati in cera apresso al altare maggiore et per dare a' monaci.

[34] [fol. 7r] Item lassa a la chiesa di Sancto Giorgio da Fiorenza ogni anno tre ducati simili per l'annovale da farsi ogni anno ne la decta chiesa ne la vigilia del Asumptione de la Beata Maria per l'anima di monna Agnola sua zia et di Maria sua sorella et degli altri passati. Et spendasi in cera uno ducato et mezo simile de' decti tre al altare et ad mano, e il resto per lo priore et per li preti.

[35] Item lassa a la pieve di Sancto Giovanni et di Sancto Lorenzo di Segna ne la quale esso testatore fu piovano ogni anno cinque ducati simili da expandarsi cioè due in cera et tre a mano intra 'l piovano et preti del decto pieviero usati et consueti dimitarsi ne la messa ogni anno da celebrarsi cantando ne la vigila di Sancto Lorenzo a buona hora per li morti per l'anima d'esso testatore.

[36] Per li quagli legati facti a le sopradecte sei chiese insieme legate, lassò acciò che si spenda nel Monte, o sopra del Monte de la città di Fiorenza ducati trecento cinquanta simili de' quali trecento cinquanta ducati s'abbino le rendite per la decta cagione et se bastano trecento non sene ponghino più, ma rimanghino per fare de l'altre cose con questo che non si possino vendere ne permutare male

paghe ovvero rendite d'ogni anno si spendino ne' decti lassi a le decte chiese.

[37] Item lassa alla chiesa de' frati di Servi di Sancta Maria di Fiorenza ducati simili cento da expendarsi in uno oliveto a Fiesole o in altro luogo vicino, ma più tosto a Fiesole per la vicinità et l'olio sia per le lampane del Anuntziata che ine si tengono continue. Et sieno tenuti fare celebrare ogni anno ogni mese del decto ciascuno anno due messe soctomessa la voce ad honore de la Beata vergine Maria, de la angelica Anuntiatione in quello di che verrà la festa de la decta Annuntiatione et ne le messe loro fare memoria per li morti del decto testatore.

[38] Decimo lassa el decto testatore ducati simili quatrocento cinquanta di camera de' quagli si compri una posissione o più da reggiarsi et governarsi o vero che si reghino et governino per li predecti suoi capellani ne la chiesa di Siena posti, de la quale o vero de le quagli posissioni e fructi et rendite si spendino ne la chiesa di Siena et in Talamone ogni anno come di socto si dirà. Et nientedimeno le decte pecunie da distribuirsi ogni anno venghino a le mani de' decti capellani per fare l'executione, et se alcuna cosa avanzasse si dia a la sacrestia de la decta chiesa di Siena, cioè ne la capella sua di Sancta Maria et di Sancto Sebastiano posta ne la chiesa cathedrale di Siena nel di de la Nactività de la Beata Vergine a buona hora per cagione de la festa la quale certa compagnia di Siena fa, a terza si dica una messa cantando cioè la messa de la decta solennità et festa ne la quale sieno el proposto, l'arcidiacono, canonici et capellani che ri-[fol. 7v] sedano ne la chiesa. E quali due capellani per lo decto testatore deputati debino dare a sopradecti proposito, arcidiacono, canonici et capellani che v'interveranno lire sei di denari senesi da dividarsi intra loro secondo la loro consuetudine. Et due altre lire di simili denari expendare debino in cera per la decta messa la quale rimanga a la sacrestia. Item ne la festa di Sancto Sebastiano ad hora di terza si dica una messa similmente cantando, et diensi altrettante pecunie et faccisi in simile modo et forma detto di sopra. Item nel octava di Sancto Ansano si dica la messa cantando al'altare di Sancto Ansano et faccisi commemoratione de la Comcectione de la Beata Vergine a buona hora acciò che non s'impedisca la messa de la Comcectione, et expendansi altrettante pecunie in simile modo et forma a le cose predecte. Item che a di viiii di ferraio si dica la messa cantando al altare maggiore ad hora di terza, ne la quale si spenda altrettante pecunie nel modo et forma predecti. Item che a di xxx di gennaio esso signore cardinale vivente ogni anno si dica al altare maggiore si dica la messa di Sancto Antonio cantando con l'oratione dello Spirito Sancto di Sancto Ciro et Sancto Giovanni et 'Deus qui iustificas impium'. Et doppo la morte d'esso cardinale in luogo del decto di xxx di gennaio si dica el di de la morte sua ogni anno la messa per li morti co' l'orationi convenienti con tre salmi et lectioni che si

chiama vigilia inanzi a la messa. A la quale missa e predecti proposito, archidiacono, canonici et capellani sieno ne la quale missa due capellani d'esso testatore prefato dieno et expendino in cera fiorini due et ad mano fiorini quatro ad ragione di lire quatro per fiorino di moneta senese, da dividersi intra loro secondo la loro consuetudine. Item che decti due capellani dieno et paghino a la chiesa principale de la terra, o vero castello di Talamone del contado di Siena fiorini due et mezo simili per uno annovale ine ogni anno da farsi ne la vigilia di Sancto Bartolomeo, cioè per la metà in cera et per l'altra metà ad mano a quegli che officiaranno ine apresso al'altare maggiore de la decta chiesa principale secolare.

[39] Item lassa el decto testatore a la sacrestia de la chiesa di Siena e suoi paramenti violati forniti co la tovaglia di seta, et etiandio el pievale del medesimo colore.

[40] Item lassa ducati simili sexanta de' quagli si faccia una capella di gesso nella sala di sopra nel palazzo di Crevole del vescovado di Siena presso a la parete che tocha el camarocto di sopra la camara dove era consueta di mangiare la signoria sua et faccisi ad honore de la Purificatione de la Beata [fol. 8r] Maria Vergine pregando misser lo vescovo di Siena el quale per li tempi servirà che facci celebrare senza altre spese la festa a dì viiii di ferraio, ne la quale capella da farsi col'altare si spendino e decti sexanta ducati in tutto.

[41] Item lassa a la pieve di Crevole per reparatione de la chiesa et case d'essa pieve ducati simili trenta. Et per una vigna da comprarsi per la decta chiesa presso, non passando da longa le due miglia ducati quaranta. Et che el vino de la decta vigna sia del rectore de la decta chiesa.

[42] Item lassa che in quello modo, forma, o vero luogo che fare si può si spenda ad honore de la 'mmagine de la Beata Vergine Maria de' Magalocti da Siena fiorini simili cinquanta, o si dieno et asengninsi in alcuno luogo ecclesiastico el quale ogni anno in perpetuo dia a la decta immagine in cera et olio la quantità legitima et concedente per la somma de' decti fiorini cinquanta.

[43] Item lassa el decto testatore ducati simili dugento cinquanta, de' quali si compri una posissione da reggiarsi et governarsi per li prefati suoi capellani ne la chiesa di Siena posti e quagli de' fructi et entrate de la decta possessione sieno tenuti et debino ogni anno pagare a la chiesa di Sancto Francesco di Siena per lo annovale da farsi ogni anno in cera et lumi et olio per le lampane ducati cinque simili per l'anime di monna Margarita sua sorella, et di monna Benedecta sorella sua et de' suoi benefattori et di tutti gli altri fedeli passati. Et a la chiesa di Sancto Domenico da Siena decta Camporeggi ducati simili septe cioè tre in cera et quatro in pietanze ciascuno anno per lo annovale ogni anno da farsi per essi frati per l'anime del avolo suo et di tucti gli altri fedeli passati.

[44] Undecimo lasso a la sacrestia de la chiesa di Grosseto dugento ducati di camara da expendarsi così ne la chiesa come ne le case de la decta chiesa al vescovado del decto

luogo apertinenti, come parrà expediente a suoi executori, facendo nientedimeno con deliberatione et consiglio del capitolo de la decta chiesa.

[45] Item lassa al monistero di Sancto Savino presso a Pisa ducati simili dugento da expendarsi così ne la chiesa come ne le case del decto munistero come sarà expediente et parrà a prefati suoi executori, con deliberatione nientedimeno et consiglio del convento del decto monistero.

[46] Item lassa al monistero di Sancto Benedecto da Salerno ducati simili cento da expendarsi così ne la chiesa come ne le case del decto monistero come sarà expediente et parrà agli executori suoi con deliberatione nientedimeno et consiglio del convento del decto monistero o di coloro che l'officiarano e quali in quello luogo si trovarranno.

[47] [fol. 8v] Item lasso per simile modo al monistero di Sancto Benedecto da Pietraficta del diocesi di Perugia ducati simili sexanta da expendarsi come di sopra.

[48] Item lassa al munistero di Sancto Pietro de la canonica di Corneto ducati simili cinquanta da expendarsi come di sopra et anco ducati simili vinticinque de' quali si compri una pianeta con uno calice per lo decto monistero.

[49] Et perché tutti e fructi de' beneficii sopra nominati in mediate cioè el vescovado di Grosseto, munistero di Sancto Savino, monistero di Salerno, monistero di Pietraficta et monistero di Corneto sono d'esso testatore per infino al dì de la morte sua. Reserva nientedimeno esso testatore per le decte chiese et munisteri per insino a la ricolta advenire di grano, vino, olio et altre cose che per la vita ne le decte chiese et monistero per li servidori che stanno ine et per li ufficiali saranno necessari. Et proveduto per la vita come decto e de' decti beni et fructi che avanzaranno si cavino e decti legati per cinque chiese di sopra nominate. Et dove non bastassero che degli altri suoi beni s'agionga quello che mancasse. Et dove più fusse de' decti beni rimanenti ne' decti luoghi a lui appartenenti di quello che fusse più che legati diensi a ciascuna de le decte cinque chiese di sopra nominate fiorini simili vinticinque per pianete da comprarsi le quagli actualmente si comprino, cioè per ciascuna chiesa una de la decta valuta, ma el resto degli altri beni o vero fructi venga et spendasi per l'altre cose che s'anno a fare et che per lo decto testatore è disposto nel presente testamento, et che si contiene in questa sua ultima volontà, sopra la dispositione de' quali fructi el decto testatore a le bolle apostoliche del decto signore nostro Papa quanto sotto el dato de lo viii kalenda di dicembre, del suo pontificato anno duodecimo.

[50] Duodecimo et ultimo lasso el decto testatore a la chiesa di Pesaro ducati simili dugento vinticinque per comprare una posissione acciò che ogni anno e fructi d'essa possessione si spendino per l'annovale da farsi ogni anno ne la chiesa maggiore predecta per la buona memoria di messer lo vescovo di Pesaro suo fratello carnale, cioè ducati tre in cera et il resto de' fructi de la decta possessione in

pecunia si distribuì ad mano co la messa cantando nel di de la morte d'esso misser lo vescovo.

[51] In tutte l'altre sue cose et beni suoi tutti mobili et immobili ragioni et actioni et nomi di debitori o altri beni a lui per qualunque modo appartenenti [fol. 9r] o che si potessero appartenere in qualunque luoghi fossero pagati prima et interamente adempiti tutti e sopradetti legati che si contengono in nove faccie, la presente faccia computata, suoi heredi universali istituì et fece cioè, el convento de' frati de' Servi di Sancta Maria de la chiesa di Sancto Marcello di Roma, la chiesa maggiore de la città di Siena e la chiesa di Fiorenza predecta ciascuna per la terza parte. Ma de le cose per lui iudicate et lassate del presente testamento et sua ultima volontà fece et costituì et volse che fussero suoi fedeli commissarii et executori cioè el reverendissimo in Cristo padre et signore misser Niccolò del titolo di Sancta Crocie in Ierusalem, il reverendissimo in Cristo padre et signore misser Alfonso del titolo di Sancto Eustachio de la Sancta Romana Chiesa cardinale, et misser Giovanni di Lapo da Fiorenza canonico senese et me Bartolomeo da Pistoia scriptore apostolico et notaio infrascripto et d'esso signore testatore familiari. Et se alcuno de' decti quatro executori si absentasse o morisse la maggiore parte di loro presenti si facci. Et se due si absentassero o morissero e due che rimangono faccino.

