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SHE LOVED MORE ARDENTLY THAN THE REST:
THE MAGDALEN CYCLES OF LATE DUECENTO AND TRECENTO ITALY

By

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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In 1279, Charles of Salerno, the future King Charles II of Naples, discovered the body of the repentant prostitute Mary Magdalen, the foremost exemplar of penance in the late medieval period, at the church of Saint-Maximin in Provence. Immediately afterwards the first cycles of paintings depicting her life appeared in Italy. The Angevin dynasty of Naples, along with the Franciscan and Dominican Orders, promoted the Magdalen cult and its spread into Italy, yet there has been little inquiry into their use of visual imagery in this endeavor. My dissertation investigates the iconography and patronage of the earliest central and southern Italian painted cycles depicting her life, providing the first exploration of the use of narrative imagery to aid in the construction and development of the identity of Mary Magdalen. The visual expression of this identity, as created in six critically important cycles in Naples, Assisi, and Florence, played a vital role in her cult's expansion. I contend that these pictorial narratives, all connected to the key advocates of her cult, were not merely illustrating the Magdalen's

life as they were transmitted in textual accounts, but instead were consciously used to craft the identity of the saint. These cycles thus visualize mendicant and Angevin interpretations of the Magdalen.

The first chapter provides the historical context for interpreting the Magdalen pictorial *vitae*, presenting a summary of the biblical and legendary Magdalen literary material, and explaining her appeal for the three groups instrumental in promoting her cult in the period. It concludes with a discussion of the earliest Magdalen cycle, on the *Magdalen Master Dossal* in Florence. The second chapter explores the three Magdalen cycles in Naples within the context of Angevin promotion of the Magdalen cult. The third and fourth chapters investigate the Magdalen Chapel in the Basilica of St. Francis, Assisi, looking at the Magdalen cycle and the iconic imagery in the chapel as a Franciscan statement on penitence. The final chapter re-examines the Magdalen Chapel in the Palazzo del Podestà, Florence, arguing that it was a palace chapel commissioned by the Angevin Signore of Florence, King Robert.

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INTRODUCTION

My dissertation examines the content and meaning of painted *vitae* of Mary Magdalen in central and southern Italy in relation to the promotion of the Magdalen cult by the Angevins, Franciscans and Dominicans during the late medieval period, from approximately 1280 to 1340/50 AD. The chronological period covered thus begins with the earliest Magdalen narrative cycle in Italy, a Florentine painted panel by the Magdalen Master featuring eight scenes of the life of the Magdalen (ca. 1280).¹ It ends with the fresco cycle in the Pipino Chapel in San Pietro a Maiella, Naples (ca. 1340/1352), painted sometime around the death of King Robert (d. 1343), after which Angevin power and influence in Italy went into decline. In total, six cycles are considered, three in Naples, two in Florence and one in Assisi. In addition to the two mentioned above, I investigate the cycles in the Magdalen Chapel in San Lorenzo Maggiore, Naples (1295-1300); the Magdalen Chapel in the Lower Basilica of St. Francis, Assisi (1307-9); the Brancaccio Chapel in San Domenico Maggiore, Naples (1308-9); and the Magdalen Chapel in the Palazzo of the Podestà (Bargello), Florence (1321).

The appearance of painted Magdalen narrative *vitae* in Italy in the second to last decade of the duecento presents a clear response to historical events. Although some of the individual scenes found in Magdalen *vita* cycles, particularly those representing gospel narratives such as the *Noli me tangere*, and the *Raising of Lazarus* were seen in Italy prior to 1280, they appear in the context of Christological cycles or as standalone

¹ Original provenance unknown; now in the Accademia Gallery in Florence.

images.² Cycles depicting the life of the Magdalen, and thus promoting her cult, were not found in Italy until Charles of Salerno, the future Charles II of Naples (r. 1285-1309), discovered the Magdalen's body in 1279 in the Angevin territory of Provence. It is possible that the idea to use hagiographic cycles to promote their new Magdalen cult was suggested to the Angevins by the recent practices of the competing Burgundian Magdalen cult at the Abbey of Vézelay, which had long claimed to have the body of the Magdalen. Although Vézelay itself seems to have had surprisingly little Magdalen imagery, starting in the beginning of the thirteenth century, Magdalen *vitae* cycles appeared in stained glass at Chartres, Bourges, Semur-en-Auxois, Auxerre, Le Mans, Clermont-Ferrand, Sees, and Lyon. All these locations were strongly linked to the Burgundian cultic centers of the Magdalen at Vézelay, and Lazarus at Autun.³ None of these French cycles, however, provide clear iconographic or hagiographic precedents for the *vita* cycles as they appear in Italy at the end of the thirteenth century.

I focused my study on narrative depictions of the life of Mary Magdalen, because this large scale mode of representation is clearly linked to the spread of the Magdalen cult in Italy, and to its main advocates. Furthermore, the context of a narrative cycle better

² For an overview of such imagery see Magdalen LaRow, "The Iconography of Mary Magdalen: The Evolution of a Western Tradition until 1300" (PhD diss., New York University, 1982). See also Lisa Marie Rafanelli, "The Ambiguity of Touch: Saint Mary Magdalene and the 'Noli Me Tangere' in Early Modern Italy" (PhD diss., New York University, 2004).

³ For these cycles see Colette Deremble, "Les premiers cycles d'images consacrés à Marie Madeleine," *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome Moyen Age. La Madeleine (VIII^e-XIII^e siècle)* 104, no. 1 (1992): 187-208; Barbara Johnston, "Sacred Kingship and Royal Patronage in the *Vie de la Madeleine*: Pilgrimage, Politics, Passion Plays, and the Life of Louise of Savoy" (PhD diss., Florida State University, 2007), 18, 43 n54, 84-7; Virginia Chieffo Raguin, *Stained Glass in Thirteenth-Century Burgundy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1982), 89, 154-7; Susan Haskins, *Mary Magdalen: Myth and Metaphor* (New York: Riverhead Books, 1993), 218. Deremble notes that these cycles tend to focus on the life of Lazarus, a marked difference from the Italian cycles. Despite this unifying element, they show a greater variation in iconography and scene choice, with some cycles being dominated by the legendary life, and others almost totally ignoring it. The omission in many of the cycles of the events surrounding Easter, a critical element in all but one of the Italian cycles, is also noteworthy. The Chartres window (c. 1200) has the earliest representations of the legendary life of the Magdalen thus far known.

enables an artist and patron to transmit multilayered messages about a figure than does an iconic image.⁴ Indeed, as Cynthia Hahn has stated, it was “through the interactions of scenes in narrative and their cumulative effect that hagiographers were able to convey complex meanings.”⁵ For my approach to this visual hagiography, theoretical discussions of the concept of narrative were not particularly pertinent; however, recent studies in a variety of media, which investigated narrative cycles in relation to their source materials, contexts and functions, have suggested fruitful avenues of inquiry.⁶

It has often been argued, going back to Pope Gregory the Great (r. 590-604), that narrative imagery is visual instruction for an illiterate or at best, semi-literate populace. Thus, “pictorial art illustrates and is inextricably bound to written sources.”⁷ Treating narrative imagery as merely illustrative does a disservice both to the educational level of much of the intended audience, and to the interpretive possibilities of the medium of pictorial narrative. It is my contention that these cycles were, at least partially,

⁴ It is not my contention that the narrative mode automatically transmits more complex information than the iconic, rather that a cycle of 3-to-9 events presented in concert is better able to transmit a large quantity of information than is an iconic image of a saint.

⁵ Cynthia Hahn, *Portrayed on the Heart: Narrative Effect in Pictorial Lives of Saints from the Tenth through the Thirteenth Century* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2001), 18.

⁶ For a historiographic overview of methodological approaches to narrative see Suzanne Lewis, “Narrative,” in *A Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe*, ed. Conrad Rudolph (Malden: Blackwell, 2006), 86-105. A select assortment of studies that approach visual hagiography in a variety of media from a similar approach in terms of text, context and meaning includes: Joanna Cannon, “Dominic *alter Christus*? Representations of the Founder in and after the *Arca di San Domenico*,” in *Christ Among the Medieval Dominicans: Representations of Christ in the Texts and Images of the Order of Preachers*, eds. K. Emery Jr. and J. Wawrykow, Notre Dame Conferences in Medieval Studies 7 (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1998), 26-48; Magdalena Elizabeth Carrasco, “The Imagery of the Magdalen in Christina of Markyate’s Psalter (St. Albans Psalter),” *Gesta* 38, no. 1 (1999): 67-80; Anne Derbes, *Picturing the Passion in Late Medieval Italy: Narrative Painting, Franciscan Ideologies, and the Levant* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Mary D. Edwards, “The Handling of Narrative in the Cycle of St. Catherine of Alexandria in the Oratory of St. George in Padua (c. 1379-1384),” *Il Santo* 37 (1997): 147-163; Giovanni Freni, “Visual Hagiography and its Context: The Narrative of the Shrine of San Donato,” *Studies in Iconography* 26 (2005): 59-119; Cynthia Hahn, *Portrayed on the Heart*.

⁷ For a discussion of this line of thinking and its medieval proponents, see Marilyn Aronberg Lavin, *The Place of Narrative: Mural Decoration in Italian Churches, 431-1600* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 1.

instructive; however, the messages contained therein were not specifically targeted for the uneducated, but rather spoke to a broad and diverse audience of nobles, clerics, friars and the laity. While there is a relationship between image and text in these narrative cycles, it varies in closeness. Although the written legends served as a major source for the depiction of her life in iconographic programs, none of the painted cycles are mere dogmatic illustrations of written material.

In her discussion of the St. Clare *vita* panel, Jeryldene Wood wrote, “Historiated dossals make canonical sainthood visible, for just as the written legends became integral to the canonization ritual, paintings became essential to the popularization of saints’ cults, because they too promoted the authorized histories and validated the sanctification.”⁸ As a biblical saint, the Magdalen’s sanctity was established fact. Nevertheless, Wood’s statement sheds light on one of the functions of narrative cycles of the life of Mary Magdalen, not just her *vita* panel, but the fresco cycles as well. I would argue that the task of promoting authorized histories is a critical function of narrative imagery, one that played a crucial role in the Magdalen cycles considered herein. While the Magdalen was a firmly established saint, these narrative cycles were painted in response to the discovery in 1279 by the Angevin heir of a new body at St.-Maximin in Provence, its authentication by Pope Boniface VIII in 1295, and the rise of a new Magdalen cultic center in Angevin Provence. Painted narrative was essential for the success of the new Angevin-promoted Magdalen cult, especially as the primary textual source for the life of the Magdalen, Jacobus de Voragine’s *Golden Legend* (ca. 1260), assumed the Magdalen relics lay elsewhere.

⁸ Jeryldene Wood, “Perceptions of Holiness in Italian Painting: Clare of Assisi,” *Art History* 14, no. 3 (September 1991): 305.

In the same vein as the written sources, these narrative cycles present the Magdalen as a devotional exemplar for worshippers to emulate. Part of her near universal appeal was derived from the fact that Mary Magdalen was regarded as a sinner, and thus ordinary men and women could easily relate to her. As the example of perfect penitence she provided a source of hope, instructing the imperfect worshipper, and illustrating the holy state that could be achieved through sincere penance.⁹

A twelfth-century Cistercian Magdalen *vita*, *The Life of Saint Mary Magdalene and of her Sister Saint Martha*, while not reflected in the narratives presented in hagiographic cycles, provides valuable insight as to their penitential function. A passage describes the many ways in which people could respond to the tale of Mary Magdalen, each reaction described being superior to the one recounted previously. The penultimate response is to burn to imitate her, but:

most happy by far the one who has been so moved by and who has taken such delight in the surpassing fragrance of Mary's deeds that he has followed the example of her conversion, has imprinted in himself the image of her repentance, and has filled his spirit with her devotion, to the degree that he has made himself a partaker of that best part which she chose.¹⁰

These pictorial cycles provided worshippers with a detailed example of the Magdalen's conversion. Looking upon them, their eyes were impressed with images of her repentance and their spirits filled with her devotion for Christ, so clearly displayed before them, through their partaking in the "best part," that is contemplation of the visual narrative.

⁹ Helen Meredith Garth, *Saint Mary Magdalene in Medieval Literature* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1950), 105-6. For more examples from medieval literature of Mary Magdalen as an example for sinners and penitents see *ibid.*, 93.

¹⁰ *The Life of Saint Mary Magdalene and of her Sister Saint Martha. A Medieval Biography Translated and Annotated by David Mycoff*, Cistercian Studies Series 108 (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1989), 81. Due to its Latin title, *De Vita Beatae Mariae Magdalenae et Sororis Eius Sanctae Martha*, this work is referred to as the VBMM.

The hagiographic cycles thus served as aides for worshippers to achieve the same successful penance as did the Magdalen.

The hagiographic cycles considered in this study do not merely illustrate the Magdalen's life as described in textual accounts. Instead, through the selection of scenes for inclusion,¹¹ their iconographic and textual content, and their placement and juxtaposition,¹² artists and patrons consciously used narrative imagery to craft and develop the identity of the saint specific to their interests. These cycles therefore visualize mendicant and Angevin interpretations of the Magdalen, emphasizing her penitent nature and her direct associations with the Angevin family. The visual expression of this identity, as created in these critically important cycles in Naples, Assisi, and Florence, were a vital aspect in her cult's expansion.

This dissertation is organized primarily according to the location of the cycles, with their date as a secondary factor. It proceeds from Florence to Naples, to Assisi and returns to Florence, and, generally speaking, is structured from the earliest cycles to the latest. An alternate organization schema was suggested by my focus on the Dominican, Franciscan and Angevin *milieu* in which these cycles were commissioned. These categories, however, are not discrete, as we shall see. Many of the cycles are both

¹¹ As Cook illuminatingly states in his discussion of the Bardi Chapel, "[s]election means interpretation...Elements of careful selection include the placement of stories in the narrative that can make more than one point and the selection of one of several possible stories to represent an important facet of the Franciscan mission." It is this kind of thoughtful selection that makes visual narratives different from the literary source material from which they derive. William R. Cook, "Giotto and the Figure of St. Francis," in *The Cambridge Companion to Giotto*, eds. Anne Derbes and Mark Sandona (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 144. On this issue, see also Hahn, *Portrayed on the Heart*, 46.

¹² Lavin's study on narrative imagery grew out of a concern with the issue of placement/arrangement. While I do not always agree with her readings, her interest in this matter is important and influential. Especially interesting is her argument that "out of order" narrative elements were used to transmit messages on larger themes: dogma, political power, and morality for example. Lavin, *Place of Narrative*, 3-6.

Franciscan and Angevin, or Dominican and Angevin; it was therefore impossible to organize it with regard to these classifications.

My first chapter introduces the reader to late medieval conceptions of the Magdalen. This literary material has been the subject of considerable historical and biblical scholarship, but acts as a critical foundation for understanding the visual representation of the Magdalen in this period. Not only does it provide evidence of the importance of the Magdalen in the late medieval period, but it also directly impacted both which scenes were chosen for inclusion in narrative cycles, and the nature of their iconography.

The Magdalen cult was transmitted into Italy through three major, often overlapping conduits: The Dominicans, the Franciscans and the Angevin dynasty of Naples; all of the Magdalen narrative cycles discussed herein are linked to at least one of these promoters of her cult. I thus discuss each of these three groups with relation to their dedication to the Magdalen and promotion of her cult. The first chapter concludes with an examination of the earliest known Italian Magdalen cycle, located on a Florentine panel painting by the Magdalen Master, and dated to ca. 1280.

The second chapter concentrates on the cycles located in Naples and completed during the reign of the Angevin dynasty. It begins with the cycle in the Magdalen Chapel of the Franciscan church of San Lorenzo Maggiore, the earliest frescoed Life of Mary Magdalen, dated to 1295-1300. I then consider the cycle in the Brancaccio Chapel (ca. 1308-9) in San Domenico Maggiore, the main Dominican church of Naples, which at that time had been dedicated to Mary Magdalen by Charles II. The final cycle I examine in Naples is the largest and most complex. Located in the Celestine church of San Pietro a

Maiella, it consists of eight scenes, dated to 1340, or before 1354. Although none of the Neapolitan chapels appear to have been commissioned by members of the Angevin dynasty, they clearly illustrate Angevin interests. This suggests that noble patrons were using visual hagiography to promote the patron saint of the Kingdom of Naples and the Angevin dynasty, thus showing their connection and fealty to the ruling house, as well as glorifying their rulers.

The third and fourth chapters deal with the Magdalen Chapel in the Lower Basilica in the Church of St. Francis in Assisi. This chapel, which dates to approximately 1307-8, is located in the mother church of the Franciscan Order. It was commissioned by the Franciscan bishop of Assisi, Teobaldo Pontano, who previously had been bishop of Stabia di Castellamare in the Kingdom of Naples. This is the earliest fresco cycle dedicated to the Magdalen situated outside of Naples, and it is likely that Teobaldo's time as bishop under the Angevins introduced him to the new wave of devotion to the saint as the perfect penitent. The chapel's overtly penitential iconography, however, should be read primarily as a theological statement regarding the Franciscan conception of the Magdalen. The penitential nature of the program is expressed not only in the frescoed Magdalen *vita* cycle, discussed in chapter three, but also in the ancillary imagery, including the stained glass window featuring a Magdalen cycle, which is the subject of chapter four.

In the final chapter I return to Florence, where we began in chapter one by considering the Magdalen *vita* panel, to discuss the Magdalen Chapel in the Palazzo del Podestà (otherwise known as the Bargello). This is the only chapel considered in this study that is not located in a church nor connected to a religious order. I present new

evidence that this cycle was commissioned during the Florentine Signory of the Angevin King Robert (r. 1309-1343),¹³ at the culmination of a major Angevin renovation and expansion project on the Palazzo. In contrast to earlier analysis, I argue that this chapel acted as a palace chapel for the Signore and his vicar(s), suggesting the Angevin King Robert and his vicars were directly involved in commissioning the cycle.

In my conclusion, I reflect on the fact that the phenomenon of Magdalen narrative cycles in Franciscan and Dominican *milieux* did not end in middle of the fourteenth century, but continued on in Tuscany and Umbria. To that end I briefly introduce three later cycles, the earliest of which is located in Florence, in the Guidalotti-Rinuccini Chapel (1360-70) in the Franciscan church of Santa Croce. The later two are both dated to the first decade of the quattrocento and thus show a continuity of theme and style into the next century. One is in Umbria, in the Magdalen Chapel in the Church of San Domenico, Spoleto. The other is located in the Oratory of the Magdalen in Cetona (Tuscany), one of three oratories comprising the Hermitage of Belverde, a Franciscan tertiary establishment.

Although historians such as Katherine L. Jansen and Neal Raymond Clemens have investigated the mendicant and Angevin promotion of the Magdalen cult, the role that images played in late medieval interpretations of the Magdalen and in the spread of her cult has not previously been the topic of serious inquiry.¹⁴ This is a grave omission, as visual representations were and are essential in transmitting knowledge and advancing

¹³ Signore of Florence from 1313 until 31 December 1321.

¹⁴ Katherine L. Jansen, *The Making of the Magdalen: Preaching and Popular Devotion in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton University Press: Princeton NJ, 2000); Katherine L. Jansen, "Mary Magdalen and the Mendicants in Late Medieval Italy" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 1995); Neal Raymond Clemens, "The Establishment of the Cult of Mary Magdalen in Provence, 1279-1543" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1997). Jansen does discuss painted images of the Magdalen, but given the scope of her work, her treatment is necessarily cursory and does not deal with iconographical issues in any depth.

political and religious agendas. With the exception of the Magdalen Chapel in the Lower Church in the Basilica of St. Francis in Assisi, often attributed to Giotto, these cycles have received little critical attention. The cycles in Naples have been particularly overlooked, largely due to a longstanding, though now changing, bias favoring the artistic production of such centers as Assisi and Florence.¹⁵ In fact, even when art historians have noted the role of the Angevins in the spread of the Magdalen cult, those cycles most directly linked to the dynasty—the Neapolitan cycles—have not been analysed in light of these Angevin-Magdalen connections. What previous research into this important visual material does exist has been limited to studies of individual cycles, which have largely focused on attribution issues and related stylistic considerations. The scholarship has thus neglected the role images played in expanding the Magdalen cult, in furthering the agendas of the mendicants and Angevins, and in shaping the Magdalen's identity. By considering these cycles primarily in terms of possible attributions, art historians have overlooked their key role in promoting the saint's cult and shaping her identity, relegating paintings central to understanding the Magdalen to the margins. My study, which considers all six late medieval Magdalen cycles in central and southern Italy, examines

¹⁵ While Assisi's importance as a center for art has been celebrated, a similar practice in Naples, of importing the best artists rather than nurturing an illustrious native school, has contributed to the perception that it was not a major artistic center, and thus its neglect in the literature. Additionally, and critically to understanding the Angevin promotion of the Magdalen, the immense political importance of Naples throughout Italy in the late medieval period has largely been ignored by scholars. The recent volume edited by Cordelia Warr and Janis Elliot, especially Nicolas Bock's essay on issues of center and periphery, as well as Norman Housley's insightful investigation of the papal-Angevin relationship and Steven Runciman's seminal book on Angevin history are essential to understanding the Angevins in relation to Rome, and to the rest of Italy. Cordelia Warr and Janis Elliott, eds., *Art and Architecture in Naples, 1266-1713* (Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010); Nicolas Bock, "Patronage, Standards and 'Transfert Culturel': Naples Between Art History and Social Science Theory" in *Art and Architecture in Naples, 1266-1713*, eds. Warr and Elliot (Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010): 152-175; Norman Housley, *The Italian Crusades: The Papal-Angevin Alliance and the Crusades Against Christian Lay Powers, 1254-1343* (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1982); Steven Runciman, *The Sicilian Vespers: A History of the Mediterranean World in the Later Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (Canto Edition), 1992).

their iconography in conjunction with their religio-political context in order to shed light both on the meaning of these individual monuments, and the crucial role of art in the promotion of the Magdalen cult in late medieval Italy.

CHAPTER ONE

THE MAGDALEN CULT: ANGEVINS, FRANCISCANS, DOMINICANS AND THE RISE OF NARRATIVE MAGDALENIAN IMAGERY

MARY MAGDALEN

She had coveted with earthly eyes, but now through penitence these are consumed with tears. She displayed her hair to set off her face, but now her hair dries her tears. She had spoken proud things with her mouth, but in kissing the Lord's feet, she now planted her mouth on the Redeemer's feet. For every delight, therefore, she had had in herself, she now immolated herself. She turned the mass of her crimes to virtues, in order to serve God entirely in penance, for as much as she had wrongly held God in contempt.

Gregory the Great, Homily 33, circa 591¹⁶

In order to understand the complex iconography of these chapels and their dedication to Mary Magdalen, it is first necessary to briefly discuss late medieval interpretations of the Magdalen. In addition to presenting her *vita* as it was understood at this time, I focus on her appeal to the Franciscans, Dominicans and Angevins who were the avid promoters of her cult in southern and central Italy. I conclude this chapter with a discussion of the earliest Italian Magdalen *vita* cycle, that on the *Magdalen Master Dossal* (fig. 1.1) in the Accademia Gallery, Florence. This panel painting from the last quarter of the duecento presents a complex and already-developed visual narrative, setting the stage for the fresco cycles that follow soon thereafter.

There has been a great deal of recent historical scholarship on Mary Magdalen in the late medieval period. In particular, the work of Katherine Ludwig Jansen, her book, *The Making of the Magdalen: Preaching and Popular Devotion in the Later Middle Ages*, her dissertation, "Mary Magdalen and the Mendicants in Late Medieval Italy," and her

¹⁶ Haskins, *Myth and Metaphor*, 93. An alternate translation appears in Gregory the Great, *Gregory the Great: Forty Gospel Homilies*, trans. Dom David Hurst (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1990), 270. The meaning is the same, however I preferred Haskins' phrasing.

numerous articles on the Magdalen, have greatly enriched our knowledge of the understanding and reception of the Magdalen in this period, especially in relation to the mendicant orders.¹⁷ Other valuable works include Heather Jo McVoy's dissertation "Those Whom Jesus Loved: The Development of the Paradigmatic Story of Lazarus, Mary, and Martha Through the Medieval Period," which analyzes the gospel stories, medieval exegesis, and the later legends about the Magdalen and her siblings,¹⁸ and Susan Haskins, *Mary Magdalen: Myth and Metaphor*,¹⁹ which, while broader in scope than the aforementioned works, provides valuable insights into the development of the Magdalen cult in this period. Earlier scholarship on the Magdalen cult which remains critically important includes Victor Saxer's seminal works, in particular, *Le culte de Marie Madeleine en occident des origines à la fin du moyen âge*,²⁰ Étienne-Michel Faillon's opus, *Monuments inédits sur l'apostolat de Sainte Marie-Madeleine en Provence*, a two volume history with primary sources concentrating on the Magdalen cult in Provence,²¹ and Helen Meredith Garth's *Saint Mary Magdalene in Medieval Literature*.²²

My object in presenting this material is not to reveal the "historical" Mary Magdalen, nor to rehash what has been done by historians and religious scholars. Rather, this brief introduction to her *dossier* as it existed in the period is intended to explain the

¹⁷ Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen*; Jansen, "Mary Magdalen and the Mendicants in Late Medieval Italy."

¹⁸ Heather Jo McVoy, "Those Whom Jesus Loved: The Development of the Paradigmatic Story of Lazarus, Mary, and Martha Through the Medieval Period" (PhD diss., The Florida State University, 1992).

¹⁹ Haskins, *Myth and Metaphor*.

²⁰ Victor Saxer, *Le culte de Marie Madeleine en occident des origines à la fin du moyen âge*, Cahiers d'archéologie et d'histoire, 3 (Auxerre; Paris: Publications de la société des Fouilles Archéologiques et des Monuments Historiques de l'Yonne; Librairie Clavreuil, 1959).

²¹ Étienne-Michel Faillon, *Monuments inédits sur l'apostolat de Sainte Marie-Madeleine en Provence: et sur les autres apôtres de cette contrée, Saint Lazare, Saint Maximin, Sainte Marthe, les saintes Maries Jacobé et Salomé*, 2 vols. (Paris: J.P. Migne, 1859).

²² Garth, *Saint Mary Magdalene*.

medieval understanding of the Magdalen and her importance in the period. This is critical for comprehending her appeal to those groups promoting her cult, groups whose power and influence ranged from France to central and southern Italy and beyond. By first discussing the gospel and legendary accounts of the Magdalen, and then discussing the Angevins, Franciscans and Dominicans with regard to Mary Magdalen and her cult, I aim to elucidate the contexts in which these cycles were created.

The late medieval understanding of Mary Magdalen was multifaceted and drew on multiple sources. It incorporated gospel accounts concerning the named Mary Magdalen, as well as those describing the activities of Mary of Bethany and Luke's unnamed sinner. Also critical were centuries of biblical exegesis. The more recently developed legendary accounts of her post-biblical life introduced a final essential element. She was interpreted through the symbolic etymology of her name,²³ and was presented as a type or parallel to figures in both the Old Testament (Eve²⁴ and the bride in the Song of Songs²⁵) and the New Testament (Virgin Mary).²⁶ She was seen as representative of the Church²⁷ and the gentiles,²⁸ as well as being interpreted as the

²³ For medieval etymological interpretations of the name of Mary Magdalen see Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, intro. and trans. William Granger Ryan (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), vol. I, 374-375. See also Garth, *Saint Mary Magdalene*, 77-78; Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen*, 20-21, 208.

²⁴ For interpretations of Mary Magdalen as a new Eve, see Haskins, *Myth and Metaphor*, 62, 91-92, 138; Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen*, 31-32; and Garth, *Saint Mary Magdalene*, 79.

²⁵ For Mary Magdalen as the bride in the Song of Songs, see Haskins, *Myth and Metaphor*, esp. 60-64. McVoy describes how this functions in the work of various theologians. See McVoy, "Those Whom Jesus Loved," 103 (for St. Ambrose), 122 (for Gregory the Great).

²⁶ For Mary Magdalen as a type of the Virgin Mary, see Garth, *Saint Mary Magdalene*, 80 (the Virgin as exemplar of virtue, Magdalen of penitence). See also Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen*, 286-287.

²⁷ For a discussion of Hippolytus' use of Mary as the new Eve, representing the Church of Christ overcoming the first Eve, who represented the Synagogue, see Haskins, *Myth and Metaphor*, 63. For St. Augustine on Mary Magdalen as the Church see *ibid.*, 92. For Origin on the Magdalen as the Church, see McVoy, "Those Whom Jesus Loved," 82. For St. Ambrose on the Magdalen as the Church, see *ibid.*, 102, 103 and 105-6. For Gregory the Great on Mary Magdalen as the Church, see *ibid.*, 122.

²⁸ Garth, *Saint Mary Magdalene*, 83.

fulfillment of an Old Testament prophecy.²⁹ Most importantly, she was understood as the example of perfect penitence and as the *apostolorum apostola*, “apostle to the apostles.”³⁰

MARY MAGDALEN IN THE BIBLE (APPENDIX 1)³¹

Mary Magdalen is identified by name several times in the gospels.³² According to Heather McVoy “no other woman [is] so consistently portrayed as a disciple by the gospels as is Mary Magdalene.”³³ She features primarily in the passion and resurrection narratives. Luke 8.2 contains the sole mention of the Magdalen by name prior to the

²⁹ Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen*, 232; Katherine L. Jansen, “Mary Magdalen and the Mendicants: The Preaching of Penance in the Late Middle Ages,” *Journal of Medieval History* 21 (1995): 9. The Franciscan Bertrand de la Tour preached a Magdalen sermon on the text of Isaiah 55.13, saying “He [Isaiah] predicted the penance of the Magdalen, giving in her the example to sinners of not despairing.”

³⁰ For Mary Magdalen as “apostle to the apostles” see Haskins, *Myth and Metaphor*, 55-94; Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen*, 18-19, 28, 58, 62-82; Katherine Ludwig Jansen, “Maria Magdalena: *Apostolorum Apostola*,” in *Women Preachers and Prophets Through Two Millennia of Christianity*, eds. Beverly Mayne Kienzle and Pamela J. Walker (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 61-65; McVoy, “Those Whom Jesus Loved,” 65-6, 141, 164. These sources differ widely on the first occurrence of the term. Despite its biblical derivation, it seems to have arisen in the twelfth century. Although Haskins credited it to Hippolytus of Rome (c.170-c.235), Jansen noted that the Latin version of the Hippolytus text is modern. She believed it to be a twelfth century innovation, citing a letter of instruction written by Hugh of Semur (d. 1109), abbot of Cluny, as the earliest source for the term *apostolorum apostola*, and also noting that the term is found in the works of other major 12th century figures such as Peter Abelard and Bernard of Clairvaux. McVoy saw a different source but believed it gained currency at the same time. She felt that the earliest reference was found in the life of the Magdalen titled *De Vita Beatae Mariae Magdalenae et Sororis Eius Sanctae Martha* (*The Life of Saint Mary Magdalene and of her Sister Saint Martha*, VBMM) which contains a chapter titled “where Christ sends Magdalene as apostle to the apostles.” Formerly believed to have been written by Rabanus Maurus in the 9th century, Victor Saxer's opinion that it was the work of a 12th c. Cistercian is now generally accepted. An English translation of *The Life of Saint Mary Magdalene* has been published with commentary by David Mycoff. Haskins, *Myth and Metaphor*, 62-4; Jansen *Making of the Magdalen*, 62; Jansen “Maria Magdalena,” 61 and n22 and n23; McVoy, “Those Whom Jesus Loved,” 131, 131 n7, 143, 143 n50; Saxer, *Le culte*, 408-421.

³¹ Appendix 1 contains the text of all biblical passages about Mary Magdalen transcribed from the Douay-Rheims Bible, an English language edition based on the Vulgate, St. Jerome's Latin translation of the bible, which was in use during this period. All biblical citations throughout this dissertation are taken from this version. For a detailed analysis of Mary Magdalen in the gospel accounts see Haskins, *Myth and Metaphor*, Chapter 1: “De Unica Magdalena,” 1-29. Pages 1-14 deal with the named Mary Magdalen, 14-29, with the composite figure. See also Michel Join-Lambert, “Marie-Madeleine. Introduction exégétique,” in *Marie Madeleine dans la mystique, les arts et les lettres*, ed. Eve Duperray, (Paris: Beauchesne, 1989), 15-19; McVoy, “Those Whom Jesus Loved,” ch. 2: “Biblical Sources for the Family of Bethany,” 11-37 and ch. 3: “Biblical Sources for the Anointing and Mary Magdalene,” 38-72.

³² McVoy summarizes the passages naming Mary Magdalen and includes a table showing her activities according to each gospel. McVoy, “Those Whom Jesus Loved,” 54-67, table 2 (p. 58). Note that the table is missing an x for the Gospel of John in the category “Angelic Vision.”

³³ *Ibid.*, 54.

passion of Christ. From him we learn that “Mary who is called Magdalen, out of whom seven devils were gone forth,” is one of the women who travels with, and supports, Christ and the twelve disciples.³⁴ Matthew, Mark and John all state that she is present at the Crucifixion.³⁵ Regarding the post-crucifixion narrative, both Matthew and Mark place Mary Magdalen at the entombment of Christ,³⁶ and all four gospels record her presence at the tomb on Easter Sunday, although the accounts vary considerably.³⁷ The Resurrected Christ appears first to Mary Magdalen in the accounts given by both Mark and John.³⁸ The Gospel of John contains the most extensive account of their interaction, in which Christ explicitly sends the Magdalen to spread the word to the apostles, making this the most important biblical source of the understanding of Mary Magdalen as first witness to the Resurrection and the apostle to the apostles.

The person identified by name in the text as Mary Magdalen is, however, only one of several gospel figures who gave shape to the character of the saint as it was understood in the medieval period in the west.³⁹ In a critical move, Mary Magdalen was conflated with the unnamed sinner described in Luke 7.36-50, who anoints Christ in the house of Simon the Pharisee.⁴⁰ She also was fused with Mary of Bethany, sister of

³⁴ Luke 8.2. The location of this passage, directly after Luke 7.36-50 regarding the unnamed sinner, is one reason that the unnamed sinner became associated with Mary Magdalen.

³⁵ Matthew 27.56; Mark 15.40 and John 19.25. Luke 23.49 notes the presence of “the women that had followed him from Galilee,” clearly a reference to the same group of women, but omits names.

³⁶ Matthew 27.61; Mark 15.47. Luke 23.55 again references the “the women that were come with him from Galilee.”

³⁷ Matthew 28.1-10; Mark 16.1-10; Luke 24.1-10; and John 20.1-18.

³⁸ This account is in Mark 16.9-11, the longer ending of Mark. The shorter ending (Mark 16.1-8) has Mary Magdalen come to the tomb with Mary the mother of James and Salome to anoint Christ. They find the tomb empty except for an angel who tells them to announce the Resurrection of Christ to the disciples, but they are afraid and tell no one. See Appendix 1 for texts.

³⁹ In the eastern tradition the figures remained separate.

⁴⁰ Luke’s unnamed sinner became associated with Mary Magdalen largely due to her chronological position in the narration. She appears in Luke chapter seven, directly prior to the reference to Mary Magdalen and her seven devils in chapter eight, thus suggesting that they were perhaps the same woman.

Martha and Lazarus (Luke 10.38-42; John 11.1-45; John 12.1-8), and with the unnamed woman who anointed Christ at Bethany (Matthew 26.6-13; Mark 14.3-9).⁴¹

It was this conflation of the disparate figures of Mary Magdalen, or Mary of Magdala, with Mary of Bethany and Luke's unnamed sinner that provided Mary Magdalen with many of her best-known and representative characteristics. Luke's sinner is especially critical in this context, as she is the primary source of Mary Magdalen's reputation as a fallen woman and critically, her sincere penitence.⁴² From the Mary of Bethany stories found in Luke and John, came Mary's relationship to Martha and Lazarus, and her role as a model for the contemplative life.⁴³ This, contrasted with her active role in the Resurrection stories, as the apostle to the apostles, made her not just a model of contemplation, but as Kathryn Jansen has argued, a representative of the *vita mixta*, which was part of what made her an appealing model for the mendicant orders.⁴⁴

The tradition of conflating the figures began early and had great authority. On September 21, 591, Pope Gregory the Great (r. 590-604), one of the doctors of the Church, preached his thirty-third homily (on Luke 7.36-50) in San Clemente in Rome.⁴⁵

⁴¹ Although the named Mary Magdalen never anointed Christ, this event linked several figures in her name. Luke's unnamed sinner anointed Christ in the house of Simon the Pharisee, while Matthew (26.6-13) and Mark (14.3-9) relate that an unnamed woman anointed Christ at the house of Simon the leper. Both Matthew and Mark placed this anointing in Bethany, suggesting an identification of the woman as Mary of Bethany. This impression is strengthened by John (12.1-8), in which Mary of Bethany indeed anointed Christ. John's account takes place in the house of Lazarus, not Simon, and Mary anoints Christ's feet, not his head as in Matthew and Mark, but it is clearly a variation on the same story. For an extensive discussion of the anointings see McVoy, "Those Whom Jesus Loved," 38-54, 68-69. See Appendix 1 for texts.

⁴² While Luke does not specify the woman's sin was sexual, it became inexorably identified as such. Benedicta Ward, S.L.G., *Harlots of the Desert: A Study of Repentance in Early Monastic Sources* (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, Inc., 1987), 14-15, argues that this identification was initially a spiritual understanding based on an interpretation of her as a sinner representing "unfaithful Israel, so graphically described by the prophets as a prostitute in relation to God." In Ward's view this soon became a literal interpretation of her as an actual prostitute.

⁴³ The understanding of Mary as a contemplative is largely based on Luke 10.39-42 in which Jesus tells Martha that Mary, in sitting at his feet and listening, "has chosen the best part."

⁴⁴ Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen*, 50-99; Jansen, "Mary Magdalen and the Mendicants in Late Medieval Italy," 74-123. Jansen also uses the term *vita apostolica* for this mixed life.

⁴⁵ Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen*, 33.

His statement on the unity of the figures proved definitive:⁴⁶ “This woman [Mary Magdalen], whom Luke calls a sinner, John names Mary. I believe that she is the same Mary of whom Mark says that seven demons had been cast out.”⁴⁷ By the late medieval period, St. Gregory’s opinion on the unity of Mary Magdalen had long been recognized as the established understanding of the saint.

MARY MAGDALEN IN *LEGENDA* AND THE *GOLDEN LEGEND*

By the duecento, however, the life of Mary Magdalen did not end with the conclusion of the gospel narratives. As was also the case for other saints during this period, there was a great deal of interest in developing her biography beyond what was told in the Bible. In its most fully developed version, the legendary life of Mary Magdalen related that after the death of Christ, Mary Magdalen, along with Martha, Lazarus St. Maximin, and various other figures, went to sea in a rudderless boat. Miraculously they reached Provence, where, after converting the locals, Mary Magdalen retreated to the wilderness (in later versions localized at Sainte-Baume) due to her desire to do penance. Misrahi characterizes thirteenth century versions thus: “It is related the Magdalen was so overwhelmed by the enormity of her past sinful life that she resolved never more to look upon the face of a man and withdrew to a cavern at La Sainte-Baume.”⁴⁸ Eating no food, the Magdalen was raised up to the heavens by angels at the seven canonical hours to receive heavenly sustenance. After many years a hermit

⁴⁶ McVoy notes that Ambrose had previously implicitly linked the figures, but that Gregory was the first to explicitly connect them. McVoy, “Those Whom Jesus Loved,” 121.

⁴⁷ Gregory the Great, *Homily 33*, in *Forty Gospel Homilies*, 269. The references are to Luke 7.36-50, John’s stories of Mary and Martha (John 11.1-45; 12.1-8) and Mark 16.9 (the entire passage referring to Mary Magdalen in Mark is 16.1-11).

⁴⁸ Jean Misrahi, “A Vita Sanctae Mariae Magdalenae (BHL 5456) in an Eleventh-Century Manuscript,” *Speculum* 18, no. 3 (July 1943): 336.

discovered her. Either she went with the hermit to a church to receive Holy Communion and then died, or she was angelically transported to the church where St. Maximin, one of her companions, was bishop, and there received Last Communion and died. Hagiographic accounts therefore not only often provided additional details of a saint's earlier life to flesh out the nature of his or her character, but also recounted events subsequent to those narrated in the gospels. In the case of the Magdalen, this expansion was critical in order to explain the relocation of her cultic center to France, not, originally to Saint-Maximin in Provence, but to the abbey of Vézelay in Burgundy.⁴⁹

The links between Vézelay and Mary Magdalen were established in the mid-eleventh century when the cluniac Geoffrey (1037-1052), was abbot. On April 27, 1050 Pope Leo IX issued a bull, which placed Mary Magdalen amongst the patron saints of the abbey. Eight years later, Pope Stephen IX declared her the abbey's sole patron saint and recognized the abbey's claims to possess the Magdalen's relics.⁵⁰ It is in the same period, during the mid-to-late-eleventh century, that hagiographic materials were first developed at Vézelay relating Mary Magdalen's voyage to France, to explain how the abbey came to possess her remains.⁵¹

⁴⁹ For the history of Mary Magdalen and Vézelay, through hagiography, liturgical texts, historical texts, etc., see Victor Saxer, *Le Dossier Vézélien de Marie Madeleine: Invention et Translation des reliques en 1265-1267* (Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes, 1975).

⁵⁰ Saxer, *Le culte*, 65-74; Haskins, *Myth and Metaphor*, 111; Ward, *Harlots of the Desert*, 18. These bulls are published in *Patrologiae cursus completus: series Latina*, ed. J. P. Migne (Paris, 1844-55), vol. 143, col. 642; col. 883; the Bull of Leo IX can also be found in *Monumenta Vezeliacensia: textes relatifs à l'histoire de l'Abbaye de Vézelay*, vol. 2, ed. R.B.C. Huygens, Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis 42 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1980), Charter 13, 291-293.

⁵¹ Misrahi, "A *Vita Sanctae Mariae Magdalenae*," 336; Haskins, *Myth and Metaphor*, 115. For a recent analysis of the abbey church of Vézelay and its iconography in conjunction with the Magdalen cult see Alexandra Gajewski, "The Abbey Church at Vézelay and the Cult of Mary Magdalene: 'Invitation to a Journey of Discovery,'" in *Architecture, Liturgy and Identity: Liber Amicorum Paul Crossley*, Studies in Gothic Art, eds. Zoë Opačić and Achim Timmermann (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), 221-246.

Several accounts emerged from Vézelay that proved important for the development of the Magdalen's *vita* as it was known by the thirteenth century.⁵² The earliest of these, the *Sermo in veneratione sanctae Mariae Magdaleneae* (BHL 5439),⁵³ dated by Iogna-Prat to between 860 and 1040, is also known as the *vita evangelica*. While traditionally attributed to Odo of Cluny, it likely the work of an anonymous author from Vézelay.⁵⁴ Not truly a *vita*, but a homily, it is an attempt to create a single narrative out of the scriptural passages relating to Mary Magdalen, Mary of Bethany and Luke's unnamed sinner. It is characterized by "colorful fictional embellishments."⁵⁵

The other two important *vitae* from Vézelay are both eleventh-century works, the *vita apostolica* (BHL 5443-9),⁵⁶ and the *vita apostolica-eremitica* (BHL 5443-5448). The latter of these *vitae* unites the former with an important *vita* that predated the cult at Vézelay, the early ninth-century *vita eremitica Beatae Mariae Magdaleneae* (BHL 5453-

⁵² I am providing an overview of the most relevant Magdalen hagiography, however it is not within the scope of this project to include every account of the Magdalen's life, nor to treat them in great depth. For more on the development of the Magdalen legend and for information on the various hagiographic accounts see: Saxer, *Le Dossier*; Saxer, *Le culte*, 21-29; Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen*, 36-41; David Mycoff, *A critical edition of the legend of Mary Magdalena from Caxton's Golden legende of 1483* (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, Universität Salzburg, 1985), 10-24; Guy Lobrichon, "La Madeleine des Bourguignons aux XI^e et XII^e siècles," in *Marie Madeleine dans la mystique, les arts et les lettres*, ed. Eve Duperray (Paris: Beauchesne, 1989), 71-88.

⁵³ The BHL is the *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina*. BHL 5440 is also a version of the sermon, but is truncated at the end. BHL 5441 has the addition of a metric prologue, and BHL 5441 b and c have different endings.

⁵⁴ For more on this text, see Dominique Iogna-Prat, "La Madeleine du *Sermo in veneratione sanctae Mariae Magdaleneae* attribué à Odon de Cluny," *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome Moyen Age. La Madeleine (VIII^e-XIII^e siècle)* 104, no. 1 (1992): 37-70; Dominique Iogna-Prat, "'Bienheureuse Polysémie' La Madeleine du *Sermo in veneratione sanctae Mariae Magdaleneae* attribué à Odon de Cluny" in *Marie Madeleine dans la mystique, les arts et les lettres*, ed. Eve Duperray, 21-31 (Paris: Beauchesne, 1989), 21-31; Victor Saxer, "Un manuscrit décembre du sermon d'Eudes de Cluny sur Ste. Marie-Madeleine," *Scriptorium* 8 (1954): 119-23. Iogna-Prat does not believe the text to have been written by Odo, or to be related to Cluny in any way. Rather she proposes it was a text created in Vézelay. Iogna-Prat, "Madeleine du *Sermo*," 42. Jansen maintains the Cluny origin although not the attribution to Odo, and dates it earlier, to the late ninth, or early tenth century. Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen*, 38. In 1998, she dated it simply as tenth century. Jansen, "Maria Magdalena," 65.

⁵⁵ Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen*, 38.

⁵⁶ Published as "Ancienne vie de Sainte Marie-Madeleine" in Faillon, *Monuments inédits*, vol. II: *pièces justificatives*, 433-436. See also Guy Lobrichon, "Le dossier magdalénien aux XI^e-XII^e siècles, Édition de trois pièces majeures," *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome Moyen Age. La Madeleine (VIII^e-XIII^e siècle)* 104, no. 1 (1992): 163-180.

5456).⁵⁷ Originating in southern Italy, this *vita* was widely known in France by the late eleventh century,⁵⁸ and is the earliest *vita* relevant to the late medieval understanding of the Magdalen.⁵⁹

The *vita apostolica* relates the coming of Mary Magdalen and her companions to Provence, where they preached and converted the region to Christianity.⁶⁰ Created to support the cult at Vézelay, this was the earliest work that recounted the Magdalen's presence in Provence and her preaching activity. The *vita apostolica* did not include her retreat into the wilderness, focusing on the Magdalen's role as a missionary, not as a penitent. It was the *vita eremitica*, which first described the Magdalen's retreat to the wilderness, and provided an emphasis on penitence. In this *vita* Mary Magdalen's life adopts many features of that of St. Mary of Egypt.⁶¹ It relates the Magdalen's thirty-year penitential retreat into a grotto in the desert, her nakedness, her elevation by angels at the canonical hours, and her discovery by a priest who provides her with clothes, and takes her to his church for viaticum, where she dies and is buried.⁶² Given its early date, and probable Southern Italian origin, this *vita* did not localize the legend in Provence.⁶³ The

⁵⁷ The text of BHL 5453, 5454 and 5455 have been transcribed in J.E. Cross, "Mary Magdalen in the Old English Martyrology: The Earliest Extant 'Narrat Josephus' Variant of Her Legend," *Speculum* 53, no. 1 (Jan. 1978): 20-25. The text of BHL 5456 has been transcribed in Jean Misrahi, "A Vita Sanctae Mariae Magdalenae (BHL 5456) in an Eleventh-Century Manuscript," *Speculum* 18, no. 3 (July 1943): 338-339. Regarding the dating, Cross argued that it predates the *Old English Martyrology*, which appears to date from around the middle of the century, while Misrahi dated the legend to the 11th century, citing the 9th century as possible. The earlier dating is now generally accepted. Cross, "Mary Magdalen in the Old English Martyrology," 20; Misrahi, "A Vita Sanctae Mariae Magdalenae," 337.

⁵⁸ Haskins, *Myth and Metaphor*, 117. Jansen stated that it may have been the work of a Cassianite monk, but does not provide any evidence. Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen*, 37.

⁵⁹ A sixth century legend, related by Gregory of Tours (c. 538-594), told that the Magdalen, along with the Virgin Mary, had gone to Ephesus to join St. John the Evangelist. This version of her later life was eclipsed by the legends arising from the ninth century onwards. Haskins, *Myth and Metaphor*, 104-105.

⁶⁰ For a description of the events as told in the *vita apostolica* see Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen*, 52-53.

⁶¹ Given the origins of this *vita* in Southern Italy, and the fact that St. Mary of Egypt was originally an Eastern saint, it has been suggested that Greek monks, fleeing to the West, may have been influential in this process. Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen*, 37; LaRow, "The Iconography of Mary Magdalen," 152-158.

⁶² Haskins, *Myth and Metaphor*, 117.

⁶³ As is clear, the source for the Provençal locale is the cult surrounding the Magdalen's relics at Vézelay.

vita apostolica-eremitica combines the two previous *vitae*, a merging that apparently took place in Italy sometime during the eleventh-century.⁶⁴ It tied together the two previous *vitae* by first having the Magdalen travel to Provence (thus localizing her in France), and then, after the conversion of Marseilles was complete, stating that Mary Magdalen retired to a cave in the wilderness. According to this version, she was buried in the church of Saint-Maximin in Provence, from whence the monks of Vézelay claimed to have stolen her body.⁶⁵

Thus two main elements seem to have given final shape to the stories of Mary Magdalen's life in Provence. The critical need to explain the presence of Mary Magdalen's relics at Vézelay, which contributed her voyage to France and her apostolic activity there, and the well-established conflation of Mary Magdalen and the other repentant prostitute saint named Mary, St. Mary of Egypt, which contributed her penitential sojourn in the wilderness and encouraged her increasing veneration as a penitential saint.⁶⁶ By the thirteenth century, these legendary events of the life of Mary Magdalen had become accepted fact to hagiographers and preachers.⁶⁷

The version of the Life of the Magdalen that was most widely known by the time of the painted narratives considered in this dissertation was that in the *Golden Legend*, written around 1260 by Jacobus de Voragine (1228-1298), a member of the Dominican

⁶⁴ Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen*, 53.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 39.