[52] A' quali fedelicommissari et executori o a la maggiore parte di loro come di sopra decede et concede piena et libera potestà et facultà, et pieno, libero et generale mandato tutte le cose et beni et di qualunque cose et beni d'esso testatore di potere vendere et alienare, obligare et in tutto dare et distinguere per le cose iudicate et lassate da darsi dispendarsi, distribuirsi et mandarsi ad executione. Et anco adomandare et riscuotare da tutti e debitori per qualunque modo et per qualunque forma dovessero dare al decto testatore dinanzi a qualunque iudice delegato o ordenario. Et anco de' ricevuti quitare, absolvere et liberare. Et il resto o quello che avanzasse de' beni suoi pagato et come di sopra satisfatto a iudicii et lassi sopra nominati da darsi et doversi assegnare a le predecte sue rede. Questo nientedimeno disse et volse essere el suo testamento et ultima volontà. El quale testamento et quale ultima volontà per ragione di testamento vaglia se valere può o almeno vaglia per ragione di codicillo et per ogni altra ragione per la quale meglio et più efficacemente valere può, perché così è piaciuto a la signoria sua. Con questo che se beni suoi mobili et immobili et altri crediti presenti et futuri ragioni et actioni et nome de' debitori non adempissero ad tanta somma dilegati predecti, che per errata a ciascuno si difalchi.

[53] De le quali cose et sopra de le quali tutte et ciascuna sopradecte cose prego me [fol. 9v] Bartolomeo per lo adrieto di Pavolo di Pistoia nominato di sopra per autorità imperiale et appostolica notaio publico infrascripto, acciò che di quello faciessi uno et più publici instrumenti.

Facte furono le cose predecte in Roma apresso a la predecta chiesa di Sancto Marcello di Roma cioè ne la capella del palazzo del abitatione del titolo d'esso signore cardinale testatore prefato in presentia de' reverendi padri misser Petro Antonio di Iacomo da Civita Ducale, abbate del munistero di Sancto Quirico de Clusura del diocesi di Rieti, misser Francesco da Eugobio abbate del munistero di Sancto Lonardo del diocesi di Chiuci et frate Iacomo di Ugolino de' Guidalotti da Perugia del ordine premostratense, frate Agnolo di Pavolo da Roma del ordine de' Servi di Sancto Marcello prefato penitentiero ne la chiesa di Sancto Pietro, testimoni a le cose predecte spetialmente pregati et richiesti. E quali etandio ne la presentia d'esso signore testatore et di me notaio publico infrascripto spontaneamente iuraro a le sancte di Dio evangelia corporalmente toche le scripture tutte et ciascuna predecte cose tenere secrete, vivente el decto testatore, anno mese et di sopra scripti.

Et io Bartolomeo per lo adrieto di Pavolo da Pistoia scriptore appostolico di sopra nominato publico et per appostolica et imperiale autorità notaio perché a tutte et ciascuna predecte cose facte mentre che si facevano et ordenavano nel modo sopradecto insieme co' prenominati testimoni fui presente, et esse viddi et udii fare ne la decta forma. Et per questa cagione questo presente publico instrumento in dieci faccie et cinque carte di caprecto insieme legate et il mio segno in esse ne le iuncture conexi contento dinde o composto di mia propria mano scripssi. Et in questa publica forma l'o ridocto et il mio segno et nome usati o posti rogato et richiesto in fede et testimonianza di tutte le predecte cose.

[1432, 13th March]

[54] Certi legati et dispositioni facti doppo el testamento sopra decto per lo decto signore cardinale et testatore prefato.

El reverendissimo signore signore cardinale et testatore prefato. Primo certo relicto facto a la felice recommendatione di Martino Papa quinto, sotto el di xxviii del mese di dicembre negli anni da la Nattività del Signore mille quattrocento trentauno de' ducati mille d'oro di camera come largamente appare ne la quinta faccia del presente quaderno come altra volta cioè sotto el di xviii d'aprile del decto anno [fol. 10r] cancello, anullo et revoco et così etandio al presente annulla, cancella et revoca ad maggiore cautela come se a lui mai per alcuno modo avesse lassato. Et dapoì el suo testamento nel presente quaderno contento et per me rogato sotto el di xxviii del mese di dicembre prefati, approvo, confermo et ratifico in tutto et per tutto a esso in alcuna parte derogando.

[55] Item lasso el medesimo signore cardinale et testatore prefato al sanctissimo signore nostro signore Eugenio per la divina providentia Papa quarto per lo anello cavallo o vero mula ducati quattrocento di camera da cavarsi de' suoi beni

universalmente suoi, dato primo a la ecclesiastica sepultura come è permesso el corpo d'esso testatore.

[56] Item lassa al prefato signore nostro papa de le pecunie del capello ducati secento simili doppo la morte d'esso testatore da cavarsi cioè di ciascuna divisione da farsi la metà per infino a la decta somma di secento fiorini di camera allegando manualmente non avere potuto lassare, come fece felice recordatione Papa Martino prefato per le guerre di Toscana et carestia de la corte et per le novità di Roma rimase tanto debile di pecunie che fu di bisogno che lui vendesse buona parte del suo ariento.

[57] Item volse et ordenò che ne la absentia degli executori suoi o di quegli che morissero nel decto testamento precedente nominati fussero gl'infrascripti cioè in luogo del reverendissimo signore misser Niccolò cardinale di Sancta Crocie absente o morto el reverendissimo in Cristo padre et signore misser Antonio vescovo ostiense cardinale bolognese, et in luogo suo dove lasentasse o morisse el reverendissimo in Cristo padre et signore misser Giovanni del titolo di Sancto Pietro ad Vincola prete cardinale. In luogo del reverendissimo signore misser Alfonso cardinale di Sancto Eustachio absente o morisse el reverendissimo misser Ardicino cardinale novariense et in luogo suo absente o che morisse el reverendissimo signore misser Francesco da Vinegio di Sancto Chimento prete cardinale. In luogo di misser Giovanni di Lapo absente o che morisse el reverendo padre misser Jacomo vescovo adriense et in luogo suo absente o se morisse missere Giosepe di Jacomo da Narni camarlengo suo di sopra nominato in luogo di mancamento di me Bartolomeo prefato absente o morendo, missere Pietro Antonio abbate et auditore suo prefato et in luogo suo absente o morendo el venerabile huomo ... [lacuna] priore di Sancta Maria Nuova di Roma per lo tempo existente.

[58] [fol. 10v] Item oltre a legato facto a suoi famegli et capellani come appare ne la seconda faccia del prefato testamento lasso et lego ducati trecento simili da dividarsi nel simile modo, nel quale legato et anco nel presente vuole et intende che s'intendano misser Giovanni di Lapo et io Bartolomeo da Pistoia prenominati et Benedecto di Tommasi degli Spinellini da Florentia.

[59] Et questo in quanto in quanto [sic] a le decte cose affermo essere la sua ultima volontà la quale volse valesse per ragione di codicillo et per ogni altra ragione et modo che meglio valer può et debba però che a voluto così et così gli è piaciuto et tale quanto a questo afermo essere l'ultima sua volontà.

Facte furono le predecete cose a Roma apresso a la chiesa di Sancto Spirito ad Saxea ne la camera del decto testatore de la secreta residentia sua, sotto el dì XIII del mese di marzo mille quatrocento trentadue nel medesimo pontificato del signore nostro anno secondo, presenti el reverendo in Cristo padre et signore misser Iacomo per la gratia di Dio

vescovo aprutinense et ser Petro di Valentino da Viterbo capellano d'esso testatore testimoni a le cose predecete spetialmente pregati et richiesti e quali etiandio ne la presentia d'esso testatore et di me notaio soprascripto et infrascripto iuraro toche le scripture corporalmente a le sancte Iddio evangelia tutte le predecete cose tenere secrete vivente el decto testatore, anno, mese et dì soprascripti. Et io Bartolomeo da Pistoia notaio sopra nominato perché quando tutte le cose predecete come è narrato si facievano insieme co' prenominati testimoni fui presente et così vidi fare et udii. Et per questo, questo presente publico instrumento in due faccie contenuto d'essi o facto et in questa publica forma ridocto et il segno et il nome usati et consueti o segnato, regato et richiesto in fede et testimonanza di tutte le predecete cose.

[1433, 20th January]

[60] Anco certi altri legati et dispositioni doppo el testamento soprascripto et altri legati facti a dì XIII di marzo MCCCCXXXII come appare indietro facto per lo decto signore cardinale et testatore prefato.

El reverendissimo signore misser Antonio cardinale et testatore prefato prima certo legato facto felice recordatione Martino Papa quinto sotto el dì vintinove di dicembre nel anno da la Nattività del Signore MCCCCXXXI de' [fol. 11r] ducati mille d'oro di camara come appare largamente ne la faccia del presente quaderno come altra volta cioè socto el dì XVIII d'aprile cancello a nullo et revoco, così ancora al presente ad maggiore cautela anulla, cancella et rivoca come se a lui mai per alcuno modo avesse lassato. Et da poi el testamento suo nel presente quaderno che in cinque carte si contiene e per me rogato et soscripto et segnato del mio segno consueto et certi altri legati et dispositioni facti doppo el decto testamento cioè a dì XIII del mese di marzo MCCCCXXXII per lo medesimo signore testatore per me simulmente rogati et soscripti et segnati del mio usato segno una carta mediante non è scripta, approvo, confermo et ratifico in tutto et per tutto non derogando a essi in alcuna parte.

[61] Item lasso esso signore cardinale et testatore prefato da doversi expendare per li suoi executori ne la chiesa di Massa ducati cento cinquanta di camara per comprare una posissione, de' fructi de la quale si facci ogni anno uno anovale ne la decta chiesa per l'anima de la buona memoria di misser Antonio vescovo di Massa consobrinio suo a dì [lacuna] di ferraio quando morì. Et che s'inviti per lo capitolo de la decta chiesa e religiosi de la decta città per l'executione del quale anovale sieno el capitano o vero podestà et priori de la decta città che per li tempi saranno.

[62] Item volse et ordenò che si spenda in Racanati, o apresso ducati dugento di camara del fructo de' quagli uno capellano officii ne la chiesa di Sancta Maria di Loreto, come meglio fare si potrà. Et per l'executione di questo

sieno e priori de la decta città che per li tempi saranno et con loro consiglio si facci come fanno le cose gravi de la decta città.

[63] Item volse et ordenò oltre ad tutte le cose di sopra ordinate et lassate che si spenda ducati simili cento cinquanta in messe, salterii, septe salmi penetentiali, officii de' morti, salmi, gradi, in paternostri et avemarie molte volte.

[64] Item volse et ordenò che di tutti e sopradecti lassi che nel presente quaderno si contengono queste interamente prima ad ogni altra cosa si faccino cioè, de' ducati quatrocento sanctissimo domino nostro, de' ducati mille per lo capellano ne la chiesa di Sancta Maria Maggiore di Roma, de' ducati octocento o circa in due poste per la fameglia sua, de' ducati trecento o circa per la sepultura sua. Et in caso che non fussero tanti beni che bastassero per gli altri legati excepti le sopradecte quatro nominate somme [fol. 11v] cioè ducati quatrocento del sanctissimo nostro Papa, per li capellani nella chiesa di Sancta Maria Maggiore ducati mille, per la fameglia octocento et per la sepultura trecento, si facci per ciascuno legato per rata et per lira et per soldo agli altri i legati si difalchi, perché oggi non sono a suficientia per le guerre et altri pesi che occorgono. Et nientedimeno quando per l'avenire alcuna cosa si trovasse del suo vuole che si supplicasse al decto resto obbligando el capello et ogni suo bene.

[65] Item perché in luogo del reverendissimo signore cardinale di Sancta Crocie absente o morto si deputavano el reverendissimo padre et signore signore di Bologna et di Sancto Pietro ad Vincula come appare nel codicillo nel quarto capitolo et foglio vi per buone cagioni el decto testatore a revocato la decta deputatione et se fussero presenti per niuno modo s'abbino a [i]mpacciare in luogo del signore di Bologna a deputato misser Astorgio vescovo d'Ancona in luogo del signore di Sancto Pietro missere Jacomo vescovo aprutinense, et che essi due prelati abbino a fare quello a che erano deputati e decti signori cardinali di Bologna et di Sancto Pietro per lo decto testatore. Item in simile modo revocò el reverendissimo signore cardinale di Sancto Eustachio, et rimanghino el reverendissimo signore novariense et tutti gli altri substituti doppo el decto signore novariense.

[66] Item conciosacosa che donna Checha donna fu di Pietro di Bandino orafo da Siena et figliuola per lo adrieto de lo eximio doctore de l'arti et medicina magistro Francesco da Siena, liberamente abbi donato al decto signore cardinale et testatore prefato certo potere co' le sue appartenentie posto ne la corte di Castelnuovo in luogo decto San Giusto contado di Siena come appare per mano di ser Gregorio Spetialini da Pisa notaio et secretario del decto signore testatore, in caso che la decta donna Checha morisse inanzi al decto signore cardinale. Et in questo caso el decto signore lassa doversi cavare del decto potere fiorini cento senesi ad ragione di lire quatro per fiorino a la capella

sua di Sancta Maria et di Sancto Sebastiano posta ne la chiesa maggiore di Siena, cioè per ornamento de la decta capella. Et più fiorini simili vinticinque a la chiesa di Sancto Martino di Siena per l'anima d'essa donna Checha come ne la decta donagione pienamente si contiene, l'altra parte del decto potere rimanga a la predecta capella.

[67] [fol. 12r] Item oltre a ducati mille di camara et tutte l'altre cose di sopra lassate per lo suo da doversi ponare ne la chiesa di Sancta Maria Maggiore, come appare nel testamento al terzo capitolo, lassò fiorini cinquecento correnti ad ragione di soldi XLVII per fiorino per comprare possessioni come nel decto capitolo si contiene, de le quali el fructo sieno de' decti capellani da porsi ne la decta chiesa di Sancta Maria Maggiore. E quali fiorini cinquecento correnti sieno di quella condictione et exceptione de la quale sono e mille ducati cioè che insieme con essi mille ducati prima si cavino come di sopra si contiene con questo che esso capellano oltre al'altre graveze che si contengono di sopra nel capitolo de' mille ducati sia tenuto et debbi spendare ne la festa de la Concectione ne la messa magiore a quegli che vi saranno fiorini tre simili da distribuirsi cioè per la metà a calonaci et per l'altra metà a capellani, beneficiati et servidori de la decta chiesa ne la predecta messa, e quali personalmente saranno a la messa predecta. Item tre altri fiorini simili da distribuirsi in simile modo a quegli che personalmente saranno a la messa, la quale vuole che si celebri de la Nostra Donna a quindici di dicembre cioè concede etc. con l'altro officio di Sancta Maria de le Nievi. Item similmente tre altri fiorini simile modo da dividarsi a quegli che saranno a la prima messa de la Nattività del Signore. Item a quegli che saranno a la seconda messa similmente fiorini due simili. Item a quegli che saranno a la terza messa da dividarsi in simile modo uno fiorino. Et fiorini tre simili a quegli che saranno a la messa de la domenica che verrà infra l'octava de la Nattività predecta cioè in quello di nel quale la decta domenica verrà di doversi celebrare, da dividarsi in simile modo. Notando che sempre s'intenda per quegli che vi saranno personalmente. Et questo quanto affermo essere la sua ultima volontà, la quale volse che valesse per ragione di codicilli et per ogni altro modo, ragione, che meglio valere può et debba perché a voluto così et a la sua signoria così è piaciuto.

[68] Fatte furono le cose predecte a Roma apresso a la sopra decta chiesa di Sancto Spirito ne la camera secreta di sopra nominata de la sua residentia in martedì a di vinti del mese di gennaio nel anno da la Nattività del Signore mille quatrocento trentatre, nel pontificato del decto signore nostro Papa anno prefato in presentia degli honorevogli et religiosi huomini frate Antonio di Nutio ne la chiesa di Sancto Pietro penetentiere, frate Marco Sabbe et frate Agnolo di Pavolo da Roma tutti et frati del ordine de' Servi di Sancto Marcello da Roma testimoni a le predecte cose spetialmente pregati et richiesti e quagli etiandio [fol. 12v]

ne la presentia del decto signore testatore et di me notario soprascripto [*sic*] et infrascripto spontaneamente giuraro a le sancte di Dio evangelie corporalmente toche le scripture tutte le cose predecite tenere secrete mentre vivarà el decto testatore.

Et io Bartolomeo da Pistoia notaio et scriptore apostolico predecito perché ad tutte le predecite cose quando così si facevano et agitavansi insieme co' prenominati testimoni fui presente et esse viddi et udii così fare per questa cagione questo presente publico instrumento che in due carte si contiene d'esse o composto et in questa publica forma ridocto et il mio segno col nome mio consueti o segnato pregato et richiesto ad fede et testimonianza di tutte le cose predecite.

[1436, 23rd April]

[69] Al nome di Dio amen. El tenore del presente publico instrumento a ciascuna persone presenti et future appaia manifesto. Che conciosiacosa che altra volta a Roma nel anno da la Natività del Signore mille quatrocento trentauno a di xxviii di dicembre nel pontificato felice recordatione signore Martino Papa quinto anno quartodecimo, el reverendissimo in Cristo padre et signore misser Antonio da Siena cardinale prefato, sano de la mente et del corpo et in buona memoria persistendo, considerando niuna cosa essere più certa che la morte et niuna cosa più incerta che è l'ora del morire, volendo de' beni a lui dal eterno Iddio concessi debitamente et salutevolmente provvedere.

Avendo per bolle apostoliche piena licentia di testare a felice recordatione signore Martino predecito socto el dato a Roma nona kalenda di dicembre del suo pontificato anno xii.^o, spacciate allora per missere Bartolomeo da Montepulciano del prefato felice recordatione signore Martino suo secretario, abbi facto suo testamento rogato per lo venerabile homo missere Bartolomeo da Pistoia scriptore et abbreviatore de le lectere appostoliche notaio publico et per lui publicato et duplicato, de' quagli appare per mano del decto notaio publico et per lui publicato et duplicato de' quagli appare per mano del decto notaio in due quaderni cioè in questo in diece faccie, et da poi abbi codicillato a di tredici di marzo a Roma nel palazzo di Sancto Spirito nel anno da la Natività del Signore mille quatrocento trentadue, nel pontificato del signore nostro signore Eugenio per la divina providentia Papa quarto anno secondo, come si contiene in questo quaderno in due faccie. Et dapoì etiandio abbi codicillato come ine apare a di vinti di gennaio nel anno da la Natività del Signore mille quatrocento trentatre nel pontificato d'esso nostro signore anno predecito come etiandio si contiene in questo quaderno in due altre faccie. Oggi el prefato re-[*fol. 13r*] verendissimo domino cardinale per simile modo sano del corpo de la mente et del intellecto, et nel medesimo suo buono proposito et buona meditatione persistendo, volendo le predecite cose repetere et alcuna dichiarare. Acciò che

al'anima sua salutevolmente si provegha, etiandio per autorità ad maggiore cautela a lui concessa per lo prefato sanctissimo signore nostro, nel anno da la Incarnatione del Signore mccccxxv nel septimo ido di ferraio cioè a di vii di gennaio anno quinto fè el suo testamento come nel decto testamento et codicilli prefati per mano del predecito misser Bartolomeo pienamente et largamente si contiene, et publicati et duplicati come di sopra si dice. Aggiungendo prima che dove nel fine del decto testamento si dice che gli executori possino adomandare et riscuotare etc. Ordina, dispone et dichiara et così vuole similmente de le rendite del capello a lui dovute o che si dovaranno. Item che dove dice nel decto testamento che lassa herede el convento de' frati de' Servi di Sancta Maria de la chiesa di Sancto Marcello di Roma, la chiesa maggiore de la città di Siena et la chiesa fiorentina, dispone ordina et dichiara et vuole la sacrestia de le decte chiese essere herede. Et che ogni cosa che proverrà a le predecite herede si pongano in utilità et honore et conservatione de le decte sacrestie. Aggiungendo et disponendo etiandio hereda insieme co la [*sic*] decte sacrestie la sacrestia de la chiesa di Grosseto, sì che ciascuna de le decte sacrestie succeda per la quarta parte. Con questo però, che gli executori suoi del presente testamento non sieno impediti ad ponare in executione quello che ordina al presente o per aventura accadesse ordinarsi da' sacrestani de' decti luoghi o d'alcuno d'essi o da lo ufficiale o veramente ufficiali. Item dichiara, ordina, dispone et agiongne agli executori suoi che vivono et sono rimasti, el reverendo in Cristo padre missere Bartolomeo di Fiesole, gli spectabili huomini Cosmo et Lorenzo de' Medici honorevogli cittadini fiorentini con questa conditione che se sono admenduni presenti, sieno solo per una voce, et se uno di loro solo è presente, sì per una voce, sì che se sono insieme o fussero seperati, sieno solo per una voce. El reverendo padre missere Carlo vescovo di Siena, el venerabile huomo missere Bastiano di Domenico canonico di Siena et priore di Sancto Georgio, co la medesima facultà, podestà et balia a decti suoi executori ordinati et nominati nel decto suo testamento conceduta et attribuita. Item dichiara dice et in coscienza sua testifica che de lo exercitio avuto ne' facti de la Collectoria di Toschana fu quietato così per la Camara Appostolica come per lo collectore principale de la detta provincia. Et per simile modo che de la Tesauraria Appostolica al tempo de la felice recor-[*fol. 13v*] datione signore Gregorio Papa duodecimo abbi quitanze in forma per lectere del reverendissimo signore cardinale senese regente la Camara Appostolica data a di xxviii di gennaio, inditione seconda nel anno da la Natività del Signore mille quatrocento nove. Et che per simile modo a quitanze per lo tesauriato al tempo del signore Giovanni Papa xxiii per lo passato così appellato per bolle de la felice recordatione del signore Martino prefato data a di ultimo d'agosto nel anno da la Natività del Signore mccccxviii. Et per instrumento di Lupardo notaio de la Camara

Appostolica, et per missere Lodovico vescovo magalonense allora vicecamarlengo. Et che similmente a quitanze per lo tesauriato al tempo de la felice recordatione del signore Martino prefato per la Camara Appostolica nel anno da la Nattività del Signore MCCCCXXVI a dì tre di luglio. Come appare ne' libro del tesoro approvato et dichiarato per li venerabili huomini missere Bartolomeo de' Lante et missere Niccolò da Valle cherici de la Camara Appostolica. Nel quale Bartolomeo de' Bardi depositario de la Camara Appostolica et suo rimase creditore de la camara predecta. [70] Facte furono queste cose a Fiorenza nel convento d'Ogni Sancti del ordine degli Umigliati ne le case al presente del prefato reverendissimo signore cardinale nel anno da la Nattività del Signore MCCCCXXVI indictione quartadecima a dì XXIII del mese d'aprile, nel pontificato del sanctissimo in Cristo padre et signore nostro signore Eugenio Papa quarto anno sexto in presentia de' venerabili huomini frate Agnolo di Pavolo da Roma del ordine de' Servi di Sancta Maria penitentiero del sanctissimo signor nostro, missere Gioseppe d'Antonio da Narni canonico di Narni et camarlengo del prefato reverendissimo signore cardinale domino Bano di Bartalo monaco del monistero di Sancto Bartolomeo da Pistoia del ordine di Sancto Benedecto, Jacomo di ser Luca di ser Augustino cherico da Pistoia, Giovanni de' Aza canonico de la chiesa di Sancto Martino de Inio del diocesi mormense, Petro da Baliro prete, rectore de la parrochiale chiesa de Cambi del diocesi burdegalense et Simone di Racemo cherico del diocesi constantiense ne la provincia rotomacense testimoni a le cose predecte spetialmente et pregati. Et io Gregorio per lo adrieto di Jacomo di ser Neri Spetialini cherico pisano publico autorità imperiale notaio et iudice ordenario. Et scriptore de la Camara Appostolica perché a la repetitione ordinatione, dispositione, dichiara- [fol. 14r] ratione et additione et ad tutte et ciascuna predecte cose mentre che così s'agitavano et facevano insieme co' prenominati testimoni fui presente et esse così viddi fare et udii. Et però questo presente publico instrumento d'esse cose o composto et ridocto in questa publica forma. Et il segno et nome miei consueti o segnato pregato et richiesto in fede et testimonianza de le cose predecte. Et la predecta cancellatura la quale è ne la XLII linea la quale comincia 'Racemi' et finisce 'in provincia' et contiene 'ne la provincia burdegalense diocesi.' di mia propria mano l'o facto perché quelle parole erano poste per errore.

[1438, 2nd October]

[71] Al nome di Dio amen. A ciascuna persona che raguardarà el presente publico instrumento appaia manifesto come negli anni da la Nattività del Signore mille quattrocento trentaotto indictione prima a dì due del mese d'octobre nel pontificato del sanctissimo in Cristo padre et signore nostro signore Eugenio per la divina providentia

Papa quarto, anno octavo. [...references to dates of above testaments and codicils] [fol. 14v] Considerando la volontà del uomo per insino a la morte essere mutabile, alcuno [sic] legati di nuovo a facti, alcuni dichiariti, alcuni rimossi, alcuni rivotati, alcuni aggiunti a decti testamento et codicilli, et molte cose come occorrono per le quali vuole le decte sue dispositioni avere executioni come di socto si nominavaranno et chiariranno l'altre cose rimanendo ferme come stanno.