⁶⁶ The similarities between the *vita* of St. Mary of Egypt and the legendary life of Mary Magdalen, are too numerous to be coincidental. The precise reasons that this conflation occurred are unknown, but Haskins argued that the fact that both Marys were understood to have engaged in the same sin—prostitution—“led hagiographers to assume that the expiation of their dissoluteness would also be analogous.” Haskins, *Myth and Metaphor*, 108. See the following on the conflation of Mary Magdalen and Mary of Egypt: Misrahi, “A *Vita Sanctae Mariae Magdalene*,” 336; Haskins, *Myth and Metaphor*, 108; Ward, *Harlots of the Desert*, 26-27.

⁶⁷ Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen*, 125. The only early skepticism about the validity of the story of the Magdalen's retreat in the desert is found in the early twelfth-century VBMM, where the anonymous author notes this is a borrowing from the life of Mary of Egypt, calling it “false” and “a fabrication.” *Life of Saint Mary Magdalene*, 98; Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen*, 124-125.

Order, and later, the archbishop of Genoa.⁶⁸ The *Golden Legend* is a collection of lives of saints, or *legendary*, originally entitled *Legenda Sanctorum* (Readings on the Saints), organized according to the liturgical calendar. Jacobus drew upon biblical sources as well as a variety of legendary materials.⁶⁹ There is some debate as to the intended audience. The text was most likely meant for use by preachers, not a lay audience, but Giovanni Maggioni argued that successive changes made it also appealing to the educated public, those who attended universities, or laypeople in the cities.⁷⁰ Its popularity, however, was rapid and immense. It was very early translated into the vernacular, with French versions appearing as early as before 1275.⁷¹ Approximately one thousand manuscripts still survive today, and it is believed to have been second only to the Bible in readership during the late Middle Ages.⁷²

In the *Golden Legend*, Jacobus de Voragine presents two slightly alternate versions of the life of Mary Magdalen.⁷³ The longer, primary variant consists of the *vita apostolica-eremitica* in combination with the *vita evangelica*, the “Cluny homily.” This composite *vita* is sometimes called the *vita evangelico-apostolica* (BHL 5450). This first

⁶⁸ He entered the order in 1244, and held high offices as a teacher and administrator until his death in 1298. William Granger Ryan, introduction to *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, by Jacobus de Voragine (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), vol. I, xiii.

⁶⁹ Ibid., xv.

⁷⁰ This is based on the fact that it was written in Latin, and that the ideal Christian life, as presented within the work, is a “monastic and ascetical pattern,” with no clear prescriptions for the laity. Ibid., xvii-xviii; Giovanni Paolo Maggioni, “Le molte *Legende Auree*. Modificazioni testuali itinerari narrativi” in *De la sainteté à l'hagiographie: Genèse et usage de la Légende dorée*, eds. Barbara Fleith et Franco Morenzoni (Genève: Librairie Droz S.A., 2001), 27-8. Evelyn Birge Vitz notes that a fair number of lay people read Latin in the period and were among those readers contributing to the text’s great popularity, a popularity she finds understudied and somewhat mysterious. Evelyn Birge Vitz, “From the Oral to the Written in Medieval and Renaissance Saints’ Lives,” in *Images of Sainthood in Medieval Europe*, eds. Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Timea Szell (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1991), 107-108.

⁷¹ Many French translations exist. Nine translations dated prior to 1400 have been published with analysis in Olivier Collet et Sylviane Messerli, eds. and comp., *Vies médiévales de Marie-Madeleine*, Textes vernaculaires du Moyen Âge 3 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 309-498.

⁷² Ryan, introduction, vol. I, xiii. Vitz in fact states that there were more early printed editions of the *Golden Legend* than the Bible. Vitz, “From the Oral to the Written,” 110.

⁷³ See Jacobus, *Golden Legend*, vol. I, 374-383 for his entire life of Mary Magdalen.

account is not identified by name in the text; the second, however, is introduced “Hegesippus (or, as some books have it, Josephus) agrees in the main with the story just told.”⁷⁴ Due to this introduction, the account is known as the “Narrat Josephus” variant; however, it is the same as the aforementioned *vita eremitica* (BHL 5453-5456).⁷⁵ In addition to these two *vitae*, the *Golden Legend* life of the Magdalen includes various stories about the miracles performed by the saint after her death, most involving the relics at Vézelay.⁷⁶

The *Golden Legend* account of the post-biblical life of Mary Magdalen provided the most fully developed version of her *vita*.⁷⁷ It was largely by means of this account, and sermons based upon it, that the legendary life of the Magdalen was spread during the late medieval period.⁷⁸ The emphasis of the account is manifest in the etymological interpretation of her name, which begins Jacobus’ life of Mary Magdalen and sums up his view of her importance:

The name Mary, or Maria, is interpreted as *amarum mare*, bitter sea, or as illuminator or illuminated. These three meanings are accepted as standing for three shares or parts, of which Mary made the best choices, namely, the part of penance, the part of inward contemplation, and the part of heavenly glory.⁷⁹

⁷⁴ Jacobus, *Golden Legend*, vol. I, 381.

⁷⁵ Cross, “Mary Magdalen in the Old English Martyrology,” 17.

⁷⁶ Jacobus, *Golden Legend*, vol. I, 381-383. Jacobus also includes a short account of a legend that Mary Magdalen was engaged to John the Evangelist, which he dismisses as “false and frivolous.” Ibid., vol. I, 382. Although found in other late medieval Magdalenian material, such as Domenico Cavalca’s *Life of Saint Mary Magdalen*, this story has does not appear directly in any Magdalen iconography of the late Medieval period. [Domenico Cavalca], *The Life of Saint Mary Magdalen, Translated from the Italian of an Unknown Fourteenth Century Writer*, translated by Valentina Hawtrey (London; New York: John Lane, 1904), 2-4.

⁷⁷ Haskins, *Myth and Metaphor*, 218.

⁷⁸ Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen*, 41.

⁷⁹ Jacobus, *Golden Legend*, vol. I, 374.

Thus from the very opening of his account, Jacobus emphasizes the Magdalen's penitence and contemplation, and the heavenly rewards of her path, elements which are also emphasized within the visual tradition of Magdalen narrative iconography.

MARY MAGDALEN, PROVENCE AND THE ANGEVINS

On December 9, 1279, Charles of Salerno found the body of Mary Magdalen within the church of Saint-Maximin in Provence.⁸⁰ It was in almost immediate response to this important discovery by the heir to the throne of Naples that the house of Anjou adopted the Magdalen as patron saint of both their dynasty and their territory.⁸¹ By the second half of the fifteenth century the *Dominican Legend of Mary Magdalen at Saint-Maximin* claimed that a holy vision of the Magdalen, which appeared to Charles in prison, and his ensuing miraculous deliverance from captivity, had led him to discover her relics.⁸² It is probable, however, that the Angevins' rapid adoption of, and devotion to, the Magdalen was less inspired by a religious vision than by political calculation, part

⁸⁰ For details on the discovery at St.-Maximin and the translation of the body see Victor Saxer, *Le culte*, 230-239; Clemens, "Establishment of the Cult," 66-75; Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen*, 18-19; and Haskins, *Myth and Metaphor*, 127-128. Clemens, "Establishment of the Cult," 70-71, provides a transcription and English translation of the official invention and translation account (*procès-verbal*) taken from Paris B.N., n.a.l. 2672. See Faillon, *Monuments inédits*, vol. II: *pièces justificatives*, 775-816, doc. 66-88, for discovery and translation accounts, and the offices of the invention of Mary Magdalen.

⁸¹ King Charles I made the Magdalen his advocate and Protectress of the Angevin State prior to the Sicilian Vespers in March 1282. Faillon, *Monuments inédits*, vol. I, 908. Mary Magdalen maintained her role as the venerated protectress of the Angevin family and state under Charles II and Robert, as well as under Johanna I, who Fallon states "wanted to imitate the piety of the kings Charles II and Robert towards saint Magdalen." Many of the subsequent documents speak of Johanna's veneration for the Magdalen. Faillon, *Monuments inédits*, vol. II: *pièces justificatives*, 875-876, and 957-8ff.

⁸² Clemens, "Establishment of the Cult," 66-9. This earliest Latin version is Paris B.N., n.a.l. 2672, fol. 1-2v. See also Bernard Montagnes, "La légende dominicaine de Marie-Madeleine à Saint-Maximin," in *Le peuple des saints. Croyances et dévotions en Provence et Comtat Venaissin à la fin du Moyen Âge. Actes de la Table ronde organisée par l'Institut de recherches et d'études sur le Bas Moyen Âge avignonnais (Palais des Papes, Avignon) du 5 au 7 octobre 1984*, Mémoires de l'Académie de Vaucluse, 7^e série, 6 (Avignon: Académie de Vaucluse, 1987), 73-86. An edition of the legend taken from Paris, B.N., fr. 15530, fol. 565 is available in Montagnes, *Marie Madeleine et l'Ordre Prêcheurs* (Marseille, 1984), 28-34. Both Haskins and Jansen referred to the vision but did not make it clear that this embellishment considerably postdated the discovery. Haskins, *Myth and Metaphor*, 127-8; Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen*, 6.

of a well-established Angevin strategy of *beata stirps*: evoking their personal connections to the divine to validate and promote their own legitimacy.

According to Gábor Klaniczay, the Neapolitan Angevins were the first ruling family “to make the notion of dynastic saintliness (*beata stirps*) the cornerstone of the sacral legitimation of their new dynasty.”⁸³ Many Angevin actions testify to their tactic of promoting their own sanctity as the basis for dynastic power. They vigorously petitioned for the canonization of members of the dynasty. The first family saint was Louis IX, King of France (r. 1226-1270), and elder brother to Charles I King of Naples (r. 1266-1285), the founder of the Angevin dynasty.⁸⁴ Louis IX was not declared a saint until 1297; however, the Angevins actively campaigned for his canonization almost immediately following his death.⁸⁵ While Louis’ son Philip III may have started efforts to promote Louis’ piety, it was Charles I of Anjou who seems to have taken charge.⁸⁶ According to Klaniczay, the success of Louis’ canonization was due to “Angevin influence over the

⁸³ Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe*, trans. Éva Pálmai (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 295. For the concept of *beata stirps* and the Angevins, see Ibid., 295-394, esp. 298-331; André Vauchez, “«Beata Stirps»: sainteté et lignage en Occident aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles,” in *Famille et parenté dans l’Occident médiéval. Actes du colloque de Paris (6-8 juin 1974)*, Publications de l’École Française de Rome 30, (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1977), 397-406; André Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 177-183; Samantha Kelly, *The New Solomon: Robert of Naples (1309-1343) and Fourteenth-Century Kingship* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2003), 119-132.

⁸⁴ For the cult of Saint Louis IX in the Angevin Regno, see M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, *The Making of Saint Louis: Kingship, Sanctity, and Crusade in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2008), 85-6.

⁸⁵ According to Boyer, Louis IX’s death provided the main impetus for Angevin exploitation of the theme of holiness. Jean-Paul Boyer, “La ‘foi monarchique’: royaume de Sicile et Provence (mi-XIII^e — mi-XIV^e siècle)” in *Le forme della propaganda politica nel Due e nel Trecento: relazioni tenuto al convegno internazionale organizzato dal Comitato di studi storici di Trieste, dall’École française de Rome e dal Dipartimento di storia dell’Università degli Studi di Trieste, (Trieste, 2 - 5 marzo 1993)* a cura di Paolo Cammarosano (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1994), 95.

⁸⁶ Gaposchkin, *Making of Saint Louis*, 25-9. Boyer called Charles I’s role in the canonization process “decisive.” Boyer, “Foi monarchique,” 95. Among Charles’ earliest efforts to promote his brother’s sainthood was his attempt in 1271 to keep Louis’ heart and entrails for burial at the Cathedral in Monreale. According to Dunbabin, Charles had to settle for Louis’ intestines only; it is unclear where his heart ended up. Jean Dunbabin, *Charles I of Anjou: Power, Kingship and State-Making in Thirteenth-Century Europe* (London: Longman, 1998), 231; Gaposchkin, *Making of Saint Louis*, 28 and n52. In the same year, Charles I was pivotal in the translation of Louis’ other relics to Paris. Gaposchkin, *Making of Saint Louis*, 28-9.

papacy, influence strong enough to place the papal prerogative of canonisation at the service of the Angevins' ambition to capitalise on the cult of saints for purposes of dynastic propaganda."⁸⁷ In her new assessment of St. Louis and sacral kingship, M. Cecilia Gaposchkin argues that "More than anyone, Charles was interested in promoting Louis' sanctity—not in and of itself, but as part of an argument of dynastic virtue in general."⁸⁸ The testimony from the papal inquiry held in 1282 illustrates that in addition to advocating for the canonization of King Louis IX,⁸⁹ Charles I also argued for the saintliness of his mother Blanche of Castile and of two of his other brothers, Alphonse of Poitiers and Robert of Artois.⁹⁰ In the same vein, in the early 1280s Charles I commissioned a life of his sister Isabelle, in the hopes of her canonization.⁹¹ Thus he "presented his family as a *beata stirps*, in which sainthood flourished in every generation."⁹²

Angevin influence was similarly critical in the canonization of St. Louis of Toulouse (d. 1297, canonized 1317).⁹³ St. Louis of Toulouse, also known Louis of Anjou,

⁸⁷ Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 297.

⁸⁸ Gaposchkin, *Making of Saint Louis*, 29.

⁸⁹ Toynbee notes that although the surviving evidence from the Processes of canonization is meager, it includes seven depositions given by Charles I in February 1282 in support of the canonization. Margaret R. Toynbee, *S. Louis of Toulouse and the Process of Canonisation in the Fourteenth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1929), 161. For a transcription of Charles of Anjou's testimony, see Paul-Édouard-Didier Riant, "Déposition de Charles d'Anjou pour la canonisation de saint Louis," in *Notices et documents publiés pour la Société de l'histoire de France à l'occasion du cinquantième anniversaire de sa foundation* (Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1884), 170-176; discussion: 155-169. For a discussion of Charles' testimony in English, see Gaposchkin, *Making of Saint Louis*, 41-42.

⁹⁰ The fact that Charles of Anjou's efforts in his testimony extended past Louis IX to other members of his immediate family has been widely noted. For this portion of Charles' testimony in the original Latin, a French translation, and discussion, see Riant, "Déposition de Charles d'Anjou," 169, 175. Gaposchkin, *Making of Saint Louis*, 30, provides an English translation of the relevant passage. See also: Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 182; Kelly, *New Solomon*, 120; Dunbabin, *Charles I of Anjou*, 231; Boyer, "'Foi monarchique,'" 96.

⁹¹ Gaposchkin, *Making of Saint Louis*, 30.

⁹² Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 182.

⁹³ Toynbee, *S. Louis of Toulouse*, 95; Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 78. For documents from Charles II (27 January 1300) and Robert (12 September 1311) supporting the canonization of Louis of Toulouse, see *Processus Canonizationis et Legendae variae Sancti Ludovici O.F.M. Episcopi Tolosani*, *Analecta franciscana* 7, edita

was the second son of Charles II and heir to the kingdom. In 1296 Louis gave up his claim to the throne of Naples in favor of his younger brother Robert, due to his longing to become a member of the Friars Minor.⁹⁴ Despite great reluctance, he acquiesced to the wishes of Pope Boniface VIII and accepted the bishopric of Toulouse in exchange for being granted permission to join his beloved Franciscan Order.⁹⁵ Although not initially supportive of Louis' religious vocation, King Charles II was greatly in favor of Louis accepting the bishopric of Toulouse because it strengthened the Angevin-Papal alliance as well as increasing the religious prestige of the dynasty.⁹⁶ Louis died, however, the following year, and Angevin strategy adjusted accordingly. According to Julian Gardner, "Angevin determination to achieve the canonization of Louis of Toulouse...was crucial for Robert of Anjou's legitimacy as ruler, and the whole Angevin succession to the Kingdom of Sicily."⁹⁷ Louis' body was brought to Marseilles, the seat of his emerging cult, and, with Angevin encouragement, an inquiry was held there in 1307-8.⁹⁸

a Patribus Collegii S. Bonaventurae (Quaracchi: Ex Typographia Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 1951), 455. Louis of Toulouse's Canonization Process (*Processus Canonizationis*) and Canonization Bull (*Bulla canonizationis*) of April 7, 1317 are also both published in *Processus Canonizationis et Legendae variae*, 1-254, 395-399. For an in-depth discussion of the Canonization process for St. Louis of Toulouse, see Toynbee, *S. Louis of Toulouse*, Part II, Ch. II: "The Fourteenth Century. Account of the Process of Canonisation of S. Louis of Toulouse," 146-194.

⁹⁴ St. Louis was ordained a subdeacon on Christmas 1295 by Pope Boniface VIII, was made a priest 20 May 1296, and renounced the throne in January 1296. Toynbee, *S. Louis of Toulouse*, 94, 101-2, 105.

⁹⁵ He was made bishop of Toulouse December 1296, and entered the Franciscan Order on 5 February 1297. Toynbee, *S. Louis of Toulouse*, 110-117; Julian Gardner, "Saint Louis of Toulouse, Robert of Anjou, and Simone Martini," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 39, no. 1 (1976): 18; *Processus Canonizationis et Legendae variae*, 15-16, cap. xxx, xxxi.

⁹⁶ Toynbee, *S. Louis of Toulouse*, 111.

⁹⁷ Julian Gardner, "Conclusion: Santa Maria Donna Regina in its European Context," in *The Church of Santa Maria Donna Regina: Art, Iconography and Patronage in Fourteenth-Century Naples*, eds. Janis Elliott and Cordelia Warr (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 196.

⁹⁸ Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 227. For more on this enquiry and Marseilles as the center of the developing cult of St. Louis of Toulouse, see Jacques Paul, "Témoignage historique et hagiographie dans le procès de canonisation de Louis d'Anjou," *Provence historique* 23 (1973): 305-317. For documents dealing with the development of Louis' cult in Marseilles see: M. H. Laurent, *Le culte de S. Louis d'Anjou a Marseilles au XIV^e siècle. Les documents de Louis Antoine de Ruffi suivis d'un choix de lettres de cet érudit*, Temi e testi 2 (Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1954). The Magdalen cult was also very active in Marseilles as this

In addition to creating saints within their own family, Angevin strategy involved acquiring them as in-laws by intermarrying with dynasties renowned for their holy ancestors. Thus Charles of Anjou first sought a spouse for himself, and later for his children, from the Arpad dynasty of Hungary. The Arpads had recently produced an important royal saint, St. Elizabeth of Hungary (d. 1231, canonized 1235), and had a long history of sainted rulers such as St. Stephen (d. 1038), his son St. Emeric (who died in 1031 before ascending to the throne), and St. Ladislaus (d. 1095).⁹⁹ While Charles I's reputed attempt to wed St. Margaret (d. 1271), the daughter of King Béla IV (r. 1235-70), did not succeed, he negotiated successfully for his son Charles II to wed Mary of Hungary, and his youngest daughter Isabella of Anjou to marry Ladislaus IV (the Cuman), both children of King Stephen V (r. 1270-1272). Charles' letter proposing the match to Stephen makes his motivations explicit. He refers to the Arpad king as a "powerful and warlike ruler, descended from a line of saints and distinguished kings."¹⁰⁰

As Tanja Michalsky and Adrian Hoch have convincingly argued, the concept of *beata stirps* was also reflected in Angevin artistic patronage, where the depiction of dynastic saints was used to promote the legitimacy and standing of the House of Anjou.¹⁰¹ André Vauchez described such actions as part of a "systematic effort to exploit

was the place converted by Mary Magdalen upon her arrival in France. For a succinct account of the life and canonization of Louis of Toulouse, see also Gardner "Saint Louis of Toulouse," 17-20.

⁹⁹ On the Arpad dynastic saints, see Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 123-150, 158-160, 173-243, 246-279, 282-294, and 412-428: "Appendix 1: *Hagiography of Hungarian dynastic saints*." See also Vauchez, "«Beata Stirps»" 399-402; Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 180 n74 for a listing of the Hungarian saints and *beati*. Vauchez consistently gives 1030 as the date of St. Stephen's death, rather than the standard 1038.

¹⁰⁰ Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 299-300.

¹⁰¹ See for example Tanja Michalsky, "MATER SERENISSIMI PRINCIPIS: The Tomb of Maria of Hungary," in *The Church of Santa Maria Donna Regina: Art, Iconography and Patronage in Fourteenth-Century Naples*, edited by Janis Elliott and Cordelia Warr (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 61-77; Tanja Michalsky, *Memoria und Repräsentation: die Grabmäler des Königshauses Anjou in Italien* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), esp. 61-84: "Das Selbstverständnis der Anjous als *beata stirps*"; Tanja Michalsky, "Die Repräsentation einer *Beata Stirps*: Darstellung und Ausdruck an den Grabmonumenten der Anjous," in *Die Repräsentation der Gruppen, Texte — Bilder — Objekte*, eds. Andrea von Hülsen-

the belief in the sanctity of their dynasty in order to enhance their prestige and give a religious basis to their political domination.”¹⁰² It is in the light of this deliberate employment of saints for dynastic legitimation and political prestige that the Angevin relationship with Mary Magdalen, a saint related to them not by blood but by territory, should be viewed.¹⁰³

Mary Magdalen, as an important biblical saint with an intimate and long-established association with the territory of Provence, was uniquely appealing to the Angevin dynasty. Not only had she been brought there through divine, miraculous intervention, she was responsible for converting the area to Christianity through her preaching, even converting the rulers of Marseilles.¹⁰⁴ Her subsequent penitential and contemplative residence at La-Sainte-Baume had further embedded her in the geography of Provence.

By the time Charles II discovered the Magdalen’s body in the church of Saint-Maximin, the legend of the Magdalen’s residency in Provence was centuries old and the ties between the saint and Provence firmly fixed.¹⁰⁵ As previously discussed, the legend was created to explain the presence of the Magdalen’s relics at Vézelay, which claimed to

Esch, Otto Gerhard Oexle (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998), 187-224; Adrian Hoch, “Beata Stirps, Royal Patronage and the Identification of the Sainted Rulers in the St. Elizabeth Chapel at Assisi,” *Art History* 15, no. 3 (Sept 1992): 279-295. In addition to the aforementioned essay by Michalsky, many of the other essays in the volume *The Church of Santa Maria Donna Regina: Art, Iconography and Patronage in Fourteenth-Century Naples*, eds. Janis Elliott and Cordelia Warr (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004) address the concept of *beata stirps*. See in particular Samantha Kelly, “Religious Patronage and Royal Propaganda in Angevin Naples: Santa Maria Donna Regina in Context,” esp. 37-41; Cordelia Warr, “The *Golden Legend* and the Cycle of the ‘Life of Saint Elizabeth of Thuringia-Hungary,’” esp. 165-169; Janis Elliott, “The ‘Last Judgement’: The Cult of Sacral Kingship and Dynastic Hopes for the Afterlife,” 175-193.

¹⁰² Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 181.

¹⁰³ Michalsky notes that the Magdalen was “considered one of the ‘Angevin’ saints” in the same sense as were the dynastic saints of the Angevins and Arpads. Michalsky, “MATER SERENISSIMI PRINCIPIIS,” 76 n21.

¹⁰⁴ This was an exceptional achievement for a female saint. The somewhat problematic nature of which is discussed subsequently.

¹⁰⁵ As noted above, the legends linking her to Provence arose in the mid-eleventh century. See discussion on pages 19-22.

have taken them from Saint-Maximin in the eighth century in a *furtum sacrem*, or holy theft, to protect them from Saracen invaders. This story gave the Angevins both the means to supplant the Vézelay body with the Saint-Maximin body and the motivation to do so, by providing them with a saint who was both of highest importance and uniquely Provençal. They simply claimed that the wrong body had been stolen and that they had now discovered the “true relics” in their original resting place. The Angevin claim on Mary Magdalen was greatly strengthened on 6 April 1295, when in a Papal Bull addressed to Charles II, Pope Boniface VIII officially acknowledged the relics at Saint-Maximin as authentic.¹⁰⁶

The Angevins thus promoted the Magdalen’s cult, both as a matter of personal devotion and as a way of increasing their own importance.¹⁰⁷ Although initial efforts were concentrated in Provence, the seat of the cult, and on the body, which had to be established as legitimate, promotion of the Magdalen as a means of enhancing Angevin prestige was especially imperative in Naples where they had been in power only since 1266.¹⁰⁸ Furthermore, the loss of Sicily—the seat of power for the Angevins’ Norman and Hohenstaufen predecessors—in the 1282 uprising known as the Sicilian Vespers

¹⁰⁶ Faillon, *Monuments inédits*, vol. II: *Pièces justificatives*, 815-820, doc. 89. Clemens argued that in doing so, Boniface VIII was explicitly acceding to Charles’ wishes. Clemens, “Establishment of the Cult,” 76-80.

¹⁰⁷ Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen*, 19.

¹⁰⁸ Angevin efforts to promote the Magdalen cult in Provence are largely beyond the scope of this dissertation. However as shall be discussed in chapter two, in 1283 Charles II placed Mary Magdalen’s head in a reliquary marked with the secret seal of King Charles I, and surmounted by a royal crown sent by the king from Italy. Faillon, *Monuments inédits*, vol. I, 907 n2; Saxer, *Le culte*, 234. For documentary notice of the translation and seal, see Faillon, *Monuments inédits*, vol. II: *pièces justificatives*, 805, doc. 86. For this and other Magdalen reliquaries commissioned by Charles II in Provence, see Faillon, *Monuments inédits*, vol. I, 907-914. See also Haskins, *Myth and Metaphor*, 128; Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen*, 313-4. Also important was the 1295 establishment of the Dominicans at St.-Maximin as a royal convent independent of local Episcopal authority, discussed below. Notably, the earliest Magdalen cycle painted in Naples (in S. Lorenzo Maggiore) is dated to the same year.

made their position in their new territory less secure.¹⁰⁹ This provided added motivation to demonstrate their legitimacy as the strong and still inviolate ruling power of Naples and Provence.

The Angevin adoption of Mary Magdalen as an ancestral saint and their promotion of her cult in the Kingdom of Naples were part of their strategy of *beata stirps*, demonstrating the sanctification of their lineage and their reign. Although almost no narrative Magdalen imagery can be securely linked to Angevin patronage,¹¹⁰ Charles II promoted the saint's cult by commissioning and endowing chapels and churches dedicated to the Magdalen throughout the Kingdom of Naples.¹¹¹ He commissioned a church dedicated to Mary Magdalen (now San Domenico) in Manfredonia in 1294 (dedicated 1299),¹¹² founded a church, now destroyed, dedicated to the Magdalen in

¹⁰⁹ For an early account of the Sicilian Vespers on March 30, 1382, and its immediate aftermath, see Giovanni Villani, *Cronica*, con note filologiche di Ignazio Moutier e con appendici storico-geografiche compilate da Francesco Gherardi Dragomanni (Firenze: Sansone Coen Tip. Editore, 1844), VII, 57, 59-75. An English translation of VII, 61 (erroneously indicated as VI, 61), adapted with modernized spelling and usage from Rose E. Selfe, trans., *Selections from The First Nine Books of the Croniche Fiorentine of Giovanni Villani*, ed. Philip H. Wicksteed (London: Archibald Constable, 1906), is available in Ronald G. Musto ed., *Medieval Naples: A Documentary History, 400–1400. Historical Texts* (New York: Italica Press, 2011), Kindle edition. For discussions of the Vespers and its consequences, both within the kingdom and for European politics, see: Runciman, *Sicilian Vespers*, 214-287; Émile G. Léonard, *Les Angevins de Naples* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1954), 137-160; Dunbabin, *Charles I of Anjou*, 99-113, 141-2.

¹¹⁰ The sole exception is, as I will argue in chapter five, the cycle in the Palazzo del Podestà in Florence, thus outside the Angevin Regno. While Jansen claims that Charles II commissioned the fresco cycle in S. Lorenzo Maggiore, as will be discussed in chapter two, there is no evidence to support this assertion. Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen*, 151 and n13.

¹¹¹ Sarnelli claims that after being freed from prison by the Magdalen's intercession, Charles II promised to erect twelve Dominican foundations in her honor in his kingdom. Pompeo Sarnelli, *Cronologia de' Vescovi et Arcivescovi sipontini* (Manfredonia: Stamperia Arcivescovale, 1680), 229. On Charles' campaign to honor Mary Magdalen generally, see Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen*, 311-2.

¹¹² On the Magdalen Church in Manfredonia see: Sarnelli, *Cronologia*, 230-231; Nicola de Feudis, "S. Domenico e la cappella de 'la Maddalena' in Manfredonia," *La Capitanata* 5 (1967): 55-60; Pina Belli D'Elia, "L'architettura sacra, tra continuità e innovazione," in *Le eredità normanno-sveve nell'età angioina: persistenze e mutamenti nel Mezzogiorno. Atti delle quindicesime giornate normanno-sveve* (Bari, 22-25 ottobre 2002), ed. Giosuè Musca (Bari: Edizioni Dedalo, 2004), 321-322; Pina Belli D'Elia, "Dalla Luceria sarracenorum alla Civitas Sanctae Mariae," in *Medioevo: Immagini e ideologie. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi* (Parma, 23-27 settembre 2002) 5, a cura di Arturo Carlo Quintavalle (Milano: Electa, 2005), 410. For documents see: Jürgen Krüger, *S. Lorenzo Maggiore in Neapel: Eine*

Brindisi,¹¹³ established a Franciscan church or chapel dedicated to the Magdalen in Sulmona, Abruzzo,¹¹⁴ endowed and dedicated the Dominican foundation at L'Aquila to the Magdalen,¹¹⁵ and donated money to a church of Mary Magdalen at the Augustinian convent of San Agostino alle Zecca in Naples.¹¹⁶ The most significant of such acts, however, was the dedication of San Domenico Maggiore, the main Dominican church of Naples, in honor of Mary Magdalen in 1283 or 1289.¹¹⁷

Franziskanerkirche zwischen Ordensideal und Herrschaftsarchitektur. Studien und Materialien zur Baukunst der ersten Anjou-Zeit (Werl: Coelde, 1986), 199 (81.1-6).

¹¹³ On the church in Brindisi see Belli D'Elia, "L'architettura sacra," 322; Maurizio D'Antonio, "Un insediamento mendicante all'Aquila: San Domenico. Brevi cenni sull'origine e la storia costruttiva," in *La chiesa aquilana: 750 anni di vita (1256-2006). Appunti per una storia; atti del convegno, L'Aquila, Cattedra Bernardiniana, 6-7-8 dicembre 2005* (Roma: Nuova Argos, 2007), 482. For documents see J. Krüger, *S. Lorenzo Maggiore*, 186-7 (39.1-4).

¹¹⁴ The scope of the dedication is unclear, as it was not maintained, but documentary evidence from 1305 (Reg. Ang. 1305 b f. 73) indicates that Charles II commissioned a chapel, and that for a time at least, the entire church may have adopted the Magdalen dedication. This is generally supported by Virgilio Orsini's argument, although Orsini is skeptical of a general dedication to the Magdalen and is unaware of the documentary evidence of 1305. See Virgilio Orsini, *Un convento, una città: S. Francesco della Scarpa a Sulmona (secoli XIII-XIX)* (Sulmona: Stabilimento Tipografico "Angeletti," 1982), 35-36 and notes; Pietro Piccirilli, "Notizie di Abruzzo-Molise: Sulmona," *L'arte* 12 (1909): 69. For documents see J. Krüger, *S. Lorenzo Maggiore*, 211 (112.4, 112.7).

¹¹⁵ The church was dedicated to the Magdalen by 1309. Like several of the other Magdalenian churches, it later became S. Domenico. While Jansen states this happened quickly, the official dedication to the Magdalen was maintained until at least the 18th century, as can be seen from an inscription created after the earthquake of 1703. For the inscription, see D'Antonio, "Un insediamento mendicante," 483-4. For information about the church and its dedication generally, see *ibid.*, 466-485, esp. 474ff; Raffaele Colapietra, *Il complesso conventuale di S. Domenico all'Aquila: profilo storico*, con appendici a cura di Pierluigi Properzi (L'Aquila: Colacchi, 1999), 11-24. For documents see J. Krüger, *S. Lorenzo Maggiore*, 194-5 (70.6).

¹¹⁶ Belli D'Elia states that the church at the Augustinian convent was dedicated to the Magdalen and that it was renamed S. Agostino alle Zecca when it was radically transformed in the Baroque era. The documents published by Matteo Camera and Krüger indicate that the church did have a dedication to the Magdalen, at least during the Angevin era. See Belli D'Elia, "L'architettura sacra," 322; Belli D'Elia, "*Luceria sarracenorum*," 410. For documents see J. Krüger, *S. Lorenzo Maggiore*, 164 (4.7, 4.8); Matteo Camera, *Annali delle due Sicilie, dall'origine e fondazione della monarchia fino a tutto il regno dell'augusto sovrano Carlo III Borbone* (Napoli: Stamperia e cartiere del Fibreno, 1860), vol. II, 65 and n4. Recent scholarship on the Augustinian convent does not note the earlier Magdalenian dedication.

¹¹⁷ While it is clear the dedication to the Magdalen was in place in 1289, it seems likely this was the church's dedication from its founding by Charles II in 1283. The sources, however, are contradictory and confusing. According to the account of Sarnelli, Charles II began this church, laying the first stone himself on Epiphany 1283 (6 January), when it was blessed by the Papal Legate, Cardinal Gerardo, Bishop of Sabina. Before the church's completion, Charles was captured in the war with the Aragonese, Charles I died, and after some time, the Magdalen, Charles' protectress and advocate, miraculously secured his release. He returned to Naples after being crowned king by Pope Nicholas IV (an event that occurred in 1289), and completed the church with a dedication to the Magdalen; it is unclear whether the Magdalen dedication existed prior to Charles's imprisonment or whether it was in response to it. Pompeo Sarnelli,

The Angevins thus set in motion the rise of the Magdalen cult in Italy.¹¹⁸ From Naples the veneration of Mary Magdalen spread to central Italy, both through the long reach of the powerful Angevin rulers and due to the advocacy of her cult by the newly ascendant Dominican and Franciscan orders. Interestingly, both these groups enjoyed the

Guida de' forestieri, curiosi di vedere, e d'intendere le cose più notabili della Regal città di Napoli, e del suo amenissimo distretto...etc (Napoli: Bulifon, 1688), 218-19. Carlo Celano's account related the same general events with one major difference. Charles II founded the Church, laid the corner stone with his own hands on Epiphany 1283 with the blessing of the Papal Legate Girardo. According to Celano, however, both the foundation and the dedication to the Magdalen are part of Charles' completion of a vow he made to the Magdalen while in prison. Thus, in his narrative, the Magdalen dedication is original to 1283, but he erroneously transfers Charles' imprisonment prior to this date. Carlo Celano, *Notitie del bello, dell'antico e del curioso della città di Napoli per i signori forastieri date dal canonico Carlo Celano napoletano, divise in dieci giornate*, a cura di Paola Coniglio e Riccardo Prencipe, revisione finale di Paola Coniglio (Napoli, 1692; PDF: Fondazione Memofonte: <http://www.memofonte.it/ricerche/napoli.html>, published April 2010), *Giornata Terza* (III), 112-113. Critically important to the debate over the date of the dedication to the Magdalen is a document dated 6 January, 1283, located in the Archivio dell'Ordine Domenicano, convento di Santa Sabina, Roma, XIV A parte sec. f. 467 and N. f. 1199. This edict by Bishop Andrea of Sora (Andrea Perro, bishop 1279 - 27 July 1286), confirms the foundation date of 6 January 1283, and Charles II's personal involvement. It also clearly states the dedication of the church is to Mary Magdalen. Published in J. Krüger, *S. Lorenzo Maggiore* 169, (9.8). This document seems, therefore, to conclusively indicate that the Magdalen dedication was in place from 1283, when Charles first became involved with the building of the church. The story of the dedication as a response to a miracle has long provoked skepticism; Perrotta claimed the story of Charles' miraculous release due to the Magdalen's intervention was unbelievable, but affirmed the dedication to Mary Magdalen based on Charles' great devotion to Mary Magdalen prior to his captivity. Vincenzo Maria Perrotta, *Descrizione storica della chiesa, e del monistero di S. Domenico Maggiore di Napoli in cui si da conto di tutti* (Naples: Dai Torchi di Saverio Giordano, 1830), 6-7. Other sources clearly state that the church was rededicated from S. Domenico to Saint Mary Magdalen in 1289. See, for example, *La basilica di S. Domenico Maggiore in Napoli. Guida*, ed. PP. Domenicani, 3rd ed. (Napoli: Tip. Laurenziana, 1977), 19. A last group of sources date the dedication to the Magdalen to 1289, but claim this is when the Church was begun and thus the dedication to the Magdalen was its original dedication. Giuliana Vitale, "I santi del re: potere politico e pratiche devozionali nell Napoli angioina ed aragonese," in *Pellegrinaggi e itinerari dei santi nel Mezzogiorno medievale*, ed. Giovanni Vitolo (Napoli: Liguori Editori, 1999), 97; Vincenzo Pacelli, "L'inconografia della Maddalena a Napoli dall'età angioina al tempo di Caravaggio (ovvero un 'corpo-immagine' a servizio dell'ideologia cattolica)" in *Santi a teatro: da un'idea di franco carmelo greco*, a cura di Tonia Fiorino e Vincenzo Pacelli (Napoli: Electa Napoli, 2006), 75. Despite the popularity of dating the dedication to 1289, the evidence from early sources, seems to strongly suggest that the earlier dating is preferable. In any case, the dedication to Mary Magdalen did not catch on popularly, as noted in Celano, *Notitie*, III, 114. This church contains the Brancaccio chapel, discussed in chapter two. It is worth taking into consideration that Cardinal Gerardo Bianchi, Bishop of Sabina, who gave the blessing when Charles II founded the church in 1283, and who served as one of the regents for the kingdom during the Aragonese captivity, in 1297 restored and renovated a Magdalen altar in the Basilica on St. John Lateran, Rome, a monument which also served as his tomb. For analysis, reconstruction of this now dismantled altar, and bibliography, see Peter Cornelius Claussen, *Die Kirchen der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter 1050-1300*, band 2, *S. Giovanni in Laterano* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2008), 198-216; Pietro Silanos, "Gerardo Bianchi da Parma. La biografia di un cardinale duecentesco" (Phd diss., Università degli studi di Parma, 2007-2008), 303-308.

¹¹⁸ Both Haskins and Jansen emphasize the Angevin dynasty's seminal role in spreading the cult of Mary Magdalen, with an emphasis on the later life of the saint, from France to Naples. Haskins, *Myth and Metaphor*, 130; Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen*, 19, 332.

enthusiastic patronage of the Angevins, and the Angevins played a significant role in initiating Dominican interest in the Magdalen cult.

MARY MAGDALEN AND THE MENDICANTS

The late medieval period saw the arrival and surging popularity of the mendicant orders. Foremost among them were the Franciscans, or Order of Friars Minor, founded by St. Francis (1181/2-1226) and the Dominicans or Order of Friars Preachers, founded by St. Dominic (c.1170-1221). The rise of the mendicant orders “was one of the major events in the history of the thirteenth-century Church...[and] brought about a profound renewal of the forms of religious life and spirituality.”¹¹⁹ Friars lived in the world, in the cities, not cloistered apart as did monks. The mendicants adhered to an ideal of poverty, and held no property—communal or personal—begging for alms to survive.¹²⁰ The primary difference between the Franciscans and the Dominicans was in a focus, especially in their earliest years, on poverty and simplicity amongst the Franciscans, versus scholasticism amongst the Dominicans.¹²¹ However both orders were apostolic in nature and preaching was therefore central to their mission.

¹¹⁹ Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 336.

¹²⁰ The term mendicant comes from the Latin *mendicans*, the participle of *mendicare*, meaning to beg. *Webster New World College Dictionary*, 3rd edition (New York: Simon & Schuster, Inc, 1996), 847. This dedication to poverty, at least in theory, is true of the late medieval and Renaissance periods. At the Council of Trent, all the mendicant orders except the Franciscans and the Capuchins were granted the liberty of corporate possession. Livarius Oliger, “Mendicant Friars,” in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 10, (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1911) 17 Apr. 2012, <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/10183c.htm>.

¹²¹ Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 343. For the rather anti-scholastic attitudes of the early Franciscans, see: Enrico Menestò, “Francesco, i Minori e i libri,” in *Libri, Biblioteche e Letture dei Frati Mendicanti (secoli XIII-XIV). Atti del XXXII Convegno internazionale, Assisi, 7-9 ottobre 2004*, diretta da Enrico Menestò, Atti dei Convegni della Società internazionale di studi francescani e del Centro interuniversitario di studi francescani 15 (Spoleto: Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 2005), 3-27. For the scholasticism of the Dominicans see Louis-Jacques Bataillon, “Le letture dei maestri dei frati Predicatori,” in *Libri, Biblioteche e Letture dei Frati Mendicanti (secoli XIII-XIV). Atti del XXXII Convegno internazionale, Assisi, 7-9 ottobre 2004*, diretta da Enrico Menestò, Atti dei Convegni della Società

To understand the importance of the preaching of penance for the mendicants and thus their adoption of the Magdalen as an exemplar, a brief word on penitential theology and the history of the mendicant orders is necessary. At the Fourth Lateran Council held in November 1215 Pope Innocent III gave the mendicants a mandate to preach, saying “bishops are to appoint suitable men to carry out with profit this duty of sacred preaching, men who are powerful in word and deed.”¹²² While penance had always been part of Christian doctrine, at this same council, Pope Innocent III reformulated penitential theology, making confession a prerequisite for partaking in Holy Communion, and thereby augmenting the importance of this sacrament.¹²³ Collections of mendicant sermons show that their most frequent themes for preaching included repentance, contrition, and confession of sins.¹²⁴

internazionale di studi francescani e del Centro interuniversitario di studi francescani 15 (Spoleto: Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 2005), 115-140.

¹²² Innocent III, Canon 10, *Fourth Lateran Council*, in Norman P. Tanner, ed., *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils: Volume One Nicaea I to Lateran V* (London: Sheed & Ward; Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1990), 239. This council, as a declaration of Church law and a means of reforming it, was the most important General Council until Trent. Philip Hughes, *The Church in Crisis: A History of the General Councils 325-1870* (Garden City, New York: Hanover House, 1960), 215. For discussion of the friars and preaching see Michael Robson, *The Franciscans in the Middle Ages*, Woodbridge, UK: The Boydell Press, 1996, 48-57.

¹²³ Innocent III, Canon 21, *Fourth Lateran Council*, in Tanner, ed., *Decrees*, 245. The same Canon requires confession and Communion at least once annually, preferably at Easter. For the role of the Fourth Lateran Council in the reformulation of penitential theology, see also Jansen “Mary Magdalen and the Mendicants in Late Medieval Italy,” 203-204; Jansen, “Mary Magdalen and the Mendicants: The Preaching of Penance in the Late Middle Ages,” 3, n6; Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen*, 199-200. For a discussion of the changes in penitential theology from the middle of the 11th century, through the events of the fourth Lateran Council, and the penitential nature of Francis and the Franciscans, see Maria Giuseppina Muzzarelli, “Teorie e forme di penitenza in fase di transizione (secoli XI-XIII),” in *Dalla Penitenza all'Ascolto delle Confessioni: Il Ruolo dei frati Mendicanti. Atti del XXIII Convegno internazionale, Assisi, 12-14 ottobre 1995*, diretta da Enrico Menestò, Atti dei Convegni della Società internazionale di studi francescani e del Centro interuniversitario di studi francescani 6 (Spoleto: Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1996), 31-58. For more on the sacrament of penance see Edward Hanna, “The Sacrament of Penance,” in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 11 (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1911) 20 Apr. 2012, <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/11618c.htm>; Jansen, “Mary Magdalen and the Mendicants in Late Medieval Italy,” 209-212; Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen*, 202-203.

¹²⁴ C.H. Lawrence, *The Friars: The Impact of the Early Mendicant Movement on Western Society* (London and New York: Longman, 1994), 121.

Katherine Jansen has discussed at length in *The Making of the Magdalen*, as well as her other scholarship, how the Dominican and Franciscan orders played a critical role in the promotion of the Magdalen cult, especially in Italy, and in the development of the understanding of the Magdalen as the perfect penitent and apostle to the apostles during the late medieval period. It is not possible to cover herein the immense quantity of material to which Jansen has dedicated her scholarly career thus far. However, not only did both orders preaching and teachings about the Magdalen help formulate the conception of the Magdalen that was depicted in her pictorial *vitae*, but it was in the churches belonging to these orders that many of the cycles under consideration in this dissertation are found. It is therefore necessary, before turning to the narrative cycles, to look at the Magdalen in relation to the Franciscans and the Dominicans during the late medieval period.

The Franciscans and the Magdalen

The Franciscan Order was founded on four principles: humility, simplicity, poverty and prayer.¹²⁵ Although the Franciscans did not make Mary Magdalen a

¹²⁵ John Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order From its Origins to the Year 1517* (Chicago, IL: Franciscan Herald Press, 1988), 1. The best sources for the ideals of the Franciscans can be found in the writings of St. Francis himself including *The Earlier Rule* (1221), *The Later Rule* (1223) and *The Testament* (1226), as well as in his letters and other writings, and in the *Lives* written by Thomas of Celano and Saint Bonaventure. Although the *Earlier Rule* was never sent for approval and thus not binding, this work, more detailed than the approved *Later Rule*, is invaluable as a statement of what Francis thought about his Order and expected from its members. For the writings of Saint Francis see *The Saint: Francis of Assisi: Early Documents I*, eds. Regis J. Armstrong, O.F.M. Cap., J.A. Wayne Hellmann, O.F.M. Conv., and William J. Short, O.F.M. (New York: New City Press, 1999), 35-167. For the first *Life of Saint Francis* by Thomas of Celano (1228-1229) see *ibid.*, 171-308 (hereafter cited as I Celano). For the second *Life of Saint Francis* (1245-1247) by Thomas of Celano see *The Remembrance of the Desire of a Soul*, in *The Founder: Francis of Assisi: Early Documents II*, eds. Regis J. Armstrong, O.F.M. Cap., J.A. Wayne Hellmann, O.F.M. Conv., and William J. Short, O.F.M. (New York: New City Press, 2000), 233-393 (hereafter cited as II Celano). For the *Major Legend of St. Francis* by Saint Bonaventure (1260-1263) see *ibid.*, 525-683. In fact, the entire four-volume collection (including index), *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents*, is indispensable for the student of Franciscan material.

patroness of the Order, as did the Dominicans, they early on showed a marked devotion to the Magdalen and were a major factor in the spread of her cult.¹²⁶ From the early duecento, the Franciscans dedicated churches to the Magdalen, including those in Lucca, Pistoia, Valenciennes and Paris, the last of which was not only the seat of the Provincial Minister of the Order, but also, as its main *studium generale*, a center of theological study. It was also the beneficiary of extensive patronage from the king, Saint Louis IX, brother of Charles I of Anjou.¹²⁷ Franciscan literature of the period also illustrates and illuminates their interest in Mary Magdalen. The *Meditationes Vitae Christi*, a mid-thirteenth century Franciscan tract that was widely read during the period, presents Mary Magdalen as an example of penitence and contemplation.¹²⁸ In *laude* and Franciscan

¹²⁶ Sarah Wilk, "The Cult of Mary Magdalen in Fifteenth-Century Florence and Its Iconography," *Studi Medievali* 3rd series 26 (1985): 687-8.

¹²⁷ Fortunato Iozzelli O.F.M., "Introduzione," in *Legenda de vita et miraculis beatae Margaritae de Cortona*, critica edita a Fortunato Iozzelli O.F.M., Biblioteca Franciscana Ascetica Medii Aevi 13 (Grottaferrata (Roma): Editiones Collegii S. Bonaventurae ad Claras Aquas, 1997), 100, 31. The friary of Valenciennes was founded ca. 1220. The church in Paris was consecrated in 1269, but records indicate it was begun shortly after 1240, operating by the mid 1250s and completed by 1263; it was demolished between 1795 and 1797. Several members of the Capetian royal house were buried in the church. Its unusual plan with an ambulatory and radiating chapels links it to what Davis describes as "a small cohort of elite houses in the Order," the others being S. Francesco in Bologna, S. Antonio in Padua and, most interestingly, S. Lorenzo Maggiore in Naples. The church of S. Francesco in Lucca was dedicated to the Magdalen by 1232, according to a document (ASL S. Francesco, Pergamene, n. 21[A], August 8 1232). The church in Pistoia is said in its foundation document from 1289 (ASP, S. Iacopo, 3 fol. 40v, September 8 1289) to be built in honor of Omnipotent God, S. Francis and Mary Magdalen. For Sainte-Marie-Madeleine in Paris, see Michael T. Davis, "'Fitting to the Requirements of the Place': The Franciscan Church of Sainte-Marie-Madeleine in Paris," in *Architecture, Liturgy and Identity: Liber Amicorum Paul Crossley*, Studies in Gothic Art, eds. Zoë Opačić and Achim Timmermann (Turnhout; Brepols, 2011), 247-261. For both the French churches see: Nicole Bériou, "La Madeleine dans les sermons Parisiens du XIII^e siècle," *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome Moyen Age. La Madeleine (VIII^e-XIII^e siècle)* 104, no. 1 (1992): 299, n99. For the church in Pistoia see: Alessandro Andreini, Cristina Cerrato e Giuliano Feola, "Dalla chiesa alto-medievale di S. Maria al Prato alla fondazione del complesso conventuale di S. Francesco. Origine e trasformazioni urbani del Prato di Piuente," in *S. Francesco. La chiesa e il convento in Pistoia*, a cura di Lucia Gai (Ospedaletto: Pacini, 1993), 33, 275 n79. For Lucca see Vito Tirelli e Matilde Tirelli Carli, eds., *Le pergamene del convento di S. Francesco in Lucca (sec. XII - XIX)*, Pubblicazioni degli Archivi di Stato. Fonti, 15 (Roma, 1993), 42-3 doc. 21 (for document transcription and description), XXVII-XXX on the foundation of the Church and the Magdalen cult in Lucca.