[72] Et in prima revoco tutti gli executori e quagli nel decto suo testamento overo codicilli aveva deputato instituito et ordenato, tollendo da loro ogni podestà ne' predecti testamento et codicilli conceduta data et attribuita. In luogo de' quagli deputò, institui, ordenò et volse fussero e reverendissimi in Cristo padri et signori misser Niccolò del titolo di Sancta Crocie prete cardinale et misser Domenico del titolo di Sancta Maria in Via Lata de la Sancta Romana Chiesa cardinale, con ogni debita reverentia suplicando a loro che el peso de la executione lo piaccia d'acceptare. Et reverendi in Cristo padri misser Jacomo vescovo aprutinense et misser Giovanni vescovo anconitano, el venerabile padre misser Bartolomeo abbate di Sancto Bartolomeo da Pistoia del ordine di Sancto Benedecto, el venerabile huomo misser Giovanni Lapi canonico di Sancto Lorenzo di Fiorenza, gli spectabili huomini Cosmo et Lorenzo de' Medici frategli carnali da Fiorenza per una voce solamente, etiandio se amenduni fussero presenti a le cose predecte per la expeditione et executione secondo la dispositione et volontà del prefato reverendissimo signore cardinale et se d'ipse fussero alcuno di loro sia etiandio per una voce, el venerabile huomo misser Bastiano di Domenico canonico et priore di Sancto Giorgio da Siena et l'operaio de la chiesa di Siena, el quale per li tempi sarà. A quali traferri, cede et concede balia et podestà di fare et exercitare et tutte le cose mandare ad executione come potevano e decti suoi executori e quali di presente a rimossi [fol. 15r] et come ne' decti suoi testamento et codicilli appare intendosi sempre con questa conditione che le due parti de' decti executori intra quali sempre sia uno de' reverendissimi signori cardinali, misser Bartolomeo abbate di Sancto Bartolomeo da Pistoia o misser Giovanni di Lapo predecto, misser Bastiano canonico o veramente l'operaio de la chiesa di Siena per lo tempo antedecto Cosmo o vero Lorenzo de' Medici prefati et non altrimenti o per altro modo, excepto che ne le funeragli et obsequii quando averrà perché quasi sarebbe impossibile che tutti e prenominati executori fussero presenti. Et tale caso non può essere con dilatione di tempo, et allora la maggiore parte de' presenti a le decte funeragli et exequii possi fare tutto come si richiede.

[73] Item statuisce dispone, vuole et comanda che de' suoi beni doppo la morte sua nel Monte del Comune di Fiorenza si comprino tanti fiorini o veramente in possessioni tante possessioni che ogni anno sene riceva

fiorini sey di camera per responsione del Monte o vero de le posissioni e quali fiorini sey de la decta responsione ciascuno anno si ricevino per lo proposto del monesterio overo convento di Sancta Maria da Cigoli del ordine degli Umiliati del diocesi di Lucha, et per esso si spendino ogni anno a di nove di luglio nel octava de la gloriosa Vergine ne' primi et sicondi vesperi et messa cantando et l'altre cose facci per veneratione de la decta festa come si richiede. Et faccia buona pietanza a' frati del decto convento o vero monasterio de' decti sey fiorini.

[74] Item statuisce, dispone et vuole che de' suoi beni doppo la morte sua si diano al monistero di Sancto Agnolo et di Sancto Niccolò laudensi fiorini trentadue di camera da expendarsi in paramenti o cose pretiose per la sacrestia del decto monasterio se già inanzi a la morte sua no l'abbi facto et adempito et così intende et intendere vuole in tutti e legati et iudicii contenuti nel testamento et codicilli per lui facti et ordenati per infino nel presente di, o se fusse caso che per l'avenire ordenasse rogati o che si rogassero per qualunque notari socto qualunque tempi overo datali.

[75] Item statuisce, dispone, dichiara et vuole che uno messale compito col arme sua el quale aveva iudicato et lassava a la chiesa di Sancto Marcello da Roma come appare nel decto suo testamento nel secondo foglio rogato per misser Bartolomeo da Pistoia sopradecto di valuta di fiorini octanta si diano a la sacrestia de la chiesa [fol. 15v] di Siena et ine si tenga et servi per lo culto divino. Et se la decta sacrestia per qualunque caso volesse el decto messale alienare o baractare alora et in quello caso pervenga a lo Spedale de la Scala di Siena, et del decto spedale sia per ragione di directo domino. Et in luogo del decto messale si diano per li executori suoi a la sacrestia di Sancto Marcello preducto fiorini octanta di camera de' quali effectualmente che v'è necessario in paramenti overo libri per lo divino culto per la decta sacrestia si comprino.

[76] Item dichiara dispone instituisce et vuole per uno messale el quale esso iudicato et lassato aveva a la sacrestia di Sancto Lorenzo fuore de le mura da Roma septanta fiorini come appare per lo testamento rogato per lo decto misser Bartolomeo si diano per li executori suoi fiorini cento di camera in paramenti et libri per la decta sacrestia di Sancto Lorenzo et il decto messale iudica et lassa et lega a la chiesa di Fiorenza cioè a la sacrestia de la decta chiesa.

[77] Item dispone, dichiara et vuole che una mitria la quale nel decto suo testamento a foglio due aveva iudicato et lassato a la chiesa lateranense si dia a la chiesa di Sancta Maria Maggiore di Rome dove fu et è l'arciprete. Et a la chiesa di Sancto Giovanni preducto si diano fiorini cento per li executori suoi per una altra mitria da farsi de' beni suoi.

[78] Item lassa et iudica a la chiesa di Sancto Frediano da Lucha fiorini sexanta di camara da darsi et apagarsi a essa chiesa per li executori suoi preducti cioè ne la sacrestia.

[79] Item lega, iudica et lassa a le chiese el Prencipe degli

apostoli di Roma, di Sancto Pavolo fuore de le mura di Roma, di Sancto Lorenzo fuore di Roma, di Sancta Maria Maggiore di Roma et di Sancto Giovanni Laterano de' capello pagati quegli fiorini secento di camera lassati al santissimo Signore nostro Eugenio Papa quarto per lo decto suo testamento foglio VI overo VII fiorini quaranta per ciascuno et così vuole et comanda per li decti suo executori adempirsi cioè per le sacrestie loro.

[80] Item iudica, lega et lassa a la chiesa di Sancto Petronio da Bologna fiorini vinticinque di camera da darsi et spendarsi in libri et de' libri suoi a essa chiesa come parrà agli executori suoi preducti et maxime a quegli che saranno presenti dove el naturale debito si pagará.

[81] Item iudica, lega et lassa a la chiesa di Sancto Alexo di Roma fiorini cinquanta d'oro di camara e quali si spendino ne la decta chiesa in quello sarà di necessità per la sacrestia de la detta chiesa.

[82] [fol. 16r] Item iudica et lassa a la chiesa di Sancto Antonio di Fiorenza fiorini vinticinque di camera. Item a la chiesa di Sancto Antonio di Vienna fiorini cinquanta simili da expendarsi ne le decte chiese cioè ne le sacrestie loro.

[83] Item dichiara, dispone, vuole et comanda che fiorini quattrocento posti nel decto suo testamento a foglio primo et fiorini trecento posti nel testamento preducto foglio VII che sono in tutto septecento lassai a familiari suoi s'intenda, s'intenda [sic] et cossi facci et non altrimenti che familiari comuni e quali anno salario abino una veste di griseo col capuccio comunale secondo sarà a loro condecante de' decti fiorini septecento, et quello che dovessero avere per lo salario loro et alcuna cosa de le pecunie et beni de la sua heredità, acciò che facti gli osequii nel octava possino stare nel a[l]lbergo per dieci di. Gli altri familiari et compagni che stanno in casa abbino simili veste et il resto senza frodo secondo la qualità loro si debbi dividare infra loro per li executori suoi cioè per quegli che non anno a ricevere de le preducte cose et queste veste di griseo sieno in luogo de le nere. Et presso a lecto sieno tredici povari vestiti di bianco et il prezzo si cavi de' decti septecento fiorini et abino e decti tredici povari fiorino uno per ciascuno de' decti fiorini septecento, et intende de' familiari e quali saranno ne la casa sua al tempo de la sua morte et actualmente servino, excepti misser Bartolomeo abate di Sancto Bartolomeo da Pistoia preducto, misser Bastiano di Domenico canonico senese sopradecto, Nello di Bartolomeo da Bologna serviente de l'armi di nostro signore, ser Francesco da Civitella capellano et me Gregorio di Jacomo Spetialini da Pisa infrascripto suo secretario, e quali a come fussero presenti.

[84] Item dichiara che giudicò et lassò al signore nostro Papa Eugenio avengadio che altra volta fusse decto per la sua sanctità el primo di doppo l'asumptione sua a reverendissimi signori signori de la Sancta Romana Chiesa cardinali che non voleva habere l'anello nel cavallo nel annate ne che più essi reverendissimi signori cardinali

s'obligassero. Et allora quando dixè le predecte cose de [?] a tutti cardinali una volta ne la morte chome esso reverendissimo signore cardinale affermò fiorini quattrocento di camara come nel decto suo testamento si contiene a foglio VI o a foglio VII et fiorini secento di camara del capello come si contiene nel decto testamento et foglio come a signore suo spetialissimo per gratitudine et debito se alcuno fusse et disse et dichiaro che non s'obliga per alcuna annata overo modo [?] se non ad septantacinque fiorini di camera per una pigione et che d'altre cose per lui non [fol. 16v] fu facta alcuna obligagione. Se dapoi alcune cose furono incominciate per alcuno de' reverendissimi cardinali mentre che era a Fiorenza la corte gli'ultimi mesi, et nientedimeno se si fusse obligato che non fu, non ascenderebbe l'obligagio ne a fiorini trecento o circa. Et così come di sopra si dice, iudica, lega et lassa. Et oltre a le cose predecte uno anello, et una cavalcatura de le sue la migliore di valuta in tutto di centocinquanta o più. Racomandando gli'xecutori suoi et il suo testamento a la sua beatitudine. Questo però intendendosi ne le cose predecte che e iudicii et legati che si contengono nel decto suo testamento et codicilli et iandio nel presente et anco se alcuno di nuovo componesse et facesse o mutasse et anco gli xecutori del suo testamento et codicilli predecti in alcuna cosa o per alcuno modo per la sanctità sua e suoi officiali per alcuno modo sieno molestati o inbrigati. Se favorevolmente sieno difesi aitati altrimenti a la sua sanctità niente lassa et quello che a lassato infino damo revoca.

[85] Item lega, iudica et lassa a reverendissimi signori cardinali xecutori suoi nel suo testamento et codicilli predecti per infino a la valuta di fiorini vinticinque per ciascuno a quali humilmente et con reverentia suplica che de' suoi beni ne per directo ne per indirecto non voglino comprare ne avere oltre a quello che l'a lassato per loro o suoi servidori o amici se lassino secondo che le cose per lo prefato reverendissimo signore cardinale ordinate disposte lassate iudicate relictæ a rischio loro corrano.

[86] Item dichiara, agiongne et agiognare a voluto et vuole in foglio ultimo del suo codicillo contento nel decto quaderno per mano di me Gregorio notaio infrascripto dove dice del officio del Tesauriato Appostolico et mostra le quitanze come ine appare et sono questi cioè del officio de la Subcollectaria al tempo di missere Petro de' Ricci allora collectore di Toscana.

[87] Item dichiara et vuole che le spese per la sepoltura sua et legati et lassati a' familiari suoi che ascendono a la somma di fiorini mille cinquanta di camera et quattrocento per lo nostro signore come appare qui di sopra, et et iandio nel quaderno del testamento predecto a foglio sei overo septe, si cavino del ariento el quale sarà ne la sua casa al tempo de la morte sua, et del anella et pecunie manuali et de le cose che faranno ne la decta casa nel predecto tempo et cavagli et altre cose da vendarsi. Et acciò che le cose che si trovarranno a quello tempo non si vendino, con festinantia

e decti suoi xecutori accactino in presta da Cosmo et Lorenzo de' Medici quello che manca oltre al'ariento et anella et pecunie [fol. 17r] numerate et cavagli et aloro si satisfacci del prezo de le predecte cose da vendarsi allora, questo nientedimeno intendendosi de le cose sue et beni che si trovassero ne la corte o altrui dove morisse.