¹²⁸ Wilk, "The Cult of Mary Magdalen," 688. See *Meditations on the Life of Christ, an Illustrated Manuscript of the Fourteenth Century*, trans. and eds. Isa Ragusa and Rosalie B. Green (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1961), 275-277 and 282-286. Originally believed to have been written by Saint Bonaventure, it is now considered the work of an anonymous Franciscan from Tuscany.

sermons from this period, the Magdalen's penitent nature and love of Christ are repeatedly emphasized.¹²⁹ What accounts for the Magdalen's particular appeal to the Franciscan Order? It is largely predicated on interpretations of the Magdalen as the Perfect Penitent, as apostle to the apostles and as a representative of the *vita mixta* all of which will be discussed in brief herein.

The way of life followed by the friars was based on the personal path of St. Francis (1181-1226), the founder of the Franciscan Order, a path that emulated those of the apostles and Christ.¹³⁰ Known initially the "ordo apostolorum," the Franciscan Order was the first religious order founded on dedication to the apostolate.¹³¹ The apostolic way of life integral to being a member of the Franciscan Order was rooted in St. Francis's sincere and deep love of Christ, a love that made him wish to become as Christ, to live and to suffer as he did. In 1224, in the climax of Francis' religious experience, he was honored as no saint had been before, and received the stigmata, marking him as an *alter Christus*:

The unconquerable kindling of love in him for the good Jesus had grown into *lamps and flames of fire*, that *many waters could not quench* so powerful a love. With the seraphic ardor of desires, therefore, he was being borne aloft into God; and by compassionate sweetness he was being transformed into him Who chose to be crucified out of *the excess of His love...true love of Christ transformed the lover into His image*.¹³²

¹²⁹ Wilk, "The Cult of Mary Magdalen," 688.

¹³⁰ By 1209/10 Francis had sufficient followers that he needed to establish a Rule, though this first Rule does not survive. The rapid expansion of the Order soon rendered this Rule inadequate and in 1221 a new Rule was written, but was never submitted for papal approval. In 1223 a revised Rule, created with the assistance of Cardinal Ugolino, friend to St. Francis and protector of the Order since 1220, was submitted to Pope Honorius III and approved on November 29 of the same year. Jacques Le Goff, *Saint Francis of Assisi*, translated by Christine Rhone, (London; New York: Routledge, 2004), 40-42.

¹³¹ Anscar Zawart, O.M. Cap., *The History of Franciscan Preaching and of Franciscan Preachers (1209-1927). A Bio-Bibliographical Study*, Franciscan Studies 7, reprint of the Report of the Ninth Annual Meeting of the Franciscan Educational Conference (New York: Joseph F. Wagner, Inc., 1928), 242.

¹³² Saint Bonaventure, *Major Legend*, ch. XIII, 2,3,5, in *The Founder*, 631-2, 634.

As the apostle to the apostles, beloved of Christ, the one who clutches the foot of the Cross at the Crucifixion—a devotional position that Francis himself soon adopts in art of the period—Mary Magdalen provides an example of apostolic behavior, and a model for the same sort of emotional relationship to Christ that Francis adopts and advocates.

Preaching is one of the most essential elements of the apostolic life, and the preaching of penance was particularly important to the Franciscan Order.¹³³ As only learned theologians were allowed to preach on matters of high theology, and the early Franciscans were not, on the whole, men of learning, penance became their main topic for sermons.¹³⁴ This was a critical component of the Magdalen's appeal to the Order. In fact, the Franciscans themselves believed that their mandate to preach penance came directly from the Pope. Thomas of Celano reported that in 1209 when Francis went to Pope Innocent III for approval of the first Rule, Innocent said, "Go with the Lord, brothers, and as the Lord will see fit to inspire you, *preach penance to all*."¹³⁵

The preaching of penance is a prominent feature in the biographies of St. Francis and in Francis' own writings. Thomas of Celano states, "Francis, Christ's bravest soldier, *went around the cities and villages*, proclaiming the kingdom of God, and *preaching peace and penance for the remission of sins*."¹³⁶ St. Francis, in his *First Letter to the Custodians* (1220), directed the friars, "In every sermon you give, remind people about penance and that no one can be saved unless he receives the most holy Body and Blood

¹³³ For a discussion of the importance of the preaching of penance among the mendicants, focusing particularly on the Franciscans, see Jansen, "Mary Magdalen and the Mendicants in Late Medieval Italy," 204-206.

¹³⁴ Jansen, "Mary Magdalen and the Mendicants," 4; Jansen, "Mary Magdalen and the Mendicants in Late Medieval Italy," 205. She notes that as the friars and their sermons became more sophisticated, the emphasis on penitence remained intact.

¹³⁵ I Celano, bk. I ch. XIII, in *The Saint*, 212. Emphasis mine.

¹³⁶ Ibid., bk. I ch. XV, in *The Saint*, 214-215.

of the Lord.”¹³⁷ *The Earlier Rule* also provided a powerful assertion of the primacy of penance: “All of us lesser brothers, *useless servants*, humbly ask and beg those who wish to serve the Lord God within the holy Catholic and Apostolic Church...all lay people, men and women...all nations and all peoples everywhere on earth, who are and who will be to persevere in the true faith and in penance for otherwise no one will to be saved.”¹³⁸ In keeping with this belief in critical importance of penance, the Franciscan Servasanto da Faenza wrote the *Summa de poenitentia*, a complex treatise on penitence specifically for the use of preachers, sometime between 1244/60 and 1285.¹³⁹ The friars fiercely advocated penitence as the means of achieving radical personal change in the life of the populace, and sought to achieve this, city-by-city, through their itinerant preaching.¹⁴⁰

The Franciscan Order’s focus on penitence made Mary Magdalen particularly attractive to them as an *exemplum* of penance.¹⁴¹ The tradition of invoking Mary Magdalen as a penitential model for emulation dates back as early as the sixth century, long before the augmentation of the penitential aspects through the *vitae* and the height of her veneration in the late medieval period. According to Gregory the Great, “That woman [Mary Magdalen] represented us, if we return to the Lord wholeheartedly after we have

¹³⁷ Saint Francis, *First Letter to the Custodians*, in *The Saint, Francis of Assisi: Early Documents I*, edited by Regis J. Armstrong, O.F.M. Cap., J.A. Wayne Hellmann, O.F.M. Conv., and William J. Short, O.F.M. (New York: New City Press, 1999), 57.

¹³⁸ Saint Francis, *Earlier Rule*, ch. XXIII, 7, in *The Saint, Francis of Assisi: Early Documents I*, edited by Regis J. Armstrong, O.F.M. Cap., J.A. Wayne Hellmann, O.F.M. Conv., and William J. Short, O.F.M. (New York: New City Press, 1999), 83-84. There are, in fact, extensive mentions of penitence in chapter 23.

¹³⁹ Carla Casagrande, “‘Predicare la Penitenza’ La *Summa de poenitentia* di Servasanto da Faenza,” in *Dalla Penitenza all’Ascolto delle Confessioni: Il Ruolo dei frati Mendicanti. Atti del XXIII Convegno internazionale, Assisi, 12-14 ottobre 1995*, diretta da Enrico Menestò, Atti dei Convegni della Società internazionale di studi francescani e del Centro interuniversitario di studi francescani 6 (Spoleto: Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull’Alto Medioevo, 1996), 59-101.

¹⁴⁰ Muzzarelli, “Teorie e forme,” 46-47

¹⁴¹ For Mary Magdalen as an exemplar of penitence (not only for the Franciscans) see Jansen, “Mary Magdalen and the Mendicants in Late Medieval Italy,” 212-218; Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen*, 203-206.

sinned, if we imitate the distress of her repentance.”¹⁴² Later stating, “Dearly beloved, bring back to your mind’s eye, bring before you the repentant sinful woman as an *example for you to imitate*.”¹⁴³

There were other penitential saints, but as the Franciscan Minister General (1287-1289) and Cardinal, Matteo d’Aquasparta (d. 1302) stated, Mary Magdalen was the *exemplum perfecte penitentiae*, example of perfect penitence.¹⁴⁴ Franciscans frequently used her as a penitential example to be followed by the laity and by themselves. St. Bonaventure, Minister General of the Order, wrote in the *Decem Opuscula*, “If therefore, you are unable to be saved through your innocence you should endeavor to be saved through your penitence. If you cannot be Catherine or Cecilia, you should not be ashamed to be Mary Magdalen or Mary of Egypt.”¹⁴⁵ In the *Arbor vitae crucifixae Jesu Christi* (1305), the spiritual leader Ubertino da Casale calls himself a sinner, and after briefly addressing himself to Christ, the Virgin and John, he turns to “penitent Magdalen, sweet devoted disciple, singularly beloved.” Remarking that she was cleansed of reprehensible sins through the blood of Christ, and that this mercy was granted her at his feet, Ubertino describes the Magdalen’s role as that of a messenger of penance: “carrying in your mouth a branch of an olive tree, *announcing to sinners the peace of remission and grace*, and

¹⁴² Gregory the Great, *Homily 33* in *Forty Gospel Homilies*, 272.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, 278. Italics mine.

¹⁴⁴ Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen*, 204. Original found in Matteo d’Aquasparta, MS Assisi 682, f. 194v; Johann Baptist Schneyer, ed., *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters für die Zeit von 1150-1350* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1969-90) (hereafter *RLS*), 4:78.

¹⁴⁵ Saint Bonaventure, *Decem Opuscula ad Theologiam Mysticam Spectantia*, editio secunda (Ad Claras Aquas (Quaracchi): Ex Typographia Eiusdem Collegii, 1900), 233. “Si ergo non potes salvari per innocentiam, studeas salvari per poenitentiam; si non potes esse Catherina vel Caecilia, non contemnas esse Maria Magdalena, vel Aegyptiaca.” Translation by Kathleen Wilkins. The Latin passage is also reprinted in Nurith Kenaan-Kedar, “Emotion, Beauty and Franciscan Piety: The Magdalene Chapel in the Lower Church of Assisi” *Studi Medievali* 3rd series 26 (1985): 700.

you truly are beloved, the *standard bearer and the first of all of those converted* by the blood of Christ and of his death, truly established in his death.”¹⁴⁶

The Magdalen was distinguished from other penitents in having received forgiveness at the feet of Christ, granted through his own words: “And he said to her: Thy sins are forgiven thee.”¹⁴⁷ By choosing her to be first witness to the Resurrection, apostle to the apostles, Christ confirmed the success of her penance, and made tangible the promise of redemption for all sinners inherent in the Resurrection. While other penitent saints, such as Peter, Paul, John the Baptist and Matthew were intimate with Christ, medieval writers and preachers did not focus on the penitential aspects of their *vitae* to the degree they did with Mary Magdalen, *beata peccatrix*.¹⁴⁸ In the view of Ubertino da Casale, the Magdalen was the “principal sinner,” who had been forgiven and honored above all others by Christ, because she had “loved most,” in reference to her penitential conversion in the house of the Pharisee.¹⁴⁹ In the section “Jesus granting mercy to sinners,” the Magdalen serves as Ubertino’s prime example. He details the causes, nature and degree of her sins, and, especially, the reasons forgiveness was granted to her.¹⁵⁰

As a penitent sinner forgiven by Christ himself, Christ’s beloved, the Magdalen provided a powerful message of hope to the faithful, which was explicitly referenced in the writings of the friars. Pietro da Padova, writing in the fourteenth century called her a

¹⁴⁶ Ubertino da Casale, *Arbor vitae*, bk. 4, ch. 17, f. 326b. Unpublished translation by Campion Murray, O.P. (forthcoming from Franciscan Institute, St Bonaventure University, N.Y). Italics mine.

¹⁴⁷ Luke 7.48. See also Luke 7.47-50.

¹⁴⁸ Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen*, 206. This term, meaning blessed sinner, was the most common way of referring to Mary Magdalen in medieval sermons.

¹⁴⁹ Ubertino da Casale, *Arbor vitae*, bk. 4, ch. 29-32, f. 344b-f. 362b.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., bk. 3, ch. 22, f. 266a – f. 271b. This passage is extensive and touches upon many issues, such as the unity of the Magdalen (which he supports). It is also interesting for its discussion of the meaning of the tears and hair of the Magdalen, which are interpreted in a consistently penitential sense. Ubertino again takes up Mary Magdalen as the prime penitential representative in bk. 3, ch. 23, f. 271b – f. 275a. There, in the section “Jesus fragrant with ointments,” he discusses the triple state of a soul as represented by the three women who went to anoint Christ: the Magdalen (conversion), Mary the mother of James (way of life) and Salome (completion).

“speculum spei,” or “mirror of hope.” An anonymous Franciscan from Marseilles wrote that she provided people with the hope for forgiveness.¹⁵¹ An even more personal and intimate note is found in the response of the Spiritual Franciscan poet Jacopone da Todi (c. 1230-1306), who identified himself with Mary Magdalen in a *lauda*:

And I sad Magdalen,
threw myself at his feet
where I made a great gain
where I purged my sins.
Nail me to his feet
and never let me rise again¹⁵²

Ultimately Mary Magdalen, the abject sinner transformed into the perfect penitent, was, as a symbol of hope and advocate for sinners, an ideal saint of an order whose mission it was to preach penitence.¹⁵³

Much emphasis has been placed on the active life in discussions of the mendicants; their habit of living in the midst of the world was one of the things that most distinguished the friars from monks, who were closed off away from the world in cloisters.¹⁵⁴ However, this is not a full depiction of the way of life followed by the Franciscans. In their desire to live like Christ and the apostles, the Franciscans, like St. Francis, led a life that was a combination of the active and contemplative life, a “mixed

¹⁵¹ “Maria Magdalena ut pre esset peccatoribus ne desperarent.” Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen*, 232. MS BAV Borgh. 138, f. 146r; *RLS* 9:97.

¹⁵² *Lauda del Venerdi Santo* from Assisi and Gubbio. V. De Bartholomeis, ed., *Laude Drammatiche e Rappresentazioni Sacre*, (Firenze: Le Monnier, 1943, reprint 1967), vol. I, 325, see also 321-33. This translation is from Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen*, 91. The same passage is cited in Haskins, *Myth and Metaphor*, 200 with a slightly different translation and a transcription of the original Italian. The Italian passage is also quoted in Kenaan-Kedar, “Emotion, Beauty and Franciscan Piety,” 703. For more on Jacopone dei Benedetti, known as Jacopone da Todi, see Moorman, *History of the Franciscan Order*, 265-266. See also Evelyn Underhill, *Jacopone da Todi: Poet and Mystic* (London, Toronto: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd.; New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., 1919).

¹⁵³ Jansen calls her “the primary symbol of hope in the late medieval period.” Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen*, 232.

¹⁵⁴ Zawart, *History of Franciscan Preaching*, 242.

life” or *vita mixta*, in which activity was balanced by secluded contemplation.¹⁵⁵ As St. Bonaventure said of St. Francis, “For he had so prudently learned to divide the time given to him for merit, that he spent some of it working for his neighbor’s benefit and dedicated the rest to the tranquil excesses of contemplation.”¹⁵⁶ It was this combination of the active and contemplative life that provided the best way, and which the friars emulated.

In addition to being a symbol of penance, Mary Magdalen was representative of the contemplative life, a life leading to “mystical communion with the Lord.”¹⁵⁷ The interpretation of the Magdalen as a model of contemplation was drawn from Luke 10.38-42, where Mary of Bethany sat at Christ’s feet and listened, while her sister Martha worked.¹⁵⁸ Already in the third century, the theologian Origen (185-254) used Mary of Bethany to represent the contemplative life, and Martha the active.¹⁵⁹ The contemplative nature of the Magdalen was further elaborated through the hagiographic accounts of her thirty years sojourn in the wilderness, which was seen as contemplative as well as penitential. The interpretation of Mary Magdalen as a symbol of the contemplative life was popular throughout the Middle Ages¹⁶⁰ and St. Francis himself drew upon it when he discussed the organization of hermitages, places where friars could retreat from the world:

¹⁵⁵ For the mendicants and the *vita mixta* or *vita apostolica* see page 17 and note 44, above.

¹⁵⁶ Saint Bonaventure, *Major Legend*, ch. XIII, 1 in *The Founder*, 630. A similar statement can be found in I Celano, bk. II, ch. II, 91 in *The Saint*, 261-262.

¹⁵⁷ Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen*, 49.

¹⁵⁸ Despite its importance to the understanding of the Magdalen as a contemplative, this is not a popular event in pictorial hagiography. It appears only in the cycle in Sta. Croce, touched upon in the conclusion, and in the stained glass window in the Magdalen Chapel in the Basilica of St. Francis. Both of these are Franciscan establishments.

¹⁵⁹ Haskins, *Myth and Metaphor*, 20. McVoy, “Those Whom Jesus Loved,” 78.

¹⁶⁰ For Mary Magdalen as a contemplative see Katherine Ludwig Jansen “Mary Magdalen and the Contemplative Life,” in *Medieval Religion: New Approaches*, ed. Constance Berman (New York: Routledge, 2005), 249-271; Garth, *Saint Mary Magdalene*, 85-87; Haskins, *Myth and Metaphor*, 20, 24; Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen*, 116-142; LaRow, “Iconography of Mary Magdalen,” 35-48. LaRow argued that earlier images of the *noli me tangere* illustrate Mary Magdalen reaping the rewards of contemplation.

Let those who wish to stay in hermitages in a religious way be three brothers or, at the most, four; let two of these be “the mother” and have two “sons” or at least one. Let the two who are “mothers” keep the life of Martha and the two “sons” the life of Mary.¹⁶¹

It can also be found in the writings of later Franciscans of the period such as Ubertino da Casale, in his *Arbor vitae*.¹⁶²

Given her role as the apostle to the apostles, the bearer of the news of Christ’s Resurrection to the apostles, her status as one of the women who traveled with Christ and the apostles and provided for them, and her preaching activity in Marseilles in the *vitae*, Mary Magdalen engaged in the active life as well as contemplation. She thus was not only a representative of the contemplative life, but also exemplified the *vita mixta*, the way of life followed by the Franciscans.¹⁶³

As we have seen, Mary Magdalen was understood to embody the *vita mixta* and was the perfect penitent, two strong reasons for Franciscan devotion. Yet other factors made her attractive to the Franciscans, as well. While her *vita* informs us that she was wealthy, she ultimately retreats to the grotto of St. Baume where “she carries poverty to the point of complete and literal denudation, living entirely unclothed, she partakes of no mortal food, nourished solely by the ministrations of the angels.”¹⁶⁴ This must have been

¹⁶¹ Saint Francis, *A Rule for Hermitages*, in *The Saint: Francis of Assisi: Early Documents I*, eds. Regis J. Armstrong, O.F.M. Cap., J.A. Wayne Hellmann, O.F.M. Conv., and William J. Short, O.F.M. (New York: New City Press, 1999), 61. This document dates from 1217 to 1221.

¹⁶² For example: “Mary and Martha, the active and contemplative life...And from Mary he [Christ] put to flight seven demons because by a contemplative life there is put to flight the arrogance of one’s own reputation, in which consists the universality of all evils.” Ubertino da Casale, *Arbor vitae*, bk. 3, ch. 21, f. 263a. See also *ibid.*, bk.3, ch. 22, f. 267b.

¹⁶³ Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen*, 52. See 50-99 for a further elaboration of this idea.

¹⁶⁴ Misrahi, “A *Vita Sanctae Mariae Magdalenae*,” 336.

a powerful image to an order founded on the concept of complete apostolic poverty, which wrote works in honor of “Lady Poverty.”¹⁶⁵

Another attraction that Mary Magdalen held for the Franciscans is the depth of her love and devotion to Christ. Commentators were in agreement that her intimacy with Christ surpassed that of all others.¹⁶⁶ Examples of this can be found in the homilies of Gregory the Great, one of the four Latin Fathers of the Church, who emphasized the importance of love in Mary Magdalen’s role in the Resurrection:

We must consider in this the woman’s state of mind, that a great force of love inflamed her. When even the disciples departed from the sepulchre, she did not depart. She sought for him whom she had not found, weeping as she searched; being inflamed with the fire of her love, she burned with desire for him who she believed had been taken away. So it happened that she who stayed behind to seek him was the only one who saw him.¹⁶⁷

The power of her love is also stressed in the biblical account of Luke’s sinner (7.47),¹⁶⁸ and in St. Gregory’s Homily 33 on Luke’s sinner:

Hence it is said that *many sins are forgiven her because she has loved much*. This means, she has completely burned away the rust of sin because she is mightily aflame with the fire of love. The more the heart of a sinner is consumed by the fire of love, the more fully is the rust of sin consumed.¹⁶⁹

This love of Mary Magdalen for Christ is thus presented as the basis of her most important roles: as a model of successful penance, and the first witness to the Resurrection, *apostolorum apostola*. As Ward states, “The appeal of Mary is that she sins

¹⁶⁵ For an allegorical work on St. Francis and Lady Poverty see *Sacrum commercium or The Sacred Exchange Between Francis and Lady Poverty*, in *The Saint: Francis of Assisi: Early Documents I*, eds. Regis J. Armstrong, O.F.M. Cap., J.A. Wayne Hellmann, O.F.M. Conv., and William J. Short, O.F.M. (New York: New City Press, 1999), 523-554. The date of this work is disputed—with six of the thirteen extant manuscripts giving the date as 1227, but recent scholarship discounts this. Armstrong et al. date it to between 1237 and 1239.

¹⁶⁶ Garth, *Saint Mary Magdalene*, 62.

¹⁶⁷ Gregory the Great, *Homily 25* in *Forty Gospel Homilies*, 188.

¹⁶⁸ “Wherefore I say to thee: Many sins are forgiven her, because she hath loved much.”

¹⁶⁹ Gregory the Great, *Homily 33*, in *Forty Gospel Homilies*, 271.

and finds salvation by the free gift of love...therein is the Christian hope.”¹⁷⁰ St. Francis’ own love of Christ has already been discussed; his biographies and own writings are filled with descriptions of how St. Francis was motivated to emulate Christ by the great love he had for him, and it was due to this love that he received the stigmata. The similar depth of feeling for Christ, the strong loyalty and personal devotion seen in both Mary Magdalen and St. Francis, led the Franciscans to associate the two figures.¹⁷¹

The saints Mary Magdalen and Francis were explicitly connected in both writing and art. An anonymous Franciscan of the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century wrote that St. Francis: “yearned to serve Christ ‘til the end, naked following the naked one, far removed from the world and unknown to all people, just like one reads about Mary Magdalen.”¹⁷² Fourteenth-century Franciscan breviaries used the same liturgy for St. Francis and St. Mary Magdalen.¹⁷³ St. Bonaventure makes comparisons between Mary Magdalen and St. Francis in several sermons. In one he states, “This is the gall which bathed the eyes of Mary Magdalen, because she also wept bitterly, and St. Francis wept so bitterly that he lost his sight.”¹⁷⁴ In the Morning Sermon, Bonaventure’s theme is even more explicitly that Francis’ penitence mirrors the Magdalen’s, both in its form and in its success: “the Lord appeared to him and assured him that his *many sins were forgiven him down to the last farthing*. I would like to have this assurance more than anything else in

¹⁷⁰ Ward, *Harlots of the Desert*, 21.

¹⁷¹ Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen*, 95-6.

¹⁷² *Vita del povero et humile servo de Dio Francesco*, ed. Marino Bigaroni, O.F.M., Pubblicazioni della biblioteca Franciscana, Chiesa Nuova 4 (Assisi: Edizioni Porziuncola, 1985), 6, quoted in Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen*, 142.

¹⁷³ Wilk, “The Cult of Mary Magdalen,” 688.

¹⁷⁴ Saint Bonaventure *Opera Omnia* IX, 5, Sermo de angelis, 625-626a, “Excerpts from Other Works,” trans. Benen Fahy O.F.M., in *St. Francis of Assisi: Writings and Early Biographies. English Omnibus of the Sources for the Life of St. Francis*, vol. 1, ed. Marion A. Habig (Quincy, Ill: Franciscan Press, Quincy University, 1991), 849. The same passage also mentions the tears of St. Paul and St. Peter.

the world. It was given also to Mary Magdalene.”¹⁷⁵ In the Evening Sermon he compares Francis being elevated by angels to the elevation of Magdalen.¹⁷⁶ In art, St. Francis frequently appears either with, or instead of, Mary Magdalen in her traditional position at the foot of the cross, thus emphasizing the extreme love both felt for the crucified Christ.¹⁷⁷ In the Guidalotti-Rinuccini Chapel in Sta. Croce (1360-70), the predella of the altarpiece features the *Stigmatization* of St. Francis alongside Mary Magdalen in *Colloquy with the Angels*.¹⁷⁸

The Franciscan Order’s way of viewing the world—more intimate, personal and emotional, based on morals not theological dogma—had a great influence on the way religious subjects were depicted in art during the period.¹⁷⁹ This emotionalism led to dramatic narratives emphasizing “the familiar joys and sufferings of the human lot.” In keeping with their emphasis on preaching, the fresco cycles undertaken by the mendicants were conceived to work as “silent sermons.”¹⁸⁰ In thinking of the iconographic programs as sermons, it is to be expected that the art produced under the

¹⁷⁵ Saint Bonaventure, *The Morning Sermon on Saint Francis, Paris, October 4 1267*, in *The Founder: Francis of Assisi: Early Documents II*, eds. Regis J. Armstrong, O.F.M. Cap., J.A. Wayne Hellmann, O.F.M. Conv., and William J. Short, O.F.M. (New York: New City Press, 2000), 754.

¹⁷⁶ Saint Bonaventure, *The Evening Sermon on Saint Francis, Paris, October 4 1267*, in *The Founder: Francis of Assisi: Early Documents II*, eds. Regis J. Armstrong, O.F.M. Cap., J.A. Wayne Hellmann, O.F.M. Conv., and William J. Short, O.F.M. (New York: New City Press, 2000), 763.

¹⁷⁷ On St. Francis replacing the Magdalen at the foot of the Cross as a reflection of their “common devotion to the crucified Christ and their comparable roles as penitents and contemplatives,” see Wilk, “Cult of Mary Magdalen,” 688-689. See Evelyn Sandberg Vavalà, *La Croce dipinta italiana e l’iconografia della passione* (Verona: Casa editrice Apollo, 1929), vol. 2, 884-887 for dugento images in which Francis appears at the foot of the cross.

¹⁷⁸ For other examples see Wilk, “The Cult of Mary Magdalen,” n21.

¹⁷⁹ Frederick Hartt and David G. Wilkins, *History of Italian Renaissance Art: Painting, Sculpture, Architecture*, 5th ed. (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc, 2003), 62. Kenaan-Kedar notes the impact of Franciscan literature on the visual arts. Considering that both the visual arts and literature sprang from Franciscan modes of thought, I prefer to identify these concepts, not the writing per se, as the source of this new kind of imagery. Kenaan-Kedar, “Emotion, Beauty and Franciscan Piety,” 699.

¹⁸⁰ Eve Borsook, *The Mural Painters of Tuscany: From Cimabue to Andrea del Sarto* (London: Phaidon Press, Ltd., 1960), 11.

patronage of the Franciscan Order should, like their written sermons, emphasize penance as the way to achieve salvation.

The Dominicans and the Magdalen

Unlike the Franciscans, the Dominicans emphasized the Rule, rather than emulation of the *vita* of their founder.¹⁸¹ Thus, in discussing the Dominicans in relation to Mary Magdalen, my focus is less on the influence of the founder, St. Dominic, than on the nature of the order more generally, and on specific events that stimulated Dominican institutional devotion to the saint. That said, the first convent founded at Prouille by St. Dominic, on December 27, 1206, was under the patronage of Mary Magdalen. Its dedication was in response to a *seignadou*, sign of god, which he had experienced on July 22nd, the feast day of the Magdalen.¹⁸²

As with the Franciscans, the Dominicans were followers of the apostolic life and had received their mandate to preach at the Fourth Lateran Council.¹⁸³ Already in the thirteenth century, Humbert of Romans, Master General of the Dominican Order, made clear the importance placed on the preaching of penance by the Dominicans: “Nulla come la predicazione è in grado di accelerare la penitenza.”¹⁸⁴ This is also evident in a treatise on preaching written by Domenico Cavalca (ca. 1270-1342), “On these words I wish to conclude, that those who are the successors of Christ and of the apostles, as are priests,

¹⁸¹ Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 338; John Van Engen, “Dominic and the Brothers: *Vitae* as Life-forming *exempla* in the Order of Preachers,” in *Christ Among the Medieval Dominicans: Representations of Christ in the Texts and Images of the Order of Preachers*, eds. Kent Emery, Jr. and Joseph Wawrykow, Notre Dame Conferences in Medieval Studies 7 (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1998), 8.

¹⁸² Phyllis Zagano, “Saint Dominic (1171-1221),” in *The Dominican Tradition*, eds. Thomas C. McGonigle, O.P. and Phyllis Zagano (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 2006), 2; Daniel Antonin Mortier, *Histoire abrégée de l'Ordre de Saint-Dominique en France* (Tours: Maison Alfred Mame et Fils, 1920), 6-7.

¹⁸³ See note 122 above.

¹⁸⁴ Casagrande, ““Predicare la Penitenza,”” 61. Nothing is capable of accelerating penance like preaching.

religious, and clergy, are bound to preach the Gospel, and to call the people to repentance: so they cannot remain silent without great fault.”¹⁸⁵

For the Dominicans, too, Mary Magdalen provided the ideal example of a penitent sinner.¹⁸⁶ As the early trecento Dominican preacher Jacobus de Lausanne stated, the Magdalen was “given as an example and figure and mirror of penitence.”¹⁸⁷ The *Golden Legend*, the period’s most important source for the life of the Magdalen, was Dominican in origin, a fact somewhat overshadowed by its near universal popularity. As discussed previously, this Life emphasizes her penitential aspects. Its author, Jacobus de Voragine also wrote five sermons for the feast day of the Magdalen¹⁸⁸ and several for the Lenten period that focus on the Magdalen, particularly in her role as a penitent.¹⁸⁹ In Jacobus’

¹⁸⁵ Domenico Cavalca, *I Frutti della Lingua* (...), ed. Giovanni Bottari (Milano: Giovanni Silvestri, 1857), ch. XXVI, 204. Translation mine. The Italian text can also be found in Jansen, “Mary Magdalen and the Mendicants,” 4. In addition to this treatise, Cavalca was responsible for the Life of Mary Magdalen, mentioned above in note 76. While Cavalca’s *vita* focused on the Magdalen as a penitent, he was more interested in expounding upon her early life of sin, its causes, and in her conversion experience in its entirety, elements that are largely not reflected in late medieval art. Furthermore, his account does not include her post-gospel life. It is for that reason that I have therefore not included it among the *vitae* discussed herein. Cavalca, *The Life of Saint Mary Magdalen*.

¹⁸⁶ For a detailed discussion of the mendicant penitent Magdalen especially as revealed in sermons, again see Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen*, 203-244; Jansen, “Mary Magdalen and the Mendicants,” 5-25; Jansen, “Mary Magdalen and the Mendicants in Late Medieval Italy,” 212-218.

¹⁸⁷ “...in exemplum et formam et speculum penitendi data.” BAV, MS Vat. lat. 1261, f. 271r. Transcribed in Jansen, “Mary Magdalen and the Mendicants,” 9 n32.

¹⁸⁸ Jacobus de Voragine, *R.R.P.F. Iacobi de Voragine Archiepiscopi Ianuensis Ordinis Praedicatorum Sermones aurei de praecipuis sanctorum festis quae in ecclesia celebrantur: a vetustate et in numeris propè mendis repurgati*, vol. II, (Lugduni: apud Joannem Matthaeum Martin, 1687), Sermo I-V, 85-107. For a discussion of Mary Magdalen as a penitent according to the categories found in these sermons see Jansen, “Mary Magdalen and the Mendicants,” 6-25.

¹⁸⁹ I have identified 9 sermons by de Voragine from the Lenten period that deal with the Magdalen in a substantial way. Jacobus de Voragine, *Quadragesimale, sermo 30, 47, 56, 66, 73, 74, 89, 93, 96*, online at sermones.net in an electronic edition based on the critical volume: Iacopo da Varazze, *Sermones Quadragesimale*, edizione critica a cura di Giovanni Paolo Maggioni, Edizione nazionale dei testi mediolatini 13, serie I, 8 (Firenze: SISMEL, Edizione del Galluzzo, 2005). See pages 244-9, 151-7; 293-7; 349-354; 391-6; 397-403; 486-494; 512-7; 530-5. These correspond with *RLS* 3:241, 3:225, 3:250, 3:260, 3:267, 3:268, 3:283, 3:287, 3:290. Especially focused on the Magdalen as penitent are sermo 73 and 74 which both are based on Luke 7. A further sermon mentions her tangentially in discussion of the raising of Lazarus. Jacobus, *Quadragesimale, sermo 59* (sermones.net); Iacopo, *Sermones Quadragesimale*, 308-313; *RLS* 3:253. Another Sermon (for Easter Saturday) mentions her role in going to the tomb but does not discuss it: Jacobus, *Quadragesimale, sermo 91* (sermones.net); Iacopo, *Sermones Quadragesimale*, 501-6;

estimation, the Magdalen was stronger than the virgin saints, whose chastity enabled them to overcome torture and humiliation, and second only to the Virgin Mary, who remained a virgin although mother and wife. This was because although the Magdalen knew the pleasures of the flesh, she broke free from the chains of sin and lived in the grace of Christ.¹⁹⁰ Giordano da Pisa (d. 1310) preached in Florence that while there were other penitent saints, including Mary of Egypt, Peter and Paul, the Magdalen provided the highest and most perfect example of penitence.¹⁹¹

Furthermore, as mendicants the Dominicans were also proponents of the *vita mixta*, and like the Franciscans, saw the Magdalen as an exemplar of this way of life.

Giovanni da San Gimignano (ca. 1260-ca. 1333) preached that:

There is also a third life composed from each one [the *vita mixta*]. And this is considered the best because it embraces each of them...and the Magdalen selected the best life for herself because sometimes, as it were, she was active and she ministered to him [Christ], washing his feet, both ministering to him on the journey and pouring out her precious oils on him...she was also a contemplative, as it were, when she was meditating, listening to his words. This was an admirable life made best through the exercise of both lives.¹⁹²

Thus although the Dominicans did not identify their founder with the Magdalen as directly as the Franciscans did theirs, whose path they saw as emulating hers, especially

RSL: 3:285. She also is one of a list of saints used as examples of God's power: Jacobus, *Quadragesimale*, sermo 68 (sermones.net); Iacopo, *Sermones Quadragesimale*, 361-6; RSL: 3:262.

¹⁹⁰ Stefania Bertini Guidetti, *I Sermones di Iacopo da Varazze: Il potere delle immagini nel Duecento*, Millennio Medioevale 8, Studi 2 (Firenze: SISMEL, Edizioni del Galluzzo, 1998), 85-86; Jacobus de Voragine, *Sermones aurei*, Sermo II, 90-94.

¹⁹¹ "...in Santa Maria Maddalena, nella quale Cristo mostrò al mondo esempio di penitenza più altamente, e più perfettamente, che in nullo altro Santo." Giordano da Pisa, *Prediche del Beato Fra Giordano da Rivalto dell'ordine dei Predicatori. Recitate in Firenze dal MCCCIII al MCCCVI*, ed. D. Moreni, 2 vol. (Florence: Magheri, 1831), vol. I, 181-182. The sermon was preached on the feast day of the Magdalen (22 July), 1305 in Santa Maria Maddalena Oltrarno.

¹⁹² "Est quoque tertia vita ex utraque composita. Et hec potest digna optima ut pote utramque conplectens...et hanc optimam vitam elegit sibi Magdalena quia et interdum tamquam activa ei ministrabat scilicet pedes lavando et in itinerem ministrando et unguenta preciosa ipsum efundendo....Et tamquam contemplativa verba illius audiens cogitabat...Haec mira fuit vita...optima facta est per exercitium utriusque vite." BAV MS Barb. lat. 513, f. 99r; RLS 3: 377. Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen*, 52.

in his personal devotion to Christ, they saw her way of life as being one that similarly was in accordance with theirs and which served as a template for them to follow.

At the end of the duecento, Dominican devotion to the Magdalen became institutionalized in a way that the Franciscans' never was. The impetus came from the Angevins, who established the Dominicans as the guardians of the major Magdalen pilgrimage sites in France. Not only was the Church of Saint-Maximin made a Dominican and Royal foundation, the Order of Preachers was also installed at the priory in the grotto at Sainte Baume.¹⁹³ Both sites had previously belonged to the Benedictine monks of the abbey of Saint-Victor in Marseilles.¹⁹⁴ Faillon published several papal bulls of Boniface VIII regarding the transfer of these properties to the Dominicans. The earliest, dated 6 April 1295, addressed to Charles II, not only authenticates the body of the Magdalen, but also establishes a Dominican priory at Saint-Maximin, exempted from the jurisdiction of both Saint-Victor and of the archbishop of Aix, under the immediate authority of the Apostolic See. On 7 April 1295, a second bull named the first prior of the Dominican convent of Saint-Maximin, Guillaume de Tonneins, and, emphasizing the royal character of the establishment, it granted the power to have as many friars as pleased the king. It also specified that Saint-Baume was part of the concession made to Charles II in the previous bull, on the same terms. The third bull, also dated 7 April, is addressed to Durand, bishop of Marseilles. Cited as *Ob excellentiam meritorum* in

¹⁹³ Mortier, *Histoire abrégée*, 112-13; Daniel-Antonin Mortier, *Histoire des maîtres généraux de l'ordre des frères prêcheurs* (Paris: Alphonse Picard et fils, 1904), vol. 2, 342-343; Clemens "Establishment of the Cult," 80-82. See also *ibid.*, 82-3 for ongoing disputes regarding this location. See documentary evidence of April 1295 cited below.

¹⁹⁴ Clemens, "Establishment of the Cult," 80. Faillon published many documents relating to Saint-Maximin and its early history under the monks of Saint-Victor. For the charters (1038 and after) of Saint-Maximin when in the hands of the monks of Saint-Victor, see Faillon, *Monuments inédits*, vol. II: *pièces justificatives*, 663-688, docs. 31-44; *ibid.*, 667-668 doc. 45 is a papal bull of 1267 from Clement V, confirming the uniting of the community of cassianite nuns of St. Zachary with the priory of Saint-Maximin.

Clemens, Durand is commanded to take possession of Saint-Maximin and Sainte-Baume from the monks of Saint-Victor of Marseilles and give them to the bishop of Sisteron, serving as representative for Charles II. The fourth bull, dated 8 April 1295 is addressed to Pierre de Lamanon, bishop of Sisteron. It orders him to receive the two properties in the name of King Charles II, and directs him to install twenty friars at Saint-Maximin and four at Sainte-Baume (two priests and two lay brothers), who are to be drawn from other Dominican houses in the region.¹⁹⁵ Both cultic centers were officially transferred to the Dominicans on 20 June 1295.¹⁹⁶

Two subsequent papal bulls emphasize the papacy's immediate interest in establishing the new Dominican Magdalenian cult center. The first, dated 14 July 1295, granted indulgences of three years and three *quadragenas* (40 day periods) for penitents who visited Saint-Maximin on the Magdalen's feast day, the day of her translation or during the octaves of these two feasts, and confessed their sins. This indulgence was granted in perpetuity. The second, of the same date, was similarly aimed at encouraging pilgrimage to the new cult site. It granted a 40-day indulgence to Provençal pilgrims, and a 100-day indulgence to those from other regions.¹⁹⁷

The Dominicans at Saint-Maximin encouraged the cult of the Magdalen through the production of works celebrating her and her cult. The earliest of these documents was the *Liber miraculorum de Marie Magdalene* written by Jean Gobi the elder, the third

¹⁹⁵ Faillon, *Monuments inédits*, vol. II: *pièces justificatives*, 815-828 doc. 89-92; Clemens, "Establishment of the Cult," 80.

¹⁹⁶ The *procès-verbal* of the transfer of Saint-Maximin and Sainte-Baume from the monks of Saint-Victor to the Dominicans is located in the convent archive, first *armoire*, first *sac*. See Clemens, "Establishment of the Cult," 81, and 81 n31. Mortier states that the convent of Preachers was founded by Charles II in 1294, in other words, just before its approval in 1295 by Boniface VIII, however this seems to contradict the evidence presented in the aforementioned bulls. Mortier, *Histoire abrégée*, 112-13.

¹⁹⁷ Faillon, *Monuments inédits*, vol. II: *pièces justificatives*, 828-830 doc. 93-94.

prior of the convent of Saint-Maximin (prior 1304-1328).¹⁹⁸ Dated sometime between 1304 and 1315, it contains eighty-six miracles.¹⁹⁹ Clemens argued that “[i]ts primary and explicit purpose was to demonstrate the authenticity, identity and sanctity of the relics at Saint-Maximin.”²⁰⁰ This was done through giving evidence of their miraculous powers, and with references to the biblical and legendary life of the Magdalen.

Furthermore, in response to their installation at Saint-Maximin, the new center of the Magdalen cult, the Dominicans made Mary Magdalen one of the patron saints of their order. When this happened and how official this title was until recent times is a matter of substantial debate. While it has often been said she was made a patroness at the chapter meeting in Venice in 1297²⁰¹ the Acts of the meeting do not suggest this.²⁰² The Acts do, however, indicate her increasing importance and changing role in the Order. The feast of the Magdalen is one of several that were elevated to *totum duplex*, the highest classification. Furthermore, a directive was issued to excise the sixth lesson about the

¹⁹⁸ Paris, B.N., nouv. acq. lat. 2672. The text has been published in a critical edition, with description and history. See Jacqueline Schlafer, “Iohannes Gobi Senior OP Liber miraculorum B. Mariae Magdalene,” *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 63 (1993): 113-206. This work is not included in Faillon, *Monuments inédits*, as it was unknown to him when he wrote the original work. He planned a third volume, prepared between 1865-70, which would have included a transcription of this text, among other materials, but it was never completed. His materials are now in the archive of the Compagnie de Saint-Sulpice in Paris. Clemens consulted them in his research. Clemens, “Establishment of the Cult,” 126, 126 n7. For discussion of the text, in addition to Schlafer, see Bernard Montagnes, “Saint-Maximin, foyer d’une création hagiographique. Le ‘liber miraculorum beate Marie Magdalene’ (1315),” in *Marie Madeleine dans la mystique, les arts et les lettres*, ed. Eve Duperray (Paris: Beauchesne, 1989), 49-67; Clemens, “Establishment of the Cult,” 124-203. See also Jansen, “Mary Magdalen and the Mendicants in Late Medieval Italy,” 275-278, 296-7, 314, 320, 328-329, 332.

¹⁹⁹ Clemens, “Establishment of the Cult,” 84. Montagnes and Jansen both dated it to around 1315. See Montagnes, “Saint-Maximin,” 49; Jansen, “Mary Magdalen and the Mendicants in Late Medieval Italy,” 276.

²⁰⁰ Clemens, “Establishment of the Cult,” 124, see also the discussion of the function of the miracles, 141-144.

²⁰¹ See for example: Jansen, “Maria Magdalena,” 93 n94; Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen*, 76 and n70. Jansen cites Bonniwell for this, but Bonniwell does not state this occurred in 1297 (see note 203 below). Haskins does not reference the chapter meeting at Venice directly, but states that in 1297 the prior of St. Maximin “decreed that Mary Magdalen’s feast-day be solemnly celebrated throughout the entire order; the saint has been a patroness of the order ever since.” Haskins, *Myth and Metaphor*, 131.

²⁰² For the records of the 1297 chapter meeting see: *Acta capitulorum generalium ordinis praedicatorum*, ed. Benedictus Maria Reichert, vol. I (Rome, 1898), 282-286. This volume is also identified as MOFPH 3

Magdalen from the Dominican breviary completed by Humbert of Romans in 1256. This had become an issue as this passage discussed the translation of the Magdalen's body to Vézelay and was thus in conflict with the revised history of the Magdalen, and with the Dominicans' new role as guardians of the cult at Saint-Maximin.²⁰³

Other scholars indicate that while the Magdalen was called a patroness of the Order, it was never an official title.²⁰⁴ If this was previously the case, it is no longer. Both the Magdalen and another longstanding patroness of the Dominican Order, Catherine of Alexandria, were given official status as protectresses of the Order by Pope Pius X on 12 August 1908 and by the Dominican General Chapter in 1910.²⁰⁵ Furthermore, regardless of whether it was an official designation, there is evidence that at as early as the first half of the seventeenth century the Dominicans were referring to Magdalen as a protectress of the Order. In the *acta capitulorum* of 1644 (Rome), under ordinations, one finds the following: "Item ut octava simplex s. Mariae Magdalенаe deinceps celebretur sub ritu

²⁰³ *Acta* I, 283. The same passage is repeated with slight variations in the acts of the chapter meetings of 1298 (Metz) and 1300 (Marseilles). See *Acta* I, 287, 295. Further references to the Magdalen in 1251 (Metz), 1277 (Bordeaux), 1294 (Montpellier), 1302 (Bologna) and 1303 (Besançon) mention the Magdalen only as the sister of Martha, with the latter three being near duplicates, discussing the insertion of Martha after Mary in the Litany. See *Acta* I, 56, 192, 193, 272, 316, 232. See also William R. Bonniwell O.P., *A History of the Dominican Liturgy: 1215-1945*, 2nd ed. revised and enlarged (New York: Joseph F. Wagner, Inc., 1945), 219-222. For the date of Humbert's text see *Ibid*, 83-4.

²⁰⁴ Bonniwell, *History of the Dominican Liturgy*, 220; Mortier, *Histoire des maîtres généraux*, 345 and 345 n2; Jansen, "Mary Magdalen and the Mendicants," 2. Bonniwell said she "eventually" was seen as patroness, but no indication of a timeframe was given. Mortier's statement is somewhat confused. In his text, he stated that the Dominicans proclaimed the Magdalen patroness of the Order by acclamation, but provided no indication of when this occurred, nor any real evidence. His citation, on the contrary clearly stated: "There is not, in fact, any official decree giving Mary Magdalen the title of protectress of the order, which she enjoys." Jansen stated they had accepted her as patroness by 1297, but is unclear on what information this is based.

²⁰⁵ *Analecta*, 1907-1908, 661, 662; *Acta Capituli Generalis Electivi Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 1910, 94, 95; cited in Attilio Carpin O.P., Angelo Piagno O.P., e Bernardino Prella O.P., eds., *I Nostri Santi Patroni* (Bologna: Edizioni Studio Domenicano, 2009), 15, 23.

octavae solemnibus, ob maximam huius incomparabilis sanctae erga ordinem nostrum pietatem et singularem protectionem.”²⁰⁶

There is, however, earlier evidence of the importance of these two saints to the Order, which, if not indicating that they were protectresses, at least suggests that the Order viewed them as Dominican saints. The Dominican Arnold de Liège composed his *Alphabetum narrationum* in the years 1297 to 1302. This Latin collection of alphabetically arranged *exempla* was widely diffused; at least ninety copies survive, as well as translations into English, Catalan, and French. Of the twenty-three rubrics in the *Alphabetum*, only three were dedicated to female saints: Catherine of Alexandria, Mary Magdalen, and Agnes.²⁰⁷ It is highly suggestive that both the Magdalen and Catherine of Alexandria were included in this Dominican text dating precisely to the years when it is surmised that the Magdalen was made a patron of the order, especially given the Dominican emphasis of the text.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁶ *Acta* VII (1902), 105. This volume of the *Acta* is also identified as MOFPH 12. There are other examples of the Magdalen being called protectress of the Order prior to the official designation. For example, in the *L'Année dominicaine* of 1691, in both the dedicatory epistle and in the notice for 22 July, Thomas Souèges dedicated his work to the Magdalen, “miroir de pénitence, la fidèle amante du Sauveur, l’apôtesse des apôtres et de la Provence, la mère protectrice de l’ordre des frères prêcheurs et la patronne particulière du couvent royal de du même ordre, le véritable possesseur de ses reliques et du lieu de sa pénitence.” Thomas Souèges, *L'Année dominicaine*. Juillet, II (Amiens, 1691): III- XXIV and 53-57. Cited in Bernard Montagnes, *Marie Madeleine et l’ordre des prêcheurs* (Marseille, 1984), 5. In 1868 she was referred to “S. Mariae Magdaleneae ejusdem Ordinis Protectricis.” Alexandre-Vincent Jandel, O.P., *Caeremoniale juxta ritum S. ordinis praedicatorum* (Dessain, 1869), 110. Furthermore, Mortier, writing prior to 1908, supported his claim that the Magdalen was regarded as patroness of the Order by noting that in the Dominican’s liturgical calendar on 22 July it stated: “*Sanctae Mariae Magdaleneae Protectricis Ordinis nostri*.” This is often quoted by Jansen as early evidence of the Magdalen as a Dominican patroness. Mortier, however, provides no indication of the date of the liturgical calendar in question, and I suspect it was contemporary; nevertheless it is still prior to the official acts designating her as protectress. Mortier, *Histoire des maîtres généraux*, 345; Jansen, “Maria Magdalena,” 93 n94; Jansen, “Mary Magdalen and the Mendicants,” 2 n3; Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen*, 76-7 n70.

²⁰⁷ Marie Anne Polo de Beaulieu, “Présence de la *Légende Dorée* dans les recueils d’*Exempla*. Citations, traces et réécritures,” in *De la sainteté à l’hagiographie: Genèse et usage de la Légende dorée*, eds. Barbara Fleith et Franco Morenzoni (Genève: Librairie Droz S.A., 2001), 149-153. For *Exemplum* no. 467, *Magdalena*, see *ibid.*, 161. Although based on the *Golden Legend*, it is not a legendary and thus not set up with a legend for each saint following the liturgical cycle.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 153.

The antiquity of the (unofficial) establishment of the Magdalen and Catherine of Alexandria as patronesses of the order is furthermore suggested by artistic commissions dating back to the early trecento, which pair the two with other Dominican saints. Simone Martini's *Pisa Polyptych* (fig. 1.2), originally for the convent of Santa Caterina, now in the Museo di San Matteo, Pisa, is a particularly striking example of such a work.²⁰⁹ Dated to 1319, a central panel of the Virgin and Child is flanked by images of Mary Magdalen and Catherine of Alexandria, as well as Sts. Dominic, John the Evangelist, John the Baptist and Peter Martyr.²¹⁰ The entire program, which includes a predella and two registers above the main panels, is one of Dominican propaganda, emphasizing their scholastic nature with a plethora of books and scrolls in addition to the Dominican individuals.

Given the fact that the other protectress of the Dominican Order was Catherine of Alexandria, also a female saint famous for her preaching, it seems that it is likely it was

²⁰⁹ For the *Pisa Polyptych* see Joanna Cannon, "Dominican Patronage of the Arts in Central Italy: The *Provincia Romana*, c. 1220-1320" (PhD diss., Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, 1980), 250-258, esp. 253 and 256. The correct arrangement of the saints is disputed, but Cannon believes that a pairing of Catherine and the Magdalen closest to the central panel is most likely, as one was the titular saint of the church and the Magdalen had an altar dedicated to her in the church since the late 13th c. Other examples of this pairing in Dominican contexts include Niccolò di Tommaso (active 1343-1376), *The Madonna and Child* with Saints Agnes, Paul the Hermit and a Martyr King on the left, Saints Mary Magdalen, Catherine of Siena and Catherine of Alexandria on the right and a kneeling figure of St. Peter Martyr. The panel was auctioned at Sotheby's on 16 December 2002. While I do not know its original provenance, the collection of saints, with both Peter Martyr and Catherine of Siena dressed in their habits, makes a Dominican provenance clear. Another example is Andrea di Bonaiuto da Firenze, *The Virgin and Child with Ten Saints*, ca. 1365-70, originally believed to be from Santa Maria Novella, Florence, now in the National Gallery of London (inv. no. NG5115). Most of the ten saints are Dominican, and Catherine and the Magdalen are the only two female saints. A considerably later, but quite compelling example is Santi di Tito's *Vision of St. Thomas Aquinas*, 1593, oil on panel, for the del Turco Chapel, San Marco, Florence. This panel depicts St. Thomas having a vision of the Crucified Christ, with the Virgin standing behind Christ, and Catherine and the Magdalen flanking him; thus it is a Dominican vision involving the Dominican patronesses.

²¹⁰ It is possible that the *Orvieto Polyptych*, also by Simone Martini, for San Domenico, Orvieto, dated 1321, would have replicated this pairing of the Magdalen and St. Catherine. It currently consists of five panels, but given the orientation of those extant, must have originally had at least seven; the orientation of three of the remaining panels clearly indicates they were placed to the left of the central image of the Virgin and Child. The Magdalen presents the patron, Bishop Trasmondo Monaldeschi, to the Virgin and Child. For the *Orvieto Polyptych* see Cannon "Dominican Patronage," 147-8, 258-62. Cannon suggests Catherine of Alexandria and Thomas of Aquinas as possibilities for the missing figures. Ibid., 263-264, 304 n146.

the Magdalen's guise as *Apostolorum Apostola*, apostle to the apostles, in combination with her role as the *exemplum perfecte penitentie* that exerted especial interest for the Order of Preachers.²¹¹ As Bernard Montagnes states, discussing the role of the Dominicans as guardians of St.-Maximin, "She had chosen the Order of Preachers because she was the first female preacher, *Apostolorum Apostola*."²¹² This idea is reflected in *The Dominican Legend* written at Saint-Maximin in the fifteenth century. Mary Magdalen, appeared in a vision to Charles of Salerno, and, after instructing him to find her body, continued, "And you will entrust the place of my death and the place of my penance to my brothers, that is to say to the Preachers, because I have been a sinner and an apostle."²¹³

Despite the fact that the Order of Preachers viewed the Magdalen as an exemplar of penitence, of the *vita mixta*, and as the apostle to the apostles, notwithstanding that they possessed her relics and major shrines, and that she was one of their most important

²¹¹ Clemens argues that in fact her preaching was problematic for Order of Preachers, both due to her femaleness and because of a rival shrine at Saint-Victor in Marseilles which emphasized her preaching activity, and that over the centuries the stories of her preaching activities were eliminated. Clemens, "Establishment of the Cult," 254. Later history however, is not relevant here, and the fact that the Order chose two female preachers as protectresses seems to show that the situation is more complex than Clemens' analysis would suggest. Furthermore there is a considerable body of scholarship indicating that while actual female preaching was forbidden, certain female saints including both Mary Magdalen and Catherine of Alexandria were often recognized with admiration for their preaching skills, perhaps particularly in Franciscan and Dominican contexts. See Alcuin Blamires, "Women and Preaching in Medieval Orthodoxy, Heresy, and Saints' Lives," *Viator*, 26 (1995): 135-152; Jansen, "Maria Magdalena," 67-80; Nicole Bériou, "The Right of Women to Give Religious Instruction in the Thirteenth Century," in *Women Preachers and Prophets Through Two Millennia of Christianity*, eds. Beverly Mayne Kienzle and Pamela J. Walker (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 134-145; Carolyn Muessig, "Prophecy and Song: Teaching and Preaching by Medieval Women," in *Women Preachers and Prophets Through Two Millennia of Christianity*, eds. Beverly Mayne Kienzle and Pamela J. Walker (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 146-158.

²¹² "Elle a élu les prêchers parce qu'elle a été la première prêcheresse, apostolorum apostola." Bernard Montagnes, "La Basilique de la Madeleine à Saint-Maximin," *Congres archeologique de France* 143 (1985): 240.

²¹³ Montagnes gives this passage both in a French translation and in the original Latin, but with a significant difference. In the French the Magdalen states: "Et tu confieras le lieu de ma mort ainsi que le lieu de ma pénitence à mes frères, c'est-à-dire aux prêchers, car j'ai été prêcheresse et apôtre," while the Latin reads, "Cum haec inveneris, honore digno elevabis. Et locum meae mortis et meae penitentiae fratribus meis, id est praedicatoribus, trade. Ego enim peccatrix et apostola fui." Bernard Montagnes, *Marie Madeleine et l'ordre des prêchers* (Marseilles, 1984), 4, 34.

saints, only one of the cycles under consideration is found in a Dominican context, and it was as much inspired by Angevin influence as that of the Order. The reason for this has perhaps less to do with Dominican attitudes towards the Magdalen, and more with their attitudes towards art and art patronage. In her study on late medieval Dominican patronage, Joanna Cannon convincingly argued that compared to the Franciscans, “the Dominicans were restricted in their use of art as religious propaganda.” It played a role, but it was not as substantial.²¹⁴ While devotional images proliferated within the Dominican milieu, and innovations were made in such formats as the polyptych, the Dominicans “scarcely participated in one of the major concerns of late 13th and early 14th century central Italian art—the development of narrative fresco cycles.”²¹⁵

MARY MAGDALEN AND EIGHT SCENES OF HER LIFE (MAGDALEN MASTER DOSSAL)

My discussion of pictorial *vitae* of the Magdalen begins with this dossal panel by the anonymous artist known as the Magdalen Master (active ca. 1265-90) (fig. 1.1). Painted around 1280, this *vita* panel features the earliest painted narrative cycle of the life of the Magdalen (figs. 1.4-11).²¹⁶ It is the only central Italian altarpiece from the period to include a Life of the Magdalen, and indeed is the only surviving panel painting from this

²¹⁴ Cannon, “Dominican Patronage,” 328.

²¹⁵ Ibid., 328.

²¹⁶ Recent scholarship is in unanimous agreement on dating the panel to ca. 1280, or 1280-1285. For ca. 1280 see for example: *La Maddalena tra sacro e profano: da Giotto a De Chirico*, a cura di Marilena Mosco (Firenze: Casa Usher, 1986), 43; Joanna Cannon, “Beyond the Limitations of Visual Typology: Reconsidering the Function and Audience of Three *Vita* Panels of Women Saints c. 1300,” in *Italian Panel Painting of the Duecento and Trecento*, ed. Victor M. Schmidt (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002), 301; Giorgio Bonsanti, *La Galleria della Accademia: Guida e catalogo completo* (Firenze: Giusti di Becocchi & C. e Scala, 1987), 54. For 1280-1285 see: *Galleria dell'Accademia: guida ufficiale; tutte le opere*, testi Franca Falletti e Marcella Anglani (Firenze: Giunti, 1999), 82; Angelo Tartuferi, “Maestro della Maddalena: 27. Santa Maria Maddalena e otto storie della sua vita,” in *Dal Duecento a Giovanni da Milano. Dipinti*, a cura di Miklós Boskovits e Angelo Tartuferi, *Cataloghi della Galleria dell'Accademia di Firenze 1* (Firenze: Giunti, 2003), 151. For an extensive summary of the dating history see *ibid.*, 152.

region in which the Magdalen is the primary focus of devotion.²¹⁷ It is thus the only panel painting treated in this study.

In the center of the panel stands a large, iconic image of a strictly frontal Mary Magdalen covered only in her hair. She holds a scroll that reads, “Ne desperetis vos qui peccare soletis exemploque meo vos reparate Deo,” that is, “Do not despair those of you who are accustomed to sin, and in keeping with my example, return yourselves to God.”²¹⁸ Eight scenes from the Life of the Magdalen flank this central figure. Reading across, from left to right and from the top downwards, are depicted the *Supper in the House of the Pharisee* (fig. 1.4), *The Raising of Lazarus* (fig. 1.5), the *Noli me tangere* (fig. 1.6), *Mary Magdalen Preaching at Marseilles* (fig. 1.7), *The Colloquy with the Angels* (fig. 1.8), *The Magdalen Receiving the Host From an Angel* (fig. 1.9), the *Last Communion with St. Maximin* (fig. 1.10), and *The Burial of Mary Magdalen* (fig. 1.11).²¹⁹

²¹⁷ Wilk, “The Cult of Mary Magdalen,” 690. Dr. Corinna Gallori has recently brought to my attention a slightly later Magdalen altarpiece, from Carema in Piedmont in northern Italy, now in the Museo Civico d’Arte Antica, Torino (fig. 1.3). It has recently been attributed to the Workshop of the Master of the Madonna di Oropa and dated to ca. 1295-1300 (previously it had various attributions and was dated to the mid-14th c.). This sculpted and painted altarpiece features seven scenes of the life of the Magdalen in two registers. It falls outside the geographic range of my investigation, but its early date, especially in comparison to most of the northern Magdalen cycles, makes it an intriguing object for further investigation. For more on this altarpiece see: *Arte in Piemonte. Il gotico*, a cura di Simone Baiocco, Simonetta Castonovo e Enrica Pagella (Torino: Priuli & Verlucca, Editori, 2003), 44-46; Elena Rossetti Brezzi, catalogue entry, in *Gotico sulle vie di Francia: Opere dal Museo Civico di Torino*, a cura di Enrica Pagella (Siena: Protagon Editori Italiani, 2002), 68-71; Elena Rossetti Brezzi, catalogue entry, in *Tra gotico e Rinascimento: Scultura in Piemonte*, a cura di Enrica Pagella (Torino: Città di Torino, 2001), 34-5; Elena Rossetti Brezzi, catalogue entry, in *Il tesoro della città. Opere d’arte e oggetti preziosi da Palazzo Madama* a cura di Silvana Pettenati e Giovanni Romano (Torino: Allemandi, 1996), 9-10; Luigi Mallé, *Le sculture del Museo d’arte antica* (Torino: F.lli Pozzo-Salvati-Gros Monti & C., 1965), 90-91. For additional bibliography, see Rossetti Brezzi, *Gotico sulle vie di Francia*, 68, and Mallé, *Sculture*, 91.

²¹⁸ Translation from Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen*, 234.

²¹⁹ For a discussion of possible iconographic models for these scenes, see LaRow, “Iconography of Mary Magdalen,” 186-197.

Now located in the *Accademia* in Florence, the altarpiece was in the convent of Santissima Annunziata in Florence until the suppression of 1810.²²⁰ Its original provenance however, is unknown.²²¹ The earliest references to the painting at Santissima Annunziata date from 1791, when Domenico Moreni, and Vincenzo Follini and Modesto Rastrelli, located it amongst a collection of works in the library vestibule or atrium, that is, in the corridor to the northeast of the second cloister. It was adjacent to a work by Cosimo Rosselli, originally made for the by-then-suppressed Compagnia di Sta. Barbara, located over the door of the atrium.²²² The origins of what Follini and Rastrelli called “una non indifferente raccolta di Pitture antiche” date back only to 1789, when Father Francesco Raimondo Adami (1711-1792) established a gallery in that location.²²³ Padre Adami had been prior of Santissima Annunziata from 1761 to 1763 and was the General of the Servite Order from 1768 until 1774.²²⁴ The earliest mention of Adami’s founding of the collection was provided by Luigi Lanzi in 1809, although he had not included it in the prior version of his text from 1795.²²⁵ Earlier descriptions of the church do not list the altarpiece as present there, nor, as opposed to several other items in Adami’s collection,

²²⁰ Tartuferi, “Maestro della Maddalena,” 152. Tartuferi notes the existence of a label on the back of the work stating it was at SS. Annunziata at the time of the suppression and came from there to the Galleria dell’Accademia. It has not been possible for the present author to examine the back of the work personally.

²²¹ The museum label, indicating that the panel came from SS. Annunziata, is misleading if true.

²²² Domenico Moreni, *Descrizione della chiesa della SS Nunziata* (Firenze: N. Stamp. di I. Grazioli, 1791), 61; Vincenzo Follini e Modesto Rastrelli, *Firenze antica e moderna illustrata*, vol. III (Firenze: N. Stamp. di I. Grazioli, 1791), 363; Tartuferi, “Maestro della Maddalena,” 152.

²²³ Follini e Rastrelli, *Firenze antica*, 362. On the establishment of the gallery of paintings in 1789, see Eugenio M. Casalini, O.S.M., “Maestro Stefano dipintore e il secondo Chiostro della SS. Annunziata di Firenze,” *Studi Storici OSM* 9 (1959): 114 n10; Eugenio M. Casalini, O.S.M., “La SS Annunziata nel Settecento,” in *Memorie della chiesa, e convento della SS. Annunziata di Firenze di p. Filippo M. Tozzi dei Servi di Maria (1765)*, testo, trascrizione e note a cura di Eugenio M. Casalini, O.S.M. e Paula Ircani Menichini (Firenze: Convento della SS. Annunziata, 2010), 10.

²²⁴ Filippo Tozzi, *Series omnium priorum qui ab anno 1250 ad nostra haec usque tempora praefuerunt conventui D. Annunziatae de Florentia O.S.B.M.V. olim S. Mariae de Caphagio* (Florentiae: Ex officina typographica S. Joseph, 1905), 63; Luigi Lanzi, *Storia pittorica della Italia dal risorgimento delle belle arti*, vol. I, (Bassano: 1809), 13.

²²⁵ Luigi Lanzi, *Storia pittorica della Italia dal risorgimento delle belle arti*, vol. I, 13; Luigi Lanzi, *Storia pittorica della Italia* (Bassano, 1795-1796; PDF: Fondazione Memofonte: <http://www.memofonte.it/autori/luigi-lanzi-1732-1810.html>, published January 2008), 12.

was its previous location or other identifying information, provided by the chroniclers of 1791.²²⁶ It thus seems probable that it was acquired by Adami for his collection, and there is no reason to think it originally came from the convent of Santissima Annunziata or indeed, from a Servite context.

I would argue that this panel likely originated within a Mendicant *milieu*.

Furthermore, due to its dating, the panel appears to have been commissioned in response to the discovery of the Magdalen's body, and thus, it seems probable, by an individual or group linked to the Angevin dynasty in some way. Given the close connections that existed between the Angevins and both the Franciscan and Dominican Orders, evinced in particular by Angevin personal devotion to these orders and public patronage of them, these two issues are perhaps intertwined.

I turn first to the possibility that this panel was made for a mendicant context.

Sarah Wilk plausibly suggested that the patron was probably a mendicant based on the role they played in the spread of the Magdalen cult in Italy.²²⁷ However, features of the work itself, beyond mendicant devotion to the Magdalen, also strongly suggest that this altarpiece was Franciscan or perhaps Dominican.²²⁸ In particular, this altarpiece typology, the *vita*, or historiated altarpiece, was one that was developed in the fourth decade of the duecento to depict Saint Francis (fig. 1.12), and which remained closely associated with

²²⁶ In addition to the aforementioned work by Rosselli, the *Deposition from the Cross* by Perugino and Filippino Lippi, now like the *Magdalen Master Dossal* in the Accademia Gallery, is mentioned by Follini and Rastrelli, and stated to have originally been on the high altar. The patron is also identified. Follini e Rastrelli, *Firenze antica*, 362-3.

²²⁷ Wilk, "The Cult of Mary Magdalen," 691.

²²⁸ LaRow also suggested a possible mendicant context for the panel. Her belief, however, was that it was probably Dominican. LaRow, "Iconography of Mary Magdalen," 180-181, 201. See below, note 246, for her arguments in favor of Dominican patronage.

Francis throughout the thirteenth century.²²⁹ Usually featuring a gabled top, an iconic figure of Francis stands frontally against a gold ground, flanked by scenes of his life, and miracles on either side.²³⁰ Not only was Francis a new saint, he was understood to be a

²²⁹ For a catalogue of images of Saint Francis of this typology, see William R. Cook, *Images of St. Francis of Assisi: In Painting, Stone and Glass, from the Earliest Images to ca. 1320 In Italy. A Catalogue* (Firenze: L.S. Olschki, 1999). The earliest such altarpiece is Bonaventura Berlinghieri's *Pescia St. Francis Panel*, 1235, although Hagar, Bourdua, Scarpellini and Atanassiu have claimed that the lost panel of San Miniato al Tedesco, known only from a seventeenth-century drawing, dates from 1228. Most scholars, however, believe that the inscription "1228" on the San Miniato altarpiece refers to the date of Francis' canonization not to the year the work was made. Hellmut Hager, *Die Anfänge des italienischen Altarbildes. Untersuchungen zur Entstehungsgeschichte des toskanischen Hochaltarretabels* (München: A. Schroll, 1962), 94; Louise Bourdua, *The Franciscans and Art Patronage in Late Medieval Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 2; Pietro Scarpellini, "Iconografia francescana nei secoli XIII e XIV," in *Francesco d'Assisi: Storia e Arte*, ed. Francesco Porzio (Milano: Electra, 1982), 95; Gabriele Atanassiu, "Alle Origini dell'arte francescana," in *Francesco In Italia, nel Mondo* (Milano: Jaca, 1990), 113. Klaus Krüger dated this piece to the 1230s-1240s: Klaus Krüger, *Der frühe Bildkult des Franziskus in Italien* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1992), 37-48; Belting dated it to the 1230s (and also seemed to imply that the panel is extant): Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 381 and n8; Cook dated the San Miniato altarpiece to ca. 1255: Cook *Images of St. Francis*, 265. Ševčenko refers to this type of panel painting as "St. Francis panels" even when the subject is another saint. Nancy Patterson Ševčenko, "The 'Vita' Icon and the Painter as Hagiographer," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 53 (1999): 154. Hager explicitly states that such works as the *Magdalen Master Dossal* were directly connected to these Francis panels. Hager, *Die Anfänge des italienischen Altarbildes*, 95.

²³⁰ The precedents that led to the creation of this specific format have been much discussed. One, which has frequently been proposed, is the Byzantine *vita* icon. Scholars who cite Byzantine *vita* icons as a source include Derbes, *Picturing the Passion*, 452; Elizabeth Ayer, "Thirteenth-Century Imagery in Transition: The Berlinghiero Family of Lucca" (PhD diss., Rutgers University, 1991), 131; Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 380; Mariagiulia Burrelli, Lorenzo Carletti e Cristiano Giometti, *I pittori dell'oro: alla scoperta della pittura a Pisa nel Medioevo* (Pisa: Pacini Editore, 2002), 47; Alastair Smart, *The Dawn of Italian Painting 1250-1400* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1978), 9; Cook, *Images of St. Francis*, 167; Scarpellini, "Iconografia francescana," 96; and Enzo Carli, *Italian Primitives: Panel Painting of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (New York: H. N. Abrams, 1965?), 16. It is worth mentioning, however that Ševčenko has argued that these Byzantine icons appear at approximately the same time as do the *vita* panels in the west, likely at Sinai in a mixed East-West Crusader context. Ševčenko, "The 'Vita' Icon," 150, 154-155, 156-165. A second possible source is the historiated Crucifixes popular during the Romanesque period. Scholars who have cited historiated Crucifixes as a possible source include Derbes, *Picturing the Passion*, 452; Ayer, "Thirteenth-Century Imagery in Transition," 57; Smart, *Dawn of Italian Painting*, 9; Cook, *Images of St. Francis*, 167; Atanassiu, "Alle Origini dell'arte francescana," 113; LaRow, "Iconography of Mary Magdalen," 174-176. Regarding the gabled shape, which is not derived from either of the aforementioned precedents, K. Krüger proposed it was derived from pedimented shrines which contained a sculpted image of the Virgin; the inside of the wings of these shrines were typically decorated with painted scenes from the life of the Virgin. Belting suggested that painted images of the Virgin, which adopted the shape of the pedimented and shuttered shrines, were an intermediate stage between the sculptural shrines and the *vita* panels. Krüger, *Frühe Bildkult*, 25-30; Belting *Likeness and Presence*, 382 and 384. Those altarpieces which depict a central saint surrounded by scenes of their lives in a horizontal format, such as *Saint Peter Enthroned and Scenes from His Life*, *The Annunciation and the Nativity* are not considered part of the same typology of works. Rather, following Victor M. Schmidt, I think it likely that they were altar frontals or antependia. Victor M. Schmidt, "Ensembles of Painted Altarpieces and

new type of saint, an *alter Christus*. In order to create an authentic image of Francis, therefore, a new approach was required; iconographical associations between Francis and Christ are made both in the central figure, with its prominent display of stigmata, and in the surrounding scenes, to authenticate the new saint Francis.²³¹ As Ševčenko states, “the work of art apparently offered the ‘truth,’ showing what the saint actually looked like and establishing what had really happened. The scenes thus became the authoritative version of the life, rivaling the written *vita* as an authenticating document.”²³²

At the time the Magdalen Master *vita* panel was painted, around 1280, this format had not previously been used for female saints, with one possible exception, discussed below. In 1283, however, the format was used for the *Santa Chiara Panel* in Santa Chiara, Assisi (fig. 1.13),²³³ and shortly thereafter, around 1300, it was adopted for the panel of Margherita of Cortona (fig. 1.14).²³⁴ Both of these other early examples are, like St. Francis himself, Franciscan saints. Sta. Chiara founded the Second Order, while

Frontals,” in *The Altar and its Environment 1150-1400*, eds. Justin E.A. Kroesen and Victor M. Schmidt (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 203-11.

²³¹ See Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 381-2.

²³² Ševčenko “The ‘Vita’ Icon,” 155. I am not convinced by Wood’s argument that the format of *vita* panels enhanced and validated the prestige of new cults (like that of Francis and of Clare) by connecting new saints with established ones. She compares this to inserting new saints into the litany or including them in compilations like the *Golden Legend*. In fact it is quite the opposite. In the latter examples, new saints are given validation through association with established saints and an established form. In the case of the *vita* altarpieces the process is reversed; a form innovated for new saints is later being adopted for established saints. Wood, “Perceptions of Holiness,” 308.

²³³ This panel is dated by an inscription, which although damaged and restored, has internal confirmation that the year is 1283: FACTE FUERU[N]T ISTE SUB ANNO D[OMI]NI 128[3] INDIC[TIONE] XI TE[M]PORE D[OMI]NI MARTINI PAPAE QUARTI. See Cannon, “Beyond the Limitations of Visual Typology,” 308 n3. For the panel see K. Krüger, *Frühe Bildkult*, 69; Cannon, “Beyond the Limitations of Visual Typology,” 291-313; Wood, “Perceptions of Holiness,” 301-328; Raimond van Marle, *The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1923), vol. I, 401. Marle’s reproduction of a pre-restoration image of the panel (fig. 227) in which the central figure is entirely repainted (probably in the 19th century) is particularly interesting.

²³⁴ For the dating of this panel see Joanna Cannon and André Vauchez, *Margherita of Cortona and the Lorenzetti: Sienese Art and the Cult of a Holy Woman in Medieval Tuscany* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999), 160-161, 173. For this panel generally see Cannon, “Beyond the Limitations of Visual Typology,” 291-313; Cannon and Vauchez, *Margherita of Cortona*, 159-170 and 171-173; K. Krüger, *Frühe Bildkult*, 69-70; Elizabeth Beasley Nightlinger, “The iconography of Saint Margaret of Cortona” (PhD diss., George Washington University, 1982), 46-57.

Margherita of Cortona was a member of the Third Order.²³⁵ Chiara and Margherita are depicted frontally with attributes held in their left hands, like in the image of the Magdalen, and are each dressed appropriately to their position in the Franciscan Order. The Magdalen is thus exceptional among saints depicted on these early *vita* panels, in that she is not a saint of the Franciscan Order.²³⁶ Given the overwhelmingly Franciscan nature of the genre at the time the *Magdalen Master Dossal* was painted, it is extremely probable that this panel—depicting a saint much venerated by the Franciscan Order—was, like its typological siblings, also intended for a Franciscan context.

There is also a possibility that the panel could have originated in a Dominican context. As has been discussed by both Derbes and Cannon, in the duecento and trecento the Dominicans appropriated and adapted Franciscan imagery.²³⁷ However, there is scant evidence of an early Dominican adoption of this particular format, or indeed of great interest in narrative imagery.²³⁸ Based on her extensive study of Dominican imagery, Joanna Cannon has concluded that no images of Saint Dominic followed the St. Francis

²³⁵ For Chiara or Clare see: *Processo di canonizzazione di S. Chiara d'Assisi: vita conversione miracoli (commento)*, a cura di Giovanni Boccali (S. Maria degli Angeli, Assisi: Edizioni Porziuncola, 2003); *The Lady: Clare of Assisi: Early Documents*, ed. and trans. Regis J. Armstrong, O.F.M. Cap. (New York: New City Press, 2006); Joan Mueller, *A Companion to Clare of Assisi: Life, Writings, and Spirituality*, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 21 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010); Marco Guida, *Una leggenda in cerca d'autore: La Vita di santa Chiara d'Assisi. Studio delle fonti e sinossi intertestuale*, Subsidia hagiographica 90 (Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes, 2010). For Margherita of Cortona see: *Legenda de vita et miraculis beatae Margaritae de Cortona*, critica edita a Fortunato Iozzelli O.F.M., Bibliotheca Franciscana Ascetica Medii Aevi 13 (Grottaferrata (Roma): Editiones Collegii S. Bonaventurae ad Claras Aquas, 1997). It is worth noting that Margherita was a penitent, understood as a second Magdalen, new Magdalen or the Magdalen of the Franciscan Order. See for example *Legenda de vita et miraculis beatae Margaritae*, 185, 245; Cannon, "Beyond the Limitations of Visual Typology," 297. Furthermore Christ presents Mary Magdalen to Margherita in the final scene of the Margherita panel. See Cannon, "Beyond the Limitations of Visual Typology," 298-299, 311 n62.

²³⁶ Interestingly, however, the Magdalen is the only one of the three female saints that replicates Francis' oft-seen right hand gesture with palm outstretched, making her pose most closely resemble that of the Franciscan founder.

²³⁷ The most important example of this is the Dominican adoption of the *Christus Patiens* imagery from the Franciscans. Derbes, *Picturing the Passion*, 31-32, 171-172; Cannon, "Dominican Patronage," 219-232.

²³⁸ Cannon states, "In small-scale Dominican works, as in the larger ones, narrative painting is hardly ever used." Cannon, "Dominican Patronage," 272, see also 328. On the Dominicans' relative lack of interest in narrative cycles in the duecento see also Derbes, *Picturing the Passion*, 17, 160.

vita panel format,²³⁹ nor does she find early evidence of it being adopted for other prominent Dominican saints such as Peter Martyr.²⁴⁰ The only potential exception is the Pisa *St. Catherine Altarpiece*, now in the Museo Nazionale di San Matteo, but believed to be originally from San Domenico, Pisa (fig. 1.15).²⁴¹ Featuring a central figure flanked by four *vita* scenes on either side, this panel is usually dated to around the middle of the thirteenth century based on style, making it earlier than the *vita* panels of the other female saints.²⁴² Krüger believed it was a Dominican response to the *Pisa St. Francis Panel* (fig. 1.16);²⁴³ however, it is debatable if it should be considered as part of the same type.²⁴⁴

²³⁹ Cannon "Dominican Patronage," 193. The earliest example of a Saint Dominic *vita* altarpiece is found in Naples, in the Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte. Its original location is unknown. Bologna attributes it to Giovanni da Taranto (?) and dates it ca. 1305. It does not have a gabled top and thus is not strictly part of the typology under discussion. Furthermore, Warr and Cannon note that the narrative scenes are later additions to the central panel; it was therefore not conceived of as a unit. Warr states the scenes are probably early 14th century; Cannon states that they were added in the course of the 14th century. Bologna, *Pittori*, 59–60; Cordelia Warr, "Religious Habits and Visual Propaganda: The Vision of the Blessed Reginald of Orléans," *Journal of Medieval History* 28, no. 1 (2002): 50; Cannon, "Dominic alter Christus?," 47 n93; Cannon, "Dominican Patronage," 190–191. Kaftal dated the work to the mid 13th century. G. Kaftal, *The Iconography of the Saints in the Central and South Italian Schools of Painting* (Florence: Sansoni, 1965), cols. 353–364. It has been proposed by Gomez-Moreno et al., that the *Fogg St. Dominic*, which Cannon and K. Krüger date to the 1250s, was originally flanked by scenes of Dominic's life. There is no evidence to support this, however, and both Cannon and Krüger think it extremely unlikely. See Carmen Gomez-Moreno et al., "A Sienese St. Dominic Modernized Twice in the Thirteenth Century," *The Art Bulletin* 51, no. 4 (Dec. 1969): 363–366; Cannon "Dominican Patronage," 187, 188–189; K. Krüger, *Frühe Bildkult*, 74–6, 77.

²⁴⁰ Cannon "Dominican Patronage," 202–205.

²⁴¹ For the San Domenico provenance, see Miklós Boskovits, *The Origins of Florentine Painting, 1100–1270. A Critical and Historical Corpus of Florentine Painting*, Section I vol. I, trans. by Robert Erich Wolf (Florence: Giunti, 1993), 82, n155; K. Krüger, *Frühe Bildkult*, 65–67; Ševčenko "The 'Vita' Icon," 153 n13.

²⁴² Boskovits gives a *terminus ante quem* of 1252 but believes it could be as early as 1230 or before, thus predating any of the Francis altarpieces. Boskovits, *Origins of Florentine Painting*, 82, n155. Ševčenko dates it to the mid-thirteenth century. Ševčenko, "The 'Vita' Icon," 153. K. Krüger dates it between 1250 and 1260. K. Krüger, *Frühe Bildkult*, 65. Marle dated it between around 1250 and 1275. Marle, *Development of the Italian Schools*, vol. I, 576.

²⁴³ K. Krüger, *Frühe Bildkult*, 67. Given Krüger's emphasis on the gabled format, noted below, this conflation of typologies seems surprising. Belting also cites the *Pisa St. Francis Panel*, but as one of the models for the St. Catherine. Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 381.

²⁴⁴ Scholars' opinions vary on whether the panel should be placed within the same typology as the Francis panels. Marle grouped it, along with the Clare and Magdalen altarpieces, as having been modeled after St. Francis panels. Boskovits believed it is the same type as well; despite having suggested it was produced at a date prior to any of the Francis panels (possibly 1230 or earlier, when the earliest Francis panel is dated 1235). Cannon groups this panel and one of St. Nicholas (also from Pisa) with the Francis images as "*vita* panels." She, however, includes all western panels of a standing saint flanked by narrative scenes in her

The style of the panel is western, but unlike in the other examples, Catherine's garments emulate byzantine models, perhaps looking towards the model of eastern *vita* icons. More critically, the panel has a different format from the Franciscan panels; it is wider and lacks the central gable, which is, as Belting and Krüger have argued, a central feature of this typology.²⁴⁵ In this work, the Dominicans are responding to the St. Francis *vita* altarpiece type, but not directly reproducing it. Therefore, although a Dominican origin is possible, given the infrequent appearance of this type in Dominican imagery, the early date of the *Magdalen Master Dossal*, and the fact that the other unambiguous examples of this type in this period are all Franciscan, the Franciscan option is more probable.²⁴⁶

In addition, it seems likely that the Angevins or their supporters were involved in the commission. It cannot have been a coincidence that the first Magdalen cycle in Italy was painted immediately after Charles of Salerno found the Magdalen's body in 1279 at Saint-Maximin. The Dominicans were not yet installed in Saint-Maximin, nor had the ecclesiastical hierarchy decided in favor of one corpse over the other. The only groups, therefore, that had any vested interest in promoting the Saint-Maximin relic, were the Angevins and their supporters. As a response to Charles of Salerno's discovery, this

vita panel category; the Nicholas altarpiece is rectangular, and represents a clearly different type. Belting sees this work as drawing on Eastern models and on Francis panels. Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 380-381. In contrast, Ševčenko sees the Francis panels, as well as those of Clare and Margherita, as a separate variant of *vita* panel from that of the Catherine panel. Marle, *Development of the Italian Schools*, vol. I, 347-8; Boskovits, *Origins of Florentine Painting*, 82; Cannon, "Beyond the Limitations of Visual Typology," 306; Ševčenko, "The 'Vita' Icon," 153-154.

²⁴⁵ Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 382. K. Krüger, *Frühe Bildkult*, 13, 16.

²⁴⁶ LaRow believed that the panel was likely Dominican, possibly for one of their new houses in Tuscany. She interpreted it as a Dominican counterpart to the Clare altarpiece. In her view, the form was one used for founder saints, as she erroneously believed that Dominic as well as Francis was depicted this way in this period. She therefore argued that the panel must date after 1295 [sic] when the Magdalen was made patroness of the Dominican Order, or that if it is from before, the Magdalen is being shown as "their model." That the panel predates any institutional or particular Dominican devotion to the Magdalen, compounded with the fact that the Dominicans did not use this format, with the possible exception of the St. Catherine, presents serious issues for this line of reasoning. LaRow, "Iconography of Mary Magdalen," 180-181.

panel serves as a piece of propaganda, arguing for the authenticity of the penitential Magdalen of Saint-Maximin in much the same way that the St. Francis panels asserted the authenticity of St. Francis. This propagandistic advocacy and use of the sacred on behalf of their dynastic interests is typical of the House of Anjou.

The final scene in the narrative cycle, the *Funeral of Mary Magdalen* (fig. 1.11), visually confirms that the panel must be linked to the discovery of the body. This scene is anomalous among those depicted in this, the earliest painted Magdalen cycle. While each of the other events appears in subsequent cycles in some form, the funeral of the Magdalen does not. The uniqueness of the choice to represent the funeral of the Magdalen indicates that this event was of particular importance in the context of this panel. Tartuferi argued that the image, with its numerous prelates and two bishops, was probably inspired by the exhumation and transfer of the Magdalen's body "in the presence of many French bishops" in 1280.²⁴⁷ If this image does conflate the two events, acting both as a depiction of her burial and a recollection of her transfer, it would help explain the otherwise peculiar presence of two bishops.

Whether or not the image is meant to signify both her burial and her more recent translation, a depiction of the Magdalen being buried at Saint-Maximin in the years immediately following the discovery of her body there, during this narrow window of time when both bodies could make competing claims to legitimacy, strongly argues for interpreting this altarpiece as an assertion in favor of that body. That this subject is not seen again once the Saint-Maximin body is authenticated in 1295, and thus firmly

²⁴⁷ Tartuferi, "Maestro della Maddalena," 151. For this argument, he cites D. Parenti, *Il Maestro della Maddalena e la pittura fiorentina della seconda metà del Duecento* (Tesi di laurea, Università degli Studi di Firenze a.a. 1989-1990), 175. For the transfer of the Magdalen's body in 1280, see Saxer, *Le culte*, 234-239.

established, reinforces this reading. The most likely patron for an image advocating the authenticity of the Saint-Maximin body is a member of the House of Anjou, or someone affiliated with the Angevins. Given that Charles I of Anjou had been instrumental in the establishment of Guelf control over the city in 1267, was Imperial Vicar of Tuscany with the right to name as his vicar the Podestà of Florence until 1278, and remained highly influential afterwards with an alliance lasting into the middle of the next century, a Florentine patron with Angevins connections is easy to imagine.²⁴⁸

The subject of this dissertation is narrative depictions of the Magdalen, rather than iconic; however, a brief discussion regarding the central image of this panel (fig. 1.17) is necessary, as this iconic imagery unambiguously signals the principal meaning and intent of the altarpiece as a whole, that is, to present the Magdalen as a penitential example for the faithful to follow. The large central image of the Magdalen, depicted as a desert saint covered only in her hair, was immediately recognizable as a penitent to all worshippers.²⁴⁹ With her right arm outstretched, palm forward, her gesture recalls that of

²⁴⁸ For the close relationship, which she calls “a partnership” between Naples and Florence from 1267 onwards, see Dunbabin, *Charles I of Anjou*, 83-86. Dunbabin states that Charles I was forced by the pope to give up the Imperial Vicarship of Tuscany in 1278, but that it did not end his influence in the area, especially as the new Imperial vicars did not arrive until 1281. Furthermore Florence came to the aid of Naples in war of the Sicilian Vespers in 1281. See Scipione Ammirato, *Istorie fiorentine di Scipione Ammirato con l'aggiunte di Scipione Ammirato il giovane*, Parta I, Tomo I (Firenze: L. Marchini, 1647), 158. Brucker claimed Charles I was Podestà of Florence, acting through a series of vicars until 1282, but I cannot determine his source for this. See Gene Brucker, *Florence: The Golden Age, 1138-1737* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998), 118. Davidsohn states that the first Podestà after 1267 who was not a vicar of Charles was Pietro Stefani (Pietro Stefaneschi), a Roman cavaliere, nominated by the pope in 1280. Robert Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze. Guelfi e Ghibellini (II)*, vol. 3 (Firenze: Sansoni, 1957), 222. For the relationship between Florence and Naples during this period, focusing on economic issues, see also David Abulafia, “Southern Italy and the Florentine Economy, 1265-1370,” *The Economic History Review* (New Series) 34, no. 3 (Aug., 1981): 377-388; Housley, *Italian Crusades*, 234-5, 237-8.

²⁴⁹ Not only was there her hagiographic tradition, and that of Mary of Egypt to draw on, but a pictorial tradition of hirsute penitents also existed, including John the Baptist, and it has been argued that the iconic image of the hair-covered Magdalen dates back as early the 1230s. On hairy hermit legends and visual imagery see LaRow, “Iconography of Mary Magdalen,” 56-65. Tartuferi, “Maestro della Maddalena,” 151. On the duality of the symbolism of the Magdalen’s hair: which referenced both the sexual nature of her sin, and was intimately tied up with her penitence, both through the aforementioned associations with desert

St. Francis on his *vita* panels where it is used to display the stigmata (figs. 1.12, 1.16); it also, however, signifies speech.²⁵⁰ In the leonine hexameter verse on her scroll (fig. 1.17a), she directly addresses the viewer, making explicit her role as a penitent and as an example to be followed: “Do not despair those of you who are accustomed to sin, and in keeping with my example, return yourselves to God.”

Although this may be the earliest appearance of this verse in art, it is present in numerous other Magdalen images in Italy (see figs. 1.18-1.20)²⁵¹ and in France (fig. 1.21),²⁵² and also appears on a scroll held by an unusually hirsute penitent Magdalen in a manuscript made in 1300 for, and probably by, a Cistercian nun in Westphalia (fig.

saints, and due to her actions in the anointing in the house of the Pharisee, see Jansen, “Mary Magdalen and the Contemplative Life,” 259.

²⁵⁰ LaRow, “Iconography of Mary Magdalen,” 181-2.

²⁵¹ A non-exhaustive list of Italian examples includes a panel of the penitent Magdalen clad in her hair and holding a scroll in the *Polyptych of the Crucifixion with Mourners and Mary Magdalen at the Foot of the Cross*, S. Mary Magdalen, S. Michael Archangel, S. Julian the Hospitaler, S. Martha (Inv. 1890, n. 433/6140), Bernardo Daddi (Crucifixion only) and Puccio di Simone, ca.1340-1345, Accademia Gallery, Florence (This is the same work Kaftal identified as being located in Barga, Conservatorio di S. Elisabetta); A red-gowned Magdalen appears holding a scroll in the triptych of the *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints Catherine, Francis, Zanobius, and Mary Magdalen* (Inv. Depositi n. 18), Lippo D’Andrea, 1430-40, Accademia Gallery, Florence (originally from Santa Maria degli Angiolini Conservatory, Florence); the text appears on a banderole surrounding a kneeling Magdalen in the *Magdalen Receiving Communion from Saint Maximin* (often misidentified, as in the church itself, as Mary of Egypt), attributed to Cenni di Francesco di ser Cenni, 1400-1415, fresco, Cappella Gianfigliuzzi, Santa Trinita, Florence. For the Daddi and Puccio di Simone, see Kaftal, *Tuscan Saints*, col. 681; Miklós Boskovits e Angelo Tartuferi, eds., *Dal Duecento a Giovanni da Milano. Dipinti*, Cataloghi della Galleria dell’Accademia di Firenze 1 (Firenze: Giunti, 2003), 79-83.

²⁵² All the French examples I have identified are sculptural. The inscription is found on the base of the Magdalen in a *Pieta* sculptural group (Virgin and Christ flanked by Mary Magdalen and John the Evangelist), polychrome stone, 1476, St-Pierre de Moissac. The Capuchin friar Bernardino Ochino described seeing a wooden sculpture of the Magdalen with this inscription at the oratory at La Sainte Baume sometime prior to 1534. Bernardino Ochino, *Prediche nove* ff. 71v-72r, Cited in Michele Camaioni, “Note su due episodi del periodo italiano di Bernardino Ochino,” in *Bullettino Senese di storia patria. Dedicato a Domenico Maffei* (Siena: Accademia Senese degli Intronati, 2009), 125. For the date of Ochino’s visit see *ibid.*, 125-126, n13. One last appearance of the textual passage in France should also be noted, as, exceptionally, it is separate from any Magdalenian context. The inscription appears on the tomb monument of Jean de Gouhenans, located in the chapel of the ancient chartreuse of Lugny in the town of Leuglay, dated by inscription to December 1401. The effigy of the deceased, dressed as a Carthusian, bears a phylactery that runs on both sides of his body and through his clasped hands. On it is the “Magdalenian” inscription. For this monument, see Max Prinnet, *La Tombe de Jean de Gouhenans à la chartreuse de Lugny* (Besançon: J. Jacques, 1910), 3-14.

1.22).²⁵³ The uniformity of the inscription, and its rapid appearance in visual representations of the Magdalen over a wide geographic area suggests it was disseminated via a popular written source, rather than through the visual medium. It has not, however, been possible to identify it.²⁵⁴ Judith Oliver, in the only concerted effort to find literary examples of this verse, identified thirteen late medieval German manuscript examples, the earliest dating to 1330-1341.²⁵⁵ In addition, three later French and Italian texts exist which include the verse, one of which is Dominican and another Franciscan, none of which have previously been noted in relation to the visual imagery.²⁵⁶

²⁵³ For a discussion of the representation of Mary Magdalen and the inscription in the Gradual of Gisela von Kerssenbrock see Judith H. Oliver, *Singing with Angels: Liturgy, Music, and Art in the Gradual of Gisela von Kerssenbrock* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 193-197. See also Marga Anstett-Janßen, “Maria Magdalena in der abendländischen Kunst: Ikonographie der Heiligen von den Anfängen bis ins 16. Jahrhundert” (PhD diss., Freiburg i. B. 1961), 154-156. Anstett-Janßen assumes an Italian source for the text, but says its transmission to Germany cannot be traced (ibid, 156). An inscription at the beginning of the book states that Gisela von Kerssenbrock “wrote, illuminated, notated, paginated and decorated” the Gradual in 1300, although this has been questioned. Oliver argues that the scribes and non-figural decorators were certainly the nuns of the Convent of Rulle. Judith H. Oliver, “Worship of the Word: Some Gothic *Nonnenbücher* in Their Devotional Context,” in *Women and the Book: Assessing the Visual Evidence*, eds. Lesley Smith and Jane H. M. Taylor (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 108-9, 112-114.

²⁵⁴ Despite Jansen’s focus on Magdalenian literary material she was unable to find a textual precedent for this passage. Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen*, 235 n125. Jansen focuses on it only as a limited, regional artistic phenomenon, identifying four Florentine examples subsequent to the *Magdalen Master Dossal*, and noting the German manuscript in a footnote. Ibid., 237, 239, n129.

²⁵⁵ They are Hans Walther, *Carmina medii aevi posterioris latini* 1, 617 no. 12004 (5 examples); 2 part 2 (1965) no. 15995 and 17488 (7 examples); 2 part 8 nova series (1983) no 38530fl (1 example); cited in Oliver, *Singing with Angels*, 307-8 n62. The earliest is part of a collection of Latin verses from Silesia or Bohemia which now is contained in a Miscellany in Kremsmünster: Benediktinerstift MS CC 81, fol. 81v. For this manuscript, see Hauke Fill, *Katalog der Handschriften des Benediktinerstiftes Kremsmünster. Teil 2: Simelien Codices und Spätmittelalterlich Handschriften nach 1325 bis einschliesslich CC 100* (Vienna, 2000), 402-12.

²⁵⁶ Lucia Lazzerini mentioned the use of this verse at the conclusion of a Magdalen sermon by the French Franciscan preacher Michel Minot. Lucia Lazzerini, “‘Per Latinos Grossos...’ Studio sui sermoni mesclati,” *Studi di filologia italiana* 29: 283-286. For this sermon see J. Nève, *Sermons choisis de Michel Menot, 1508-1518* (Paris: H. Champion, 1924), 442-448. Lazzerini also notes that the passage is found in a sermon on the Magdalen by Valeriano da Soncino, an Italian Dominican preacher of the second half of the 15th century. This sermon is in codex A III 18, Biblioteca Universitaria di Genova, fol. 318 v. The codex is unpublished but described in A. Neri, *XXX Giugno MDOOOXO*, opuscolo dedicato ad A. D’Ancona pel suo trentennio d’insegnamento da F. Novati e A. Neri (Pisa, 1890). Ibid., 286 n1. An additional early source for the passage is MS 964 (old accession number MS 1058), Bibliothèque Marazin, Paris, fol. 1 and following. This 15th century manuscript (1486) created for Jean Budé is listed as “Confessionale Anselmi,” but is not credited as an authentic work of Anselm. For the full works of Saint Anselm see: *S. Anselmi*

Whatever the verse's original derivation, it is in keeping with the understanding of the Magdalen as the *exemplum perfecte penitentie* being promoted through hagiography, sermons and hymns during this period.²⁵⁷ The fact that, as previously discussed, it was the mendicants who were most avidly promoting the penitent Magdalen during the late medieval period further supports the hypothesis that this panel was created within a mendicant context. The penitential flavor is not limited to the verse, or indeed to the central iconic figure, but is also seen in the choice of narrative imagery. These scenes depict the Magdalen in action as a penitent, offering the worshipper the life of the Magdalen as an example of returning to God, as referred to in the banderole held by the central figure, making the altarpiece in its entirety "a pictorial analogue to the friars' preaching."²⁵⁸ It is to this imagery that we now turn.

The pictorial *vita* of the Magdalen on the panel presents repentant sinners with the life of the Magdalen both as an example to follow and as a message of hope, through her unqualified success in returning to God. The artist selected events in the Magdalen's life, which, like the written *vita* of Jacobus de Voragine, evince the interpretation of the Magdalen as penitent and apostle to the apostles, as well as for the first time supporting and authenticating the new Provençal cult arising around Saint-Maximin. Furthermore, as

Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi Opera Omnia, ed. Franciscus Salesius Schmitt, 6 vols. (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1946-61).

²⁵⁷ In Magdalen hymns she was identified as an example for sinners, and the words *ne desperet* and *ne desperent* are often seen. For a survey of 160 Magdalen hymns see Joseph Szövérfy, "'Peccatrix Quondam Femina': A Survey of the Mary Magdalen Hymns," *Traditio* 19 (1963): 79-146, esp. 117, 128, 132-133. The conversion of Mary Magdalen was the most popular event in the hymns discussed. See also Oliver, *Singing with Angels*, 308 n63, for other examples of similarly worded language regarding the Magdalen going back to Augustine and Gregory. Jansen, too, discusses the "do not despair" motif in preaching. Jansen, "Mary Magdalen and the Mendicants," 9-10. For a broader analysis of Magdalen sermons, focusing on sermons for the feast day of the Magdalen, see Jansen, "Mary Magdalen and the Mendicants," 1-25; Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen*, 199-244; and Jansen, "Mary Magdalen and the Mendicants in Late Medieval Italy," esp. 212-274.

²⁵⁸ Jansen, "Mary Magdalen and the Mendicants," 10.

Joanna Cannon suggested, many of the activities depicted served as models of behavior or thought for contemporary penitents. I would, moreover, argue that if this panel was indeed in a Franciscan church, she was also being offered as a model of behavior for the friars, who preached penance and followed an apostolic path.

The first two scenes in the cycle, the *Supper in the House of the Pharisee* (fig. 1.4), and the *Raising of Lazarus* (fig. 1.5) instruct the worshipper regarding the critical role played by confession in the successful enactment of penance. While the Magdalen did not verbally confess, her actions during her dramatic conversion, especially her weeping, and Christ's acceptance of them, was interpreted and understood as a public confession.²⁵⁹ The scene represents the Magdalen's birth into spiritual life from the depths of her sinfulness. Surprisingly perhaps, this notion of spiritual rebirth from sin is also one of the meanings of the *Raising of Lazarus*, and the one that is, I believe primary here. Although Jacobus' explanation of the raising in the *Golden Legend* revolves around Christ's love for Mary Magdalen, there is a long line of exegesis, going back to the early medieval period, which interprets Christ calling forth Lazarus as the calling forth of the sinful to confession and a new life with God.²⁶⁰ It is in this light that it should be interpreted here, given its pairing with the *Supper in the House of the Pharisee* and, most critically, the absence of Mary Magdalen from the composition.²⁶¹

²⁵⁹ On this issue, see Jansen, "Mary Magdalen and the Mendicants in Late Medieval Italy," 229-244; Jansen, "Mary Magdalen and the Mendicants," 13-17. She cites, among other sources a Dominican prior of Santa Maria Novella, Aldobrandinus de Cavalcantibus, who argued that as Christ saw into the Magdalen's heart, and thus knew her sincere contrition, a verbal confession was unnecessary, although she may have said some words not recorded by the evangelists, and Pope Innocent III who wrote a confession for the Magdalen.

²⁶⁰ See chapter three for a more in-depth discussion of this interpretation of the Raising of Lazarus.