[88] Item dice, dichiara et vuole che avengadio che gli abbi instituito sue heredi come appare nel decto testamento se più largamente l'ultimo da la Nattività del Signore mille quattrocento trentasei a di XXIII d'aprile per lo codicillo rogato per me Gregorio notaio infrascripto nel ultimo foglio del decto testamento et codicilli le sacrestie de la chiesa di Fiorenza, di Siena, di Grosseto et di Sancto Marcello di Roma per equale parte, hora a essi aggiogne le sacrestie di Sancto Savino del ordine di Sancto Benedecto del diocesi di Pisa, et di Sancta Maria Maggiore di Roma, le quagli co le prenominate sacrestie, cioè de la chiesa di Fiorenza, di Siena, di Grosseto et di Sancto Marcello di Roma sue rede institui in questo modo cioè la sacrestia de la chiesa di Fiorenza et del monistero di Sancto Savino predecti per una terza parte da dividarsi infra loro per equale parte, le sacrestie de le chiese di Siena et di Grosseto per la seconda terza parte da dividarsi equalmente infra loro, et le sacrestie di Sancto Marcello et di Sancta Maria Maggiore di Roma per la terza terza [sic] parte da dividarsi infra loro per equale parte, siché le decte sei sacrestie sieno herede per tute e tre le decte parti interamente di tutta la sua heredità, con questa conditione et graveza che ciascuna de le decte sacrestie sia tenuta continuamente fare ardare dinanzi al tabernacolo del corpo del nostro Signore Iesu Cristo o in altro luogo nel quale el decto pretioso corpo si conservasse, una lampana di di et di nocte, non obstante et iandio che altra vene fusse perché vuole et comanda che per ogni modo la sua vi sia oltre a ogni altra o altre che vi fussero et che ogni anno doppo la morte sua faccino et ciascuno de le decte chiese facci, et fare sia tenuta et debbi anniversario suo nel di che è passato di questa vita.

[89] Item dice et confessa ad interrogazione di me notaio infrascripto come publica persona adomandante per li lugohi infrascripti avere avuto in presta et avere apresso di se de' libri del monistero di Sancto Savino predecto e sermoni et omelie di Girolamo et Remigio. Item el testo de le sententie bello et grande, e libro di Sancto Tomme contra e gentili, de' libri del convento di Sancto Domenico da Siena del ordine de' Predicatori. Item e libro di Sancto Tomme sopra de' vangeli di Macteo et di Marco de' libri del convento di Sancto Domenico da Bologna. Item e libro di Sancto Tomme sopra di Giovanni et Luca de' libri del covento d'Ogni Sancti di Fiorenza. E quali conventi anno scripta di mano sua de le predecte cose, et vuole et comanda che se al tempo de la vita sua non avesse ristituito e decti libri per li xecutori suoi doppo la morte sua si ristituischino et se non si trovassero si paghi el comunale prezo per essi.

[90] [*fol. 17v*] Item lega, iudica et lassa al convento overo casa d'Ogni Sancti di Fiorenza del ordine degli Umigliati, fiorini sei per uno officio di morti, da celebrarsi ciascuno anno nel dì de la morte sua, nel Monte del Comune di Fiorenza, o in altra cosa come meglio parrà agli executori suoi. Siché ciascuno anno abino fiorini sei.

[91] Item lega, giudica et lassa a donna Checha donna fu di Pietro di Bandino et figliuola de lo egregio et famosissimo doctore del arte et di medicina maestro Francesco da Siena de la penitentia di Sancto Domenico fiorini quindici ogni anno per infino a dieci anni per l'amore di Dio per l'anima sua, oltre a' facti del podere del quale appare nel decto suo testamento o vero codicilli. E quali fiorini centocinquanta si ponghino in uno luogo che d'essi si sicura per lo decto tempo per li executori suoi.

[92] Item lega, giudica et lassa fiorini octanta da dividarsi infra quegli reverendissimi signori cardinali che pagorono la decima al possulto a questi excepti la buona memoria degli Orsini, de' Conti et Novariense. Et questo perché el decto signore de' Conti dè a' predeci tre cardinali, et al decto testatore fiorini dugento per ciascuno, et nientedimeno contradixero. Et il prefato reverendissimo signore cardinale legatore dixè di rendere el resto. Et nientedimeno non pagorono per decima se non fiorini centovinti per ciascuno et perché a molti furono rendute quelle pecunie et maxime de le pecunie del patrasso perché de le pecunie de la decima furono per lo patrasso prestate et di queste cose è testimone Antonio de la casa et misser Jacomo Gallico cherico del collegio.

[93] Item lega, iudica et lassa al monistero di Torri del ordine di Valombrosa del diocesi di Siena, fiorini dieci d'oro di camera da expendarsi in qualche aconime de la sacrestia come parrà a decti suoi executori. Item al monistero del Fiano del decto ordine et diocesi fiorini octo da expendarsi come di sopra. Et questo per lo collegio de' cardinali mentre che erano a Costanza.

[94] Item iudica, lega et lassa fiorini dugento d'oro di camera da expendarsi per li decti suoi executori in ornamento et fabrica del archidiaconato venetense se a noi d'esso non si fa in iustitia ne ragione et non altrimenti.

[95] Item iudica lega et lassa al monistero di Sancto Quirico et Iulica de clausura del ordine premostratense del diocesi Reatine fiorini vinticinque di camera da expendarsi per li executori suoi in reparatione del decto monistero o paramenti per lo culto divino.

[96] Item lega, iudica et lassa al monistero di Sancto Michele di Poggiobonizi del ordine [*fol. 18r*] di Sancto Benedecto del diocesi di Fiorenza al quale molti altri beni a facto fiorini trentatre da expendarsi in reparatione del decto monistero o in paramenti per lo culto divino per li executori suoi et come a loro parrà.

[97] Item lega, iudica et lassa al monistero di Sancta Fide in Slestat [?] del diocesi Argentine [?] oltre al calice di fiorini

vinticinque fiorini septantacinque avendo la ragione sua et non altrimenti da expendarsi in reparatione o paramenti per la decta chiesa come parrà agli executori suoi.

[98] Item lega, iudica et lassa a la chiesa de la Cervia fiorini cinquanta d'oro di camera da expendarsi in reparatione o paramenti per la decta chiesa per li executori suoi se a lui el debito suo del entrate de la decta chiesa si fa et non altrimenti.

[99] Item lega, iudica et lassa al priorato di Sancto Pietro Vecchio presso a Fermo fiorini cinquanta di camera da expendarsi in reparatione o adiunta a lato a la chiesa per li decti suoi executori.

[100] Item casso, irritò et anullo et di niuno valore et momenti essere volse et giudicio el legato nel decto testamento overo codicilli nel quale aveva giudicato et lassato al convento di Sancta Maria de la Minerva di Roma fiorini centovinti d'oro di camera per uno anniversario da farsi ciascuno anno a trenta dì di gennaio ne la decta chiesa per l'anime de le buone memorie de' suoi genitori. Et questo a facto perché providde in altro modo. Cioè che 'l capellano el quale a deputato a officiare ne la chiesa di Sancta Maria Maggiore di Roma de' quindici fiorini e quagli ordenò el prefato signore cardinale esso capelano avere sopra del monte di Fiorenza dodici ne spendesse nel anniversario et officii secondo l'ordinatione et deputatione del prefato reverendissimo signore cardinale, come largamente et chiaramente appare sopra le lectere dinde composte et gli altri tre fussero del decto capellano.

[101] Facte furono queste cose a Pisa nel monistero di Sancto Savino predecto posta ne la capella di Sancto Gilio cioè nel anticamara del primo solaio de la decta casa ne la quale al presente habita el prefato reverendissimo signore cardinale presenti frate Giovanni Minucci da Siena et frate Francesco di Iacomo del Usacio de la città ylerdense in Catalogna in Yesuato abitanti a Pisa ne la capella di Sancto Lorenzo de la Rivolta et misser Giovanni d'Armano Hermann rectore de la parrochiale chiesa in Behelbach pattamense diocesi testimoni a le predecte cose chiamati e pregati.

[*fol. 18v*] Et io Gregorio per lo adrieto di Jacomo di ser Neri Spetialini cherico pisano publico imperiale autorità iudice ordenario et notaio del Apostolica Camara scriptore ad tutte et ciascuna predecte cose mentre che così s'ordinavano et facevano insieme co' prenominati testimoni fui presente et esse viddi così fare et udii. Et però questo presente publico instrumento dinde o facto et in questa publica forma ridecto. Et il segno et nome miei usati et consueti o segnato pregato et richiesto in fede et testimonianza de le cose predecte.

[102] [*fol. 19r, in a later handwriting*] Prefatus reverendissimus cardinalus obiit Rome primo nonae Februarii anni 1439, sepultus ad Sanctam Mariam Maiori.

F

Excerpts from the Apostolical Visit by Francesco Bossio regarding the cathedral of Grosseto

1576, 11th to 13th February (ASV, Congr. Vescovi e Regolari, Visita Apostolica, 60, fols. 13r-19r, 44r, 265r-269r)

[1] [fol. 13r [=1r original numeration] 11th February 1576] Liber visitationis civitatis et diocesis Grossetanae In nomine domini nostri Jesu Christi amen. Anno ab eius salutifera Nativitate, millesimo quingentesimo septuagesimo sexto, indictione quarta, tempore pontificatus sanctissimi in Christo patris et domini nostri domini Gregorii divina providentia Pape decimi tertii, die vero undecima mensis Februarii.

Illustrissimus et reverendissimus dominus Franciscus Bossius, Perusii episcopus, et a Sancta Sede Apostolica in civitatis Senarum, Massane et Grosseti, et aliis in locis per breve expeditus Rome sub annulo piscatoris die XXII aprilis MDLXXV visitator, reformator, ac delegatus generaliter et specialiter deputatus. Inceptam proseguens visitationem Massa decedens, se contulit ad civitatem Grosseti, obviamque in itinerem [fol. 13v] [... stained by initial of recto] venerunt illustrissimus et reverendissimus dominus Jacobus Mignanellus Senensis episcopus Grosseti, capitaneus iustitie, et quamplurimi equites, qui eo quo maiori potuerunt honore, stante magna temporis acerbitate, reverendissimum dominum visitatorem exceperunt qui ad ecclesiam cathedralem Sancti Laurentii civitatis Grosseti profectus, et in ea factis de more ceremoniis, nocte iam adventante, ad sua se contulit.

[2] Sequenti vero die XII qui erat dies dominicus, facti solemnii, et pontificali sacri per suam reverendissimam demonstrationem [?] in dictam ecclesiam cathedralem Sancti Laurentii, et habito pro gravi, et erudito sermone ad populum, et [... stained] processione, Sanctissimum visitavit Sacramentum super altare maiori in ligneo tabernaculo inaurato conditum, et in pixide enea pariter inaurata positum in pluribus particulis panis, et integris, que octavo, aut decimo quinto quoque die ad summum renovare. Tabernaculi parti interior pars tela ornata, et subtus pixidem explicatum est corporale. Ardet continuo lampas sumptibus vicecurati.

[3] Oleum sanctum invenit in vasculo eneo inaurato, et rudiginoso in bursa serica nimis arcta incluso in fenestrella a dextris altaris Sancte Marie Gratiarum decenti, claveque obsignata.

Ibidemque etiam invenit vasculum staneum bipartitum, et bene clausum, quod in pixide a[e]nia inaurata, et perpulcra cum oleis cathecuminorum et cresimatis repositum est [...]

[4] [fol. 14r] Fons baptismalis marmoreus, ac diligenti

manu sculptus, positus est prope portam, que a dextris est aditus ecclesie cum ciborio pariter varie, et summa arte ceselato, clavi clauditur, et aqua baptismi est nitida.

In predicto ciborio adest fenestrella, in qua comode servarentur olea et reliqua ad baptismi usum necessaria.

Prope dictum fontem invenit sanctuarium a terra elevatum, et lapide tantum oclclusum et in sedili oblongo lapideo.

[5] Ad altare Sancte Lucie adest icona quedam magna, cum multis oculis, in quibus asservantur reliquie infrascripte, videlicet: [... enumeration of relics] De ligno Sancte Crucis in cruce fenea parva incluso, que crux in sacristia servatur et in eodem reliquiario reperta fuit.

[...] Predecte reliquie vere esse reputantur, et ab abbattia Rabbe diocesis Savonensis in hanc ecclesiam transportate fuerunt iam supra quinquagantum annum et pluries [fol. 15r] a reverendissimo episcopo fuerunt visitate et approbate et in magna veneratione hactenus habite sunt.