²⁶¹ LaRow identified the figure in red to Lazarus' right as Mary Magdalen. Mary Magdalen, however is never represented unwrapping the winding-clothes of Lazarus, it is not simply unusual as LaRow stated. Furthermore although the figure wears red, as does the Magdalen in the pre-wilderness scenes, he wears a short tunic and is clearly male. LaRow, "Iconography of Mary Magdalen," 183.

The second register depicts the *Noli me tangere* (fig. 1.6) and *Mary Magdalen Preaching at Marseilles* (1.7), thus presenting the Magdalen as *Apostolorum Apostola*. This elucidation of the apostolic life of the saint would have had special resonance not only for penitential viewers but also for a mendicant audience, who similarly followed an apostolic life. In choosing the Magdalen for his first appearance after the Resurrection, Christ reinforced the message of the success of her penitence, and of the value of the penitential path, once again preferring her to those who have sinned less. It is a message of inestimable hope to the sinner. As an anonymous author, believed in the middle ages to be Saint Augustine, stated: “lest anyone despair, take the sinner Mary, lady of luxury, mother of vainglory, sister of Martha and Lazarus as an example, who after [her conversion] was worthy to be called Apostle of the apostles.”²⁶²

In the image of the Magdalen preaching, the Magdalen “exemplifies the role of preaching in leading the laity to repentance,”²⁶³ thereby providing instruction on the preaching of penance to both penitent and preaching audiences.²⁶⁴ Furthermore, her preaching and her penitence were seen as interconnected. Jacobus had tied the Magdalen’s success as a preacher to her penitential activity depicted in the first scene: “and no wonder, that the mouth which had pressed such pious and beautiful kisses on the savior’s feet should breathe forth the perfume of the word of God more profusely than

²⁶² “Et ne aliquis desperet, Mariam illam peccatricem, dominam luxuriae, vanae gloriae matrem, sororem Marthae et Lazari in exemplum assumite, quae postmodum Apostolorum apostola meruit nuncupari.” Pseudo-Augustine, in *Patrologiae Latina* 40, col. 1298. Cited in Jansen, “Maria Magdalena,” 69, 89 n64. Similar statements can be found in both Dominican and Franciscan writings of the period. See *ibid.*, 69.

²⁶³ Cannon, “Beyond the Limitations of Visual Typology,” 301.

²⁶⁴ For a discussion of the iconography of female preaching, see Roberto Rusconi, “Women’s Sermons at the End of the Middle Ages: Texts from the Blessed and Images of the Saints” in *Women Preachers and Prophets Through Two Millennia of Christianity*, eds. Beverly Mayne Kienzle and Pamela J. Walker (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 173-195.

others could.”²⁶⁵ This scene also initiates the localization of the Magdalen in Provence, where five of the eight scenes are situated, culminating in her burial at Saint-Maximin.

The third register depicts the Magdalen’s penitential and contemplative sojourn in the desert in *the Colloquy with the Angels* (fig. 1.8) and *The Magdalen Receiving the Host From an Angel* (fig. 1.9). With these scenes, the Magdalen has been transformed into a hair-clad penitent as portrayed in the central iconic representation. In fact, elevated by angels at the canonical hours to receive heavenly nourishment, she is a miniaturist version of the central image (fig. 1.17). Her penitence is thus rewarded by God, who “determined not fill her not with earthly viands but only with the good things of heaven.”²⁶⁶ Moreover, the fact that she is elevated at the canonical hours transforms this event into a highly idiosyncratic performance of the Divine Office, and as such would have resonated in particular with the friars who were under an obligation to perform the Office daily.²⁶⁷

Two scenes, *the Magdalen Receiving the Host From an Angel* (fig. 1.9), and the first scene on the bottom register, the *Last Communion with St. Maximin* (fig. 1.10) show the Magdalen receiving the Eucharist. Both scenes deviate from the written hagiographic *vitae*, which do not involve the Magdalen receiving the host from an Angel, and in which she goes to the church of Saint-Maximin for Last Communion. As will be discussed in chapter two, the Magdalen receiving the Host from an angel became a popular subject in the pictorial *vitae*, despite its lack of a clear source prior to this image, appearing not only

²⁶⁵ Jacobus, *Golden Legend*, vol. I, 377.

²⁶⁶ Jacobus, *Golden Legend*, vol. I, 380.

²⁶⁷ For the origins and development of the office as well as obligations to perform it, see S.J.P. Van Dijk O.F.M. and J. Hazelden Walker, *The Origins of the Modern Roman Liturgy: The Liturgy of the Papal Court and the Franciscan Order in the Thirteenth Century* (Westminster, MD: The Newman Press, 1960), 15-26, 36-44. Cannon noted a connection to the divine office. Cannon, “Beyond the Limitations of Visual Typology,” 301.

in Florence, but also, seemingly, in all the Neapolitan cycles. The receiving of Viaticum in the desert, instead of inside the church, is the result of confusion or conflation with Mary of Egypt, who received Last Communion in the wilderness from the priest and monk (not saint and bishop), Zosimus.²⁶⁸ The critical issue is that by depicting the Magdalen receiving the Eucharist not once, but twice, the artist has emphasized the importance of this sacrament within penitential theology, as it had recently been reformulated at the Fourth Lateran Council. In her seminal book on Eucharistic devotion in the late middle ages, Miri Rubin discusses the interconnectedness of penance and host reception:

Penance was essentially private, and its private, personal, corrective, exhortative nature encompassed and enacted demands for conformity. The eucharist which followed it, however, introduced the universal, cosmic, timeless, supernatural intervention in the world which legitimated and explored the very grace to which access was made through the sacrament of confession and penance.²⁶⁹

Thus the Eucharist provides the repentant sinner with access to grace, serving as a sign that their penitence has been successful and their sins forgiven. These images served both as instruction and as a message of hope for the penitent viewer, and for the friars, would have been a reminder of the importance of their role as providers of this essential sacrament.

The final scene, the *Burial of Mary Magdalen* (fig. 1.11), was discussed above in the context of localizing the body of Mary Magdalen at Saint Maximin. In addition, the Magdalen, in seeming contradiction with the written hagiography, maintains her appearance as a desert saint, thus reinforcing her penitential nature, even after death. This image concludes the cycle, confirming the legitimacy and power of her words to the

²⁶⁸ Jacobus, *Golden Legend*, vol. I, 227-229.

²⁶⁹ Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 85, see also 84.

viewer, “Do not despair those of you who are accustomed to sin, and in keeping with my example, return yourselves to God.”

With the exception of the final scene, all of the events on this panel will appear again—in various configurations and with some significant changes in iconography—in the remaining five cycles discussed in this dissertation. All of the cycles will show the involvement or influence of the groups discussed above, the Angevins, the Franciscans and the Dominicans, sometimes in various combinations. It is with this in mind that we now leave Florence and go to Naples, where around 1295 the earliest fresco cycle of the Life of the Magdalen was painted in the Franciscan church of San Lorenzo Maggiore.

CHAPTER TWO

THE NEAPOLITAN MAGDALEN CHAPELS

Around 1295, in the church of San Lorenzo Maggiore in Naples, the earliest fresco cycle depicting the life of Mary Magdalen was painted. It was less than two decades earlier, in December 1279, that Charles of Salerno, the future King Charles II of Naples, had discovered the body of Mary Magdalen at Saint-Maximin near Aix-en-Provence. This event inextricably linked the Magdalen to the Angevins, who then adopted her as patron saint of their dynasty. In fact, three of the six extant Magdalen fresco cycles in central and southern Italy dating from the late duecento through the middle of the trecento are located in Naples. No other location boasts such a concentration of Magdalen narrative imagery. The three Neapolitan cycles, in the Magdalen Chapel in San Lorenzo Maggiore, in the Brancaccio Chapel in San Domenico Maggiore (1308-1309), and in the Pipino Chapel in San Pietro a Maiella (ca. 1340s), are all located in churches constructed during the Angevin period, and were commissioned, so far as can be determined, by patrons with ties to the ruling dynasty.

It was not a coincidence that the first monumental representation of the Magdalen's life appeared in the new Angevin territory of Naples, nor was it by chance that she remained a popular subject while Angevin power was at its height.²⁷⁰ Rather, the prevalence of Magdalen imagery in Naples was a response to Angevin rule. The Angevins' emphasis on the ties between Mary Magdalen and their dynasty, and their promotion of her cult in their newest and most important territory, Naples, acted as a

²⁷⁰ The Angevins came to power in Naples in 1266 under Charles of Anjou, replacing the Hohenstaufen dynasty.

catalyst, providing inspiration for the many representations of her life in Naples and beyond. Both Susan Haskins and Katherine L. Jansen credit the Angevin dynasty with spreading the cult of Mary Magdalen from France, where it first took root, to Naples, where it served as a symbol of the new ruling dynasty.²⁷¹ While scholarship has acknowledged the special relationship between the Angevins and the Magdalen, the Magdalen cycles in Naples and the visual evidence they provide have not received adequate attention.²⁷² While it does not seem that the Angevins themselves commissioned any of the extant cycles, the selection of Mary Magdalen as a subject for fresco cycles in prominent Neapolitan churches is a reflection of the desire of Neapolitan patrons to align themselves with the ruling dynasty by commissioning works of art that publicly declared this allegiance. This action testifies not only to the close association that had been established between Mary Magdalen and the Angevin dynasty, but also to the Angevins' systematic use of personal ties to sainted figures to increase their own legitimacy as a dynasty.

The information regarding these chapels is limited. Each presents grave condition issues that affect the reading of the cycles. Due to later accretions, some then removed—damaging the frescoes below—none of the cycles are entirely intact, making their full programs a matter of conjecture, especially in the case of San Lorenzo Maggiore.²⁷³ Another issue is that no documentary evidence survives regarding the commissioning of these cycles, and recent findings have cast serious doubts about the patronage of the most

²⁷¹ Haskins, *Myth and Metaphor*, 130; Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen*, 332.

²⁷² Although the Brancaccio Chapel is fairly often discussed in terms of its disputed attribution to Cavallini, these chapels have not been generally considered in terms of their iconography or as visual expressions of the Angevin dedication to the Magdalen.

²⁷³ While a scene is missing in each of the other two chapels, I am confident, based on the remaining fragments and other Magdalen programs, in my identification of these scenes. The losses do, however, limit detailed analysis of the iconography of these scenes.

famous of the chapels. These issues have been compounded by a bias in scholarship favoring the art of central Italy, and the treatment of Naples as a peripheral backwater, rather than a major artistic center.²⁷⁴ All these factors have led to the neglect of these fresco cycles, despite the recognition in both historical and art historical scholarship of the importance of Angevin promotion of the Magdalen cult, of which these are crucial pictorial examples.

The contributions of Katherine L. Jansen and Ferdinando Bologna are critical to my undertaking; however, neither scholar delved deeply into these chapels' iconography or meaning.²⁷⁵ Bologna was interested primarily in the dating and attribution of the works. Jansen's study is an historical analysis of the Magdalen cult, preaching and popular devotion in the late medieval period, focusing primarily on sermons as her source material. Although she argued that these chapels should be interpreted as evidence of Angevin propaganda, she did not analyze their imagery and iconography, nor how the visual elements functioned in the context of Angevin interests. While a recent essay by Giuliana Vitale dealt with the cult of Mary Magdalen and the Angevin dynasty and ostensibly related it to Magdalen iconography in Naples, only the patronage of the Brancaccio Chapel was discussed in any detail.²⁷⁶ Similarly, an essay by Vincenzo Pacelli on the iconography of the Magdalen in Naples from the Angevin era to the time of

²⁷⁴ On the general neglect of Naples in art historical scholarship except for on the local level, especially in English language scholarship, see the collection of essays in *Art and Architecture in Naples, 1266-1713* eds. Cordelia Warr and Janis Elliott (Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010). This factor has surely contributed to the neglect of the Magdalen cycles. In particular see Cordelia Warr and Janis Elliott, "Introduction: Reassessing Naples 1266-1713," 1-15, esp. 1-2; Aislinn Loconte's discussion of Vasari's dismissal of Naples as provincial and peripheral, and the influence of this assessment on later scholarship: Aislinn Loconte "The North Looks South: Giorgio Vasari and Early Modern Visual Culture in the Kingdom of Naples," 38-61; and Nicolas Bock's thought-provoking analysis of the concepts of center and periphery: Bock, "Patronage, Standards and *Transfert Culturel*," 152-175.

²⁷⁵ Bologna, *Pittori*; Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen*.

²⁷⁶ Vitale, "I santi del re," 93-128.

Caravaggio focused almost exclusively on the Brancaccio Chapel and, drawing heavily on Vitale, dealt much more with patronage than with meaning and iconography.²⁷⁷ While these last two represent an encouraging development in Italian scholarship towards looking at the patronage of these chapels within the context of the expansion of the Magdalen cult, they said nothing about the imagery and how it functions.

I begin my analysis of Neapolitan Magdalen programs with the cycle in the Franciscan church of San Lorenzo Maggiore (figs. 2.3-2.5, 2.7). The earliest monumental cycle in Italy depicting the life of the Magdalen, it is dated to between 1295 and 1300; it was thus created within five years of Pope Boniface VIII's 1295 authentication of the body discovered by Charles of Salerno. I next consider the abridged cycle in the Brancaccio Chapel in the Dominican church of San Domenico Maggiore (figs 2.14-18). Although this is the most studied of the Neapolitan cycles, with the exception of recent scholarship challenging the usually accepted patronage history, it has been discussed almost exclusively in terms of its disputed attribution to Cavallini, rather than the meaning and context of the cycle. I conclude by examining the cycle in the Pipino Chapel in San Pietro a Maiella (figs 2.22-30). This is the final, largest and perhaps surprisingly, given the relative importance of the church, most complex of the three Neapolitan Magdalen cycles. Due to the importance of the Angevins in the promotion of the Magdalen cult, one might expect to see a choice of scenes in all three cycles that clearly glorified, or at least emphasized this connection. For example, given the fact that the Magdalen's post-gospel legendary life took place in Provence, at this time under Angevin rule, a focus on the legendary life of the Magdalen, while it would also have other significances, would call attention to the Angevin-Magdalen link. But in fact, in both the

²⁷⁷ Pacelli, "L'inconografia della Maddalena," 69-120.

San Lorenzo Maggiore and San Domenico Maggiore cycles, more scenes come from the gospel accounts than from the legendary material.²⁷⁸ There are overlapping, perhaps even competing, reasons for commissioning a Magdalen cycle, of which the Angevin-Magdalen connection, although a primary motive in Naples, was but one. The Franciscan and Dominican interests in her cult, while often intertwined with those of the Angevin dynasty, did not always have the same emphases. Furthermore in San Domenico Maggiore, the condensing of the cycle to only three episodes necessitated specific choices. It is the Pipino Chapel cycle, where there were not competing cultic promoters, which reveals a more specifically Angevin iconography, focusing extensively on the post-biblical life of the Magdalen in Provence..

As with Charles II's foundation and dedication of monuments to the Magdalen discussed in chapter one, the creation of Magdalen cycles, from the earliest in San Lorenzo Maggiore, painted the year the Provençal Magdalen relic was confirmed by the Pope, to that in Charles' Neapolitan Church of Santa Maria Maddalena, now San Domenico Maggiore, to the final and most extensive cycle in the Pipino Chapel in San Pietro a Maiella, must be viewed as endeavors to promote the ruling house and its relationship to the famous saint. These cycles were all likely commissioned by members of the Neapolitan nobility, who had a vested interest in the success of the Angevins, enabling them to express their connection with the ruling house of Naples and publicly announce their fealty.²⁷⁹ What better way to do so than commissioning cycles of

²⁷⁸ As will be discussed, the cycle in S. Lorenzo is incomplete, but even with additional scenes it is unlikely that there were more legendary scenes than biblical, though perhaps there were an equal number of each.

²⁷⁹ Nicolas Bock has argued that in trecento Naples, royal patronage served as the main template on which the aristocracy based their own commissions, and that the commissioning of works of art functioned to strengthen these patrons' social status. Bock, "Patronage, Standards and *Transfert Culturel*," 156.

paintings dedicated to the patron saint of the Angevin family, whose body had been discovered by the king himself.²⁸⁰

THE MAGDALEN CHAPEL IN SAN LORENZO MAGGIORE

The Magdalen Chapel is the first chapel on the right in the choir ambulatory in San Lorenzo Maggiore (figs. 2.1-2.1a).²⁸¹ San Lorenzo Maggiore was the second Franciscan church established in Naples (1234), but the first to be located in the heart of the city.²⁸² By the early 1240s it was a *studium* or center for the advanced training of preachers. This, combined with its central location, made it the main Franciscan foundation in Naples in this period.²⁸³ The Magdalen Chapel is small and poorly lit, with no windows leading onto the exterior of the building.²⁸⁴ Additionally the cycle is positioned very high on the walls (figs. 2.2-2.2a); the lowest preserved register begins approximately fifteen-to-twenty feet above the floor. All these factors contribute to the difficulty in viewing the Magdalen cycle.

Three extant scenes from the life of the Magdalen, located on the side walls of the chapel, are attributed to the anonymous Master of the Stories of the Magdalen and are

²⁸⁰ Although the Pipino Chapel was commissioned during the reign of Charles II's son, King Robert (r. 1309-1343) or great-granddaughter, Queen Joanna I (r. 1343-1381), Charles II's discovery of Mary Magdalen's body continued to be of great interest during this period, with ongoing developments.

²⁸¹ There are nine chapels in total. Only this chapel and the last have square plans, the other seven are pentagonal. All of the others with a dedication to a female saint are dedicated to the Virgin in some guise. Eugenio D'Acunti, *San Lorenzo Maggiore: La più antica chiesa francescana di Napoli*, (Napoli: Laurenziana, 1979), 65, 66.

²⁸² Caroline Bruzelius, *Stones of Naples*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 50-51. A 6th century basilica, it was transferred to the Franciscans in 1234.

²⁸³ Ibid. It was unrivaled as the Franciscan center of Naples until the foundation of Santa Chiara in 1310. J. Krüger states that while the documents from the duecento do not state explicitly that the *studium* was based at S. Lorenzo Maggiore prior to 1302, all evidence suggests that this was the case, and that from a very early date S. Lorenzo seems to have been a very significant place for Franciscan study, with luminaries such as John of Parma serving as lector in the 13th c. Its library has been lost. J. Krüger, *S. Lorenzo Maggiore*, 36-37.

²⁸⁴ There is a window in the right hand wall, which lets onto the transept and, along with the entry, is the only source of natural light.

dated to between 1295-1300.²⁸⁵ As can be seen in the diagram in figure 2.3, on the left wall is the *Supper in the House of the Pharisee* in the lunette, and in the register below is the *Raising of Lazarus* (figs. 2.4-2.4a). In the right wall lunette, above a window looking out into the transept, is the *Magdalen in Her Cave* (fig. 2.5). However this did not constitute the entire program. The cycle originally included at least one other painting, possibly several more. Below the scene of *Lazarus* and, in fact slightly covering the bottom of it, is the tomb of Aniello Arcamone, Count of Borrello, sculpted by Antonio or Antonino de Marco di Massa, dating to 1510 or 1513 (fig. 2.6).²⁸⁶ This large tomb may cover at least one, perhaps two frescoes, given the height of the wall. In fact, Graziadei Tripodi's brief report on the 1982 restoration of the chapel states that a fresco survives beneath the tomb and calls for its removal so that the fresco can be examined.²⁸⁷ It is also possible that another fresco was originally located below the windows into the transept on the right wall. If so, however, it is unfortunately lost forever, as this wall is now exposed down to its stone support.

This cycle, therefore, presents certain difficulties with regard to understanding the program as a whole and thus the intentions of the iconographer. While we can fairly

²⁸⁵ There is almost no previous scholarship on these frescoes. See Ferdinando Bologna, *Pittori*, 94-97 and captions. Bologna is concerned primarily with style and the identity of the artist, whom he sees as a disciple of the early Giotto (whom he also credits with the Stories of Isaac in the Basilica of St. Francis, Assisi). Ibid., 94. For further information on the various attributions given over the years for these frescoes see ibid., n96 and n99.

²⁸⁶ For the tomb see Gaetano Filangieri, *Documenti per la storia, le arti e le industrie delle provincie napoletane, raccolti e pubblicati per cura di Gaetano Filangieri, principe di Satriano*, vol. 2 (Napoli: Tip. dell'Accademia reale delle scienze, 1884), 34-38 and 140. Filangieri dates it 1513, D'Acunti, *San Lorenzo Maggiore*, 65, gives the date as 1510. The tomb inscription reads:
D'S S' / ANELLO ARCAMONIO BORRELLI DOMINO JURISC PRAESTANTIS / QUEM SENIOR FE
RDINANDUS REX AD REGNI CURAS VOCATUM / INTER PROCERES AD LEGIT / AD VENETO
S ET SIXTUM IIII PONT MAX / LEGATIONIB EGREGIE DEFUNCTO UTRAMQUE FORTUNAM
EXPERTO / UTRIUSQUE VICTORI / ANNIBAL DE CAPUA SOCERO B M P MDX.

Filangieri also includes the text of several documents relating to the tomb and its commissioning. These establish that the chapel was referred to as the Magdalen Chapel in the early sixteenth century.

²⁸⁷ Graziadei Tripodi, *Il restauro come e perché*, (Napoli: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1981), 57.

safely assume that there were originally five or six paintings in total, we cannot be certain of the exact number, nor of the identity of the missing scenes. Certainly there was, indeed is, at least one other painting below the *Raising of Lazarus*. Given that the wall reads from top to bottom, it seems probable it would have been a *Noli me tangere*, a scene which appears in both subsequent Neapolitan Magdalen cycles, and which constituted a major source of the Magdalen's authority.²⁸⁸ Surprisingly however, Tripodi's brief description seemingly precludes the possibility of a *Noli me tangere*. Although the fresco was not fully revealed, Tripodi indicates that it is a triptych with three cusps, each containing a saint (fig. 2.7). This pictorial field thus did not hold a narrative scene, but instead a series of iconic images intended to complement the narrative imagery of the chapel. While not identifiable, the two crowned figures illustrated in Tripodi are both holy monarchs²⁸⁹ It seems likely that as in the slightly later Saint Elizabeth Chapel in the north transept of the Lower Basilica of St. Francis, Assisi, commissioned by Mary of Hungary around 1316 to 1318, these royal saints were amongst those related to the Angevins.²⁹⁰ If so, the presence of these royal Angevin saints invoked the notion of *beata stirps* and thus promoted the dynastic interests of the House of Anjou. Furthermore, their appearance in a chapel dedicated to Mary Magdalen would add force to the claim that she too should be counted among the sainted ancestors of the Angevin dynasty.

²⁸⁸ Jansen believes the scene would originally have been part of the program. Jansen, 262 n52. I discuss the popularity of *Noli me tangere* in late medieval Magdalen cycles below in my section on the Brancaccio Chapel in San Domenico Maggiore.

²⁸⁹ Tripodi, *Restauro*, 57. He provides images of the crowned heads of only two of the saints in his text (figs. 16 and 17), reproduced here as fig. 2.7. Pierluigi Leone de Castris refers to "busts of saints" but although that is all that was revealed in the restoration there is no reason to suppose that was the extent of the representations or all that survives. Pierluigi Leone de Castris, *Arte di corte nella Napoli angioina*, (Firenze: Cantini, 1986), 201. J. Krüger mentions only one head, a "crowned head of Mary" and suggests that it may be part of a donor image. J. Krüger, *S. Lorenzo Maggiore*, 89 n33.

²⁹⁰ For the St. Elizabeth Chapel see Hoch, "Beata Stirps," 279-295. Mary of Hungary was the wife of Charles II, mother of King Robert and Saint Louis of Toulouse and of the same lineage as the Arpad saints.

As I noted, however, there is space for two additional scenes on this wall. It is therefore possible that a *Noli me tangere* is located below this fresco partially viewed by Tripodi. Indeed, if there was not a *Noli me tangere* included, this was an exceptionally unusual program. It appears in almost every pictorial cycle of the life of the Magdalen, as it was critical to the Magdalen's *vita*.²⁹¹ It was the origin of her role as apostle to the apostles, and therefore her post-resurrection apostolic activity in France as well, and perhaps most critically it provided undeniable proof of the power of penitence as a successful means of salvation. Unless the tomb is removed, however, all this will remain hypothetical. Jansen proposed that the program also originally included a representation of a miracle involving the Magdalen's time in Provence.²⁹² If this was the case, it would likely have been located on the right wall beneath the *Magdalen in Her Cave*, with the right wall thus reading upwards.

There is no altar in the chapel. A passage in the rear wall leads to the new sacristy of the church (fig. 2.1a), which was added around 1570. At the time of its construction, the altar was removed and the chapel came to serve a sort of an antechamber.²⁹³ Gaetano Filangieri, writing in the 1880s, notes the existence of a badly restored and repainted panel painting depicting Mary Magdalen, kept at that time in the sacristy, which he believed probably originally belonged to this chapel.²⁹⁴ Unfortunately, he provided no further information on the appearance, iconography, or possible date of the painting, although as he described it as a panel painting, it seems it may have been the chapel's

²⁹¹ The cycle in the Oratory of the Magdalen in Cetona, one of three oratories comprising the Hermitage of Belverde, is the only exception, having no *Noli me tangere*. However the adjacent oratory contains a passion cycle with images of the Resurrection. It was therefore not necessary in the Magdalen cycle.

²⁹² Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen*, 295-296, n30. This miracle is depicted in the cycle in San Pietro a Maiella.

²⁹³ Filangieri, *Documenti*, 140.

²⁹⁴ Ibid.

original altarpiece. I inquired with several friars as to whether such a painting still exists, in the sacristy or elsewhere, but could not find any indication that it does. One wonders whether it would have resembled the *Magdalen Master Dossal* now in the Accademia, Florence, as it could have been similar in date, and would have been created in a Franciscan *milieu*, as I argued was the case for the aforementioned *vita* panel.

The patron of the chapel is unknown; no accounts divulge who commissioned the fresco cycle.²⁹⁵ Jansen, citing Bologna, attributes the patronage to Charles II and his own efforts to enhance the Magdalen cult in the Kingdom of Naples.²⁹⁶ While it is tempting to see it as such, especially given the timing of the commission—concurrent with, or shortly following, the papal authentication of the Saint-Maximin relics—there is no evidence for doing so. Bologna did not in fact unequivocally state that Charles II was the patron. Rather, noting that Charles I of Anjou had built the church of San Lorenzo Maggiore, with Charles II supervising the final arrangement of the choir in person, he stated that the theme of the Magdalen Chapel frescoes shows collusion with Charles II's personal preferences, citing his personal devotion to Mary Magdalen and her ties with Provence.²⁹⁷ The latter, however, is no guarantee of Charles' personal involvement. As I have argued, the known Angevin ties to Mary Magdalen would have encouraged Neapolitan nobility to express affiliation with the Angevin family through public devotion to their patron saint. To do so in a church in which Charles II was personally involved would only make the declaration of loyalty to the Angevins stronger, and perhaps win the patron increased favor, which one would assume was a motivating factor. In fact, although Charles II was

²⁹⁵ For documents and information on the later patronage history of the chapel see *ibid.*, 34-39. See also note 301 below.

²⁹⁶ Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen*, 312.

²⁹⁷ Bologna, *Pittori*, 95-96. Caroline Bruzelius has recently argued that San Lorenzo was not, as generally held, a foundation of Charles I. Bruzelius, *Stones of Naples*, 53-6.

involved in the building of the choir from the mid 1290s, Bruzelius believes San Lorenzo Maggiore to have been “more the work of the Franciscans and the civic aristocracy of Naples than of royal patrons.”²⁹⁸ In any case, there is no evidence that indicates Charles II acted as patron of specific chapels, nor commissioned painted decoration.

Moreover, there are no royal symbols in this chapel, as one would expect to find if Charles II was its patron. The three badly damaged painted *stemmi* (fig. 2.7) above the entrance to the new sacristy show a black rampant animal, probably a lion, with red claws, on a gold ground with small crosses.²⁹⁹ This is not the *stemma* of the Angevin house, bearing gold fleurs-de-lys on a blue field, capped with a red label, a horizontal bar with 3 short verticals (fig. 5.17).³⁰⁰ The most compelling argument against Angevin patronage of this chapel however, is the fact that it was already in the hands of the Arcamone family by 1387, when Bartolomeo Arcamone asked to be buried in the chapel in a codicil to his will.³⁰¹ Had Charles II indeed commissioned this chapel, it is

²⁹⁸ Bruzelius, *Stones of Naples*, 47. For her treatment of San Lorenzo see *ibid.*, 47-73. Charles II's involvement dates from 1296-7 (*ibid.*, 56, 63). Work on the choir probably began in the 1270s, and was slowed or interrupted by the war in 1282. Work was completed by 1305 (*ibid.*, 60 and 63).

²⁹⁹ Usually when a rampant lion is depicted with red claws, its tongue is also of that color and it is termed “armed and langued” of “gules.” These lions, however, are all missing their heads. Arthur Charles Fox-Davis, *A Complete Guide to Heraldry*, 11.

³⁰⁰ I have been unable to discover the identity of the family to whom they belong. Their condition, and the frequency with which rampant lions appear on *stemmi* have impeded my efforts. The Lanza family *stemma* is one of the closest matches, but the fact that they are from Sicily with no known ties to the Angevins makes them seem unlikely (they had been supporters of the Hohenstaufen), furthermore their *stemma* is bordered in red and silver, which these are not, the lion is crowned (undetermined here), and there is no mention of the crosses. For a description of the Lanza arms see Francesco Bonazzi di Sannicandro, *Famiglie Nobili e Titolate del Napolitano ascritte-all'elenco regionale o che ottennero posteriori legali riconoscimenti con brevi notizie illustrative* (Bologna: Forni Editore, 1969), 300. Other sources consulted in my attempt to identify these and other Neapolitan *stemmi* include Michel Popoff, *Royaume de Naples*, *Répertoires d'héraldique italienne* 3 (Paris: le Léopard d'or, 2010); Berardo Candida Gonzaga, *Memorie delle famiglie nobili delle Province meridionali d'Italia* vol. 1-6 (Napoli: G. De Angelis, 1875-82).

³⁰¹ Rosalba Di Meglio, *Il Convento francescano di S. Lorenzo di Napoli: regesti dei documenti dei secoli XIII-XV* (Salerno: Carlone, 2003), 52. Reg.: ASN (Archivio di Stato di Napoli), Corp. soppr. 1184 (coporazioni religiose soppresse), ff 45v-46, 1247f27. The *stemmi* present are not those of the Arcamone family, eliminating them from possibility as the original commissioners of the chapel. It remained in the hands of the Arcamone until the beginning of the sixteenth century when it passed to Annibale de Capua,

implausible that given its dedication to the Angevin patron saint, it would have been transferred to another family while the Angevin dynasty was still in power.

While the decision to dedicate the chapel to Mary Magdalen was likely that of an unknown noble patron, the question remains as to who would have chosen the program, determining what scenes were included: the patron or perhaps the Franciscans themselves. Without documentation, it is impossible to know for certain, and in fact even when documents survive they rarely provide such information. As Perri Lee Roberts notes, recent studies on Franciscan patronage have concluded that the respective roles of patrons and friars with regard to choosing dedicatory saints and determining decorative programs seem to have been different in different locations, and at times even to have varied within a particular commission.³⁰² For several reasons, however, the hypothesis that the Franciscans took the lead in determining this decorative program is especially tempting. As previously noted, this was the major Franciscan foundation in the city at the time, and was part of a *studium*, an international center of Franciscan learning.³⁰³ As such the friars would have been particularly invested in the decoration of the church, especially as the fresco program was carried out during a period of intense expansion in the church. That this chapel might have had special significance to the Franciscan friars is

husband of Lucrezia Arcamone. It was he who erected the monument to Aniello, Count of Borrello, the father of his bride. Filangieri, *Documenti*, 140.

³⁰² Perri Lee Roberts, "Familial Values and Franciscan Polemics in Late Trecento Florence: The Iconographic Program of the Castellani Chapel in Sta. Croce," *Gesta* 48, no. 1 (2009): 90 and n66. Included amongst her examples are Diana Norman, "Those Who Pay, Those Who Pray and Those Who Paint: Two Funerary Chapels," in *Siena, Florence and Padua: Art, Society and Religion, 1280-1400*, ed. D. Norman, 2 vols. (New Haven, 1995), vol. 2, 179; N. M. Thompson, "The Fourteenth-Century Stained Glass of Santa Croce in Florence" (PhD diss., Indiana University, Bloomington, 1999), 120-122; Bourdua, *Franciscans and Art Patronage*, 148-155; and *Art and the Augustinian Order in Early Renaissance Italy*, eds. Louise Bourdua and Anne Dunlop (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 5-7.

³⁰³ Bruzelius, *Stones of Naples*, 51.

suggested by one of the frescoes uncovered during the recent restoration.³⁰⁴ Located in a niche to the right of the portal to the sacristy is a fresco depicting a reading friar (fig. 2.9), an image clearly relating to San Lorenzo Maggiore as a center of learning. The presence in this chapel of a contemporary fresco with obvious importance for the friars, rather than a lay audience, suggests that they themselves had at least some direct input over the decoration program of the chapel, although it does not indicate its extent.

If the Franciscans selected the scenes for inclusion in this Magdalen cycle, it would help explain why, in the earliest representation of the life of the Magdalen in Naples, the emphasis was apparently not, as might be expected, on the legendary material, the portion of her life which took place in the Angevin territory of Provence. While the incomplete nature of the cycle precludes definitive analysis, it seems likely that at least one of the lost scenes was biblical, and, as discussed above, one of the frescoes was not narrative at all. Thus, even taking into account the missing scenes, only one or two narratives in the entire program are taken from the legendary life of the Magdalen. Instead, the cycle emphasized the Magdalen's penitential aspect, a feature of special importance to the Franciscans, an order with a mandate to preach penance.

The cycle begins on the left wall with the *Supper in the House of the Pharisee* (fig. 2.4). The fresco has significant damage and there are considerable difficulties in viewing it, as the lighting is poor and it is located high on the wall in the lunette. This depiction presents a rather simplified version of the scene. Usually in addition to Christ and the Magdalen we see the Pharisee and two other guests; here there are only two men seated at the table with Christ. Often the scene is augmented with a server or two; if one originally existed on the right, the losses in this area have eliminated him. I believe,

³⁰⁴ Leone de Castris, *Arte di corte*, 201.

however, that this is intended as an intentionally intimate scene with a greater than usual emphasis on the central event: the Magdalen washing Christ's feet with her tears and drying them with her hair. This event acts as her "birth scene" in terms of her pictorial *vitae*, showing her initial penitential conversion where Christ himself tells her that she is forgiven. It is thus one of the quintessential representations of the penitent Magdalen. Witnesses are required, for, as told in Luke 7.37-50, Christ's reprimand to the Pharisee proclaims the success of the Magdalen's penance; here however they are reduced to the minimum necessary.

This representation shows an unusual focus on the central event in other ways as well. The Magdalen usually is depicted to the left side, behind Christ, in accordance with Luke's description. Here, however, she crouches in front of Christ, her large prostrate form filling the center of the pictorial field, from Christ, at one end of the table, all the way to the opposite end. Christ gestures to the Pharisee with his left hand and makes a gesture of blessing to the Magdalen with his right, contrasting their actions. His feet are elevated, as if being displayed; the Magdalen clutches one, while the other is clearly presented to the worshippers in the chapel. In this rendition of the *Supper in the House of the Pharisee* all extraneous information has been eliminated in order to focus attention completely on the abject penitential Magdalen receiving forgiveness from Christ.

The next scene is the *Raising of Lazarus* (figs. 2.4-2.4a). Located directly beneath the *Supper in the House of the Pharisee*, this miracle was popular as a prefiguration of Christ's own resurrection, but was included in some Magdalen cycles in part due to the gloss put on the event in the *Golden Legend*. Jacobus de Voragine, the compiler of the

text, emphasized that “For love of her [Mary Magdalen] he raised her brother, four days dead, to life.”³⁰⁵

The bottom of this scene is partially obscured behind the tomb, thus obstructing the view of the kneeling sisters, Mary and Martha, who originally would have been the most important focus of attention. Mary, positioned in front, has been almost totally hidden; only the top of her head and halo can be seen. Behind her, Martha kneels in a more upright posture with hands clasped in prayer, wearing a blue cloak. As in the *Supper in the House of the Pharisee* above, Mary Magdalen, is again in a prostrate pose in the center of the image, and again seems to make contact with Christ’s foot. To emphasize the Magdalen’s intimacy with Christ, her halo brushes against his calf. By reversing the usual placement of Christ and Lazarus in this scene—placing Christ on the right while Lazarus is on the left—the painter has also reversed the figures of Christ and Mary Magdalen in relation to the scene directly above.³⁰⁶

Both Christ and Lazarus stand framed in architectural spaces. In contrast to the unusually spartan depiction of the *Supper in the House of the Pharisee*, this is an uncommonly crowded portrayal of this event. There are always witnesses depicted to this miracle, including the figure directly to Lazarus’ left who raises his cloak to his face to protect himself from the smell of putrefying flesh, thus testifying to the fact that Lazarus was truly dead. In this version however, the number of onlookers, who pile up in the space between the buildings and crowd in behind Christ, spilling out of the picture plane at the right, is exceptional. Clearly the artist’s intent was to emphasize the act of witnessing the miracle. An issue I will return to shortly.

³⁰⁵ Jacobus, *Golden Legend*, vol. I, 376.

³⁰⁶ In contemporary depictions Christ is typically at the left, while Lazarus is at the right.

This is the only appearance of *The Raising of Lazarus* in a Neapolitan Magdalen cycle. Although the scene provides an illustration of the great love Christ had for Mary Magdalen—reminding the worshipper that Christ valued Mary Magdalen above others despite, or even because of, her sinful past—in Naples it seems not to have been considered intrinsic to her story in the same way as the other gospel episodes which remained part of the later Neapolitan cycles. This raises the question of why it was included in this particular cycle, in the main Franciscan church of Naples. I believe it was due to an additional, explicitly penitential interpretation of the scene, in keeping with the theme of the overall program so far as can be determined.

As will be further elaborated in my discussion of the Assisi version of this scene in chapter three, where such an understanding of the raising of Lazarus is most explicitly represented in the iconography, there was a long-standing strain of thought which interpreted not only the Magdalen, but also her brother Lazarus as a penitent. Christ's raising of Lazarus was understood symbolically as Christ calling Lazarus to repent, and Lazarus coming forth to confess. As confession was often a public event in the later middle ages, I would argue that the large number of witnesses should be seen not only as witnesses to Lazarus' resurrection, but also as witnesses to his successful penance and confession, and therefore as personally instructive for the worshipper in the chapel. Thus this wall presents pendant images, both showing scenes of successful penance and confession, linked through the person of Mary Magdalen, and confirmed by Christ himself as the way to achieve salvation.

The *Magdalen in Her Cave* (fig. 2.5) is the first appearance in fresco of an interesting iconography. As was mentioned in my discussion of the *Magdalen Master*

Dossal in chapter one, this subject matter does not directly derive from the legendary accounts of the Magdalen's life, and yet, from the earliest pictorial cycles it enjoyed great popularity. The significance of this iconography and its popularity will be dealt with below in the section on the Brancaccio Chapel. However it is important to note the existence of an inscription in this *Magdalen in Her Cave* (figs. 2.5a&b) that further testifies to the particular importance of the penitential theme in the San Lorenzo Magdalen cycle. The significance of this inscription has not previously been recognized. In 1969, Bologna identified what he described as a damaged and illegible inscription to the left of the Magdalen, which he believed to be the signature of the artist.³⁰⁷ While he was correct that it is somewhat damaged, it is legible, and in fact, old photographs (fig. 2.5b) illustrate that it was partially so prior to the recent restoration. Rather than a signature, I have determined that it is a statement on the penitence of the Magdalen: SIC FECIT PENITĒ/[N]TIA[M].³⁰⁸ The inclusion of the text in this representation makes explicit that the *Magdalen in her Cave* is to be read primarily as an image of penitence, rather than one of contemplation, as the Magdalen's withdrawal from the world can also be interpreted.³⁰⁹ This inscription not only speaks to the nature of this scene, but also of the cycle as a whole, elucidating the formal echoing seen in the pendant penitential scenes rendered on the opposite wall, the *Supper in the House of the Pharisee* and the *Raising of Lazarus* (fig. 2.4). Despite the incomplete nature of the program, the three

³⁰⁷ Bologna, *Pittori*, II-36, Fig. 53; 112 n101.

³⁰⁸ Translating "So she did in penitence," or "thus she did repent." This inscription has previously been noted, although I was not initially aware of it, by J. Krüger; however, he merely states what it says and that Bologna's interpretation was incorrect. He also transcribes it somewhat differently as: (h)IC / FECIT / (pe)NITE(n)/TIA(m). In fact, with the exception of the n and m, those letters are all clearly visible. I believe the first letter is S not H (sic vs. hic) but the overall meaning of the inscription would not change significantly. J. Krüger, *S. Lorenzo Maggiore*, 89 n33.

³⁰⁹ The *Golden Legend* gives such an interpretation: "blessed Mary Magdalene, wishing to devote herself to heavenly contemplation, retired to an empty wilderness." Jacobus, *Golden Legend*, vol. I, 380.

surviving frescoes clearly indicate the penitential flavor that must originally have been reflected throughout. This penitential emphasis, while common to Magdalen pictorial cycles generally, was especially pronounced here given the chapel's prominent location in the major Franciscan church of Naples and the probable involvement of the friars in determining the program.

THE BRANCACCIO CHAPEL IN SAN DOMENICO MAGGIORE³¹⁰

The Brancaccio Chapel, the third chapel on the right nave in San Domenico Maggiore, contains the most famous Magdalen cycle in Naples (fig. 2.10).³¹¹ It is better known than the others, in part because of the significance of the church in which it is located. This was the major Dominican church of the city, founded by Charles II in 1283 when he was still prince of Salerno, and unlike San Lorenzo Maggiore, which was later eclipsed in importance by the foundation of Santa Chiara, it remained the most important Neapolitan church of its order.³¹² But the chapel's contemporary renown is also in no small measure a response to Bologna's 1969 attribution of the frescoes, based on their style and quality, to Cavallini—the great Roman artist of the late duecento and early trecento.³¹³ While this attribution is not universally accepted, Bologna's dominant

³¹⁰ As will be evident in my discussion of the chapel's patronage, there is serious and legitimate debate over whether the traditional name for this chapel is appropriate. However, as the chapel is well known by this name, I am adhering to the usual nomenclature for the sake of clarity and to avoid the generic (Magdalen Chapel) or unwieldy (So-Called Brancaccio Chapel). It is also known as the Chapel of San Andrea and the Chapel of San Raimondo de Peñafort; the first of these alternatives, however, glosses over the complexity of the program, while the second refers to a later dedication.

³¹¹ It is actually the second chapel along the nave, but there is a chapel to the right of the entrance, and thus this chapel is consistently identified as the third.

³¹² Bruzelius, *Stones of Naples*, 95.

³¹³ Bologna, *Pittori*, 115-126. He is followed in this attribution by many scholars including Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen*, 317; Leone de Castris, *Arte di corte*, 239-245; Miklós Boskovits, "Proposte (e conferme) per Pietro Cavallini," in *Roma anno 1300, Atti della IV settimana di studi di storia dell'arte medievale dell'Università di Roma "La Sapienza," 19-24 maggio 1980*, a cura di Angiola Maria Romanini (Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1983), 306; Alessandro Parronchi, *Cavallini: "discepolo di Giotto"* (Firenze:

position in Neapolitan scholarship of the period brought increased attention to the chapel, and led scholars of Cavallini to address his attribution, whether or not they concurred with his assessment.³¹⁴

This chapel, unlike the others in Naples, was not dedicated solely or even primarily to the Magdalen. It seems, rather, that the primary dedication was to St. Andrew, whose life is depicted in a series of four frescoes on the altar wall, thus making it the most extensive of the three vita cycles frescoed in this chapel.³¹⁵ In addition to the life of St. Andrew and the Magdalen cycle, there is also a two-scene life of St. John the Evangelist and a Crucifixion with Dominican saints on the left wall.³¹⁶ The frescoes are

Edizioni Polistampa, 1994), 63-4; Vitale "I santi del re," 96; and Pacelli, "L'inconografia della Maddalena," 75. Earlier attributions exist as well. Marle, writing in 1925, long before the attribution to Cavallini, wrote that the frescoes are "[m]ore Florentine than Sienese, but showing a connection with both schools" as well as possessing Byzantine features. Toesca, also writing before the restoration and the attribution to Cavallini, stated while the other frescoes were spoiled, the Crucifixion had qualities of the school of Cavallini. Marle, *Development of the Italian Schools* (1925), vol. 5, 319-20; Pietro Toesca, *Il Trecento* (Torino: Unione tipografico-editrice torinese, 1951), 687, n212.

³¹⁴ Matthiae stated that while the frescoes are undeniably connected to Cavallini, attributing the plan of the compositions and the execution of the greater part of the frescoes to him is not possible. In his view, multiple hands are visible. Cavallini may have been responsible for limited parts of the frescoes, or they could be the work of assistants or late collaborators of Cavallini. Guglielmo Matthiae, *Pietro Cavallini* (Roma: De Luca, 1972), 129-130. Hetherington sees the works as related to Cavallini, but as "school products" or the production of "lesser artists...working in his [Cavallini's] shadow." Paul Hetherington, *Pietro Cavallini. A Study in the Art of Late Medieval Rome* (London: Sagittarius, 1979), 77 and 158. Degenhart and Schmitt argued that the painter was Neapolitan, working in an eclectic style which also showed the influence of Giotto. Bernhard Degenhart und Annegrit Schmitt, "Marino Sanudo und Paolino Veneto: zwei Literaten des 14. Jahrhunderts in ihrer Wirkung auf Buchillustrierung und Kartographie in Venedig, Avignon und Neapel," *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 14 (1973): 98, 98 n132. Most recently and strongly, the attribution has been challenged by Alessandro Tomei, who states that the painter was not Roman and that the treatment of space, architectural details and the technical execution of both the figures and faces is radically different from that of Cavallini. See Alessandro Tomei, *Pietro Cavallini* (Milano: Silvana, 2000), 130; and Alessandro Tomei, "Qualche riflessione sull'attività napoletana di Pietro Cavallini: nuovi dati sulla cappella Brancaccio in San Domenico Maggiore," in *Le chiese di San Lorenzo e San Domenico: gli ordini mendicanti a Napoli*, eds. Serena Romano e Nicolas Bock (Napoli: Electa, 2005), 140-141.

³¹⁵ The rear wall is divided into three registers: top register: 2 prophets (flanking windows); middle register: *St. Peter and St. Andrew's Calling* (L); *St. Andrew before the Prefect Aegeas* (R); bottom register: *St. Andrew's Posthumous Miracle* (L); *St. Andrew's Crucifixion and the Prefect Aegeas Strangled By a Demon* (R).

³¹⁶ The left wall of the chapel has three registers reading from top to bottom: *Martyrdom of St John the Evangelist*; *St. John's Assumption*; *Crucifixion with Two Dominican Saints (Dominic and Peter Martyr?)*.

generally dated to 1308-9.³¹⁷ The Magdalen cycle is located on the right-hand wall and originally consisted of three paintings, two of which are still extant (fig 2.11). Given the fact the chapel was not dedicated only to the Magdalen, this Magdalen cycle is the most limited in scope of the Neapolitan cycles, indeed of any of the Magdalen programs under consideration, and thus has a distinctly more narrow focus.

The identity of the patron, although long-treated as an established fact, has recently become a matter of intense debate. Bologna claimed that the patron was Cardinal Landolfo Brancaccio (d. 1312);³¹⁸ while this quickly became the generally held view, the evidence does not support it.³¹⁹ Landolfo Brancaccio, as was acknowledged even by those like Bologna who argued for him as patron, was a member of the papal court based at Avignon, where he died, and was buried in the chapel of Sant'Angelo in Nôtre Dame.³²⁰ Nothing ties him to this chapel. Furthermore, the extant archival and visual evidence makes it extremely difficult to continue to accept an original Brancaccio patronage of this chapel.

³¹⁷ Bologna had, in large part, based his 1308-9 dating of these frescoes on his attribution of them to Cavallini. Tomei, Degenhart and Schmitt assign the frescoes a later date due to their belief that they are not by Cavallini. Tomei sees the influence of Giotto's style, thus he gives them a date of 1328 or after. Degenhart and Schmitt do not specify beyond stating that Bologna's date is too early. Tomei, "Qualche riflessione," 141; Degenhart und Schmitt, "Marino Sanudo und Paolino Veneto," 98 n132. Matthaie, who saw the frescoes as from the ambit of Cavallini if not by Cavallini himself, said that the 1308-10 [sic] dating was too narrow as, while he accepted as fact the idea it was commissioned by Card. Landolfo Brancaccio (discussed below), he argued that the family could have carried on the work later. Matthaie, *Pietro Cavallini*, 130. Parronchi, while attributing them to Cavallini, sees them as being later than 1308 based on the level of mastery shown in them. Parronchi, "*Discepolo di Giotto*," 64. Morisani, who believed the patron to be Cardinal Rinaldo Brancaccio, dated them to the end of the trecento. Ottavio Morisani, *Pittura del trecento in Napoli* (Napoli: Libreria Scientifica Editrice, 1947), 146, n22. Marle dated the frescoes to the first half of the trecento. Marle, *Development of the Italian Schools*, vol. 5, 320.

³¹⁸ While certainly not the first to assert that this chapel belonged to the Brancaccio, Bologna is the best-known author on the chapel. It should be noted that although he strongly affirms the Brancaccio patronage he does acknowledge that the problem is a complex one, and that it had also been said to belong to the Gattola family. Bologna, *Pittori*, ch. 3 n54.

³¹⁹ There is a floor tomb belonging to Francesco Brancaccio in the chapel, but it dates from the Aragonese period. Similarly, the floor tiles with the Brancaccio *stemma* date from a later period than the frescoes.

³²⁰ Bologna, *Pittori*, 126; Vitale, "I santi del re," 100; Pacelli, "L'inconografia della Maddalena," 75.

Two alternate suggestions have recently been proposed as to the identity of the original patrons of this chapel: the Gattola and the Caracciolo. However, while archival and visual evidence effectively eliminate the Brancaccio from consideration, neither alternative is entirely convincing. On the basis of Perrona Gattola's will dictated 5 March, 1385, in which she asks to be buried in this chapel,³²¹ as well as a tradition in Neapolitan scholarship that the Gattola were the patrons, Vitale states that it is extremely likely that the chapel's original patron was also a member of the Gattola family.³²² She argues that there is no reason to believe that the chapel was originally commissioned by the Brancaccio, was transferred to the Gattola after several generations, and then returned to the Brancaccio. She suggests that as Perrona Gattola had no children or heirs, the chapel was acquired by Cardinal Rinaldo Brancaccio (card. 1384) after her death.³²³ In passing she notes that since the most recent restoration there are *stemmi* visible in the

³²¹ Vitale, "I santi del re," 97-8 and n11. See Vitale for a transcription of the testament. The will of Perrona Gattola is in the Biblioteca della Società Napoletana di Storia Patria (BSNSP), Pergamene di S. Domenico Maggiore, vol. I perg. n. 11.

³²² According to Vitale, the scholarly history of Naples has always claimed that the Gattola were the patrons. Ibid., 97 and n9. As evidence she cites Scipione Volpicella, *Principali edifici della città di Napoli. Storia dei monumenti del Reame delle Due Sicilie*, t.II, parte I (Napoli: Stamperia e Cartiere del Fibreno, 1847), 214 [nb: Vitale erroneously gives the year as 1846, and the page number as 212]; Raffaele Maria Valle, *Descrizione storica artistica letteraria della chiesa e del convento di S. Domenico maggiore di Napoli dal 1216 al 1854...continuata da B. Minichini* (Napoli: Stamperia del Vaglio, 1854), 113-124. Volpicella's fundamental source was the documentation of the *Regia Commissione dei titoli di nobiltà del Regno delle Due Sicilie. Sedile di Nido. Reintegrazione dei Brancaccio. Relazione sulle cappelle di S. Domenico Maggiore*, consulted in what is now the Archivio di Stato di Napoli (ASN). He also wrote on the basis of his personal knowledge of the chapel (then dedicated to S. Raimondo di Peñaforte) which had not yet been altered by Saluzzo di Corigliano, who built a monument to his uncle Cardinal Ferdinando Maria in the chapel in 1846. Volpicella, *Principali edifici*, 211-215 and 390-391 n318 and 319. Vitale also cited E. Ricca, *La nobiltà del Regno delle Due Sicilie* (Napoli: A. De Pascale, 1858-1879), vol. V, 535, which contains the same information from the archival records mentioned above and also refers to the will of Perrona Gattola. Vitale also cited Carlo Celano, *Notizie del bello dell'antico e del curioso della città di Napoli...con aggiunzioni...* per cura del cav. G. Battista Chiarini, vol. III (Napoli: Stamperia Stamperia Floriana 1858), 497, but there is no reference to the Gattola with regards to this chapel to be found in any edition of Celano. Furthermore, despite Vitale's claim for the universality of the Gattola patronage in Neapolitan scholarship, some early Neapolitan sources mention only the Brancaccio in relation to the chapel. See for example, *Napoli e i luoghi celebri delle sue vicinanze* (Napoli: Stab. tip. di G. Nobile, 1845), vol. 1, 299.

³²³ Vitale, "I santi del re," 98-100. There are records of a donation of goods on 5 June 1406 to S. Domenico by the Cardinal, with the obligation to celebrate in the chapel the anniversary of his death, a daily mass, and the feast days of S. Andrea and S. Vito as well as other obligations, and another donation in 1425.

vaults (figs. 2.12 & 2.12a) which were previously illegible, and that these should be examined in order to conclusively answer the question of the chapel's patronage, but does not do so.³²⁴

It is these newly visible *stemmi* in the vele of the vaults that Alessandro Tomei examined in his investigation of the chapel. Depicting white rampant lions with black protruding tongues against blue shields (fig 2.12a),³²⁵ Tomei claims that they are likely the *stemmi* of the Caracciolo family.³²⁶ While I do not believe he is correct regarding the identity of the family—there are similarities to the Caracciolo *stemma* but it is not an exact match—they are decidedly not those of the Brancaccio family, definitively removing them from contention as the commissioners of the cycle. Furthermore, nor are they the *stemmi* of the Gattola.³²⁷ This suggests a perhaps more complex early patronage history than previously posited, in which the chapel was commissioned by a member of the as yet unknown family whose *stemma* is displayed on the ceiling, passed to the Gattola at some point in the trecento, and then was transferred to the Brancaccio around 1400.

³²⁴ Ibid., 97.

³²⁵ As noted above in my discussion of the Magdalen Chapel in S. Lorenzo Maggiore, rampant lions were common to many Neapolitan *stemmi*.

³²⁶ This was first noted in a footnote in his book on Cavallini, where he said they “were” those of the Caracciolo, and later was expanded into an article, where he states that after an extensive review of the *stemmi* of Neapolitan families of the time “appear to be most likely attributable to the Caracciolo family.” See Tomei, *Pietro Cavallini*, 130 n35; and Tomei, “Qualche riflessione sull'attività napoletana di Pietro Cavallini: nuovi dati sulla cappella Brancaccio in San Domenico Maggiore,” 127, 130. See note 300 above for sources for Neapolitan *stemmi*. Intriguingly there is an exactly contemporary act of dedication to the Magdalen recorded on the part of the Caracciolo. In 1309 Matteo Caracciolo founded the church of Santa Maria Maddalena in the area of Pozzuoli outside Naples, an act that Jansen sees as an act of political piety linked to a hospital dedicated to St. Martha established there by Charles II. Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen*, 317. She does not note the suggested attribution of the chapel in San Domenico to the Caracciolo, however, nor indeed that it is disputed.

³²⁷ The arms of the Gattola are “D’azzurro con tre bande d’argento, col capo d’oro ad un gatto passante di nero.” Bonnazzi di Sannicandro, *Famiglie Nobili*, 120.

Scholars have also asserted that the king himself was directly involved with the commission of the Brancaccio Chapel. Jansen argued that Charles II paid Cavallini to paint this cycle (presumably because Landolfo was such a loyal retainer), noting that on 10 June 1308 a payment was made from the king to Cavallini (see Appendix 2).³²⁸ The problem with Jansen's contention is that the evidence is entirely circumstantial. The issue of the identity of the patron notwithstanding, the document does not indicate that Charles II paid Cavallini for the completion of specific works of art. Rather, it specified the rights Cavallini enjoyed whilst acting as court artist, that is, a yearly allowance and a house for his family.³²⁹ Furthermore, as previously discussed, it is not universally accepted that this chapel is indeed Cavallini's autograph work. Even if Cavallini was involved, it does not imply that Charles II had anything to do with the commission. As Fleck has noted, Cavallini's workshop worked for patrons other than the Angevins. Indeed, by commissioning works by Cavallini or in his style, patrons used style to signal their closeness to the ruler.³³⁰ Thus both style (Cavallinesque) and subject (the Magdalen) are employed in this program to pictorially represent the patron as an intimate of the Angevin dynasty.

No matter the patron's specific identity, he was clearly someone of importance and means, with links to the Angevin rulers of Naples. This was a large, highly visible chapel in the major Dominican church of the city. The fresco decoration was extensive, and would have been costly. As stated above, the chapel was not dedicated solely to

³²⁸ Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen*, 312, 317.

³²⁹ Bologna, *Pittori*, 115. Indeed, Fleck's recent analysis of this document and subsequent ones issued by King Robert, does not link them to any specific works, but rather argues that they confirm Cavallini's status as an official court artist. Cathleen A. Fleck, "The Rise of the Court Artist: Cavallini and Giotto in Fourteenth-Century Naples," in *Art and Architecture in Naples, 1266-1713*, eds. Cordelia Warr and Janis Elliot (Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 44.

³³⁰ *Ibid.*, 50.

Mary Magdalen, and unlike the Magdalen Chapel in San Lorenzo Maggiore, it does not appear that the overall message of the chapel was penitential, as neither St. John the Evangelist nor St. Andrew are penitential saints. What then explains this combination of saints?³³¹ All are biblical saints with direct connections to Christ. Indeed if one considers Mary Magdalen as an apostle, an interpretation justified by her role as apostle to the apostles (a role of especial importance to the Dominicans) and reinforced by the fact that the central scene out of only three depicts the event which was the origin of that moniker, all three saints are apostles. Both John and Andrew are ranked among the first four apostles, and Mary Magdalen is privileged above them all as the first to see the Resurrected Christ. Furthermore, Mary Magdalen and John the Evangelist, believed to be “the beloved disciple” referred to in the Gospel of John, were understood to be especially close to Christ, who is depicted in this chapel not only in the Magdalenian scenes, but also in a Dominican infused image of the Crucifixion located below the life of John, where he is flanked by Saint Dominic on his left and Saint Peter Martyr(?) on his right (fig. 2.13).³³²

There is one additional possible reason for the pairing of Mary Magdalen and John the Evangelist. A popular Magdalen story, which circulated in the late medieval

³³¹ The grouping of saints may of course be linked, as is often the case, to the name saints popular in the commissioning family. See as an example Roberts, “Familial Values and Franciscan Polemics,” 90, where she discusses the Castellani family in relation to the Castellani Chapel in Sta. Croce, Florence. Vitale, in fact, attaches the dedication to St. Andrew to a traditional devotion in the family of the Gattola, but does not attempt to account for the cycle of St John the Evangelist. I cannot, however accept the Gattola as the original patrons due to the issue of the *stemmi*, discussed above. Vitale, “I santi del re,” 98.

³³² These saints have not previously been identified. The identification as Saint Dominic is secure. He holds an open book (fig. 2.13a) with the inscription: nos | pre|dic|amu|s | xru|m c|ruc|ifi|sum. Taken from 1 Corinthians 1.23, this passage was associated with Dominic and can be found nearly contemporaneously in an image of Dominic in the Chapterhouse of S. Niccolò, Treviso (1352, Tommaso da Modena), as well as in later images of Dominic from Portugal (a late 15th c. panel painting in the Museum of Aveiro, with a crucifixion and Saint Dominic) and Mexico (the frontispiece of Domingo de la Anunciación, *Doctrina [Christ]iana breue y co[m]pendiosa por via de dialogo entre vn maestro y vn discipulo: sacada en le[n]gua castellana y mexicana* (Mexico: Pedro Ocharte, 1565). The identification of Peter Martyr is less firm, however there is no other Dominican martyr saint at this date who is a probable candidate.

period, was that she had turned to a life of sin after being deserted by her husband who left her in order to follow Christ. Her husband was John the Evangelist, and their wedding, the wedding at Cana.³³³ While this tale was controversial and is not represented in any of the Magdalen pictorial cycles, which consistently begin with her conversion in the house of the Pharisee, the pairing of the two figures here, on facing walls, would have certainly caused the worshipper to recall this legend and thus to contemplate the different paths the two saints took to find their way to Christ.

Mary Magdalen also had a significant connection to the church of San Domenico Maggiore furnished by Charles II himself, and as such, there must have been a powerful motivation to create a cycle of her life in this location. As discussed in chapter one, most likely in 1283, when he himself laid the first stone, or immediately after he returned as king to Naples from his Aragonese captivity in 1289, Charles II dedicated this church to the Angevin patron saint, Mary Magdalen.³³⁴ Thus in the main Dominican church of the city, a church founded by the king and dedicated to Mary Magdalen, still incomplete at the time, one of the earliest chapels to be decorated contains a cycle of the life of Mary Magdalen. In commissioning this cycle, the patron was clearly aligning himself with the Angevin ruler of Naples and moreover, signaling his support for the relatively new dedication of this church to Saint Mary Magdalen.

The Magdalen cycle reads from bottom to top, starting with the lost fresco (figs. 2.14 & 2.15). Destroyed when the tomb of Cardinal Ferdinando Maria Saluzzo (d. 1816)

³³³ The most well-known and popular version was probably that found in *The Life of Saint Mary Magdalen*, a life of Mary Magdalen written in the vulgate by the Dominican Domenico Cavalca in the early fourteenth century. Cavalca, *Life of Saint Mary Magdalen*, 2-5ff. Cavalca cites St. Jerome as an authority on this matter. Ibid., 2. While this text probably post-dates this cycle, it reflects an already extant and widespread legend. For example, in his life of Mary Magdalen, written in around 1260, Jacobus de Voragine explicitly denies that the Magdalen was married to John. Jacobus, *Golden Legend*, vol. I, 382.

³³⁴ See note 117 in chapter one.

was erected in 1846,³³⁵ all that remains of a representation of the *Supper in the House of the Pharisee* are the few fresco fragments seen in figures 2.16 and 2.16a.³³⁶ This event, where the Magdalen first repented of her sins, represented her initial conversion and confession to Christ himself, and was thus integral to the understanding of her as a penitent, and was universally included in Magdalen cycles of the period.³³⁷ Furthermore, the visual evidence of the fragments confirms that this event was indeed what was depicted here. The top two fragments (fig. 2.16) reveal that the scene was set in an interior space, as the event is described in Luke and as it was depicted in other trecento representations. Only the dentilated cornice remains but it is sufficient to establish the space, which is similar to the roughly contemporary scene in Assisi (fig. 3.13). The third surviving fragment (2.16a) is from bottom central portion of the fresco.³³⁸ In it one can clearly see a light-colored patterned tablecloth with three garments and three pairs of feet peeking out from beneath, those on the right and in the center shod in pointed shoes, that on the left in sandals. No traces remain of Christ and the kneeling Magdalen, weeping on Christ's feet and drying them with her hair, but they would have almost certainly been located on the left, in the space beyond the surviving fragment.³³⁹ Nineteenth-century

³³⁵ Volpicella, *Principali edifici*, 213. For the tomb inscription, see *ibid.*, 389-390 n317.

³³⁶ Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen*, 317 n38 also suggested this identification for the scene due to its placement on the wall in relation to the remaining frescoes; however there are more compelling and conclusive reasons for identifying it as such. Previous twentieth century scholars who identified the scene as such include Morisani and Marle. Morisani relied on the evidence of earlier scholars as it was not visible when he was writing in 1947 (see note X below). Marle indicated that the fresco was visible and identifiable in 1925, although considerably damaged. Marle, *Development of the Italian Schools*, vol. 5, 320. Marle's description is somewhat suspect, as the window flanked by standing saints, located in the rear wall of the chapel, is found in the right wall in Marle's description.

³³⁷ It is found in the *Magdalen Master Dossal* in the Accademia Gallery, Florence; the Magdalen Chapel in S. Lorenzo Maggiore, Naples; the Magdalen Chapel in S. Francesco, Assisi; the Magdalen Chapel in the Palazzo del Podestà, Florence; the Pipino Chapel in S. Pietro a Maiella, Naples; and the Guidalotti-Rinuccini Chapel in Sta. Croce, Florence.

³³⁸ In addition to the narrative elements it contains framing elements and a portion of the dado below.

³³⁹ The Magdalen is usually placed to the left, and thus behind Christ as described in Luke 7.37-50. The exceptions to this are the earliest and latest of the representations of the scene. On the *Magdalen Master*

descriptions of the chapel confirm this identification of the fresco. Scipione Volpicella, writing in 1847, just after the scene was destroyed, stated:

è figurata una sala della casa di Simon Lebroso che ha un uscio all' un lato ed all' altro, con la Maddalena inginocchiata e prostrata innanzi all' uscio posto a mano destra, e con un donzello recatore d'un piatto venuto fuori dell' uscio ch' è all'altra mano. Tra queste figure era dipinta la mensa con Nostro Signore in Betania, ove la Maddalena gli ungeva dell' olio di nardo i piedi e co' capelli asciugava.³⁴⁰

Slightly earlier, in *Napoli e i luoghi celebri delle sue vicinanze*, published in 1845, it was stated that on the lateral wall appeared, “la cena in casa del Fariseo, composta di sole cinque figure.”³⁴¹

The other two scenes in the Brancaccio Chapel, *Noli me tangere* (fig. 2.17) and the *Magdalen in her Cave* (fig. 2.18), also appear with great frequency in late medieval Magdalen cycles.³⁴² Thus all three of the Brancaccio Chapel scenes turn up later in the Pipino Chapel in San Pietro a Maiella and, as we have seen already, at least two of the three were present in the cycle in San Lorenzo Maggiore.³⁴³ In addition to showing a consistency in Magdalen programs that is established from the earliest cycles, this

Dossal (c. 1280) and in S. Lorenzo Maggiore, the earliest chapel from the period, the Magdalen is in front of the table, facing Christ, whose feet are elevated on a stool. The same basic composition, minus the stool is found in the Guidalotti-Rinuccini chapel, one of the last chapels from the period. The typical arrangement however is as noted.

³⁴⁰ Volpicella, *Principali edifici*, 213. “...there is represented a room in the house of Simon the Leper, which has a door on either side, with Mary Magdalen kneeling and prostrate before the door placed on the right hand, and with a page bearing a dish coming out from the other side. Between these figures was painted the table with our Lord in Bethany, where Mary Magdalen anointed his feet with oil of nard and dried them with her hair.” While Volpicella states the Magdalen is on the right hand, this is unlikely. The scene had, however, already been destroyed at this point, and there are minor errors in his descriptions of other scenes in the chapel as well, so it is easy to believe he was in error on this point. Morisani, unable even to see the fragments, hidden until reddish paint until the restoration of 1962, cites Volpicella’s description. Morisani, *Pittura del trecento*, 146, n23.

³⁴¹ *Napoli e i luoghi celebri*, vol. I, 299. This matches the evidence provided by the surviving fragment with the three pairs of feet at the table, plus the additional figures of Christ and the Magdalen.

³⁴² The *Noli me tangere* is also found in the *Magdalen Master Dossal* in the Accademia Gallery, Florence; the Magdalen Chapel in S. Francesco, Assisi; the Magdalen Chapel in the Palazzo del Podestà, Florence; the Pipino Chapel in S. Pietro a Maiella, Naples; and the Guidalotti-Rinuccini Chapel in Sta. Croce, Florence. Images of the Magdalen in her Cave are found in all of the above, except the Guidalotti-Rinuccini Chapel, plus the Magdalen Chapel in S. Lorenzo Maggiore, Naples.

³⁴³ As previously mentioned I believe it very likely that one of the lost scenes in S. Lorenzo was the *Noli me tangere*.

indicates that since the scope of this cycle was lesser, the patron/iconographer attempted to distill the Magdalen's story down to its most essential episodes. Of the three scenes, two are biblical in origin, while only one is taken from the saint's legendary life in Provence. Thus we have in this chapel in Angevin Naples a reversal of the situation in most of the Magdalen cycles under consideration, where legendary scenes outnumber the biblical ones. Although this may seem surprising, it is the direct result of the extremely limited number of scenes in the cycle. These particular events were, simply put, absolutely fundamental to the Magdalen *vita*. *The Supper in the House of the Pharisee* (fig. 2.16) depicted the biblical episode that established Mary Magdalen as the perfect penitent, the basis for her popularity in the period generally and certainly one of the key grounds for her appeal to the Dominican Order. It could not be omitted from a Magdalen cycle. Similarly *Noli me tangere* (fig. 2.17) was the source of the other great role of the Magdalen, that of the apostle to the apostles, also critical to the Dominicans. It is furthermore linked to the penitential theme that colored all understanding of the Magdalen in the period. It presents the earthly rewards of the Magdalen's successful penance: she is given the honor of being the first to see the Resurrected Christ. This penitential meaning of the *Noli me tangere* is explicit in the writings of Ubertino da Casale on the event:

Of how great piety and consolation it is for devout sinners that he wanted to appear firstly to the Magdalen. And so that the affection of this piety might be expressed, Mark, in the Magdalen, commemorates the shame of her past offence when he says: *Jesus rising early the first day of the week, appeared first to Mary Magdalen out of whom he had cast seven devils*, as if to say: See how he who died for the sake of sinners, obtained the glory of his resurrection for sinners. Hence, he appeared first to the principal sinner. Note at the same time that beloved Jesus restored life to the loving sinner, because she loved more than all others, searched more solicitously, and

persevered at the tomb with tears. She was the first of all to see the glory of the one rising.³⁴⁴

It thus provides the necessary completion to her conversion away from sin.

The *Noli me tangere* moreover is linked to penitence through the sacrament of Communion. The Fourth Lateran council had made it a requirement for all Christians to confess, do penance and receive the Eucharist annually on Easter.³⁴⁵ Ubertino da Casale's discussion of Easter is enlightening in that he emphasizes two critical factors: "It is...a day of sacred communion, for comforting and restoring the afflicted, because His resurrection is the consolation of the afflicted and of all who suffer for Christ... This day is also the utmost comfort for sinners when He appeared first to the Magdalen, the sinner among the women."³⁴⁶ Clearly there is a typological relationship between the Magdalen's perception of Christ's actual body on the first Easter as a reward for her successful penance, and the worshipper's reception of the Eucharist on Easter in reward for their completion of successful penance.

Rather than seeing in this cycle an intentional emphasis on the biblical over the legendary life of the Magdalen, which would indeed be surprising given the Angevin links to Provence and resultant local interest in the legendary material, by limiting this cycle to one wall with only three scenes, it became necessary to condense the Magdalen's *vita* to only its most indispensable episodes. As Perri Lee Roberts recently argued regarding the four abbreviated saints' lives in the Castellani Chapel in Sta. Croce,

³⁴⁴ Ubertino da Casale, *Arbor vitae*, bk 4, ch. 29, f. 352a

³⁴⁵ "All the faithful of either sex, after they have reached the age of discernment, should individually confess all their sins in a faithful manner to their own priest at least once a year, and let them take care to do what they can to perform the penance imposed on them. Let them reverently receive the sacrament of the eucharist at least at Easter unless they think, for a good reason and on the advice of their own priest, that they should abstain from receiving it for a time. Otherwise they shall be barred from entering a church during their lifetime and they shall be denied a Christian burial at death." Innocent III, Canon 21, *Fourth Lateran Council*, in Tanner, ed., *Decrees*, 245.

³⁴⁶ Ubertino da Casale, *Arbor vitae*, bk. 4, ch. 29, f. 345a

“[b]ecause relatively few scenes tell the story, the choice of episodes assumes greater significance than in an expansive cycle devoted to only one holy individual.”³⁴⁷ For Mary Magdalen, these two biblical narratives were absolutely critical to contemporary understanding of the saint.

But what are we to make of the sole legendary scene that was included in the cycle, the *Magdalen in Her Cave* (fig. 2.18)? The Magdalen is depicted in her cave in the wilderness in nearly every cycle from the period, but the precise event is not the same each instance.³⁴⁸ In each of the Neapolitan cycles the Magdalen is accompanied by an angel. While, generally speaking, the iconography of the Magdalen cycles is based on the *Golden Legend*, and angels play a role in the Magdalen’s legendary life in the wilderness in that text, they do not visit her at her cave as depicted in these paintings. Instead, they lift her up heavenward, where she hears their celestial chants and is satisfied so that she needs no physical nourishment.³⁴⁹ This angelic elevation of the Magdalen is depicted in the Magdalen Chapel in Assisi (fig. 3.17), whereas the fresco of the Magdalen in her cave there (fig. 3.18), instead of pairing her with an angel, shows her receiving a cloak from a hermit in preparation for her death. The scene of the Magdalen in the cave with an angel is, therefore, an artistic innovation, not directly derived from textual descriptions of the Magdalen’s life in the wilderness, though clearly related to them.³⁵⁰ As discussed in

³⁴⁷ Roberts, “Familial Values and Franciscan Polemics,” 87-115, 104. In the Castellani Chapel, however, this led to a choice of novel scenes and unusual iconography as opposed to in the Magdalen cycle of the Brancaccio Chapel.

³⁴⁸ Jansen notes that scenes of the Magdalen’s withdrawal from the world are found in almost every cycle from the late medieval period “something that cannot be said about any other episode in her life, either scriptural or legendary.” However it must be noted that she includes more cycles in her assessment, and does not distinguish between different types of cave scenes, and scenes of Angelic levitation. Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen*, 129-130.

³⁴⁹ Jacobus, *Golden Legend*, vol. I, 380.

³⁵⁰ The fact that this scene, despite its popularity, does not come directly from the hagiography has not been previously noted.

chapter one, its earliest appearance was on the *Magdalen Master Dossal* (fig. 1.9), where it was accompanied by two related scenes: the Magdalen elevated by angels (fig. 1.8), and the Magdalen in her cave receiving Last Communion from Saint Maximin (fig. 1.10).³⁵¹ In contrast, in the Neapolitan cycles this image of the Magdalen with an angel—the image least related to the textual accounts—alone represents the Magdalen’s retreat from the world into the wilderness.³⁵² I believe that it became so popular because it acted as a sort of shorthand for her entire experience in the wilderness, conflating it in a visually compelling way. While scenes of the angelic elevation of the Magdalen included the cave beneath, the emphasis was on her otherworldly location. In Angevin Naples the intent would have been to firmly localize the saint in her cave in Provence, home of the Angevin dynasty. The representation of the Magdalen in her cave, therefore, illustrated her long period of penitence and contemplation in the wilderness in that specific location, while the presence of the angel simultaneously alluded to the fact that she survived there with only heavenly sustenance.

The imagery of the scenes in the Brancaccio Chapel underscores the thematic connections between them. As previously stated, although it is not the theme of the chapel program as a whole, in keeping with Dominican spirituality the Magdalen scenes emphasize the Magdalen as penitent. This is reflected in her visual depiction. While it is

³⁵¹ Despite the large number of scenes and the emphasis on the later life of the Magdalen (five of the eight scenes are legendary), the dossal does not follow the *Golden Legend* account in having the Magdalen go to the church to receive Communion. By relocating this event to her cave, an extraordinary emphasis is placed on this location—it is present in three of the scenes.

³⁵² This is despite the predominance of legendary scenes in the Pipino Chapel in San Pietro a Maiella. While this cycle contains a scene showing the Magdalen’s Last Communion and/or death, it follows the *Golden Legend* in placing this scene in a church, not in the wilderness. The losses in the San Lorenzo program make it impossible to say definitively that this was the only wilderness scene, but as discussed above, it seems highly unlikely that another such scene was part of the program. The scene of the *Magdalen in Her Cave* with an angel also appears in the cycle in the Palazzo del Podestà (see chapter five), but there is an additional scene in the wilderness.

impossible to discuss the iconography of the destroyed *Supper in the House of the Pharisee* in detail, based on the visual evidence provided by all other representations of this scene, in combination with the descriptive evidence provided by Volpicella's account, we know that Mary Magdalen was on her knees, prostrate on the floor.³⁵³ Although Volpicella states the Magdalen was in front of the right door, Christ is without exception located at the left in depictions of the *Supper in the House of the Pharisee*. The Magdalen must, therefore, have been kneeling on the left side of the fresco facing towards the right.³⁵⁴ Each of the three Magdalen scenes, therefore, displays a prominent Magdalen on her knees facing to the right, into the body of the church (fig. 2.15). This repeated posture has a distinctly penitential aspect and serves as a model to viewers.

Moreover, there is a strong emphasis on the connection between the Magdalen and Christ in this cycle, a connection of critical importance to the ability of saint as intercessor, and which constitutes one of the Magdalen's key claims to authority. In all three scenes the Magdalen reaches out for the body of Christ. In scenes of the *Supper in the House of the Pharisee*, the Magdalen cradles Christ's foot in her hands as can be seen, for example, in figures 1.4 and 2.23. While this section of the *Supper* is lost in the Brancaccio Chapel, it was undoubtedly the case here as well, as it is a standard aspect of the scene's iconography. *Noli me tangere* is of course a depiction of the Magdalen literally reaching out for Christ's resurrected body. In the San Domenico Maggiore representation (fig. 2.17) she lunges at him so forcefully that her figure spreads across the central third of the image field, and while she does not manage to touch him, her foot

³⁵³ Volpicella, *Principali edifici*, 213.

³⁵⁴ Although, as noted previously, the Magdalen is sometimes located in the center facing left towards Christ, given the surviving fragments this is not an option here, nor would it fulfill Volpicella's description. The fact that the fresco no longer was extant by the time Volpicella wrote his description perhaps accounts for his confusion on this point.

rests against the tomb he has recently vacated. As it currently appears, the *Magdalen in Her Cave* (fig. 2.18) of course contains no image of the body of Christ, however, it once did. A pre-restoration photo (2.18a) indicates that the angel, indeed much of the fresco, was in poor condition and has since been seriously overpainted.³⁵⁵ In it, one can see that the angel originally held something in its hands, for which the Magdalen is reaching. Although the damage is too great to definitively determine what that object was, based on the scene on the *Magdalen Master Dossal* (fig. 1.9), where the angel is presenting the Magdalen with the host, as well as the representation in San Lorenzo Maggiore where something that appears to be a piece of bread is presented to the Magdalen on a cloth (fig. 2.5), it is almost certain that the angel was presenting the Magdalen with the host. Indeed Bologna identified the scene as *The Magdalen Receives Communion from the Angel*.³⁵⁶ I believe there is, therefore, a Eucharistic significance to this cycle. This Eucharistic aspect of Magdalen iconography, hitherto unacknowledged, is especially pronounced here because, due to the truncated nature of the cycle, it is present in all of the scenes. It is probable that Dominican interests, also evident in the presence of Saint Dominic and the Dominican martyr, tentatively identified as St. Peter Martyr, in the *Crucifixion* facing the Magdalen cycle, played a role in this hagiographic program emphasizing the Eucharistic aspects of the Magdalen's *vita*.

³⁵⁵ There is little information available on the restoration. Bologna, writing in 1969, mentioned a "recent" restoration, but provided no date or details. Tripodi provided slightly more information, including the date of the completion of the project (1962), but nothing specific about this fresco. Bologna, *Pittori*, 116; Tripodi, *Restauro*, 55-56. A new restoration of this chapel is currently underway in 2011-2012, under the direction of Dott.ssa Ida Maietta. Unfortunately I was unable to discover what the scope of the project entails.

³⁵⁶ Bologna, *Pittori*, III-22, Fig. 23.

THE PIPINO CHAPEL IN SAN PIETRO A MAIELLA

The Pipino Chapel is the second chapel to the left of the presbytery in the Celestine church and monastery of San Pietro a Maiella (fig. 2.19). The founding of the church between the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth century is credited to Giovanni Pipino da Barletta, who is buried within.³⁵⁷ In his influential guide to his city, the Neapolitan author, lawyer and cleric, Carlo Celano, described Pipino as a self-made man, who, through virtue, worldly wisdom and valor, rose from a poor notary to the first rank of the lords of the realm, close to Charles II.³⁵⁸ He was also a noted builder of churches, with his other patronage occurring in Barletta, and in Lucera, which

³⁵⁷ It is impossible to precisely date the foundation of the church as the church archive was destroyed in looting in the revolt of 1799, and no early sources provide the foundation date. Gaetano Filangieri, *Chiesa e convento di S. Pietro a Maiella in Napoli: descrizione storica ed artistica* (Napoli: Tipografia dell'Accademia Reale delle Scienze, 1884), 3 n3; Arnaldo Venditti, "Urbanistica e architettura angioina," in *Storia di Napoli*, vol. 3, *Napoli angioina* (Napoli: Soc. Ed. "Storia di Napoli," 1969), 781. See also Caroline Bruzelius, *Stones of Naples* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 163, 168. Galante said the church was founded ca. 1299. Gennaro Aspreno Galante, *Guida sacra della città di Napoli*, ed. Nicola Spinosa, 1985 ed. (Napoli: Società Editrice Napoletana, 1872), 105. Filangieri states it was built "tra la fine del XIII ed i principii del XIV secolo." Filangieri, *S. Pietro a Maiella*, 1. The earliest reference to Pipino as the founder of the church is from 1560 by Pietro de Stefano: *Qual chiesa fu fundata da un gentil'huomo napolitano nominato Pipino, il sepolcro del quale è in detta chiesa*. Pietro de Stefano, *Descrittione dei luoghi sacri della città di Napoli*, a cura di Stefano D'Ovidio ed Alessandra Rullo (Napoli, 1560; PDF: Fondazione Memofonte: <http://www.memofonte.it/ricerche/napoli.html>, published December 2007), 92v. Carlo Celano identified the commissioner of the church more specifically as "Pipino da Barletta." Carlo Celano, *Notitie del bello, dell'antico e del curioso della città di Napoli per i signori forastieri date dal canonico Carlo Celano napoletano, divise in dieci giornate*, a cura di Stefano De Mieri e Federica De Rosa, (Napoli, 1692; PDF: Fondazione Memofonte: <http://www.memofonte.it/ricerche/napoli.html>, published April 2010), *Giornata Seconda* (II), 205. Even earlier, Della Marra stated that Giovanni Pipino founded the church and was buried there. Ferrante Della Marra, *Discorsi delle famiglie estinte, forastiere e non comprese ne' seggi di Napoli, imparentate colla casa della Marra*, (Napoli: O. Beltrano, 1641), 286. For an extensive list of sources that credit Pipino as the founder of the church see Filangieri, *S. Pietro a Maiella*, 1 n1. Filangieri himself was not sure that Pipino founded the church, but said he was certainly its principal patron and benefactor. *Ibid.*, 2-3.

³⁵⁸ Celano, *Notitie*, II, 205. One of the earliest references to Pipino as a notary who achieved great standing is found in Matteo Villani, *Cronica*, ed. Giuseppe Porta (Parma: Fondazione Pietro Bembo; Ugo Guanda Editore, 1995), VII, 103: "...Gianni Pipino, il quale di piccolo notaio per la sua industria fu fatto de' maggiori signori de' reame al tempo de' re Carlo vecchio." For more on Pipino and his relationship to the Anjou Dynasty, particularly Charles II, see Pietro Egidi, "La Colonia Saracena di Lucera e la sua distruzione," *Archivio storico per le province napoletane* 38 (1913), 134-138; Della Marra, *Famiglie estinte*, 283-6; Caroline Bruzelius, "Giovanni Pipino of Barletta: The Butcher of Lucera as Patron and Builder," in *Pierre, lumière, couleur: Études d'histoire de l'art du Moyen Âge en l'honneur d'Anne Prache*, eds. Fabienne Joubert et Dany Sandron (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1999), 259-260. Bruzelius noted that in 1309 Pipino served as witness and executor to the king's will. See also Bruzelius, *Stones of Naples*, 165.

he rid of the Saracens for Charles II in 1300.³⁵⁹ According to Caroline Bruzelius “his patronage followed closely the taste and aesthetic established in royal projects.”³⁶⁰

Although this chapel is not terribly large, its Magdalen cycle is one of unusually great scope and exceptional iconography. Unlike earlier Neapolitan cycles—indeed, more than any other late medieval cycle in central or south Italy—its focus is almost exclusively on the post-biblical life of the Magdalen.³⁶¹

The chapel, deeper than it is wide, contains eight Magdalen scenes grouped in pairs on two registers on the lateral walls (figs. 2.20-2.22).³⁶² In the upper register of the left wall, *The Supper in the House of the Pharisee*, on the left (fig. 2.23), is paired with *Mary Magdalen Preaching (in Marseilles)*, on the right (fig. 2.24). One of only two scenes in the chapel based on a scriptural source, *The Supper in the House of the Pharisee* was, as previously noted, universally included in the Magdalen cycles of the

³⁵⁹ In addition to S. Pietro a Maiella in Naples, Pipino established the Celestine monastery of S. Bartolomeo in Lucera, oversaw the initial phases of work on the Cathedral of Lucera, which was commissioned by Charles II and has similarities to S. Pietro a Maiella, and reconstructed the choir of Sta. Maria Maggiore, Barletta. For Giovanni Pipino da Barletta as an architectural patron, see Bruzelius, “Giovanni Pipino,” 256-9; Bruzelius, *Stones of Naples*, 163-172; Belli D’Elia, “L’architettura sacra,” 324-335. For the construction of the Cathedral of Lucera see: Egidi, “Colonia Saracena di Lucera,” 39 (1914), 753-761; and for S. Bartolomeo see Egidi, “Colonia Saracena di Lucera,” 39 (1914), 762-763 and J. Krüger, *S. Lorenzo Maggiore*, 198 (76.1-2).

³⁶⁰ Bruzelius, *Stones of Naples*, 163.

³⁶¹ At some point in its history the cycle was whitewashed over, and was only uncovered in twentieth century. No early sources, therefore, contain descriptions of this Magdalen cycle, or are even aware of its existence. Filangieri, for example was unaware of the Magdalen cycle, although he knew that the chapel had been dedicated to the Magdalen and that there had been frescoes on the walls, which had been whitewashed over. The only fresco he mentioned was a frescoed altarpiece, also lost by the time he was writing, depicting Christ Crucified, which had been described in an early 19th c. manuscript of G. Gaetano D’Ancora. Filangieri, *Documenti*, 342, 344. The manuscript to which he refers is: G. Gaetano D’Ancora, *Le chiese di Napoli*, ms. del sec. XIX presso la Società Napoletana di Storia Patria, segnato XXVII D 1 - 9.

³⁶² The attribution and dating of these frescoes varies. Bologna assigned them to two artists, the Primo maestro della “Bible Moralisée” who he saw as responsible for the conception of the program as a whole and for the execution of the paintings in the upper register, and an unidentified lesser master. He assigned the frescoes a date of before 1354. Bologna, *Pittori*, 311, 313. The chapel signage identifies it as the work of the Maestro di Giovanni Barrile, Antonio Cavarretto, ca. 1340. Jansen did not propose an attribution and dated the cycle to the early 14th century. Jansen, *The Making of the Magdalen*, 69 n62.

period.³⁶³ According to the Gospel of Luke, the Magdalen bathed Christ's feet with her tears, dried them with her hair, kissed and anointed them, "[a]nd he said to her: Thy sins are forgiven thee."³⁶⁴ It is this event, her dramatic initial conversion from a life of sin, which established her as the perfect penitent. In contrast, the adjacent scene, *Mary Magdalen Preaching*, was rarely depicted in central and southern Italian cycles.³⁶⁵ Like most of the legendary material, it was derived from the *Golden Legend*, the Dominican friar Jacobus de Voragine's immensely popular book of saints' lives. Jacobus described how the Magdalen traveled to Marseilles where she found the people worshipping false gods in a shrine portico. She "with well-chosen words called them away from the cult of idols and preached Christ fervidly to them. All who heard her were in admiration..."³⁶⁶

On the right wall, the upper register contains the *Voyage to Rome* on the left (fig. 2.25) and *The Prince Greeted in Rome by Peter* on the right (fig. 2.26). Unlike the other pairs, these two scenes are not only contiguous, but also continuous, comprising part of the same narrative, the *Miracle of the Prince of Provence*. This miracle, in which the Magdalen converts the ruler of Provence and his wife by helping them to conceive, and then brings the wife of the prince back to life after her death in childbirth, is the only miracle that appears with frequency in Magdalen cycles.³⁶⁷ The significance of the

³⁶³ It is also found on the *Magdalen Master Dossal* in the Accademia Gallery, Florence; in the Magdalen Chapel in S. Lorenzo Maggiore, Naples; the Magdalen Chapel in the Basilica of St. Francis, Assisi; the Brancaccio Chapel in S. Domenico Maggiore, Naples; the Magdalen Chapel in the Palazzo del Podestà, Florence; and the Guidalotti-Rinuccini Chapel in Sta. Croce, Florence.

³⁶⁴ Luke 7.37-50

³⁶⁵ Of the aforementioned cycles, Mary Magdalen is seen preaching only on the *Magdalen Master Dossal* (fig. 1.7) in the Accademia Gallery, Florence.

³⁶⁶ Jacobus, *Golden Legend*, vol. I, 376.

³⁶⁷ Although this is the only appearance of the *Miracle of the Prince of Provence* in Naples it is also found in the Magdalen Chapel in the Basilica of St. Francis, Assisi, the Magdalen Chapel in the Palazzo del Podestà, and the Guidalotti-Rinuccini Chapel in Sta. Croce, both Florence, as well as in the early 15th c. cycles in the Cappella della Maddalena in S. Domenico, Spoleto and the Magdalen Oratory in the Franciscan hermitage of the Belverde, Cetona.

miracle as regards the Angevins and the reasons for the exceptional form it takes in this cycle will be discussed in greater detail below.

The lower register on the left wall pairs the *Penitent Magdalen in Her Cave* on the left (fig. 2.27) and a badly damaged scene in a church on the right, which almost certainly represented *The Death and/or Last Communion of the Magdalen* (fig. 2.28).³⁶⁸ As discussed above regarding the Brancaccio Chapel, the scene of the Magdalen in her cave accompanied by an angel was an iconographic invention seen in the *Magdalen Master Dossal* and all three Neapolitan chapels, and was not directly drawn from textual sources. Instead of depicting a specific episode, it represents the totality of the Magdalen's retreat to the wilderness, while firmly localizing the saint in her cave in Provence, home of the Angevin dynasty.³⁶⁹ The mutilated scene depicts the final episode in the Magdalen's life. As told by Jacobus, after her sojourn in the wilderness, the Magdalen was brought by angels to the church in Aix where St. Maximin, one of the companions who had accompanied her to Provence, served as bishop. "All the clergy...were now called together, and blessed Mary Magdalen, shedding tears of joy, received the Lord's Body and Blood from the bishop. Then she lay down full length before the steps of the altar, and her most holy soul migrated to the Lord."³⁷⁰ The Last Communion and Death of the Magdalen became a common theme in art, although this is its only known appearance in Naples.³⁷¹ The Eucharist had important ramifications in the

³⁶⁸ I base this identification on the remaining fragments of the fresco, containing some figures and painted architecture, and on the iconography of other Magdalen cycles. The organization of this cycle also argues for it being interpreted as the *Death/Last Communion of the Magdalen*.

³⁶⁹ While scenes of the angelic elevation of the Magdalen included the cave beneath, the emphasis was typically on her otherworldly location.

³⁷⁰ Jacobus, *Golden Legend*, vol. I, 381.

³⁷¹ Although the details vary, these events appear on the *Magdalen Master Dossal* in the Accademia Gallery, Florence; in the Magdalen Chapel in the Basilica of St. Francis, Assisi; the Magdalen Chapel in the Palazzo del Podestà, Florence; and in the north of Italy in the Palazzo della Ragione (ex-Sta. Maria

Magdalen's story, as penance was a prerequisite for receiving Communion, and the Magdalen was the exemplar of penance.³⁷²

Finally, the lower level on the right wall pairs *Noli me tangere*, on the left (fig. 2.29), with *A Posthumous Miracle*, on the right (fig. 2.30). The *Noli me tangere* is the second biblical scene in the chapel. Like *The Supper in the House of the Pharisee*, it commonly appears in Magdalen cycles of the late medieval period.³⁷³ It depicts the resurrected Christ's first appearance as described in John: "Jesus saith to her: Do not touch me, for I am not yet ascended to my Father. But go to my brethren, and say to them: I ascend to my Father and to your Father, to my God and your God" (John 20.17). It thus presents the Magdalen in her critical role as the apostle to the apostles, a role that became the justification for her unorthodox preaching activities (as a woman) once she reached Provence.³⁷⁴ The scene with which it is paired, a posthumous miracle described in the *Golden Legend*, involving the resurrection of a knight through prayers offered to the Magdalen, is, on the contrary, rarely depicted. The reasons for its inclusion in the Pipino Chapel are addressed below.

Maddalena), Bergamo and Sta. Maria Maddalena, Bolzano. It also appears in the early 15th-century cycle in the Cappella della Maddalena in S. Domenico, Spoleto. It is possible that it was included in the program of the cycle in San Lorenzo Maggiore, Naples, from which, as discussed above, several scenes are now missing. According to Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen*, 222, the Magdalen's Last Communion was also a common theme in medieval sermons.

³⁷² Furthermore, although it is not clear if it was the case in this fresco, images that included the Magdalen's soul ascending to heaven, such as those in the Magdalen Chapel in the Basilica of St. Francis, Assisi, and the Magdalen Chapel in the Palazzo del Podestà, Florence, were a means by which iconographers made visible the success of her penitence and the efficacy of this route to heavenly reward.

³⁷³ The *Noli me tangere* is also found on the *Magdalen Master Dossal* in the Accademia Gallery, Florence; in the Magdalen Chapel in the Basilica of St. Francis, Assisi; the Magdalen Chapel in the Palazzo del Podestà, Florence; the Brancaccio Chapel in S. Domenico Maggiore, Naples; and the Guidalotti-Rinuccini Chapel in Sta. Croce, Florence. As discussed above, it is also quite likely that the *Noli me tangere* was originally part of the program of the cycle in S. Lorenzo Maggiore, Naples, from which several scenes are missing.

³⁷⁴ For Mary Magdalen as apostle to the apostles see chapter one, note 30.

This complex cycle encourages the viewer to contemplate the nature of the Magdalen and her role after the events chronicled in the bible. As such, although the program is generally chronologically organized (fig. 2.22), thematic concerns were also given consideration, and the iconographer deviated from narrative order with the placement of the *Noli me tangere*.³⁷⁵ The cycle begins on the left wall where the scenes proceed from left to right across the upper registers of both walls, then down to the lower register on the left wall to do the same, concluding on the lower register of the right wall.

The unexpected placement of the *Noli me tangere* allowed for the meaningful pairings of scenes, creating iconographic significances that would not have been suggested in a strictly chronological narrative sequence.³⁷⁶ The pairing of *The Supper at the House of the Pharisee* and *Mary Magdalen Preaching* (figs. 2.20) has its source in the *Golden Legend* where Jacobus explains why Mary Magdalen was so effective as a preacher: “and no wonder, that the mouth which had pressed such pious and beautiful kisses on the Savior's feet should breathe forth the perfume of the word of God more profusely than others could.”³⁷⁷ Moreover, the two scenes are linked thematically, in that both deal explicitly with conversion. In *The Supper at the House of the Pharisee* (fig. 2.23) we see the Magdalen's conversion, in *Mary Magdalen Preaching* (fig. 2.24) we see her, because of that experience, successfully converting others. The second pair of frescoes, the *Voyage to Rome* and *The Prince Greeted in Rome by Peter* (fig. 2.21), as previously mentioned, illustrates two parts of the same narrative event: the *Miracle of the*

³⁷⁵ Located on the lower register of the right wall, the position of the *Noli me tangere* at almost the end of the cycle causes the viewer to think the layout diverges from the proper narrative order more than it actually does.

³⁷⁶ Thanks are due to Michelle Erhardt for suggesting a closer look at the pairings of the scenes and providing valuable insights, especially as regards the first and last pair.

³⁷⁷ Jacobus, *Golden Legend*, vol. I, 377.

Prince of Provence. Although separated from each other by a border, together they form a discrete unit within the cycle. If the *Noli me tangere* had been placed in its sequential place in the program these frescoes would have been located on different registers opposite each other. The unity would thus have been disrupted, lessening the import of the *Miracle of the Prince of Provence*.

The lower register of the left wall pairs the *Magdalen in Her Cave* with the *Magdalen's Last Communion and Death* (fig. 2.20). Although losses caused by the later addition of a tomb have obscured the connection, both had a clear Eucharistic theme. While it is now effaced in the Pipino Chapel, as we have seen, other images of the Magdalen in her cave accompanied by an angel indicate that in this iconography, the angel is presenting the Host to Mary Magdalen. Thus in both frescoes the Magdalen receives the body of Christ. On the left (fig. 2.27), the Eucharist comes from a heavenly source and is received in the wilderness, the location of the Magdalen's penitential and contemplative retreat from the world.³⁷⁸ On the right (fig. 2.28), she receives the Eucharist within the institutional framework of the church, both physically—within a building that would recall for the viewer the church in which they were located—and from a figure of authority within the church hierarchy, a bishop. The placement of this latter scene, in which the Magdalen received Communion kneeling before the altar, adjacent to the actual altar of the Pipino Chapel, reinforced its liturgical associations. Worshippers receiving the sacrament in this chapel did so alongside an image of the Magdalen engaged in the same activity. As this event immediately preceded the ascent of

³⁷⁸ It is unfortunate that this fresco is so badly damaged as it has a unique iconographical feature that is largely obscured. There appear to be a thick ray of light connecting the faces of the angel and the Magdalen, emphasizing the heavenly source of her nourishment.

the Magdalen's soul to heaven, through emulating her, the faithful hoped to eventually receive the same reward.

The final pair of frescoes, the *Noli me tangere* and the *Posthumous Miracle* (fig. 2.21) are linked both thematically and visually. Thematically they are united by the subject matter: resurrection. In the *Noli me tangere* (fig. 2.29), the Magdalen is witness to the Resurrection of Christ; in the *Posthumous Miracle* (fig. 2.30) prayers to the Magdalen are the source of resurrection, illustrating her power and her efficacy as an intercessor between man and God. Furthermore, both scenes have Eucharistic connotations.³⁷⁹ This miracle recounts that the knight is resurrected by the Magdalen in order to make confession, do penance and receive *viaticum*—Last Communion. The scenes are thus connected to the Eucharistic images facing them on the left wall, creating a distinct emphasis on the body of Christ in all the frescoes of this register of the chapel. Visually, the artist connects this pair of frescoes through the unusual portrayal of the Magdalen. She is clad in a dark garment rather than the typical red robe seen in both *The Supper in the House of the Pharisee* and *Mary Magdalen Preaching*.³⁸⁰ Her hair, one of her major attributes—referencing both the anointing of Christ and her sojourn in the desert—is completely covered in both images. Context alone identifies this somber figure as Mary Magdalen.

The patron of the Pipino Chapel and its fresco cycle is unknown. From the mid-sixteenth century, the chapel belonged to the Staibano family, whose late sixteenth and

³⁷⁹ The Eucharistic meaning of the *Noli me tangere* is discussed above in the analysis of this scene in the Brancaccio Chapel.