[6] Ecclesia constat tribus navibus, quarum media ceteris amplior videtur, fornicatis et columnis lapideis suffultis, ac in prefata navi media, reperitur altare maius amplum in forma, non sacratum, et cum petra sacra decenti, mappe tribus, quarum due nimis breves et arcte, pallio, candelabris, crucique ornatus. Icona admunitur posita, et predella ampla in forma.

Ad altare assenditur per tres gradus lapideos et supra idem adest umbella que tabernaculum Sanctissimi Sacramenti tantummodo operit. Nullum adest legatum, neque onus.

[7] Die XIII februarii 1576

Idem illustrissimus et reverendissimus dominus visitator, peracto sacro in eadem ecclesia cathedrale visitavit altare, quod est in alia navi ad cornu evangelii, sub titulo Annunciationis Dive Marie ornatum in forma, et cum icona congrua, et duabus statu is misterium Annunciationis denotantibus.

Diest crux, et ardet continuo lampas expensis Sodalitatis Rosarii, que reperitur in dicto altari, et erecta, iam supra tres annum. [fol. 15v] Scholares utriusque sexus, sunt sexaginta in circa, nulloque induuntur habitu proprio. Constitutiones habent approbatas a fratribus Dominicanis, auctoritatem ad hoc habentibus, ab eorum generali, et etiam confirmatas ab ordinis.

[8] Subtus predictum reperitur aliud altare sub titulo Sancte Catherine de Rota, amplum latum et ornatum in forma, et cum icona decenti, sed deest crux, et altare portatili.

Non est dotatum, neque habet onus.

[9] Prope portam que est in eadem navi invenit altare Assumptionis Dive Marie lapideum, et ornatum rebus omnibus necessariis preter crucem, et cum icona que est post altare in muro condita cum ornatu marmorio perpulcra et magne devotionis ut etiam apparere videbatur ex tabulis votivis, que muro affixe propre dictum altare pendebant. [fol. 16r] Quod altare licet scripturis non constet ut dixit operarius, esse dotatum per antiquam

tamen consuetudinem operarii omnes retinent in eo cappellanum amovibilem, qui missas celebret, et lampadem ardere continuo curet.

Cappellanus in dicto altari est dominus Paulus Pauli filius, canonicus a domino Benedetto operario electus iam fere per septennium, cum onere celebrandi terni hebdomoda et omnibus festi diebus solemnibus soluta illi annua mercede scutorum decem auri.

[10] Supra fontem baptismalem in altera ecclesie navi reperitur altare sub titulo Sancti Johannis Baptiste, non ornatum ut decet, cum tobaleis immundis, et absentis cruci, et candelabris. Non dotatum, neque cum onere.

[11] Aliud altare Sancte Marie de Reliquiis, est conspectu altaris Sancte Catherine de Rota, absentis cruce, candelabris, et cum predella nimium angusta, et supra adest icona, in qua posite sunt reliquie, de quibus in visitatione reliquiarum.

In dicto altari dominus Paulus canonicus celebrat bis in hebdomoda, cum non possit celebrare ut tenetur in ecclesia Sancte Lucie de qua infra. Licet non sit translatum onus.

[12] Ecclesia brevis est, et parva, et longiorem, et ampliorem fuisse apparet, sed supra quadragesimum annum iam corruisse, nec multo post iacta, et in altum erecta ab operario fundamenta fuisse plures meminerunt, que ut absolverentur nullum, ver[um]que captum est consilium, licet Opera satis valeat operibus, et in Monte Pietatis [fol. 16v] civitatis Senarum deposita habent plura milia scutorum.

Tectum medie navis ecclesie ex asseribus reliquiarum vero navium ex tegulis fabricatum est, undique tamen fere aqua in ecclesiam derivat.

Pavimentum est laceratum, et parietes incrustati, et cum multis foraminibus. Porte ecclesie quatuor. Fenestre totidem vitris occluse.

Adsunt pilelli duo aque sancte marmorei, et aqua renovatur octavo quoque die.

Confessionale nullum adest.

A dextris ingressus inter altare maiorem, et altare dive Marie, adest pulpitus ligneus.

In cornu epistole ad altare maius, et eadem [?] regione altaris Annunciate, reperitur chorus in quo psallunt hore canonice.

[13] Post idem altare maius, et in loco ubi amplianda est ecclesia, olim posita erat cappella Crucifixi, iam eversa, ut vix vestigium remansit, que non ad huc in aliud altare translata fuit, et est iuris patronatus reverendi domini prepositi pro tempore existentis, ut apparet ex legato facto a cardinali Sancti Marcelli, de quo rogatus est ser Baldinus Dominici Baldini de Lucignano, anno 1441, die XVII Octobris.

H[ec] cappella collata fuit domino Pompeo de Marcellis a reverendissimo episcopo Grossetano per presentationem de eo factam a reverendo domino preposito, et habet onus celebrandi bis in hebdomoda, cum emolumento annuo

duodecim v.^{ma} [?]. Cui oneri deservit dominus [fol. 17r] Hieronimus de Angioletti canonicus cum mercede sex scutorum in singulis annos.

[14] Campanile est supra navem sinistram, extra parvulam ecclesie ianuam, cum campanis tribus.

[15] Cemeterium est contiguum edibus canonicalibus, absento cruce, et clavi obsignatum. Humanatur etiam cadavera in loco ubi ecclesia edificanda erit.

[16] Sacristia, vel locus, qui sacristia modo deservit, donec alia sacristia conficiatur, una cum ecclesie parte de qua supra, est parva, oratorium habens sed non lavacrum. [...] In muro post crucifixum affixa pendent pallia quedam altarium usus addicta. [...]

[fol. 17v] Paniculi quatuor, qui cruce appendi solent. Unus ex serico damasceno albo, cum limbris deauratis/ Alius ex serico damasceno rubro, cum mappis sericis, et auro consumptis, / Alius niger pro mortuis, / Alius vero ex holloserico rubro vetustate consumptus [...]

[fol. 18v] Crucifixus opere elevato. [...]

Sex panniculi quibus obvelatur imago Virginis Marie [...]

Duo pedes lignei ad substinendum crucem. [...]

[fol. 19r] Indumentum faldistorii, et panniculus pro tegenda Virgine.

[17] [fol. 44r] Examen operarii

Die XIX Februarii 1576

Constituens coram illustrissimi et reverendissimo domino episcopo, et visitatore apostolico magnificus dominus Benedictus Rubeus Volateraneus medicus phisicus, et operarius Opere cathedralis ecclesie Sancti Laurentii civitatis Grossetane, et interrogatus et examinatus respondit ut infra.

Quod iam per annos xx et supra est operarius ut supra electus a communitate Grosseti, et a serenissimo Magno Etrurie Duce confirmatus.

Parare tenetur omnia ea, que ad ecclesie cathedralis usum et ornatum pertinent. [...]

Et cum ex instrumento quodam facto, super hereditate cardinalis Sancti Marcelli appareat operarium teneri ad celebrari faciendum anniversarium in ecclesia cathedrale pro anima domini cardinalis in singulos annos constituta certa mercede [fol. 44v] sacerdotibus singulis, qui interfuerint. Item ut operarius lampade continuo ardere curet, preter eam, que retinetur ante Sanctissimum Sacramentum et alia etiam praestare habeat, prout in dicto instrumento rogato per ser Baldinum Dominici Baldini de Lucignano anno 1441 die XVI octobris.

[18] [fol. 265r] Ordinationes in ecclesiis, et aliis locis piis, civitatis Grosseti facte ab illustrissimo et reverendissimo domino episcopo Perusie, et visitatore apostolico

[in margine] Pro operario

Pro cathedrale ecclesia Sancti Laurentii [...]

Altera lampas preter eam que nunc adest, continuo reluceat ante Sanctissimum Sacramentum ut pie cardinalis Sancti Marcelli voluntati, ut par est satisfiat. [...]

[*fol. 266r*] Sublimiores ecclesie partes, ad sex menses
reparentur, ne cum pluit solum ecclesie abluatur, et
parietes dealbentur, et ubi perforati sunt, obstruantur.[...]
[*fol. 267v*] Anniversarium, quod pro anima cardinalis
Sancti Marcelli fieri debet quotidianis non ommittat omnia
illa plane peragantur, que in testamento ab eodem cardinale
mandata sunt.[...]

[*fol. 269r*] Ad altare Sancte Catherine reducatur titulus
Crucifixi, ob demolitionem factam altaris eiusdem tituli,
quod erat in parte ecclesie diruta, et in eo missarum oneri
satisfiat, donec ecclesia, et ipsum altare Crucifixi
instaurentur.

Appendix II – Later vicissitudes of the Madonna della Neve and its chapel

1. Successors to the patronage

Donna Ludovica had the last word over the chapel in her own testament (Appendix 1, doc. A.VII), as also appears from a note by the chaplain datable to around 1436 (Appendix 1, doc. A.IX). The hereditability of the *ius patronatus* had been stipulated in 1426 (Appendix 1, doc. A.V.I). The fact that the patronage of the chapel of Santa Maria della Neve once instituted by testamentary bequest by Turino di Matteo passed on in the Bertini family shows how Ludovica appropriated this chapel. Turino himself had not yet explicitly given his wife this freedom. She had become the patroness of the chapel in 1424 by a decision of the vicar of the bishop (Appendix 1, doc. A.III). In a 1489 pastoral visit to the chapel, its chaplain recalls that it was founded by a one-time operaio by the name of Turino and that the patronage was now Francesco Bertini's (Appendix 1, doc. B.VIII). In 1575 Bossio records, somewhat more hazily, that the chapel 'ut pretenditur, est de iure patronatus domus et familiae Bertinorum' (Appendix 1, doc. B.XII). In 1576, 1578, 1584 and again in 1591, the chapel results under the patronage of Beatrice Bertini (Appendix 1, docs. B.XIII, XIV, C.I).¹ Beatrice must have been the only remaining member of the family. She was the daughter of Ascanio Bertini and she had been married to Guido di Mariano Venturi. After her death, the chapel ended up in her husband's family, since it is recorded as Augusto Venturi's in 1616 (Appendix 1, doc. B.XVI). The altar next to the Porta del Perdono had by then been demolished and the chaplaincy of the Virgin of the Snow was joined to the altar of the Visitation (Appendix 1, doc. C.I). Augusto Venturi was adopted by the Gallerani family in 1611, because the Gallerani too threatened to become extinct, and Augusto assumed the surname Venturi-Gallerani.² The Venturi-Gallerani family thus became heir to the Bertini heritage, part of which consisted of the patronage over the chapel of the Virgin of the Snow in the Siennese cathedral, which they preserved until at least 1891.³

2. The Arte dei Merciai at the altar of the Santa Maria della Neve

Since its institution by a private patron, the chapel of the Madonna of the Snow had earned the devotion of other worshippers too. On 3rd August 1517 the guild of the haberdashers, the *Arte dei Merciai*, paid the Opera for a marble step that they wanted to have installed at the altar of Santa Maria della Neve (Appendix 1, doc. D.I). In 1525, the date of the earliest preserved statute of the Arte dei Merciai, the feast of the Madonna of the Snow on 5th August appears to be the main feast of the guild: 'l'Arte delli Merciai habbi per advocata la gloriosa Vergine Maria, e che di lei si facci festa, e solennità nel dì di Sancta Maria della Neve' (Appendix 1, doc. D.II). The members of the guild were bound to offer wax candles at the altar (its location is not further specified in the statute) on the day of their patron-saint and there were fines for not attending the feast. When the altar was removed in 1591 their relation with the altar was recapitulated 'al medesimo faceva la festa sua e vi portava l'offerta l'Arte de' Merciai' (Appendix 1, doc. C.I). According to Gigli, writing in 1723, the guild still brought a wax offer of 12 *libbra* to the *Metropolitana* at the feast of the Virgin of the Snow.⁴

3. Removal of the altar

Later in the sixteenth century the ravages of time must have shown on the altar of the Madonna della Neve and the rector of the cathedral accused the patrons of reluctance to restore the altar. On 23rd September 1563 the advisory board of the Opera del Duomo asks the rector to end the querulous case of the patrons and insists with great force on 22nd October of the same year that the rector renews the altar, wherever and at the cost of whosoever it seems befitting to him 'a dovè giudicarà a proposito a spesa di chi li parrà conveniente' (Appendix 1, doc. B.X). In fact from the inventory of the Duomo drawn up later that year we learn that the altar was broken and that the altarpiece had been temporarily put on the altar of Saint Anthony, in the southern aisle (Appendix 1, doc. B.XI) (fig. 2 nr. 17). The Madonna della Neve was replaced by a large painting on

1 AAS, Cappelle 3469, Filza 1. 3, loose papers, 'Copia de' beni di Santa Maria de la Nieve, cioè della cappella di duomo', notice of 23rd February 1576 [old style]: 'la cappella de la quale ne ha padronato Beatrice Venturi'.