³⁸⁰ The cycle is damaged and the color could be due to darkening of the pigments; however vibrant reds are present in all of the upper register frescoes.

early seventeenth century funerary monuments cover a portion of the painted cycle.³⁸¹

Vitale claimed that “local scholarly tradition” attributed the chapel’s patronage to the Staibano during the Angevin period as well, and suggested that perhaps the patron was a Perrone Staibano who served under Charles I and Charles II or another member of the family who was a constable under King Robert; however no other sources support this assertion.³⁸² Despite the lack of evidence regarding the patronage of this chapel, as the name suggests, scholars have linked this chapel to the Pipino family.³⁸³ This is due to its proximity to the tomb of Giovanni Pipino da Barletta, founder of the church.³⁸⁴ Jansen’s suggestion that Giovanni Pipino da Barletta himself was the patron is implausible, despite the fact he was a close ally of Charles II.³⁸⁵ As noted, he was not buried within the chapel; in fact he could not be.³⁸⁶ Giovanni Pipino da Barletta died in 1316, but this chapel was not built until a second phase of church construction dating to the mid 1320s or 1330s, and was only decorated a decade later.³⁸⁷

Bologna alternately attributed the cycle to a subsequent Giovanni Pipino, Count of Altamura, the chamberlain of King Robert the Wise (r. 1309-1343).³⁸⁸ While this

³⁸¹ Filangieri, *Documenti*, 343. Filangieri states that the chapel was seemingly dedicated to the Magdalen at the time, as in the list *degli obblighi delle messe* (of obligations of the masses), notices of the Staibano family are found under the epigraph *a la Madalena* (ibid., 342).

³⁸² Vitale, “I santi del re,” 96-7. She cites Filangieri on the chapel generally (Filangieri, *Documenti*, 342), but provides no sources for the Staibano patronage. Filangieri did not say anything about the Staibano being patrons at that time; See also Pacelli, “L’inconografia della Maddalena,” 74. Filangieri did mention Perrone and the constable under Robert (whose name was Emmanuele Staibano), because the first of the two funerary monuments built by Paolo Staibano in the chapel was dedicated to early Staibano ancestors, including these two. Filangieri, *Documenti*, 343.

³⁸³ For the Pipino family in this period generally, see Della Marra, *Famiglie estinte*, 283-291.

³⁸⁴ Bologna links the chapel to the Pipino based on Gennaro Aspreno Galante’s statement that Giovanni Pipino da Barletta’s tomb lies near to the chapel. Bologna, *Pittori*, 313-14, Galante, *Guida sacra della città di Napoli*, 106.

³⁸⁵ Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen*, 316, n32.

³⁸⁶ Jansen’s wording implies that he is buried within the chapel, thus making her case for Giovanni Pipino da Barletta as patron appear more conclusive: “the Pipino chapel, which safeguarded Giovanni’s tomb...” Ibid., 316.

³⁸⁷ Bruzelius, *Stones of Naples*, 168, 170.

³⁸⁸ Bologna, *Pittori*, 313-14.

second Giovanni Pipino would have been active during the correct period to serve as patron, his checkered political history, in which he was in and out of both favor and prison, and at times engaged in acts of treason against the crown, seem to limit the periods in which he might have acted as commissioner.³⁸⁹

Although it is not possible to identify a specific member of the Pipino family as the patron of this chapel, several factors argue in favor of it having been a Pipino commission. First and foremost, the selection of the Magdalen as the subject for the chapel's decoration, and the vigorous emphasis on her legendary life, demonstrates the patrons' desire to affiliate themselves with the Angevin dynasty. That the church was a personal foundation of the Pipino family lends credence to the notion that they commissioned the slightly later chapel. The church itself was dedicated to St. Peter of Morrone (canonized 1313), a Neapolitan saint who, like the Magdalen, had ties to the Angevins and whose canonization had been promoted by the dynasty.³⁹⁰ This suggests a pattern of patronage in which the Pipinos promoted Angevin-affiliated saints. Further supporting the identification of the patron as a member of the Pipino family is the imagery itself, in particular, the scene of the *Posthumous Miracle*.

One of the most unusual iconographical elements of the cycle is the inclusion of the miracle scene (fig. 2.30), which was based on a story from the *Golden Legend*: Mary Magdalen's resurrection of a knight killed in battle. A rarely depicted event, beyond its

³⁸⁹ The main source for this Giovanni Pipino is Romolo Caggese, "Giovanni Pipino conte d'Altamura," in *Studi di storia napoletana in onore di Michelangelo Schipa* (Napoli: I.T.E.A Editrice, 1926), 141-165. Léonard, *Angevins*, 354 and n1 argues that his support for the Angevin court was much more steady and that he has been misinterpreted even by Caggese. See also Della Marra, *Famiglie estinte*, 286-291.

³⁹⁰ Bruzelius, *Stones of Naples*, 172. Peter of Morrone, the titular saint of the church, was Pope Celestine V, and founded the Celestine Order in 1254. For Charles II's role in the election and coronation of Peter of Morrone, his preferred candidate for the papacy, in 1294, and for Angevin influence in his papacy see Peter Herde, *Cölestin V. (1294) (Peter vom Morrone). Der Engelpapst. Mit einem Urkundenanhang und Edition zweier Viten*, Pápste und Papsttum 16 (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1981), 31-83, 84-142; Léonard, *Angevins*, 181-3; Bologna, *Pittori*, 94-5.

presence in the Pipino chapel, it only is found in a miniature in the *Leggendario Ungherese* (fig. 2.31), where the iconography is completely different.³⁹¹ It is the only appearance of a posthumous miracle in a late medieval Magdalen cycle in central or southern Italy, despite the fact that a number of such miracles are recounted in the *Golden Legend*.³⁹² The rarity of posthumous miracles in painted lives of the Magdalen can be attributed to the richness of the Magdalen source material combined with the nature of the medium. Considering that the Magdalen cycles range in size from three to eight scenes, iconographers, unlike hagiographers such as Jacobus de Voragine, had to distill their painted *vitae* down to only a few episodes that most clearly represented the nature of the saint in relation to the specific commission.³⁹³ In contrast with many later saints, whose miracles served as proof of their status, Mary Magdalen's claim to sainthood did not rest on the performance of miracles, nor was her role as a thaumaturge the basis of her cult's popularity. The biblical account of her life unambiguously established that she was a saint, a fact that was expanded upon in the legendary accounts of her post-biblical life.³⁹⁴ Magdalen iconography therefore focused on events that illustrated her importance as a saint, particularly those invoking her role as the perfect example of penitence and her close relationship with Christ.

The most critical reason for omitting Mary Magdalen's posthumous miracles in an Angevin context, however, centers on the discovery of her body at Saint-Maximin by

³⁹¹ MS BAV Vat. lat. 8541, f. 104r. Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen*, 316 n35. Jansen notes that it may also have been present in a late 14th-century cycle at Pontresina, but the scene is too damaged to permit identification, and is beyond the chronological and geographical scope of this study.

³⁹² This text is the most likely source for the legendary material found in Magdalen cycles, at least in central and southern Italy.

³⁹³ The Magdalen Chapel in the Palazzo del Podestà in Florence originally contained 9 Magdalen scenes, but only 8 survive. In central Italy the cycle in S. Domenico, Spoleto is exceptional in having 11 scenes, but this 15th c. cycle was painted over a century later than the "first wave" of Magdalenian narrative imagery.

³⁹⁴ I am leaving aside the issue of the conflation of multiple biblical figures into one saint for, as was discussed in chapter one, this was well established by this period.

Charles II. Written before this seminal event occurred, the posthumous miracles described in the *Golden Legend* refer instead to the relics at Sainte-Madeleine in Vézelay. Thus to depict a miracle performed by the body of Mary Magdalen in the *Golden Legend* was to illustrate a miracle performed by the wrong body. Considering it was the discovery of the Saint-Maximin body that instigated the creation of Italian cycles depicting the life of the Magdalen, representing miracles endorsing the Vézelay relics was unthinkable, especially for the Angevins, with their vested interest in the authenticity of the Saint-Maximin body.

Based on the rarity of posthumous scenes in Magdalen cycles and the importance of avoiding them in an Angevin context, the presence of the *Posthumous Miracle* (fig. 2.30) in the Pipino Chapel demands explanation. As described in the *Golden Legend*, a knight “whose practice it was to visit the relics of Saint Mary Magdalen every year” died in battle. His parents, despairing that he had died “without making confession and doing penance,” prayed to Mary Magdalen, whereupon he arose from his bier, called for a priest, confessed, received *viaticum* and then died again, his soul at peace.³⁹⁵ This miracle was acceptable as opposed to others recounted in the *Golden Legend* because it was not caused through the proximity of the Magdalen’s relics. The Magdalen’s remains do not generate the miracle, but simply the knight’s genuine devotion to the saint. Moreover, this miracle emphasizes key themes of the Magdalen cult. She does not resurrect the knight as Christ did Lazarus, but, as the perfect penitent, she enables him to come back to life to confess and receive Last Communion, after which he dies once more.

Not only was the posthumous miracle acceptable because it did not directly reference Mary Magdalen’s remains at Vézelay, but its selection reflects a specific event

³⁹⁵ Jacobus, *Golden Legend*, vol. I, 382.

in the life of Giovanni Pipino da Barletta, the church's founder, thus supporting Pipino patronage of the chapel. A military leader under the Angevin kings,³⁹⁶ Giovanni Pipino da Barletta had been thrown from his horse during the final battle in Lucera, and almost killed. This incident so affected him that in 1300 he founded the church of San Bartolomeo in that place, in honor of the saint on whose feast day the battle occurred.³⁹⁷

Katherine Jansen's interpretation of the *Posthumous Miracle* was that not only the knight, but also his steed, were being raised from the dead, and she connected this to Giovanni Pipino da Barletta's near-death experience in Lucera. A close analysis of the image contradicts Jansen regarding the resurrection of the horse. While there is indeed a wounded or dead horse at the lower right and a standing horse behind, they are not the same horse: the one in the foreground is a bay, while the other is white; moreover, their tack is utterly dissimilar.³⁹⁸ In addition, there is also a third horse standing behind the white horse, which is now barely visible due to damage to the right-hand portion of the fresco. There is no need, however, for the horse to be resurrected for the proposed conflation between the miracle and Pipino's personal experience to occur. Horses are prominently featured in the scene, a feature for which the miracle's text offers no rationale. The three horses frame the figure of the dead knight and dominate the picture field from the center to the right. By means of the conspicuous inclusion of the horses in a miracle narrative in which they play no part, the artist alluded to Giovanni Pipino da

³⁹⁶ For Giovanni Pipino as military leader in Lucera see: Egidi, "Colonia Saracena di Lucera," 38 (1913), 115-144 and 681-707; 39 (1914) 132-171; Belli D'Elia, "L'architettura sacra," 323.

³⁹⁷ Federico Spedaliere, *I dipinti e le chiese di Lucera*, (Portici: Tipografia Bodoniana, 1914), 19-20; Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen*, 316. *Touring Club Italiano (TCI) 17: Puglia* (Milano: La Biblioteca di Repubblica, 2005) 241; Belli D'Elia, "Luceria sarracenorum," 411; Vito Salierno, *I musulmani in Puglia e in Basilicata* (Manduria: P. Lacaita, 2000), 258. Egidi does not mention this legend. Egidi, "Colonia Saracena di Lucera," 38 (1913), 144; 39 (1914), 762-763.

³⁹⁸ Damage to the right side of the fresco makes it impossible to determine whether the horse in the foreground is dead or merely injured.

Barletta's near-death experience in Lucera, adding another level of meaning to the image. A Pipino, taking possession of this chapel upon its construction around 1330, would want to honor this famous relative who was buried adjacent to it. By incorporating an event so important in Giovanni Pipino's life into a Magdalen miracle represented in the chapel, the Pipino patron would celebrate both Giovanni Pipino and the Angevins through the dedication of the chapel to Mary Magdalen, the Angevin patron saint.

The fresco of the *Posthumous Miracle* further deviates from the text of the *Golden Legend* by including the figure of the Magdalen. Moreover, there are strong connections between the Magdalen and the woman in prayer who stands by the tonsured priest blessing the knight. According to the *Golden Legend*, the woman who prays for the Magdalen's intervention is the knight's mother; his father, however, who also prays with her in the text, is conspicuously absent, making the woman a key protagonist in the miracle. Indeed, the Magdalen takes no notice of the knight, instead directing all her attention upon the woman whose eyes are raised to return the saint's gaze. Intriguingly, the praying woman's appearance is strikingly similar to that of the Magdalen, who is shown above, flying in from the heavens, making a gesture of blessing.³⁹⁹

The prominence of the female in prayer is emphasized by the Magdalen's focus on her and, in combination with the omission of the analogous male figure from the

³⁹⁹ As in the adjacent *Noli me tangere*, Mary Magdalen's appearance is unusual. Her hair is entirely covered and her somber garments, in particular the burgundy head-covering with an opaque white underveil, give the distinct appearance of a nun's habit. I have been unable to identify this as the habit of a specific order and it is possible that it is instead meant to represent contemporary modest fashion. However, the combination of the dark fabric, completely-covered hair and wimple are exceptional in Italian narrative Magdalen iconography of the period. Jansen noted that Mary Magdalen appeared as a nun in this image. Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen*, 218. The reason for the nun-like appearance of the Magdalen must be specific to the patronage of the Pipino Chapel: S. Pietro a Maiella was not a church associated with a nuns' convent, nor was Mary Magdalen, despite an association with the contemplative life, typically a prototype or exemplar for nuns. A widowed female patron however, perhaps a tertiary or nun herself, might have been especially drawn to this modest image of the Magdalen.

scene, raises the question of whether or not she could represent the patron of the cycle. In its emphasis on this pious woman, the focus of the painting becomes the efficacy of prayers to the Magdalen and, more immediately, the interaction of the two women. The similarity in the appearance of the two women further visualizes their connection. The parallels between the female figure and the Magdalen, combined with the Magdalen's indisputable concentration on her, makes it tantalizing to hypothesize that perhaps the patron of the Pipino Chapel was in fact a patroness, perhaps a female member of the Pipino family.

The strong representation of female agency in the scene of *Mary Magdalen Preaching* (fig. 2.24) further supports the idea that a woman from the Pipino family may have been the patron of this cycle.⁴⁰⁰ Unusually, the Magdalen is here depicted as a preacher invested with scriptural authority. She stands frontally within a portico, holding a book in her left hand with her right arm raised, surrounded by seated onlookers who hang on to her words. While her active ministry in Marseilles was a significant part of her legend, prohibitions against female preaching made it somewhat problematic. Although the scene appears in some earlier manuscripts and on the *Magdalen Master Dossal* (fig. 1.7), this is the only trecento fresco cycle in central or southern Italy where it is included.⁴⁰¹ Its inclusion testifies to the importance of her activities in Provence in this

⁴⁰⁰ To my knowledge this image had not previously been published. It also appears in my forthcoming article "Imaging the Angevin Patron Saint: Mary Magdalen in the Pipino Chapel in Naples" *California Italian Studies* III (2012/13).

⁴⁰¹ It is likely that *Mary Magdalen Preaching* is the missing scene in the Magdalen Chapel in the Palazzo del Podestà, dated between ca. 1320 and 1337 as discussed in chapter five, but this cannot be determined. It does appear in the cycle in S. Domenico, Spoleto, dated ca. 1400. The scene is more popular in the north, where it appears in frescoes in St. Maria Magdalena in Dusch (1325-50); Sta. Maddalena, Rencio (c. 1370-90); the Palazzo della Ragione, Bergamo (originally located in the Disciplinati Church of Sta. Maria Maddalena; late 14th c.); Sta. Maria Maddalena, Cusiano (c. 1470-97). For northern Magdalen imagery of the trecento and quattrocento, see: Joanne W. Anderson, "The Magdalen Fresco Cycles of the Trentino, Tyrol and Swiss Grisons, c.1300-c.1500" (PhD diss., University of Warwick, 2009).

fresco program, calling attention to her role in bringing Christianity to Marseilles and thus explicitly localizing her in Angevin territory in an even more emphatic way than scenes of her retreat to the wilderness. Marseilles also had a recent sacred connection to the Angevins, as the resting place and focal point of the cult of the newest family saint, St. Louis of Toulouse.

Clearly, in addition to the suggestion of a female patron, the scenes chosen for this cycle and its iconography demonstrate intentional references to the Angevins. This comes to the fore in the following two frescoes. Although the *Miracle of the Prince of Provence* or Marseilles (figs. 2.25 & 2.26) was the one Magdalen miracle frequently depicted in fresco cycles, it is the Angevin connection to Provence that accounts for the tale's extraordinary prominence and unique iconography in this cycle.⁴⁰² The Provençal Cardinal Philippe Cabassole, Bishop of Cavaillon and an Angevin royal chancellor, included this miracle in his *Book of the History of Blessed Mary Magdalen*. Victor Saxer called this mid-trecento account of the life of the Magdalen, and of the discovery and translation of her relics by Charles of Salerno, "a kind of *Speculum principum* for the usage of Angevin Princes and, undoubtedly, a small circle of secular aristocrats and ecclesiastical hierarchs."⁴⁰³ He argued that Cabassole included this miracle specifically to

⁴⁰² Its general popularity was due to the fact that the event was free of the aforementioned issues that made posthumous miracles problematic, and it represented her active ministry in Provence without the potential difficulties that arose when showing a woman preaching.

⁴⁰³ "...une espèce de *Speculum principum* à l'usage des princes angevins et sans doute d'un cercle restreint d'aristocrates laïques ou de hiérarques ecclésiastiques." Victor Saxer, "Philippe Cabassole et son *Libellus hystorialis Marie beatissime Magdalene*: préliminaires à une édition du *Libellus*," in *L'État Angevin: pouvoir, culture et société entre XIIIe et XIVe siècle; actes du colloque international organisé par l'American Academy in Rome, l'École Française de Rome, l'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, l'U.M.R. Telemme et l'Université de Provence, l'Università degli Studi di Napoli "Federico II"* (Rome - Naples, 7- 1 novembre 1995) (Rome, 1998), 203. For the text of the *Libellus hystorialis Marie beatissime Magdalene* see: BHL 5509-5511. Manuscript copies exist in Paris and Cologne: Paris, B.N., lat. 15031, fol. 4r-87v. and Cologne, Historisches Archiv der Stadt K6ln, W. 166, fol. 1-32v. The Cologne manuscript contains only the *vita*. In addition to the *vita* and translation account, Cabassole also describes four miracles he personally witnessed. Clemens, "Establishment of the Cult," 101. For more on Philippe Cabassole's

act as an example of faith in God and devotion to Mary Magdalen for the counts of Provence of his own era.⁴⁰⁴ This contemporary understanding of the miracle as a model for the current Angevin rulers, accounts for the way in which it is depicted in the Pipino Chapel

According to the *Golden Legend*, the Magdalen prevented the ruler of Provence and his wife from sacrificing to the gods in order to have a child. Through the Magdalen's prayers the woman conceived, thus ensuring the continuation of their line, and her husband decided to go on a pilgrimage to Rome to meet St. Peter. The pregnant wife refused to be left behind, but became sick on the journey, gave birth and died. Her husband left her body and the infant on a rocky shore, praying to Mary Magdalen to protect the child and the soul of his wife. When he reached Rome, Peter greeted him and took him on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. When at last the ruler returned, he found his child still alive through Mary Magdalen's intervention, as was his wife, who had been on a spiritual pilgrimage to Jerusalem with the Magdalen as her guide.⁴⁰⁵

The division of this miracle into two scenes, the *Voyage to Rome* and *The Prince Greeted in Rome by Peter* (figs. 2.25 & 2.26), is a feature unique to this cycle. The miracle itself is not depicted in either fresco; only the viewer's prior knowledge of the story indicates that it will end happily thanks to the intervention of Mary Magdalen. Notably, in contrast with the *Posthumous Miracle* (fig. 2.30), Mary Magdalen herself

career, and for the dedication and general content of his *Book of the History of Blessed Mary Magdalen* see *ibid.*, 100-104; Saxer, "Philippe Cabassole," 193-204. Saxer discusses Cabassole's new emphasis on the critical role of Charles II in the discovery, translation and authentication, as well as his strong highlighting of the dynastic dimensions of the event (*ibid.*, 196-8).

⁴⁰⁴ Saxer, "Philippe Cabassole," 202.

⁴⁰⁵ Jacobus, *Golden Legend*, vol. I, 376-9.

does not appear in either scene; instead the key individual in both is the prince.⁴⁰⁶ As the ruler of Provence, converted to Christianity by Mary Magdalen, the prince becomes a prototype or prefiguration of the Angevin ruler of Provence, Charles II, who discovered the Magdalen's body. This implies an ancestral relationship between the Magdalen and the Angevin rulers of Provence, suggesting that their connection did not commence with the discovery of the body but dates back to the very beginnings of Christianity in Provence. This is precisely the sort of sacral kinship that the Angevins strove to promote. According to the text, the Magdalen intervened first to enable the prince and his wife to conceive, and then, to keep the wife and child miraculously alive—events with clear dynastic implications—making the Magdalen a *de facto* progenitor of the ruling dynasty of Provence, and thus, by association, of the Angevins as well.

In the *Voyage to Rome* (fig. 2.25), the prince and his entourage sail from left to right, towards Rome, depicted in the pendant painting located to the right. The death of his wife has already occurred because she lies motionless on an island on the left. *The Prince Greeted in Rome by Peter* (fig. 2.26) illustrates a part of the tale not included in any other depiction in pictorial cycles, all of which concentrate instead on the miracle of the wife and child. The visual and symbolic focus of the fresco is the connection between the prince and St. Peter. On the right stands Peter in front of the gates of Rome. The kneeling prince and St. Peter clasp hands at the center of the image, as Peter inclines towards the prince, raising him to his feet. As the first pope, St. Peter represents the papacy; promised the keys to the kingdom of heaven, he is the rock upon which Christ built his church. Rome represents the home of the Church on earth. Although the popes

⁴⁰⁶ There is considerable damage to the left third of the *Voyage* so the possibility she originally appeared on the island cannot be completely discounted. She is, however, depicted in the tondo, which is located directly above and between the two frescoes.

were located in Avignon during this period (1309-1378), the symbolic value of Rome as the center of the Catholic faith was unchanged. This scene is not critical to the Magdalen's legend; she plays no direct part in it. The inclusion of *The Prince Greeted in Rome by Peter* in the cycle, however, increases the emphasis on the prince of Provence and conveys the Angevin relationship to the papacy.

The Angevins and the papacy had been intertwined since Charles of Anjou was adopted as papal champion and encouraged to conquer southern Italy.⁴⁰⁷ Although the strength and balance of the relationship varied depending on the specific pope and king, the Angevins were officially vassals to the popes and their valued defenders. Once the papacy was transferred to Avignon, located within Angevin Provence, the Angevins were the foremost defenders of the papal cause in Italy, and had special access to the popes.⁴⁰⁸ It is this special relationship between the pope and the Angevin king, another sign of heavenly preferment for the Angevin dynasty so critical to the Angevins as a source of legitimacy and power, which is being celebrated in this image of St. Peter and the prince of Provence.

The emphasis on the prince of Provence seen in the unique elaboration of the *Miracle of the Prince of Provence* is augmented by a previously unrecognized feature of this cycle: The prince and princess of Provence appear in the fresco of *Mary Magdalen Preaching* (fig. 2.24) in the left background. Larger than the other onlookers, they are clearly set apart from the crowd. Leaning forward attentively, they are the only figures who clasp their hands in prayer, indicating their acceptance of the Magdalen's message.

⁴⁰⁷ David Abulafia, *The Western Mediterranean Kingdoms 1200-1500: The Struggle for Dominion* (London; New York: Longman, 1997), 58. For an excellent account of the complex relationship between the Angevins and the Papacy see Runciman, *Sicilian Vespers*.

⁴⁰⁸ Abulafia, *Western Mediterranean Kingdoms*, 134. For the political and military relationship between the Angevins and the papacy from Charles I onwards, see also Housley, *Italian Crusades*.

Their identity as the rulers of Provence is indisputable. Damage to the left portion of the *Voyage to Rome* (fig. 2.25) has made a conclusive comparison of the princess in the two frescoes difficult, although the princess in the *Voyage* is, like the woman in *Mary Magdalen Preaching*, dressed in red with a white head covering. The identity of the prince, however, is unmistakable; his forked beard, curling hair, blue hood and facial features in the preaching scene are almost identical to their appearance in *The Prince Greeted in Rome by Peter* (fig. 2.26). By including the rulers of Provence in the fresco of *Mary Magdalen Preaching*, the connection between these rulers, who were understood as precursors for the Angevins, and Mary Magdalen, who does not appear in the Miracle frescoes, is increased and made more immediate.

A connection between the Angevins and the Magdalen is also, unusually, depicted in the *Noli me tangere* (fig. 2.29). An atypically demure Magdalen, her hair completely concealed by her cloak, kneels before Christ, reaching towards him as he holds his right hand out towards her. Unlike Christ in the *Noli me tangere* on the *Magdalen Master Dossal* (1.6), who clearly blesses the Magdalen, or Christ in the *Noli me tangere* in the Magdalen Chapel, Assisi (fig. 3.15), whose hand fends Mary Magdalen off as his body gracefully twists away in a dancing motion, Christ's gesture here is difficult to interpret. Neither clearly blessing, nor emphatically pushing her away, it can be read in either manner, or neither. Interestingly, his hand is very close, almost touching her.⁴⁰⁹ Moreover Christ does not recoil from the Magdalen as in many images of the *Noli me tangere*; instead he stands still and frontal, firmly grounded. A Provençal legend related to the

⁴⁰⁹ His hand is in fact closer to her than in any other image of the period except the *Magdalen Master Dossal*, where the constraints of the narrow pictorial field, rather than other considerations, are the cause.

verification of the Magdalen's body sheds light on this unusual interaction between the figures and provides a uniquely Angevin significance for this scene.⁴¹⁰

The earliest appearance of the legend of the *noli me tangere* is in the *Book of the History of Blessed Mary Magdalen* completed ca. 1355 by Philippe Cabassole.⁴¹¹

According to his account, on the forehead of the Magdalen's skull there remained a piece of incorrupt flesh where the resurrected Christ touched her as he said "*Noli me tangere*."⁴¹² The relic of the Magdalen's skull with its nodule of flesh was popularly known as the *Noli me tangere* and provided verification that the body discovered by Charles II was the true body.⁴¹³ On 10 December 1283 Charles II had it placed in a crowned bust reliquary (since destroyed) of gold and gilt silver, ornamented with diamonds, sapphires, rubies, topazes, emeralds, pearls and other precious jewels (figs 2.32-2.37).⁴¹⁴ Most unusually, the golden face of the bust was removable.⁴¹⁵ Underneath

⁴¹⁰ Faillon, *Monuments inédits*, vol. I, 890.

⁴¹¹ Clemens, "Establishment of the Cult," 95 n66; 101 and n83, 104.

⁴¹² Faillon, *Monuments inédits*, vol. I, 890. Faillon includes a quotation from Cabassole. See also Clemens, "Establishment of the Cult," 103-4, for Cabassole's description with an English translation. Versions of this legend can be found in later sources as well. In the popular late 15th c. legend from St.-Maximin, *The Dominican Legend of Mary Magdalen at Saint-Maximin*, Mary Magdalen told Charles II in a vision that one sign by which he would identify her body was the piece of incorrupt flesh on her skull from Christ's touch as he said "*Noli me tangere*." Clemens, "Establishment of the Cult," 67.

⁴¹³ Faillon, *Monuments inédits*, vol. I, 882; Clemens, "Establishment of the Cult," 104.

⁴¹⁴ I have located five somewhat diverse images of this now destroyed reliquary. Possibly the earliest image of the reliquary is a drawing from between 1538 and 1541 by Francisco de Hollanda, *As antigualhas*, Madrid, El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo, inv. 28-I-20, fol. 48v (fig. 2.32). A 17th c. print, *Les Reliques qui se voient en la Sainte-Baume et en l'église de Saint-Maximin en Provence*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), département des Estampes et photographie, Collection Lallemand de Betz 2505, shows the reliquary *in situ*, as well as other Magdalen reliquaries at St.-Maximin (fig. 2.33). Clearly based on this last image is an undated engraving in the BnF (Est. Va. 83, 2.), Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Cabinet d'Estampes (figure 2.34). It even reproduces the letters which relate to the key in figure 2.33. The final two images are reproduced in Faillon, but I have not been able to locate the originals. Faillon, *Monuments inédits*, vol. I, 909-10 is a print of unknown date from the collection of the Bibliothèque du roi à Paris (BnF), Cabinet des estampes, vol. d'Aix (fig. 2.35). A second print without any identifying information is reproduced in Faillon, vol. I, 1031-1032 (fig. 2.36). It is nearly identical to fig. 2.35, with the addition of the supporting angels, donor figure and base that were added to the reliquary in 1502 by Anne of Brittany (these are reproduced in all the images except fig. 2.35). Both images in Faillon are also similar to figure 2.33, and I believe all of these prints (figs. 2.34-36) are variations based on 2.33. In contrast, the drawing by Hollanda (fig. 2.32) shows a figure with a dramatically different hairstyle and crown type, a more modern style of dress, and an immense necklace,

a transparent crystal face was fixed in place thus allowing worshippers to view the skull and its authenticating spot of flesh.⁴¹⁶ The reliquary had an inscription on a golden plaque commemorating the relationship between Charles II and the Magdalen, which read:

CARNE PRIUS LUBRICA, POST HOC AMANDO PUDICA
HOSPITA MIRIFICA, CHRISTI SPECIALIS AMICA
TRANSITA POST MARIA, MICUIT BONITATE MARIA :
BIS SEXCENTENO JUNCTIS TRIBUS OCTUAGENO,
PRINCEPS SALERNÆ, BONITATIS AMORE SUPERNÆ,
HANC AURO LEVAT, QUAM SACRA CORONA DECORAT ;
ERGO PATRONA PIA, NOBIS ADESTO, MARIA,
HIC HUIC VIVENTI, PARADISUM DA MORIENTI.⁴¹⁷

This specifically Provençal/Angevin addition to the Magdalen's life—that Christ touched Mary Magdalen during the *Noli me tangere* event—became a key element in

which is not found in the other images. While the supporting angels are present, their placement is not the same as in the other images, and the donor figure is absent. I suspect that Hollanda was working from a written description rather than from the visual evidence. For Anne of Brittany and her additions to the reliquary see Faillon, *Monuments inédits*, vol. I, 1031-1032. The modern “replica” which now holds the skull relic is shown in figure 2.37.

⁴¹⁵ A similar bust reliquary with a rock crystal face and a now lost removable metal mask contained the jawbone of Saint Anthony of Padua (fig. 2.38) For information and additional images see Francesco Lucchini, ““Face, Counterface, Counterfeit. The Lost Visage of the Reliquary of the Jaw of Saint Anthony of Padua,” in *Meaning in Motion. Semantics of Movement in Medieval Art and Architecture*, eds. Nino Zchomelidse and Giovanni Freni (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011), 35-62. This reliquary postdates the *Noli me tangere* reliquary; an inscription indicates it was completed August 1, 1349. Lucchini argues that this was an uncommon reliquary design. Underscoring the rarity of this type of relic container, the lost *Noli me tangere* reliquary, which he calls an “important typologically similar object,” is the only reliquary with which he compares that of St. Anthony (ibid., 43).

⁴¹⁶ Faillon, *Monuments inédits*, vol. I, 882, 908-910. Faillon says that Charles II made the face of the bust removable so as not to deprive the piety of the faithful of the sight of such a precious relic and the miraculous signs therein. See also Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen*, 313-14; Clemens, “Establishment of the Cult,” 103-5.

⁴¹⁷ Faillon, *Monuments inédits*, vol. I, 909-10. Translation by Dr. Ashley Jones:
FORMERLY LUBRICIOUS FLESH, MARY BECAME, AFTER, VIRTUE-LOVING—
MIRACULOUS HOSTESS, SINGULAR FRIEND OF CHRIST,
THE GOODNESS OF MARY GLITTERS:
IN 1283 [LIT.: TWICE SIX HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-THREE]
THE PRINCE OF SALERNO, FOR THE LOVE OF HEAVENLY GOODNESS,
ELEVATES THIS [RELIQUARY] IN GOLD, WHICH THE HOLY CROWN ADORNS;
THEREFORE, PIOUS PATRONESS, BE NEAR TO US, MARY,
PRESENT TO THOSE LIVING, GRANT PARADISE TO THE DYING.

A partial translation of the inscription, with a slightly different interpretation, is provided by Jansen. Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen*, 314.

authenticating the Angevin Magdalen body.⁴¹⁸ In the Pipino Chapel *Noli me tangere* this is expressed visually. Christ is neither blessing the Magdalen nor fleeing from her. Rather he is about to confer the touch on her forehead that provided the proof that the body discovered by Charles II is the true body of Mary Magdalen.⁴¹⁹ It is thus a singularly Angevin depiction of the *Noli me tangere*.⁴²⁰

The Pipino Chapel contains the final and largest Magdalen cycle painted in late medieval Naples. As discussed, the reigning Angevin dynasty had a strong interest in promoting the ties between themselves and the Magdalen, whose body Charles II had recently discovered in their territory of Provence. More than the earlier fresco cycles in San Lorenzo Maggiore and San Domenico Maggiore this cycle displays the unmistakable emphasis on the legendary life of the Mary Magdalen, and her links to Provence and sacral kingship, anticipated in a program carried out during Angevin rule.

While no documents confirm that the patron was a member of the Pipino family, the historical circumstances and the cycle's iconography make a Pipino a strong candidate. Whoever the patron may have been, it is clear that he or she was fully committed both to the promotion of the Magdalen cult and promotion of the Angevins,

⁴¹⁸ Clemens states that in texts written after that of Cabassole, the *Noli me tangere* became one of the most important signs of authentication. Clemens, "Establishment of the Cult," 104.

⁴¹⁹ While the text probably slightly postdates the Pipino Chapel cycle (the frescoes being dated to the 1340s, or before 1354), they are nearly contemporary, and the dates for both the cycle and the text are speculative. Victor Saxer suggested that the text could be dated earlier than 1355 based on the dedication to Henry of Villars who died in 1354, but saw it as an open question. See Saxer, "Philippe Cabassole," 193-204; Saxer, "Les ossements dits de sainte Marie-Madeleine conservé à Saint-Maximin-la-Sainte-Baume," *Provence historique* 27 (1977), 268; See above, note 361, on the dating of the frescoes. Furthermore as is often the case with written accounts of legendary material, it is likely that Cabassole was transmitting already current belief, which was circulating in oral tradition. Saxer discusses the sources for the *Libellus* in brief, but states that, "they should be specified in detail in a critical edition." Such a work has not been produced. Saxer, "Philippe Cabassole," 199-203.

⁴²⁰ The iconography of Christ touching the Magdalen's forehead in the *Noli me tangere* was well attested in the 15th century, including in a Provençal example in the Basilica of St.-Maximin. By that time it had also spread to Spain and the Netherlands. See Philippe Malgouyres, "Maraîchage et dévotion. Le *Noli me tangere* de Nicolas Mignard à la cathédrale de Cavaillon," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art français* (2000), 51-62; see esp. 56 and fig. 9.

especially in the extraordinary two-part depiction of the *Miracle of the Prince of Provence*. The cycle combines scenes found in almost every Magdalen cycle, such as *The Supper in the House of the Pharisee* and a scene of the Magdalen in the wilderness, with rare scenes such as the *Magdalen Preaching* and the *Posthumous Miracle* and newly invented iconography depicting *The Prince Greeted in Rome by Peter* to create a program of almost unprecedented scope and unique meaning. Even traditional scenes such as the *Noli me tangere* were imbued with new layers of significance through iconography specific to an Angevin context. The Magdalen cycle in the Pipino Chapel thus visually supports the Angevin adoption of Mary Magdalen not only their patron saint, but also, by virtue of their shared roots in Provence, as a virtual member of their dynasty. By emphasizing the Magdalen as the *de facto* founder of the House of Anjou, this program reflected the Angevin conception of *beata stirps*, and graphically confirmed Angevin authority in Naples.

CHAPTER THREE

THE MAGDALEN CHAPEL IN ASSISI I: THE MAGDALEN CYCLE

The Magdalen Chapel in the Lower Basilica of St. Francis in Assisi is a funerary chapel commissioned by Teobaldo Pontano, a Franciscan friar and Bishop of Assisi (fig. 3.1). It contains the earliest fresco cycle depicting the life of Mary Magdalen commissioned outside of the Angevin kingdom of Naples, thus indicating that already in the first decade of the trecento, the pictorial promotion of the Magdalen cult had spread beyond the margins of Angevin patronage.⁴²¹ This chapel has an extensive and complex giottesque decorative program focused on Franciscan penitential theology. In addition to the seven-scene cycle of the life of the Magdalen it includes two donor portraits paired with portraits of saints; twelve full-length saint portraits and seven quatrefoils on the intrados of the main entrance arch; four full-length portraits of female saints surrounding the window; quatrefoil portrait busts within the window arch and the side entrances to the chapel; and in the vault are four tondi with busts, set in a starry sky. A cosmatesque framework surrounds the figurative elements. There is also a coeval stained glass window of sixteen figurative panels—eight gospel scenes relating to the Magdalen, three legendary life of Magdalen scenes, and five portraits of saints.

Lorraine Carole Schwartz's Ph.D. dissertation of 1980, *The Fresco Decoration of the Magdalen Chapel in the Basilica of St. Francis at Assisi*, is the only major work on this chapel.⁴²² Both Schwartz's *Burlington Magazine* article, "Patronage and Franciscan

⁴²¹ Only the Magdalen Chapel in S. Lorenzo Maggiore (ca. 1295-1300) is earlier. The cycle in the Brancaccio Chapel in S. Domenico Maggiore probably post-dates this one by several years.

⁴²² Lorraine Carole Schwartz, "The Fresco Decoration of the Magdalen Chapel in the Basilica of St. Francis at Assisi" (PhD diss., Indiana University, 1980).

Iconography in the Magdalen Chapel at Assisi,”⁴²³ and Nurith Kenaan-Kedar’s, “Emotion, Beauty and Franciscan Piety: The Magdalene Chapel in the Lower Church of Assisi,” in *Studi Medievali*, examine the chapel within a Franciscan context.⁴²⁴ Other significant scholarship include Giovanni Previtali’s article on the Magdalen and St. Nicholas chapels, dealing primarily with dating and attribution issues,⁴²⁵ and the accounts of the 1967 restoration effort by Pasquale Rotondi (1968) and Enzo Pagliani (1970).⁴²⁶ Among more general works on the Basilica, the recent volumes edited by Giorgio Bonsanti, *La Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi*, give notable coverage to the Magdalen Chapel.⁴²⁷

Prior scholarship on the Magdalen Chapel has concentrated largely on the attribution of the frescoes.⁴²⁸ Although a solid attribution would contribute to the understanding of the chapel, this focus has displaced serious analysis of the iconography and its historical context. Furthermore, it implies that the significance of the Magdalen Chapel lies in Giotto’s possible authorship. Given the dearth of new evidence, and the limited rewards of the debate, there is little to be gained by further speculation and I

⁴²³ Lorraine Carole Schwartz, “Patronage and Franciscan Iconography in the Magdalen Chapel at Assisi,” *Burlington Magazine* 133 (January 1991): 32-36.

⁴²⁴ Kenaan-Kedar, “Emotion, Beauty and Franciscan Piety,” 699-710. While I agree that the chapel should be looked at within a Franciscan context, this article argues for a strange alternate reading of the cycle, which was ultimately unconvincing.

⁴²⁵ Giovanni Previtali, “Le cappelle di S. Nicola e di S. Maria Maddalena nella chiesa inferiore di San Francesco,” in *Giotto e I giotteschi in Assisi*, eds. Amleto Giovanni Cicognani, Giovanni Fallini Giuseppe Palumbo, Nuova ed., 93-127 (Roma: Casa editrice francescana, 1979).

⁴²⁶ Enzo Pagliani, “Note sui restauri degli affreschi giotteschi nella chiesa di San Francesco,” in *Giotto e I giotteschi in Assisi*, eds. Amleto Giovanni Cicognani, Giovanni Fallini Giuseppe Palumbo, Nuova ed., 199-209 (Roma: Casa editrice francescana, 1979). Pasquale Rotondi, “Giotto nella cappella della Maddalena in Assisi,” *L’Arte* 1 (1968): 75-97.

⁴²⁷ Giorgio Bonsanti, ed., *La Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi*, 4 vols., *Mirabilia Italiae* 11 (Modena: Franco Cosimo Panini Editore, 2002).

⁴²⁸ See Lorraine Carole Schwartz, “Fresco Decoration,” Section 1: Authorship (18-106) for an exhaustive discussion of the attribution history of the chapel, as well as her assessment of the chapel in the light of Giotto’s oeuvre. More concise summaries of the attribution history are available in Roberto Salvini, *All the Paintings of Giotto Part 2*, translated by Paul Colacicchi (New York: Hawthorn Books, Inc, 1964), 88; and in Edi Baccheschi, *The Complete Paintings of Giotto* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1966), 112.

therefore touch only lightly on the attribution issues. My interpretation of the chapel is based on visual analysis in light of the religious and historical context in which the chapel was commissioned and decorated.⁴²⁹ As a funerary chapel commissioned by a Franciscan bishop within the newly built Mother Church of the Franciscan Order, the Magdalen Chapel must be interpreted as a Franciscan monument. It must also be understood within the context of the spread of Magdalen iconography in Italy as a means of pictorially promoting the cult of the Magdalen, as venerated by the Franciscans and the Angevins.

PHYSICAL CONTEXT OF THE MAGDALEN CHAPEL

The Magdalen Chapel is the third chapel on the north side of the Lower Basilica of St. Francis (fig. 3.2). It is roughly square in shape, with the north wall measuring 22'-9", the south wall, 21'-1", the west wall: 23'-5", and the east wall: 22'-11".⁴³⁰ The chapel is quite tall, with the lowest register of pictorial decoration beginning more than six feet above floor level. It lies between the Chapel of St. Anthony of Padua to its east, and the north transept containing the Chapel of St. Elizabeth among other decorative programs on the west, which are accessible through irregularly shaped entrances in the Magdalen Chapel's side walls (fig. 3.3).

The Basilica was built to house and protect the remains of St. Francis and to be the center of the Franciscan Order.⁴³¹ Due to Franciscan prohibitions on direct ownership,

⁴²⁹ Unfortunately most of the Basilica's early records have been destroyed and few early documents concerning the building or decoration of the Magdalen Chapel survive.

⁴³⁰ All measurements are my own and are approximate. The slight irregularity of the shape and openings, as well as the presence of benches and kneelers within the chapel made it difficult to get accurate measurements.

⁴³¹ The process towards the building of a church in St. Francis' honor began only eighteen months after his death in 1226. On March 29, 1228, before St. Francis' canonization process was even completed, Simone di Pucciarello donated the land to the friars who accepted it under the authority of Pope Gregory IX, former Cardinal Protector of the Order. One month later, the pope granted a forty-day indulgence to anyone

it was a papal Basilica, subject directly to the authority of the pope.⁴³² By the middle of 1230 the Lower Church was nearly completed and St. Francis' body was translated there from its initial resting place in the church of San Giorgio.⁴³³ The same year, the pope titled the Basilica *caput et mater* of the Franciscan Order.⁴³⁴

There were originally no chapels in the Lower Basilica. It consisted of a nave with four bays—each with a quadripartite rib vault—a barrel-vaulted transept, and an apse with a hemispherical vault.⁴³⁵ Exactly when the alteration occurred is unknown.⁴³⁶ All the chapels were in place by the first decade of the fourteenth century when their decoration began. Yet it is clear that significant time elapsed between the completion of the main body of the Lower Church in 1230 and the addition of the chapels. The nave decoration

contributing towards the building of the church. Elvio Lunghi, *The Basilica of St. Francis in Assisi* (New York: Riverside Book Company, Inc., 1996), 8. Carl Brandon Strehlke, "Francis of Assisi: His Culture, His Cult, and His Basilica," in *The Treasury of Saint Francis of Assisi*, eds. Giovanni Morello and Laurence B. Kanter (Milan: Electa, 1999), 31. Strehlke identifies the donor as Simone Puzarelli.

⁴³² Lunghi, *Basilica of St. Francis*, 9.

⁴³³ Moorman, *History of the Franciscan Order*, 88. The Upper Church is known to have been completed by 1239, the date inscribed on the original bells in the campanile. Lunghi, *Basilica of St. Francis*, 12.

⁴³⁴ Strehlke, "Francis of Assisi," 31.

⁴³⁵ Lunghi, *Basilica of St. Francis*, 10. The plan was thus more similar to that of the Upper Church.

⁴³⁶ Robin Simon's structural, historical and stylistic analysis of the chapels of the Lower Church argued that the chapels were not built simultaneously, but were added gradually through individual commission, a common practice in the period. He also argues that the Magdalen Chapel was the first to be built, followed by the St. Nicholas Chapel, based on several lines of evidence. The first, that the cosmatesque marble decoration in the Magdalen Chapel, is "in marked contrast with every other chapel interior marbling in the Lower Church," and thus earlier, has been refuted by Hueck, "Die Kapellen der Basilika San Francesco in Assisi: die Auftraggeber und die Franziskaner," in *Patronage and Public in the Trecento: Proceedings of the St. Lambrecht Symposium, Abtei St. Lambrecht (Styria), 16-19 July, 1984*, ed. Vincent Moleta (Firenze: Olschki, 1986), 85; Lunghi, *Basilica of St. Francis*, 12, and Strehlke, "Francis of Assisi," 44, who claim these marble slabs were originally part of a rood-screen in the Lower Church which was removed "sometime after 1297" to facilitate the flow of pilgrims through the site. Simon's more convincing argument involves the way in which the St. Nicholas Chapel relates to the Magdalen Chapel, "the drip-moulding and sidewall of the St. Nicholas Chapel crudely abut the small angle buttress on the exterior of the Magdalen Chapel." Robin Simon, "Towards a Relative Chronology of the Frescoes in the Lower Church of St. Francis at Assisi," *Burlington Magazine* 118 (June 1976): 361. Hueck disagrees, arguing that the architectural evidence does not indicate this and that historical evidence suggests the opposite conclusions. Hueck, "Kapellen," 88. She states that the chapels were added in the late duecento, dating the Magdalen Chapel to ca. 1300 (*ibid.*, 81, 86). Troiano and Pompei state the building campaign began in 1269, but give no source for this information. Constantino Troiano and Alfonso Pompei, *Illustrated Guide of Assisi*, trans. Benedict Fagone (Assisi: Casa Editrice Francescana dei Frati Minori Conventuali, n.d.), 9. Lobrichon states merely that the chapels were added sometime after 1294. Guy Lobrichon, *Assise: Les fresques de la Basilique inférieure* (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1985), 48.

was completed prior to the chapels, as evidenced by the still extant lacunae in the fresco program where entrances to the chapels were created.⁴³⁷ Furthermore, a papal bull of 9 January 1330 (see Appendix 3) by Pope John XXII indicates that the patron, Bishop Teobaldo Pontano, was responsible for the building of the Magdalen Chapel (*construi fecerat*) in addition to its decoration.⁴³⁸ As it is generally accepted that Bishop Pontano held office from 1296 until his death in 1329, a *terminus post quem* of 1296 for the construction of the chapel is established.⁴³⁹ The *terminus ante quem* is less firm, but assuming the decoration of the Magdalen Chapel was completed around 1308,⁴⁴⁰ the construction would have been accomplished by 1306 or earlier.

PAINTED DECORATION

The frescoes of the Magdalen Chapel were lost for many years. The chapel had been used for funeral services and the frescoes became obscured with layers of soot deposited by years of heavy candle use.⁴⁴¹ Sebastiano Ranghiasi rediscovered and

⁴³⁷ Lunghi, *Basilica of St. Francis*, 21, suggests that the nave decoration was done in the years immediately following 1253. Cannon dates the frescoes to the period between 1260-65. Joanna Cannon, "Dating the frescoes by the Maestro di San Francesco in Assisi," *Burlington Magazine* 124 (1982): 65-69. Similarly Hueck dates them to 1260 or shortly thereafter. Hueck, "Kapellen," 83. Cook dates them ca. 1265. Cook, "Giotto," 136.

⁴³⁸ This document was published in Beda Kleinschmidt, *Die basilika San Francesco in Assisi* vol. 3 (Berlin: Verlag für kunstwissenschaft, 1915-1928), 7. There is some confusion as to the correct designation of this bull. While both Schwartz and Hueck state that Kleinschmidt was mistaken in calling it Reg. Vat. 115, pars II, fol. 650, Schwartz states that the correct designation is in fact Reg. Vat. 115, fol 65 verso, 1328; Hueck, however, lists it as Reg. Vat. 115 fol. 269v ep. 1328. Schwartz, "Fresco Decoration," 133; Irene Hueck, "Ein Dokument zur Magdalenenkapelle der Franziskuskirche von Assisi," in *Scritti di storia dell'arte in onore di Roberto Salvini* (Firenze: Sansoni, 1984), 195 n2, n3.

⁴³⁹ See below, pages 147-8 and notes, for a discussion of the dates of Teobaldo Pontano's episcopacy in Assisi. Simon had speculated that the construction took place between 1256 and 1274 on the premise that the original patron for the building of the chapel was Cardinal Pierre de Bar (d. 1253). Simon, "Towards a Relative Chronology," 362. Given the date of the nave cycle and the documentary evidence showing that the construction was also commissioned by Bishop Teobaldo, this hypothesis is not supported.

⁴⁴⁰ See below, pages 143-143, for a discussion of the dating of the frescoes.

⁴⁴¹ Sebastiano Ranghiasi, *Descrizione ragionata della sagrosanta patriarcal basilica e cappella papale di S. Francesco d'Assisi*, in *Descrizione ragionata della sagrosanta patriarcal basilica e cappella papale di S. Francesco d'Assisi ... e delle pitture e sculture di cui va ornato il medesimo tempio ...*, Carlo Fea (Roma:

restored them in 1798.⁴⁴² It was again restored in 1912 by Domenico Brizi,⁴⁴³ and in 1967, the Higher Council of Antiquities and Fine Arts asked the Istituto Centrale del Restauro to undertake a restoration for the celebrations of Giotto held that year.⁴⁴⁴ Under the direction of Giovanni Urbani, a group of restorers, assisted by students, restored 170 square meters of fresco.⁴⁴⁵ The restoration consisted of three stages: first the consolidation of the *intonaco*,⁴⁴⁶ next the cleaning of the frescoes,⁴⁴⁷ and finally the restoration of the paintings. The intervention was minimal, with no imitative retouching, so as not to alter the integrity of the frescoes.⁴⁴⁸ The 1967 effort led to major discoveries. Most significant was revelation of the unprecedented techniques used for the heads of the

Tip. Camerale, 1820), 11f; Pietro Scarpellini, *Commentario critico in Descrizione della Basilica di S. Francesco e di altri santuari di Assisi*, da Fra Ludovico da Pietralunga (Treviso: Edizioni Canova, 1982), 250; Previtali, "Cappelle," 111; Emma Zocca, *Assisi*, vol. 9 di *Catalogo delle cose d'arte e di antichità d'Italia* (Roma: La Libreria dello Stato, 1936), 45; Silvestro Nessi, *La basilica di S. Francesco in Assisi e la sua documentazione storica* (Assisi: Casa Editrice Francescana, 1994), 366.