2 GUIDA INVENTARIO 1977, vol. III, p. 148.

3 AAS, Cappelle, 3469, Filza 1. 3, loose papers. On the Venturi Gallerani as heirs to the Bertini dynasty, see also note 52 to chapter 1.

4 GIGLI 1723, vol. II, p. 90; also in G. Faluschi, *Agguinte al Diario Senese di Girolamo Gigli. Luglio-agosto*, BCS, ms. C.II.14, fol. 138v.

linen representing the Nativity, until Sassetta's altarpiece was moved back to its original altar around 1572.⁵ All the same, when Bossio visited the Duomo in 1575, the snow-altar was still in a desolate state: its sacred stone was in the sacristy; mass was said there only once a year at the *Festum Nivis*; there were no longer revenues to maintain a chaplain; the crucifix and the candles were missing and the step paid for by the Merciai was now old and undignified. Bossio also criticised the proximity of the altar to the pillar of the Duomo Nuovo, which protruded from the Campanile wall (Appendix 1, doc. B.XII). More gravely, the functioning of the altar was impeded by the congestion in the narrow space between it and the Porta del Perdono, where not only were candles sold, but where the poor of Siena received their alms. Furthermore there blew a fierce draught from the Porta del Perdono, which must have been a health hazard for those saying and attending mass. These conditions may explain the poor state of the picture, above all the areas of Saint John the Baptist and the smiling angel, and of course the left-hand side of the predella, all of which were nearest to the door.

Some improvements were made following Bossio's visit: the number of masses increased again to at least two Sundays and eight weekdays a month (Appendix 1, doc. B.XIV). In the summer of 1578 the wooden benches clinging to the Campanile close to the altar, mentioned in the inventories since 1446, were replaced by marble 'murelli' that are still in place. 'Murelli' with their 'schalini' were not only made 'sopra l'altare della Nieve' but also 'acanto l'altare di Santa Caterina' (fig. 2 nr. 7).⁶ This is an indication of the efforts made by the Opera to reaffirm these two locations as symmetrical counterparts, just as the project for the Chigi Chapel or Cappella del Voto was to echo the chapel of Saint

John the Baptist. The snow-altar's fate was sealed, however. In 1590 it is last mentioned in the cathedral inventories (Appendix 1, doc. B.XV) and by 1591 the transformations set in motion by rector Giugurta Tommasi meant there was no longer room for the two altars of Santa Maria della Neve and Santa Caterina. Their removals occurred simultaneously on 1st April 1591 and the altarpieces were stored in the 'stanze del Opera' (Appendix 1, doc. C.I). The altar of Santa Maria della Neve had remained in place just long enough to witness the extinguishing of donna Ludovica's family-line with Beatrice di Ascanio Bertini.

4. Sojourn in Chiusdino

The altarpiece had hardly been a year in the chambers of the Opera when it was sold on 8th June 1592 for 84 *scudi* to Matteo Biagini (Appendix 1, docs. C.II, C.III). Matteo Biagini probably represented 'una compagnia di Iusdino' (Appendix 1, doc. B.XVI).⁷ He is in fact listed in 1579 as prior of the twelve members of an exclusive lay confraternity, the Compagnia di San Galgano in Chiusdino.⁸ The confraternity still exists and practices in the church of San Sebastiano in Chiusdino, but it used to be housed in the Romanesque birthplace of Saint Galgano next door, before the suppression of the confraternities by Pietro Leopoldo of Lorraine in 1785. This house consisted of two oratories, one above the other, of which the lowest one is still intact.⁹ The lower oratory was to be the home for Sassetta's altarpiece for at least three centuries, although it appears that Matteo Biagini himself may have had a private destination for the altarpiece, perhaps a family altar in one of the churches in Chiusdino. Sassetta's altarpiece was only donated to the confraternity some eighty years later by descendants of Matteo.¹⁰

⁵ This date *ante quem* is provided by Pomarancio's new altarpiece with the *Virgin and Child with the infant Saint John and Saints Anthony Abbot and Agatha* for the altar of Saint Anthony, signed 1572 (now in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Siena); CARLI 1979, p. 137.

⁶ Other altars were provided with new marble steps. *Murelli* were also put up next to the altar of the Crucifix and 'dentro la porta del Perdono' (probably directly to the left of the entrance for those facing it from the inside, at the spot of the candle-sellers chest, and thus destroyed during the construction of the Capella del Voto). The framing around the door of the Campanile was made on the same occasion. See note 125 to chapter IV above.

⁷ CARLI 1957, p. 20; without references to documents. CONTI 1986, p. 55, records the curious local tradition that Sassetta would have painted the altarpiece for Chiusdino out of gratitude for the hospitality he had received during a putative stay with a family there.

⁸ ASF, Compagnie Religiose Soppresses da Pietro Leopoldo, S. Galgano, 2940, vol. 1, fol. 113v (Matteo Biagini is not yet listed in

1574, and is first absent on the list of 1609).

⁹ The upper oratory was first converted into a prison and is now a private house. I thank Andrea Conti and Simonetta Mugnaiuoli for their valuable information on the history of Chiusdino; see also CHIUSDINO 1995, pp. 54-55.

¹⁰ 'donato al nostro Collegio dal dottor Giulio Vincenzo, e Giuseppe Isidoro figli del fu dottor Galgano Maria Biagini', see Appendix 1, doc. C.V. Giulio Vincenzo Biagini can be found in the confraternity's books from 1649-1699; ASF, Compagnie Religiose Soppresses da Pietro Leopoldo, S. Galgano, 2940. The altarpiece is not yet mentioned in the pastoral visit of 1618, though this says little, since altarpieces only rarely receive attention in these records: AVV, Visita pastorale di Monsignor Inghirami, 1618, 1, fols. 513-515 for 'San Galgano in Iusdino' and fol. 508, for a Biagini altar in 'San Joannis'. The Biagini were influential and had several religious assets. In 1537 monna Piera, the widow of another Mattio Biagini, had commissioned the painters Passalacqua and Bergamino to paint a Nativity of Christ for the church of San Martino in Chiusdino; MILANESI 1856, vol. III, pp. 129-130 doc. nr. 68.

Monsignor Carlo Filippo Sfondrati was the first to furnish a rather elaborate description of the Madonna della Neve in the *Oratorio di sotto* in his pastoral visit of 1678. He apparently wrote from memory, since he mixed up the position of the principal saints, but he did recall the predella and the profuse presence of gold (Appendix I, doc. C.IV). There exists an even more elaborate description of the Madonna della Neve in the documents of the Compagnia di San Galgano, dating to 1682 (see Appendix I, doc. C.V). Its altar was positioned directly opposite the entrance, against the north wall. Sassetta's altarpiece was much appreciated, judging by the lyrical description 'un quadro in tavola di pittura celebre et antica con colori a ricami et oro'. A decade later the confraternity was concerned about its preservation, because it suffered from the humidity. The conditions in the oratory must have been critical: the vaults of the upper church were filled with water, which came down by the bell-cord and the altar of the Madonna della Neve leaned against a humid wall and was built on terrain where 'da due parti trapelava qualche poca d'acqua'. It was moved to the upper oratory and put up on a new altar against the east wall.¹¹ Its ordeal of suffering the humidity in Chiusdino, combined with the hardships it endured while next to the Porta del Perdono, account for the present state of Sassetta's master-

piece. Nicola McGregor, who recently restored the painting, remarked that it probably rained or leaked on the painting, as only such an intrusion could explain the damage to the paint surface.

Following the 1785 suppression by Pietro Leopoldo, the altarpiece was moved to a building adjacent to the Compagnia di San Galgano. This house was then sold with everything that it contained (*a cancelli chiusi*) to the Atticciatti family. They wanted to move the altarpiece to another of their houses, but unfortunately the panel would not fit through the door. The family therefore placed it at the parochy's disposal. Consequently it was put up in the church of San Martino, where Brogi discovered it in 1897 and signalled its alarming state. A few years later it was transported to the municipal office, where Alessandro Contini Bonacossi saw it and managed to buy it in 1936 for 700.000 lire, because it was still private property (due to the Atticciatti *cancelli chiusi* sale). The sale was vehemently contested and the case even reached the court of cassation, but without success.¹² It is now in the Contini Bonacossi collection in Florence, recently transferred from the Pitti palace to the western wing of the Galleria degli Uffizi in the via Lambertesca.

11 Sassetta's altarpiece had replaced another one in the lower oratory, subsequently hung above a door in the upper oratory and put back on the lower altar in 1682 'sopra la porta si collocarono due parti della vita di San Galgano in tavola con la Beata Vergine Maria sopra ad essi, qual tavola era prima nella chiesa di sotto'; see Appendix I,

doc. C.V and ASF, Compagnie Religiose Soppresse da Pietro Leopoldo, S. Galgano, 2940, fol. 10v (in between 1684 and 1692).

12 Verbal information from Andrea Conti. CARLI 1979, p. 115; SALMI 1967, p. 223 note 5; PERKINS 1911, p. 5, & IDEM 1912, saw the Madonna della Neve in the Municipio of Chiusdino.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AAS	Archivio Arcivescovile di Siena
ACF	Archivio del Capitolo Fiorentino
ACVG	Archivio della Curia Vescovile di Grosseto
AOMS	Archivio dell'Opera Metropolitana di Siena (num. Mosc. refers to the numeration as in MOSCADELLI 1995)
ASF	Archivio di Stato di Firenze
ASS	Archivio di Stato di Siena
ASV	Archivio Segreto Vaticano
AVV	Archivio Vescovile di Volterra
BAV	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
BCS	Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati di Siena

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Sassetta's *Madonna della Neve*

Een weerspiegeling van mecenaat

Sassetta's *Madonna della Neve* is in belangrijke mate het resultaat van de inspanningen van een bijzondere groep opdrachtgevers en adviseurs, terwijl de iconografie van het altaarstuk zelf een reflectie op het patronaat behelst. De onderhavige studie spint deze opdracht situatie uit. Het onderzoek staat in een kunsthistorische traditie die veranderingen in de kunst tracht te verklaren vanuit een sociaal-historisch en functioneel oogpunt. Aanleiding vormden de bestudering van het altaarstuk gedurende de recente restauratie en de vondst van een verscheidenheid aan gerelateerde archiefstukken. Deze nieuwe gegevens nopen tot uitbreiding en herziening van de ontstaansgeschiedenis van het altaarstuk zoals die tot dusver bekend was. Nagegaan wordt welke sociaal-historische, religieuze, architectonische en technische voorwaarden aan het ontstaan van het altaarstuk ten grondslag liggen en op welke wijze Sassetta en zijn opdrachtgevers daarop inspeelden en tot de vernieuwende vorm en iconografie van de *Madonna della Neve* kwamen. Thema's als de invloed van de opdrachtgever op het kunstwerk, de opkomst van particulier mecenaat in Siena aan het begin van de vijftiende eeuw, het decoratieprogramma van de kathedraal van Siena, de verspreiding van de sneeuwiconografie van Rome naar Siena en de ontwikkeling van het rechthoekige altaarstuk met een ononderbroken beeldvlak en een ruimtelijk geïntegreerde compositie zijn in deze context van groot belang.

Op 20 augustus 1423 vraagt Ludovica Bertini haar man Turino di Matteo, *operaio* van de Siënese kathedraal, aan diens sterfbed naar zijn laatste wens. Hij verzoekt haar een vroeger gedane belofte in te lossen. Turino genas ooit van een ernstige ziekte en is ervan overtuigd dat dit het toedoen was van Maria en de heilige Franciscus. Uit dank daarvoor moet Ludovica in de kathedraal van Siena een aan Maria gewijde kapel verwezenlijken. Een notaris tekent later de getuigenissen op van de aanwezigen, waarmee dit bijzondere document de kracht en status krijgt van een testament. De documenten met betrekking tot de instelling en dotatie van de kapel – in deze studie voor het eerst gepresenteerd – tonen, evenals Ludovica's testament, hoe doortastend de weduwe te werk ging. Deze opdrachtgeefster van hoge geboorte mobiliseerde een kring van invloedrijke personen om zich heen en wist zo een kapel te scheppen die niet alleen het zielenheil en de nagedachtenis van haar man, maar ook van haar zelf diende. Twee opeenvolgende bisschoppen van Siena, Antonio Casini en Carlo Bartoli, alsmede enkele bankiers en rijke handelaren stonden haar terzijde. In 1432 voltooide Sassetta zijn *Madonna della Neve*

voor de kapel van Ludovica, die het jaar daarop overleed (hoofdstukken I & II).

Ludovica kreeg het patronaatsrecht over een kapel die zowel 'Santa Maria delle Grazie' als 'San Bonifazio' werd genoemd. Op het altaar bevond zich een dertiende-eeuws Madonna-antependium, de *Opera Madonna*. Aan de vooravond van de slag bij Monteperti hadden de Siënezen hun stad aan Maria opgedragen en zij hadden, zo wilde de traditie, ten teken daarvan de sleutels van de stad aan de voet van dit paneel gelegd. Na de oprichting van Duccio's *Maestà* op het hoofdaltaar kwam dit antependium terecht op een altaar naast de Porta del Perdono, de belangrijkste toegang van de kathedraal. De wijding van dit altaar aan zowel Santa Maria delle Grazie als San Bonifazio hangt samen met het feit dat de Siënezen als overwinnaars uit de veldslag bij Monteperti kwamen op de naamdag van Bonifatius. Toen de *Madonna della Neve* de *Opera Madonna* op het altaar naast de deur verving, bleef de herinnering aan de glorieuze tussenkomst van Maria levend in de inscriptie van het aureool van Sassetta's Madonna (hoofdstuk III). Daarnaast borduurde Sassetta's altaarstuk, met een legende die de bouw van een kerk centraal stelt, voort op de stichtingsymboliek van de Porta del Perdono, waardoor paus Alexander III zou zijn binnengetreten ter gelegenheid van de wijding van de kathedraal.

Het altaar stond niet, zoals aanvankelijk werd gedacht, tegen de muur van de campanile maar tussen de Porta del Perdono en de campanile, met de rug tegen de contrafaçade, een plaats die in veel kerken was gereserveerd voor bijzonder vereerde voorstellingen. Sassetta's altaarstuk benutte de weinige beschikbare ruimte ten volle. Het was als het ware ingeklemd in de omringende architectuur, getuige oude plattegronden van de oorspronkelijke situatie, de onbewerkte zijkanten van het werk en het feit dat de predella uitzonderlijk even breed is als het hoofdpaneel. Uit beschrijvingen van altaar en altaarstuk blijkt bovendien dat het bekroond werd door een overhuiving van stucwerk, waarschijnlijk rustend op consoles daar waar de lijst van Sassetta's altaarstuk inspringt. Deze overhuiving sloot het paneel ook van boven nauw in. Deze *chapella di gesso intagliata* bood Sassetta waarschijnlijk plaats voor fresco's, in ieder geval voor een Salvator-figuur waarvan in de opdracht documenten voor het altaarstuk gewag wordt gemaakt. De overhuiving van het altaarstuk was onlosmakelijk verbonden met het ontwerp ervan en komt in verschillende gedaanten ook in de documentatie over andere altaren in de kathedraal van Siena voor (hoofdstuk IV).

Binnen de geschiedenis van de ontwikkeling van het altaarstuk – niet alleen in Siena, maar ook in Florence – is de *Madonna della Neve* (1430-1432) het eerste voorbeeld van een rechthoekig, onverdeeld beeldvlak met een overtuigende perspectivische compositie, een vroege vorm van de *tavola quadrata*. Sassetta is naar alle waarschijnlijkheid tot dit vernieuwende type gekomen door de plaatsing van de kapel: het grote, onverdeelde beeldvlak gaf een optische illusie van breedte. In de kathedraal zelf dienden de mariologische altaarstukken voor de altaren van de patroonheiligen hem tot illustere voorbeelden. Sassetta toont nu echter geen narratieve maar een figuratieve compositie, een *maestà* of beter nog een *sacra conversazione*, terwijl hij bovendien afziet van zijheiligen op aparte panelen. Door gebaren en blikken leggen de heiligen contact met elkaar, met de toeschouwer en vooral met Maria en voorzien zo de gelovige van een ingang tot het hemelse hof, tot de moeder van God, bemiddelaarster bij uitstek. Sassetta's gebruik van de baklijst alludeert eveneens aan oudere tradities binnen de schilderkunst van Siena; zo loopt bijvoorbeeld het houtwerk van het baldakijn vanaf de zijkanten naar het midden toe naar voren. Het effect van dit subtiele, nauwelijks bestudeerde devies is niet alleen dat de tronende Madonna en de haar omringende heiligen in majesteit worden afgezet, maar ook dat de grens tussen de geschilderde en de werkelijke ruimte vervaagt en de toeschouwer betrokken raakt in de voorstelling (hoofdstuk v).

Turino's belangrijke functie in de kathedraal, als een van de eerste *operai* die voor het leven waren aangesteld en geridderd bij het aanvaarden van het ambt, gekoppeld aan de adellijke status van Ludovica Bertini en de kring invloedrijke personen om haar heen, maakten het dit echtpaar mogelijk het patronaatsrecht over een altaar in de kathedraal te ambiëren en te bemachtigen. Tot dan toe was de kathedraal slechts podium geweest voor bisschoppelijke en stedelijke belangen. In de periode tussen 1420 en 1440 maakte de individuele opdrachtgever zijn entree. Niet alleen verwierven verschillende vooraanstaande burgers het patronaatsrecht over altaren in de kathedraal, zij drukten ook hun stempel op de decoratie van hun kapellen. Deze opdrachtgevers kozen voor een iconografie die aansloot bij individuele devotionele praktijken en schroomden niet hun eigen persoon via wapenschilden en donorportretten te manifesteren. Archiefvondsten stellen ons in staat deze tendens in de kathedraal te volgen en zich te zien manifesteren in het patronaat van bisschop Antonio Casini over de kapel van de heilige Sebastiaan en Maria, van bisschop Carlo Bartoli over de kapel van San Crescenzo, van kanunnik Francesco di Biagio Tolomei over de kapel van de Visitatie, van kanunnik Giorgio di Andrea Tolomei over de kapel van de Drie Koningen, van notaris Galgano di Cerbone over de kapel van het Crucifix en van de bankier Giacomo Pecci, wiens erfgenamen zich na vele omwegen

patroon van de kapel van Sant'Ansano mochten noemen. In de iconografie van de meeste altaren komt een nieuwe Mariaverering tot uiting, variërend van de *Madonna dell'Umiltà* en de Visitatie tot een herbezinning op Maria's rol bij de Kruisiging. Individuele opdrachtgevers wonnen ook in andere kerken meer terrein en stichtten kapellen niet alleen voor hun zielenheil, maar ook ter meerdere eer en glorie van hun eigen persoon en familie. Zo kreeg Sassetta tijdens zijn leven nog minstens drie andere opdrachten van individuele opdrachtgevers, onder andere in Siena voor de kapel van Francesca Petroni-Tolomei in de San Francesco, waarover deze studie nieuwe documenten ontsluit (hoofdstuk vi).

Ludovica's Sneeuwmadonna vormt de neerslag bij uitstek van deze mentaliteitsverandering. Sassetta schildert de wapenschilden van Turino en Ludovica hier zelfs op de troon van Maria. De sneeuwiconografie is een reflectie van de persoonlijke situatie van de opdrachtgevers; de sneeuwlegende is in principe de locale stichtingslegende van de basiliek van Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome. In een visioen maakte Maria aan paus Liberius en aan een patriciër kenbaar dat zij een kerk te harer ere verlangde. Een wonderbaarlijke sneeuwval in de vorm van een kerkplattegrond gaf de plaats aan waar deze zou moeten verrijzen. De kinderloze patriciër en zijn vrouw maakten de bouw mogelijk. Het feit dat Sassetta het verhaal maar liefst over zeven scènes uitspint, uitgebreider dan ooit tevoren in Rome werd gedaan, doet vermoeden dat de schilder en zijn opdrachtgevers een zeer specifieke informatiebron hadden. Als hun raadgever wordt hier Antonio Casini voorgesteld, een verre neef van paus Martinus V, bisschop van Siena en later van Grosseto, die in 1426 kardinaal werd en vanaf 1437 aarts-priester van Santa Maria Maggiore was. Uit Casini's testament blijkt dat hij in Santa Maria Maggiore een rijk gedoteerde kapellanie instelde en dat hij daar begraven wenste te worden. Tevens wordt duidelijk dat Antonio Casini de opdrachtgever was van Masaccio's en Masolino's dubbelzijdige altaarstuk, dat aan de ene zijde de *Tenhemelopname van Maria* en aan de andere de *Miraculeuze sneeuwval en de stichting van de basiliek*, als eerbetoon aan paus Martinus v toonde. Uit het testament van Casini is af te leiden dat het altaarstuk zich oorspronkelijk op het kanunnikenaltaar in het middenschip van de basiliek moet hebben bevonden; aan het begin van de vijftiende eeuw was het houten kanunnikenaltaar nog intact en flankeerde ter rechter zijde het stenen hoofdkoor van de basiliek. Casini's portret is door Masolino opgenomen in de scène van de miraculeuze stichting van de kerk. De belangrijke mecenas Casini maakte meestal gebruik van plaatselijk beschikbare talenten: beeldhouwers, schilders en miniaturisten. Voor de Santa Maria Maggiore in het vervallen Rome lokte hij echter het schilderskoppel Masaccio-Masolino naar de Eeuwige Stad (hoofdstuk vii).

Het moet Antonio Casini zijn geweest die Turino en Ludovica attendeerde op de sneeuwlegende als toepasselijke allegorie op Turino's leiderschap van de kathedraalwerken en op hun beider wens een kapel aan Maria te wijden en hun vermogen op vrome wijze in haar naam te besteden, bij ontstentenis van erfgenamen. Sassetta, zijn opdrachtgevers en adviseur zullen daarom gekozen hebben voor een iconografische uitbreiding van het laatste gedeelte van de legende. De laatste vier van de zeven scènes verbeelden afzonderlijk de wonderbaarlijke sneeuwval, het uitgraven van de sneeuwplattegrond, de bouw van de kerk en de wijding. In deze scènes zijn vermoedelijk zelfs portretten opgenomen van Ludovica, Turino en Antonio Casini. Op het hoofdpaneel heeft Sassetta de legende op originele wijze gesublimeerd tot het attribuut van de sneeuwballen, gekneed door twee engelen van twee schalen met sneeuw (hoofdstuk VIII).

Het contact met Sassetta en zijn opdrachtgevers enthousiasmeerde kardinaal Antonio Casini, die daarop voor de

kathedraal van zijn tweede bisdom, Grosseto, rond 1433 een altaarstuk bestelde bij het kopstuk van de Siëense Renaissance. Uit de apostolische visite van Grosseto door Francesco Bossio, een manuscript dat hier voor het eerst wordt gepresenteerd, blijkt dat Casini in de kathedraal van Grosseto een Crucifix-kapel instelde. Hij luisterde deze kapel op met een altaarstuk van Sassetta en een groot, expressief crucifix dat hij waarschijnlijk bij Vecchietta bestelde. Van Sassetta's polyptiek is alleen een fragment van de Madonna met Kind over. Het ongebruikelijke attribuut van de kersen die het Christuskind eet verwijst naar de verlossende kruisdood. Een nauw verweven kring van opdrachtgevers bepaalde zo in de vroege jaren dertig van de vijftiende eeuw de loop van Sassetta's carrière. Met de vorm van zijn altaarstuk vond Sassetta een originele oplossing voor de vereisten van de uitzonderlijke locatie van de kapel. Zijn opdrachtgevers brachten de nieuwe iconografie aan, terwijl hun wensen in belangrijke mate bepalend waren voor Sassetta's compositorische tactieken en beeldtaal.

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Sassetta was the pioneering artist in Siena at the beginning of the fifteenth century and the Madonna della Neve altarpiece (1430-1432) stands out as his most innovative work. It adorned an altar in Siena Cathedral, for which it had been commissioned by Ludovica Bertini,

the widow of a former head of the cathedral-works. In order to achieve her chapel, Sassetta's patroness mobilised a wide circle of influential friends including Cardinal Antonio Casini, a grand patron of the arts.

Stemming from a wealth of new archival discoveries, this book explores the personal motivation of the patroness, her family and her social network, and subsequent implications of such for Sassetta's altarpiece and his career. It will be seen that bonds of patronage also linked the Madonna della Neve to Sassetta's later commission for the cathedral of Grosseto, and to Masaccio and Masolino's altarpiece for Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome. Sassetta's Madonna della Neve is the most potent example of a series of altarpieces that would topple the traditional civic and episcopal

monopoly of patronage in Siena Cathedral, making way for an individualised stake by private patrons and heralding a spiritual and artistic renaissance in the city.

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