⁴⁴² Ranghiasi, *Descrizione ragionata*, 11; Previtali, "Cappelle," 111; Scarpellini, *Commentario critico in Descrizione della Basilica*, 250; Schwartz, "Fresco Decoration," 12; Nessi, *Basilica di S. Francesco*, 365-6. Nessi quotes Ranghiasi regarding the fresco condition at the time of Ranghiasi's initial restoration. The chapel was then struck by lightning in 1850. Zocca, *Assisi*, 45; Previtali, "Cappelle," 111; Schwartz, "Fresco Decoration," 13. In 1864, Crowe and Cavalcaselle described the condition as fair, although noting some plaster loss and that age had taken a toll. Joseph Archer Crowe and Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle, *A New History of Painting in Italy from the Second to the Sixteenth Century*, (London: Murray, 1864), 378 n2.

⁴⁴³ Rotondi, "Giotto nella cappella della Maddalena," 85; Zocca, *Assisi*, 45; Previtali, "Cappelle," 111; Scarpellini, *Commentario critico in Descrizione della Basilica*, 250. The condition, however, remained poor according to Schwartz, "Fresco Decoration," 13-4.

⁴⁴⁴ Rotondi, "Giotto nella cappella della Maddalena," 75.

⁴⁴⁵ Rotondi, "Giotto nella cappella della Maddalena," 86, states that the work was carried out by Paul and Laura Mora, Sergio Lancioni, Giuseppe Moro, Enzo Pagliani, Paolo Ferri, Livio Iacuitti, Giovanna Turinetti and Carl Giantomassi, with a group of students. Analyses were done in the chemistry and physics laboratories of the Istituto Centrale del Restauro by the doctors Marisa Laurenzi Tabasso, Salvatore Liberti, Maurizio Marabelli and Manlio Santini. Pagliani, on the other hand, says the work was carried out by six restorers assisted by ten students, but does not specify names. As he is identified as being on the restoration team by Rotondi, however, it seems he should be a reliable source. Pagliani "Note sui restauri," 199.

⁴⁴⁶ Rotondi, "Giotto nella cappella della Maddalena," 86. This was done by injecting "caseato di calcio" into the wall, and reattaching loose fragments of color to the surface with Primal.

⁴⁴⁷ The cleaning was made fairly easy by the compactness of the *intonaco* in the chapel. This fine *intonaco* also aided in preserving the intense colors of the fresco, with the exception of the areas done *a secco* in tempera, in particular the blues of the skies, and the mantles. They used distilled water, adding a small amount of diluted ammonia for a few particularly difficult areas, where soot and grease had accumulated. Cotton wads were used to gently wipe away the dirt. Pagliani, "Note sui restauri," 200. A *bisturi*, or surgical knife, was used to remove the most resistant incrustations. Rotondi, "Giotto nella cappella della Maddalena," 86.

⁴⁴⁸ Rotondi, "Giotto nella cappella della Maddalena," 86. Color was treated with diluted Paraloid (5% solution), and neutral tones with "terre ventilate" and Primal.

angels in the *Noli me tangere* (figs. 3.15a&b),⁴⁴⁹ and the rediscovery of the child in the *Voyage to Marseilles/Miracle of Marseilles* (figs. 3.16a&b), painted over in an earlier restoration.⁴⁵⁰ These greatly influence the reading of these images. The condition of the decoration is now good overall, although typically, the gold leaf and azurite blue pigments added *a secco* are badly deteriorated, causing losses in the *tituli* of the devotional images; this has been detrimental to interpreting some of these figures.⁴⁵¹ The only conservation undertaken since 1967 was a minor intervention in 1995 to correct damage caused by rainwater leaking through the ceiling.⁴⁵²

Called “the most elaborate cycle devoted to the Magdalen anywhere in Italy,”⁴⁵³ the cycle in Assisi is not in fact the most extensive.⁴⁵⁴ It is however, certainly the most prominent in art historical literature due to the debated attribution to Giotto, its prominent location within the mother church of the Franciscan Order, and its overall condition. Furthermore, unlike the Magdalen Chapel in the Palazzo del Podestà, which contains a larger cycle but also a small Life of John the Baptist and Last Judgment imagery, in

⁴⁴⁹ Previtali, “Cappelle,” 111.

⁴⁵⁰ Rotondi, “Giotto nella cappella della Maddalena,” 85-86. As lead white cannot be used *a fresco*, this suggests that the figure was either painted in lead white *a secco* or that another explanation for the damage must be found. Lime white, or chalk, was typically used as the white pigment in fresco. Cennino d’Andrea Cennini, *The Craftsman’s Handbook: “Il Libro dell’Arte,”* trans. Daniel V. Thompson Jr. (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1960), 50.

⁴⁵¹ Previtali credits the 1967 restoration with making the frescoes more legible, though it was impossible to rectify the damage that occurred over the years. The most significant issue is “uniform wear and tear” to the fresco surfaces. Previtali, “Cappelle,” 111. Water seepage has caused the azurite in parts of the *Raising of Lazarus* and of the ceiling vault to turn green—as well as other serious damage to *Supper in the House of the Pharisee*. Rotondi, “Giotto nella cappella della Maddalena,” 85, 86. For information on the pigment azurite and its propensity to turn to malachite when exposed to water, see Rutherford J. Gettens and George L. Stout, *Painting Materials: A Short Encyclopaedia* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1966), 95.

⁴⁵² Giuseppe Basile, Istituto Centrale del Restauro, E-mail to the author, 20 April 2004.

⁴⁵³ Wilk, “Cult of Mary Magdalen,” 689-690.

⁴⁵⁴ Several cycles have a greater scope. While the Assisi Magdalen Chapel cycle has seven scenes, the cycle in S. Pietro a Maiella, Naples (see chapter two) has eight scenes, as does the *Magdalen Master Dossal*; while the cycle in the Magdalen Chapel in the Palazzo del Podestà (Bargello), Florence also has eight scenes, it most certainly originally consisted of nine. Furthermore there is also the later cycle in S. Domenico, Spoleto, which has eleven scenes, and several of the sud-tyrol cycles discussed by Joanne Anderson in her PhD dissertation from 2009, although outside of the scope of this study, are significant in size. Joanne W. Anderson, “The Magdalen Fresco Cycles of the Trentino, Tyrol and Swiss Grisons.”

Assisi the narrative scheme revolves entirely around the Magdalen and her role as a penitent. The cycle is laid out in two levels on the west, east and south walls of the chapel. The west wall (figs. 3.4 & 3.5) presents both the first and last scene of the cycle. On the lower level we see *Supper in the House of the Pharisee* on the left and *The Raising of Lazarus* on the right. The cycle continues on the lower level of the east wall (figs. 3.6 & 3.7) with *Noli me Tangere* on the left and the *Voyage to Marseilles/Miracle of Marseilles* on the right. The story then continues directly above with the *Colloquy with the Angels* in the lunette. The following scene, *Mary Magdalen Receiving the Mantle*, is located in the lunette on the south wall (fig. 3.8 & 3.9), above the main entrance to the chapel.⁴⁵⁵ The cycle concludes on the west wall in the lunette with the *Last Communion of Mary Magdalen* (figs. 3.4 & 3.5).

In addition to the pictorial hagiographic cycle, the chapel contains a large array of devotional figures, most of which will be discussed in chapter four. There are twelve full-length figures in the main entrance arch in the south wall (fig. 4.3). The four female figures at the bottom cannot be identified (figs. 4.6-7).⁴⁵⁶ The second row consists of Saints Longinus (N.) and Latro (S.) (fig. 4.10) on the west, and an unidentified male saint (N.) and St. Augustine (S.) (fig. 4.11) on the east. The top row presents Saints Matthew (N.) and Peter (S.) (fig. 4.14) on the west and St. Paul (N.) and David (S.) (fig. 4.15) on

⁴⁵⁵ Several authors read the cycle in a different and non-chronological order, including Lunghi, *Basilica of St. Francis*, 148; Kenaan-Kedar, "Emotion, Beauty and Franciscan Piety," 706; Lavin, *Place of Narrative*, 53-54. Lavin and Kenaan-Kedar place the *Mantle* prior to the *Colloquy*. In my opinion these authors are mistaken.

⁴⁵⁶ One of the female saints does have an attribute, a rose, however this has not been sufficient for identification. See chapter four.

the east. In addition to the full-length portraits are seven quatrefoils containing bust portraits (figs. 4.4, 4.5, 4.8, 4.9, 4.12, 4.13, 4.16).⁴⁵⁷

On the west wall, below the lower register of the Magdalen cycle, two full-length images frame the side entrance arch (figs. 3.4 & 3.5). On the north side is a figure generally identified as a nun (fig. 4.2). On the south is the donor Teobaldo Pontano, depicted as a bishop, with St. Rufino (Rufinus), the first bishop and patron saint of Assisi (fig. 3.11). On the east wall on this lowest register (figs. 3.6 & 3.7) is a second donor portrait to the north, featuring Pontano as a friar paired with Mary Magdalen (fig. 3.12). To the south is a figure usually identified a saint or angel (fig. 4.1). Unlike the other similar images in the chapel it is half-length due to architectural considerations. The entrance arches on both east and west walls contain two quatrefoil bust portraits.

Surrounding the window on the north wall are four full-length portraits of female religious (figs. 4.17 & 4.18). On the left Miriam is above (fig. 4.20) with St. Mary of Egypt below (fig. 4.19). On the right St. Helena is above (fig. 4.22) with an unidentified female martyr below (fig. 4.21). Within the window arch are eight busts of female saints in quatrefoils, several badly damaged. On the ceiling are four tondi containing busts set against a starry sky (fig. 3.24): Christ above the altar, Lazarus to the south by the entrance, and between them Martha in the east, and Mary Magdalen holding a jar of ointment in the west.

The full-length figures were likely all originally identified in *tituli*, most of which still survive. With a few exceptions, the inscriptions were written in gold against the blue

⁴⁵⁷ At the bottom on the west is a quatrefoil containing St. Anthony the Abbot, on the east is a male saint (Athanasius?). The next register features angels on both east and west. The third row has Christ on the west and another angel on the east. At the apex of the arch is a seraph. These figures are discussed in brief in chapter four.

background directly above the figures' shoulders.⁴⁵⁸ Both the gold leaf and blue azurite backgrounds must be applied *a secco*, and are therefore much more prone to flaking and other deterioration than pigments applied *a fresco*.⁴⁵⁹ Over time several of the inscriptions were lost, making certain figures difficult or impossible to identify.

ATTRIBUTION AND DATING OF THE MAGDALEN CHAPEL FRESCOES

Most research on the chapel has revolved around the authorship of these giottesque frescoes,⁴⁶⁰ with scholars attributing them varyingly to Giotto,⁴⁶¹ Giotto's

⁴⁵⁸ The exception to this is in the portraits of Miriam and Helena, whose inscriptions are located in a box below their feet, and executed in dark paint. These two inscriptions are currently amongst the most legible in the chapel.

⁴⁵⁹ For the necessity of applying azurite *a secco* see Cennini, *Craftsman's Handbook*, 50.

⁴⁶⁰ For a thorough attribution history of the chapel see Schwartz, "Fresco Decoration," 18-106. More recently see Alessandro Volpe in Bonsanti, *Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi*, *Mirabilia Italiae* 11 (Modena: Franco Cosimo Panini Editore, 2002), vol. 4, 382-383; and Giorgio Bonsanti, "La pittura del Duecento e del Trecento," in *La Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi*, a cura di Giorgio Bonsanti, *Mirabilia Italiae* 11 (Modena: Franco Cosimo Panini Editore, 2002), vol. 3, 172.

⁴⁶¹ Henry Thode was one of the first to argue for Giotto's authorship. Henry Thode, *Franz von Assisi und die Anfänge der Kunst der Renaissance in Italien: mit Illustrationen* (Berlin: Grote, 1885), 283; Henry Thode, *Giotto* (Bielefeld: Velhagen und Klasing, 1899), 89-90. Berenson identifies "Feast in the House of Simon," "S. Mary Magdalen clothed by Zosimo" and "Raising of Lazarus" as being by Giotto, "S. Rufino with Tebaldo Pontano," "*Noli me tangere*," and "S. Mary Magdalen and Tebaldo Pontano" as being by Giotto and assistants, and the rest as the work of his studio or workshop. Bernard Berenson, *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance: A List of the Principal Artists and Their Works, with an Index of Places* (New York: Phaidon Publishers, 1963), 80. In more recent scholarship, nationality seems to be a factor in whether or not the frescoes are attributed to Giotto, with Italian scholarship generally supporting the attribution. Both Francesca Flores D'Arcais and Elvio Lunghi attribute the cycle to Giotto. Lunghi, *Basilica of St. Francis*, 148; Flores D'Arcais, *Giotto*, 272, 297. Previtali proposes two artists at work in the chapel, Giotto and the Master of the St. Nicholas Chapel. Previtali, "Cappelle," 111. In the involvement of the Master of the St. Nicholas Chapel, Previtali follows Osvald Sirén, *Giotto and Some of His Followers*, trans. Frederic Schenck (New York: Hacker Art Books, 1975), 101-102 and Adolfo Venturi, *Storia dell'Arte Italiana*, vol. 5, *La pittura del trecento e le sue origini* (Milano: U. Hoepli, 1907), 444. The most recent major work on the Basilica, Bonsanti's *La Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi*, proposes that Giotto painted the donor portrait of *Pontano and Mary Magdalen*, the "*Angel*" bust figure on the east wall, and the Magdalen tondo. To Giotto and his workshop are attributed all the paintings of the cycle, the donor portrait of *St. Rufino and Bishop Pontano*, the figure on the lowest register of the west wall identified as a nun, and all the figures of the main entrance arch. To the workshop of Giotto are attributed the quatrefoil saints in the window arches, the four saints flanking the windows and the tondo of Christ. The tondo of Lazarus is attributed to the Master of the *vele*; the tondo of Martha to the *parente* of Giotto. Bonsanti, ed. *Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi*, vol. 1, 365-402. For a discussion of Giotto's involvement and its significance see also Bonsanti, "La pittura del Duecento e del Trecento," 173-176.

workshop⁴⁶² or the “school of Giotto.”⁴⁶³ Given that the *Raising of Lazarus* and the *Noli me tangere* were based directly upon those in the Scrovegni Chapel in Padua, I believe the frescoes were most likely the product of Giotto’s workshop, or at the least were conceived by someone who had been a member of Giotto’s workshop during the execution of the Scrovegni Chapel frescoes. This unsolvable debate, however, is not critical to my investigation of the Magdalen imagery. Although given his position as one of the most prominent artists of the period, Giotto’s authorship could argue for the importance of this cycle, it would not fundamentally influence my interpretation of the cycle.

The frescoes’ dating has also been a matter of debate; one deeply entwined with the attribution question and now-resolved confusion regarding the patronage. There are two major schools of thought on the dating of the pictorial decoration, with some scholars dating it to the first decade of the century, around the year 1308,⁴⁶⁴ and others placing it

⁴⁶² Scholars who see the chapel either in whole or primarily the product of Giotto’s workshop or assistants include Schwartz, who argued that the vast majority were designed and executed by Giotto’s assistants, with almost no contribution by Giotto himself. Schwartz, “Fresco Decoration,” 98. A similar position is held by Sirén, who, while acknowledging that the types and compositions are Giotto’s, believes Giotto to have had very little direct involvement in the chapel. Sirén, *Giotto*, 96.

⁴⁶³ Those who believed Giotto to have had no involvement include Salvini, who stated it to be the work of a distinguished follower. Salvini, *All the Paintings*, 88. In this he follows Friedrich Rintelen, who denied all involvement in Assisi by Giotto. Friedrich Rintelen, *Giotto und die Giotto-Apokryphen* (München: Müller, 1912), 248-56. Gardner does not claim any direct involvement by Giotto, but says that it was painted by an artist very close to him. Julian Gardner, “Seated Kings, Sea-Faring Saints and Heraldry: Some Themes in Angevin Iconography,” in *L’État Angevin: pouvoir, culture et société entre XIIIe et XIVe siècle; actes du colloque international organisé par l’American Academy in Rome, l’École Française de Rome, l’Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, l’U.M.R. Telemme et l’Université de Provence, l’Università degli Studi di Napoli “Federico II”* (Rome - Naples, 7- 1 novembre 1995) (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1998), 122.

⁴⁶⁴ Schwartz, “Fresco Decoration,” 144-146; Berenson, *Italian Pictures*, 80 (shortly after Scrovegni Chapel, 1305-6); Lunghi, *Basilica of St. Francis*, 148 (shortly after Scrovegni Chapel, 1303-4); Volpe, in Bonsanti, *Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi*, vol. 4, 381 (begun 1307). Hueck, exceptionally, dates the fresco cycle to the same date or slightly before, the Scrovegni Chapel. Hueck, “Ein Dokument zur Magdalenenkapelle,” 194.

in the second or third decade of the fourteenth century.⁴⁶⁵ While the later dating has been common, recent scholarship generally favors the earlier dating, based on a revised understanding of the historical context⁴⁶⁶ and recently discovered, albeit inconclusive, documentary evidence.

The dating of the frescoes to the second and third decade of the fourteenth century has two rationales. The first is the now debunked belief that Teobaldo Pontano became bishop of Assisi in 1314, making this the *terminus post quem* for the decoration.⁴⁶⁷ This can be dismissed. The second is stylistic considerations arising from an attribution to Giotto (or his workshop).⁴⁶⁸ For example, Flores D'Arcais places the frescoes in the years 1315-1318 on stylistic grounds. Arguing that the cycle exhibits the expressiveness and use of light and color typical of Giotto's later work, she dates these frescoes after the completion of the Peruzzi Chapel.⁴⁶⁹ While harder to dismiss out of hand, it is by no means the dominant assessment.

Scholars date the frescoes to the first decade of the fourteenth century based on a number of factors. This dating uses an earlier *terminus post quem* of 1305, based on the borrowing of compositions from the Scrovegni Chapel, and often relies on a perceived

⁴⁶⁵ Scholars to date the frescoes to the 1310s and 1320s include Salvini, *All the Paintings*, 88 (1320); Flores D'Arcais, *Giotto*, 272 (1315-18); Sirén, *Giotto*, 93 (1320s); Kenaan-Kedar (after 1313), "Emotion, Beauty and Franciscan Piety," 705; and Curt H. Weigelt, *Giotto* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1925), 237 (1320s).

⁴⁶⁶ See Volpe, in Bonsanti, *Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi*, vol. 4, 382, for a historical look at the scholarly trends in the dating of this cycle tied to notions about attribution and the dates of Pontano's bishopric.

⁴⁶⁷ See discussion below on page 146 in *The Franciscan Bishop, Teobaldo Pontano, and his Donor Portraits*.

⁴⁶⁸ Scholars who base their late dating on stylistic considerations include Flores D'Arcais and Sirén.

⁴⁶⁹ Flores D'Arcais, *Giotto*, 272. She dates the Peruzzi Chapel to the years 1314-1315. As with the Magdalen Chapel, the dating of the Peruzzi Chapel is a matter of considerable debate and estimates span the years from 1310 into the 1330s, with many scholars opting for the later end of the spectrum. For information on the various datings of the Peruzzi Chapel, see *ibid.*, 261 and Julie Codell, "Giotto's Peruzzi Chapel Frescoes: Wealth, Patronage and the Earthly City," *Renaissance Quarterly* 41, no. 4 (Winter 1988): 584-585, n4. See also, Benjamin G. Kohl, "Giotto and His Lay Patrons," in *The Cambridge Companion to Giotto*, eds. Anne Derbes and Mark Sandona (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 194-6.

stylistic, as well as compositional, affinity with the Scrovegni Chapel frescoes.⁴⁷⁰ It also takes into consideration a document dated 4 January 1309 proving Giotto's activity in Assisi circa 1308 (see Appendix 4).⁴⁷¹ The document does not provide certitude, as it does not specify where Giotto was working. The Magdalen Chapel is, however, the most giottesque chapel in the Lower Basilica.⁴⁷²

Not all the arguments fit neatly into this dichotomy. Previtali accepts the stylistic closeness between the Scrovegni Chapel and the Magdalen Chapel as well as the revised dates for Pontano's bishopric (1296-1329). However he establishes a later *terminus post quem* of 1308, due to works by Giuliano da Rimini and the Master of Cesi, done in 1307 and 1308 respectively, which copied figures from the nearby St. Nicholas Chapel. Previtali argues that had the Magdalen Chapel been complete in 1308, Giuliano and the Master of Cesi would have copied its more modern, superior figures. He therefore suggests the Magdalen Chapel frescoes be dated between the first and second decade of the century.⁴⁷³

Ultimately, the dating of the fresco decoration is inconclusive. As with the attribution to Giotto, for most scholars style is the deciding factor. The *terminus post*

⁴⁷⁰ Berenson, *Italian Pictures*, 80; Lunghi, *Basilica of St. Francis*, 148.

⁴⁷¹ Bevagna, Biblioteca Comunale (Archivio storico comunale). Protocollo di Giovanni Alberti (1303-1317). Fragment E, c. 13 v. Assisi, 1309, gennaio 4. This document was discovered at Bevagna in 1973 and has been previously published by Valentino Martinelli, "Un documento per Giotto ad Assisi," *Storia dell'arte* 19 (1973): 193, 202 and an unpaginated photographic reproduction of the original document (located between pages 200 and 201); Cesare Cenci, *Documentazione di vita assisana, 1300-1530* (Grottaferrata: Editiones Collegii S. Bonaventurae ad Claras Aquas, 1974-1976), vol. I, 51; Schwartz, "Fresco Decoration," 152 n20. For an in-depth discussion of the contents of the document and possible circumstances surrounding the loan, see Martinelli, "Un documento," 193-200; Schwartz, "Fresco Decoration," 139-142.

⁴⁷² Bonsanti, "La pittura del Duecento e del Trecento," 171.

⁴⁷³ Previtali, "Cappelle," 116-127. Hueck says that the choice to copy from the St. Nicholas Chapel instead of the Magdalen Chapel was based on iconographical decisions and irrelevant for the dating of this chapel. Hueck, "Ein Dokument zur Magdalenenkapelle," 194. Troiano and Pompei, *Illustrated Guide*, 29 date the work to 1310 but do not explain their reasoning. Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen*, 319 says that the chapel was complete by 1312 but provides no explanation as to how that date was determined.

quem for the decoration can, however, safely be given as 1305 since *The Raising of Lazarus* and *Noli me tangere* are based upon compositions in the Scrovegni Chapel in Padua, completed in that year. The *terminus ante quem* is more speculative. In September 1319 Assisi entered a period of civil turmoil when the Ghibellines under Muzio di Ser Francesco took control of the city and stole the papal treasure that was held there.⁴⁷⁴ This disruption, which forced Teobaldo to flee from Assisi and necessitated his ongoing absence, continued until 1322.⁴⁷⁵ It is thus impossible for the chapel to have been decorated during these years. The impoverished state of Assisi after it returned to Guelf control in 1322, and the papal interdict that was in place from 1322 until 1352 makes a date between Pontano's return from exile and his death in 1329 highly unlikely.⁴⁷⁶ A date after Pontano's death is not possible, as the papal bull of January 1330 (Appendix 3) clearly states that the chapel was complete at that time.⁴⁷⁷ Furthermore, a letter from Pope John XXII to the Basilica, dated June 8 1332, testifies that Bishop Pontano founded the

⁴⁷⁴ Bishop Teobaldo, along with the provincial minister and the custodian were imprisoned on October 23, 1319; after being threatened they were forced to indicate the location of the papal tithe being stored in Assisi to the rebels. Arnaldo Fortini, *Assisi nel medio evo: Leggende, avventure, battaglie* (Roma: Edizioni Roma, 1940), 275. For a document from 4 September 1322 (Reg. Vat. 111 ep. 442) in which John XXII discusses the stolen tithe and states that the impoverished Pontano is not to be held responsible for paying back his debts, see Franz Ehrle, "Zür Geschichte des Schatzes, der Bibliothek und des Archivs der Päpste im 14. Jahrhundert," in *Archiv für Literatur und Kirchen geschichte des Mittelalters* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1885) I, 271.

⁴⁷⁵ Subsequent to his imprisonment, Teobaldo's revenues were confiscated, his house was ransacked and he was forced to flee to his native Todi. On the Ghibelline takeover of Assisi see Fortini, *Assisi nel medio evo*, 268-86; Schwartz, "Fresco Decoration," 230, 237; Antonio Cristofani, *Delle storie d'Assisi libri sei*, 2nd ed. (Assisi: Tipografia di Domenico Sensi, 1875), 208-214. Teobaldo later excommunicated Muzio. Fortini, *Assisi nel medio evo*, 268-269. For a transcription of the Bull of excommunication (11 September 1326) see *Archivio storico italiano: ossia raccolta di opere e documenti finora inedite o divenuti rarissimi riguardanti la storia d'Italia*, tomo XVI, parte 2, a cura di Francesco Bonaini, Ariodante Fabretti e Filippo-Luigi Polidori (Firenze: G. P. Vieusseux, 1851), 495-501. According to Cristofani, Teobaldo was subjected to a process and fined due to his actions in the rebellion, though it is unclear (to Cristofani) what they were and he assumes his failures were in being weak. He states that part of his making amends was issuing the writ of excommunication. This is also reflected in the document cited in the previous note. Cristofani, *Delle storie d'Assisi libri sei*, 2nd ed, 252-3.

⁴⁷⁶ For the papal interdict placed on the city by John XXII and not to be lifted until all the treasure stolen from the Basilica was replaced, see Fortini, *Assisi nel medio evo*, 287, 299; Schwartz, "Fresco Decoration," 237. The city was absolved in 1352 by Pope Clement VI. Fortini, *Assisi nel medio evo*, 301.

⁴⁷⁷ Kleinschmidt, *Basilika San Francesco* vol. 3, 7; Schwartz, "Fresco Decoration," 133.

chapel a long time before his death (*per longum tempus ante mortem suam*)⁴⁷⁸ suggests an early dating (Appendix 5). Taken altogether, this information provides a fairly secure *terminus ante quem* of 1319. Moreover, I am inclined, due to the documentary evidence of Giotto's presence in Assisi, my belief that the decoration followed immediately upon the chapel's construction, and the style, to tentatively accept the dating of 1307-1308.⁴⁷⁹

THE FRANCISCAN BISHOP, TEOBALDO PONTANO, AND HIS DONOR PORTRAITS

The Magdalen Chapel was the funeral chapel of Teobaldo Pontano, a Franciscan friar and the bishop of Assisi. Usually a chapel's dedication, and therefore its iconography, was decided by the patron, subject, perhaps, to clerical advice. Since Teobaldo Pontano was both a Franciscan and a high-ranking church official, it can be assumed that he himself chose the dedication and exerted considerable personal input on the iconography.⁴⁸⁰ What little is known about this Franciscan bishop suggests an affinity for the penitential theme generally, and for Mary Magdalen in particular.

⁴⁷⁸ Bonsanti, "La pittura del Duecento e del Trecento," 171. This letter was published in Hueck, "Ein Dokument zur Magdalenenkapelle," 196. In addition to the information mentioned above, the letter states that the chapel cost 600 gold florins, of which Teobaldo initially paid only 100, the friars paying the rest, and that he provided vestments and other liturgical furnishings. He left 350 more florins to the friars for the chapel in his will. The balance of the debt to the friars went unpaid. For analysis of this document see Hueck, "Ein Dokument zur Magdalenenkapelle," 191-2 and Hueck, "Kapellen," 92-3, 95. Lunghi also notes the existence of this letter, but he dates it July 1332. Lunghi, *Basilica of St. Francis*, 148.

⁴⁷⁹ Hueck comes to a similar conclusion. Stating that she does not see any reason to believe that there was any substantial delay after the chapel was constructed in 1300 before the decorative program was undertaken. Hueck, "Kapellen," 94. She, however, proposes that the concept for this cycle predates the Scrovegni Chapel frescos, and that the two cycles were carried out simultaneously, with Giotto personally overseeing the work primarily in Padua. Hueck, "Ein Dokument zur Magdalenenkapelle," 194.

⁴⁸⁰ As bishop, he would also have had other theologians available to advise him. It should be noted that Hueck proposes an alternate possibility, that is, that he inherited the chapel's dedication to the Magdalen. She extrapolates from the situation in 1299 in San Francesco in Bologna, where the choir screen had standing altars on either side dedicated to the Virgin and to the Magdalen flanking a central cross. As the screen had been destroyed in Assisi, and elements from it moved into the Magdalen Chapel and that of St. Stanislaus, she suggests that perhaps these chapels adopted the titles and functions of the hypothetical destroyed screen altars. If so, as she points out, the dedication and decoration would have no relationship to any penitential attitude of Bishop Pontano, nor to the discovery of the Magdalen's body in Provence or

Teobaldo Pontano was a member of the prosperous Pontano, or de Ponte, family of Todi.⁴⁸¹ The Pontano *stemma*, featuring a white bridge with three arches on a cranberry-colored field, appears six times in the chapel, once on either side of the window near the ceiling, and flanking the entrances in the side walls (fig. 3.10). There has previously been debate over the years of his term of office. While it has always been accepted that he was bishop until 1329, Ferdinando Ughelli claimed he took office in 1314, replacing a previous Bishop Teobaldo, and much early scholarship on the chapel reflects this.⁴⁸² Paul Sabatier and Konrad Eubel, on the other hand, argued that there was only one Teobaldo, appointed by Pope Boniface VIII in February of 1296.⁴⁸³ Furthermore, no documents indicate that the pope appointed another bishop of Assisi during the period between Teobaldo's appointment in 1296 and the appointment of his successor Conrad d'Andrea on 11 October 1329.⁴⁸⁴ It is now accepted that Teobaldo

Angevin devotion and politics. Instead, it would reflect the theme of the church, "emulation of Christ, even unto the cross." Hueck, "Kapellen," 85, 95. This argument is built on speculation, for we do not know that there was a Magdalen altar adjacent. Furthermore it disregards the extreme penitential focus of this chapel, which is not explained by the theme of the church as she describes it, and goes beyond what is necessary in a Magdalen cycle. Hueck herself states later that its plausible that the program corresponded precisely with Pontano's wishes and notes that as bishop of the city he could see the frescoes in progress and easily exert control over their execution (ibid., 95).

⁴⁸¹ Schwartz, "Fresco Decoration," 222.

⁴⁸² Ferdinando Ughelli, *Italia Sacra sive De episcopis Italiae et insularum adjacentium rebusque ab iis praeclare gestis, deducta serie ad nostram usque aetatem* (Romae: Apud Bernardinum Tanum, 1644) vol. I, 542-43; Giuseppe di Costanzo, *Disamina degli scrittori e dei monumenti risguardanti S. Rufino, Vescovo e Martire di Asisi* (Assisi: Tip. Sgarigliana, 1797), 272-275. Both these scholars have the following chronology: Teobaldo I (1296-1313), followed by Teobaldo II (1314-1329).

⁴⁸³ Paul Sabatier, introduction to *Tractatus de Indulgentia S. Mariae de Portiuncula nunc primum integre edidit*, by Fr. Francesco Bartholi de Assisio (Paris: Fischbacher, 1900), LXII-LXIV; Konrad Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica, catholica medii aevi sive Summorum pontificum, S.R.E. cardinalium, ecclesiarum, antistitum series*, 2nd ed. (München: Regensberg, 1913), vol. I, 113. For an extensive list of previous scholarly assessments on the issue, see Schwartz, "Fresco Decoration," 123-127.

⁴⁸⁴ Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica*, vol. I, 113; Fortini, *Assisi nel Medio Evo*, 312. This was the bull promulgated by John XXII *Cura pastoralis* which also reports the death of Teobaldo. The text of the bull was published by di Costanzo. See di Costanzo, *Disamina degli scrittori*, 405-6 doc. XXIX.

Pontano the patron was the same Teobaldo appointed bishop of Assisi in 1296 at the start of the papacy of Boniface VIII.⁴⁸⁵

Assisi was an important bishopric and the center of the Franciscan Order, Boniface's appointment of Teobaldo therefore suggests his favor. Pope Boniface VIII had studied at Todi in his youth.⁴⁸⁶ It is conceivable that he became familiar with the important Pontano family at this point, and that this may have influenced his decision to name Teobaldo Pontano bishop of Assisi. It is also possible that Teobaldo could also have benefited from Angevin promotion. He had been bishop in the Kingdom of Naples from 1282/3-1295 and, as was discussed previously, the Angevin kings of Naples were closely linked to the papacy. Charles II himself held the reins of the new pope's horses at Boniface VIII's consecration on 25 January, 1295, and of course it was Boniface VIII who authenticated the body of Mary Magdalen which Charles had found at Saint Maximin.⁴⁸⁷

Little more is known regarding Pontano's career. There are documents indicating his appointments as the bishop of Terracina and Assisi, promulgated on 8 April, 1295 and 13 February, 1296 respectively.⁴⁸⁸ Additionally, in 1644 Ughelli reported a letter stating that Teobaldo (Theobaldus) previously served as bishop of both Stabia di Castellamare (1282-1295) and Terracina (1295-6).⁴⁸⁹ Stabia di Castellamare was within the domain of

⁴⁸⁵ See Schwartz, "Fresco Decoration," 121-129 for a detailed analysis of the debate on the dates of Pontano's tenure as bishop of Assisi.

⁴⁸⁶ Thomas Oestereich, "Pope Boniface VIII," in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 2 (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1907). 25 Jun. 2012, <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/02662a.htm>.

⁴⁸⁷ Ibid. For Boniface's actions regarding the authentication of the Magdalen relic and the Royal Dominican foundations at St.-Maximin and La Ste.-Baume, see chapter one.

⁴⁸⁸ Reg. Vat. 47, fol. 16 verso and Reg. Vat. 48 fol. 4 verso.

⁴⁸⁹ See Ughelli, *Italia Sacra sive*, vol. I, col 208; vol. 6, cols 659-660. This is not the same as the documents I cite above as only when viewed in tandem do they provide all three locations in which he served as Bishop. It should be noted that Antonio Cristofani reported that Teobaldo was transferred from Castellamare and Terranuova. This substitution of Terranuova for Terracina seems to be in error as the

the Kingdom of Naples, and Terracina was on its borders. This service within the Neapolitan kingdom connects Teobaldo with the Angevins during at precisely the moment when they begin to actively promote the Magdalen cult. Given Teobaldo's connection to the Angevin dynasty, it seems quite probable that the Angevin veneration of Mary Magdalen was a factor in Teobaldo's devotion to the Magdalen, if not directly the reason for his dedication of the chapel.⁴⁹⁰ It is thus, at least in part, an "example of the dissemination of what had now effectively become an Angevin cult."⁴⁹¹

One last piece of evidence regarding Teobaldo comes from his one surviving treatise. Published in 1310, the Diploma *Propter quorundam linguas detrahentium* is the earliest extant testimony on the Portiuncula Indulgence, a special pardon supposedly granted by Pope Honorius III for the church of Santa Maria degli Angeli in 1216 at the request of Saint Francis.⁴⁹² Although the Portiuncula Indulgence has nothing to do with the Magdalen, it deserves mention for what it tells us about the patron of this chapel.

While much of the meager evidence we have about Teobaldo involves his actions during

documentary evidence clearly indicates that he was bishop of Terracina. Cristofani, *Delle storie d'Assisi*, 105. Eubel reports that Teobaldo became bishop of Stabia di Castellamare in 1283 and was bishop there until he became bishop of Terracina 8 April 1295. He served there for nearly a year and was replaced by Albert on 13 February, 1296. Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica*, vol. I, 462, 478.

⁴⁹⁰ Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen*, 319, suggests two ways in which the Angevin connection might have affected Teobaldo. Firstly, that Angevin veneration inspired Teobaldo's devotion to the saint and secondly that as Charles II was primarily a patron of the Dominicans, this chapel is a Franciscan attempt to claim the veneration of Mary Magdalen for its own. While there may be some validity in the second argument, the fact that the main Franciscan church of Naples, San Lorenzo Maggiore, already had a chapel dedicated to the Magdalen means that it was certainly not a novel attempt.

⁴⁹¹ Gardner, "Seated Kings, Sea-Faring Saints and Heraldry," 123.

⁴⁹² For an English translation of Teobaldo's text see *In Defense of the Portiuncula Indulgence. The "Tractatus de Indulgentia Portiunculae" by Francis Bartholi of Assisi, and Other Medieval Documents Regarding the Indulgence*, ed. Noel Muscat O.F.M. (Malta: TAU Edition-Franciscan O.F.M. Friars, 2012), PDF e-book, 111-115. For the Latin text, see Sabatier, introduction to *Tractatus de Indulgentia S. Mariae de Portiuncula*, by Fr. Francesco Bartholi de Assisio (Paris: Fischbacher, 1900), LXXV-LXXIX. The original copy of the manuscript was lost, but has now been rediscovered in the State Archives of Perugia and published in: *Il notariato a Perugia. Mostra documentaria e iconografica per il XVI Congresso Nazionale del Notariato (Perugia, maggio-luglio 1967)*, a cura di Roberto Abbondanza (Roma: Consiglio nazionale del Notariato, 1973), 285-288. For a discussion of Teobaldo's tract see Sabatier, introduction to *Tractatus de Indulgentia*, XXVIII-XXIX, LXIX-LXXII; Schwarz, "Fresco Decoration," appendix II: 263-281.

and after the Ghibelline takeover of Assisi, which show him acting in his role as bishop, an official member of the church hierarchy, this tract is more illustrative of Pontano as friar. It is written with authority; however, it is written from a clearly Franciscan perspective. It also provides the only evidence we have of the interests that preoccupied Teobaldo Pontano besides that provided by the visual evidence of this funerary chapel.⁴⁹³ The subject, as stated above is the Portiuncula Indulgence, on which Teobaldo quotes Saint Francis: “I am announcing to you all an indulgence...All of you who have come here today, and all those who will come every year on this day with a well-disposed and contrite heart, will receive the pardon of all their sins.”⁴⁹⁴ In fact the church of Sta. Maria degli Angeli was much associated in early Franciscan texts with the concepts of pardon and forgiveness.⁴⁹⁵ Teobaldo’s document is more than a defense of Franciscan belief regarding the authenticity of the Indulgence, it is intimately concerned with penance and the absolution of sin as the means to salvation, the same subject matter as the Magdalen Chapel.

Unusually, there are two donor portraits in the chapel. On the west wall Teobaldo is depicted as a bishop with St. Rufino/Rufinus (fig. 3.11), and on the east wall, as a friar with Mary Magdalen (fig. 3.12).⁴⁹⁶ The rarity of dual donor portraits, when combined with confusion over the chapel patronage, led to the suggestion in earlier scholarship that the portraits depicted two different donors, when in fact it is the two guises of Teobaldo Pontano that are being portrayed. While the bishop patron has been consistently

⁴⁹³ John XXII’s letter of 8 June, 1332 notes that Teobaldo’s testament provided two monetary bequests: 350 gold florins to the convent for the construction of the Magdalen Chapel, and 46 gold florins for the church of the Portiuncula. These monuments are thus linked as the only two beneficiaries in Teobaldo’s will, as well as being the only expressions of his creative output. For this text, see Appendix 5.

⁴⁹⁴ *In Defense of the Portiuncula Indulgence*, 114.

⁴⁹⁵ See *ibid.*, 14-15 n15 for an extensive list of references in multiple early Franciscan sources.

⁴⁹⁶ See Schwartz, “Fresco Decoration,” 155-159; Schwartz, “Patronage and Franciscan Iconography,” 35-6.

identified as Teobaldo, some scholars identified the patron with Mary Magdalen as the French cardinal Pierre de Bar, who was at one point thought to have commissioned the construction of the chapel.⁴⁹⁷ As discussed, it is now clear that Teobaldo Pontano was responsible for both the construction and decoration of the chapel. Furthermore, it is evident that the two portraits, each depicting a gaunt older man with prominent cheekbones, wrinkles around the mouth and eyes, and a long, thin, nearly straight nose with a slight curve at the middle, are representations of the same individual. Recent scholarship is nearly unanimous that both figures should indeed be read as Teobaldo Pontano.⁴⁹⁸

Teobaldo's desire to reconcile his two roles—that of an elevated member of the church hierarchy, and of a humble friar sworn to poverty—must have motivated his unusual decision to commission dual donor portraits in the chapel. As a bishop Teobaldo kneels before St. Rufino (fig. 3.11), the first bishop and patron saint of Assisi; as a friar he kneels before Mary Magdalen (fig. 3.12), the dedicatee of the chapel. In both portraits, Teobaldo is much smaller than his sainted patron, a difference not only of size, but of monumentality. These saints are weighty and substantial figures, compared to the thin

⁴⁹⁷ Fra Ludovico da Pietralunga, *Descrizione della Basilica di S. Francesco e di altri santuari di Assisi*, introd., note al testo e commentario critico di Pietro Scarpellini (Treviso: Edizioni Canova, 1982), 46; Salvini, *All the Paintings*, 88; Previtali, "Cappelle," 110; Kenaan-Kedar, "Emotion, Beauty and Franciscan Piety," 704. Crowe and Cavalcaselle simply identified the figures as a "female saint raising a kneeling monk." Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *New History of Painting* (1908), vol. 1, 315 n2. While Schwartz discounts Pierre de Bar from having played a role in the commissioning of any part of the chapel she states it is "quite possible" that the portraits depict different people, and that this may indeed be Pierre de Bar, if the project disturbed his tomb, or instead could be a deceased kinsman of Pontano. Schwartz, "Fresco Decoration," 160. For Cardinal Pierre de Bar, known variously as Pietro di Barro, Petrus de Barro, Pietro da Bar-sur-Aube, or Pietro da Bar, see Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, *Cardinali di curia e "familiae" cardinalizie dal 1227 al 1254*, vol. 1 (Padova: Antenore, 1972), 213-220.

⁴⁹⁸ Flores D'Arcais, *Giotto*, 275; Baccheschi, *Complete Paintings*, 111; Berenson, *Italian Pictures*, 80; Lunghi, *Basilica of St. Francis*, 148; Sirén, *Giotto*, 93; Schwartz, "Patronage and Franciscan Iconography," 32; Jame H. Stubblebine, *Assisi and the Rise of Vernacular Art* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1985), 65, fig. 72; Volpe, in Bonsanti, *Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi*, vol. 4, 385. In Schwartz's dissertation she stated that the figures could not be firmly identified, although circumstantial evidence supported reading them as the same individual. Schwartz, "Fresco Decoration," 161.

and frail Teobaldo who seems enveloped by his garb. Despite this discrepancy in scale, antithetical to a sense of realism, there is a countering attempt to suggest these figures inhabit real space as they overlap their cosmatesque frames.

The portraits face each other diagonally, each on the left side of their respective walls. The portrait of Bishop Pontano is therefore beneath the *Supper in the House of the Pharisee* at the beginning of the pictorial cycle of the life of the Magdalen, near the main entrance, while that of Friar Pontano is beneath the *Noli me tangere* adjacent to the altar. The humble friar Pontano is thus associated with the Eucharistic iconography of the *Noli me tangere* and is in closer proximity to the altar where the Sacrament of the Eucharist would be enacted. As bishop, Pontano is placed by the entrance to the chapel and at the start of the Magdalen's journey, associated with her initial repentance, and is seemingly suggestive of Franciscan ambivalence about the holding of positions of power. This attitude can be seen in the writings of St. Francis, who while not forbidding the friars from holding office stated: "[b]lessed is that servant who is not placed in a high position by his own will and always desires to be under the feet of others."⁴⁹⁹ The placement of these portraits thereby suggests the penitential path as a means to salvation not only for the worshipper, but also for the patron.

In the portrait of friar Teobaldo with Mary Magdalen (fig. 3.12), Pontano is dressed in a grey-brown cloak, with a white *zucchetto* or *camauro* (skullcap) on his head (3.12a).⁵⁰⁰ The Magdalen is clad in a dark rose gown and cloak, as in the other garbed

⁴⁹⁹ Saint Francis, *The Admonitions*, XIX: *A Humble Servant of God*, in *The Saint*, 135.

⁵⁰⁰ Schwartz stresses the opulence of Pontano, based on her reading that his cloak is lined with fur, and that a hooded cloak was not appropriate garb for a friar. Schwartz, "Fresco Decoration," 159-160. Cloaks however, were indeed part of the Franciscans' dress. Warr states that only in 1316 did the Franciscan general chapter officially allow the use of a plain cloak, however Francis mentions cloaks in chapter 14 of the *Earlier Rule*, and Bonaventure discussed the use of cloaks in his commentary on the rule approved by the general chapter of Narbonne in 1260. Cordelia Warr, *Dressing for Heaven: Religious Clothing in Italy*,

depictions of her in the chapel (3.12b). Her hair is in an elaborate coif and covered with a gauzy white veil. The intimacy of this image is a striking contrast to the donor portrait of Teobaldo with St. Rufino. Mary Magdalen looks down at the kneeling Teobaldo with an affectionate expression, as he looks up at her with absolute devotion (figs. 3.11 & 3.12). There is also a physical connection not seen in the bishop donor portrait; Teobaldo clutches the Magdalen's right hand with his left, while reaching up towards her with his right hand. By appearing as a humble friar alongside Mary Magdalen, the chapel's dedicatory saint, Teobaldo appears to emphasize this role over that of bishop, and underscores the association of the Magdalen with the Franciscan Order.⁵⁰¹ The image thus suggests a strong personal devotion to Mary Magdalen on the part of Pontano and a desire to link the Franciscan Order with her veneration.

As Bishop of Assisi, Teobaldo's Episcopal seat was in the Cathedral of San Rufino, where St. Rufino or Rufinus was interred.⁵⁰² St. Rufino was the first bishop of Assisi as well as the city's patron saint.⁵⁰³ Little is known about St. Rufino beyond this, except that he was a martyr.⁵⁰⁴ He is generally depicted as an elderly bishop with a short

1215-1545 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), 139. For the statues of the 1316 chapter, see also Moorman, *History of the Franciscan Order*, 358; Armando Carlini, ed., "Constitutiones generales ordinis fratrum Minorum anno 1316 Assisii conditae," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 4 (1911): 278-279. Saint Francis, *Earlier Rule*, in *The Saint*, 73. For Bonaventure, see Servus Gieben, "Per la storia dell'abito francescano" *Collectanea Franciscana* 66 (1996): 437-439. Furthermore, while a small area on his left arm could be fur, the larger exposed area of his cloak lining does not look like fur. Given that this image depicts him as a friar in clear contrast to his opulent garb as a bishop, it does not make sense that the image is also emphasizing his wealth.

⁵⁰¹ This observation is my own, but it can also be found in Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen*, 86.

⁵⁰² Located at the far end of Assisi from the Basilica, the current Cathedral was erected in 1134, but the Episcopal seat was transferred there from Sta. Maria Maggiore in 1036.

⁵⁰³ Rev. F.G. Holweck, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Saints: With a General Introduction on Hagiology* (St. Louis, MO.; London: B. Herder Book Co., 1924), 871; Kaftal, *Iconography of the Saints in Central and South Italian Schools of Painting*, 979-80.

⁵⁰⁴ According to the Catholic Encyclopedia entry, the acts of Martyrdom regarding this St. Rufinus are legendary. Johann Peter Kirsch, "Sts. Rufinus," in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 13 (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1912). 26 Jun. 2012, <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/13221b.htm>. See also: Giuseppe Elisei, *Studio sulla chiesa cattedrale di S. Rufino Vescovo e Martire in Assisi* (Assisi: Tipografico Metastasio, 1893).

gray or white beard, and showed in an attitude of blessing.⁵⁰⁵ It is in this guise that he appears in the Magdalen Chapel (fig. 3.11). Teobaldo's portrayal with St. Rufino, first bishop of Assisi, in his role as bishop emphasizes the importance of his position.

In keeping with this, the depictions of both bishops accentuate their position in the church hierarchy as opposed to an emotional connection between the two figures as in the other donor portrait.⁵⁰⁶ St. Rufino is dressed in a chasuble of sea foam green lined in cranberry red, with a tau cross in yellow on the front. He carries a crozier and wears a mitre and gloves, symbolic of his position. Teobaldo wears an elaborately decorated chasuble or cope of white lined with blue and has a white mitre with a yellow band at the base. St. Rufino rests his hand on Teobaldo's mitre in a gesture that blesses the patron and emphasizes that Teobaldo is his successor as bishop of Assisi.⁵⁰⁷ Teobaldo's hands are pressed together in prayer and his head is slightly lowered, so that he does not look at St. Rufino. Because of this, he does not seem connected to the saint, who regards him impassively. Their placement and poses further emphasize their physical and emotional detachment; while St. Rufino is turned in space in a three-quarter view, Teobaldo is in profile and further forward in the picture frame. As opposed to the portrait of the Magdalen and Teobaldo bespeaking intimacy and devotion, this image aims primarily to authenticate Teobaldo in his institutional role as bishop.

⁵⁰⁵ Kaftal, *Iconography of the Saints in Central and South Italian Schools of Painting*, 979-80.

⁵⁰⁶ As we will see in chapter four, this emphasis on the trappings of office is in contrast to the depiction of other bishop saints in the decorative program.

⁵⁰⁷ In fact Hueck reads this as St. Rufino placing the mitre on Teobaldo's head, thus installing him as bishop of Assisi. Hueck, "Kapellen," 95.

THE MAGDALEN CYCLE (FIGS. 3.13-3.19)

Lunghi claimed this was perhaps the earliest painted *vita* of the Magdalen to be based on the life of the Magdalen from the *Golden Legend*.⁵⁰⁸ While earlier cycles, such as that on the *Magdalen Master Dossal* (fig. 1.1), were also based on Jacobus' account, the pictorial *vita* in the chapel more closely follows the *Golden Legend vita*. This is the only cycle except for that on the *Magdalen Master Dossal* (fig. 1.8) that illustrates the Magdalen being elevated at the canonical hours, and in the last two scenes of the cycle the iconographer combines aspects of both versions of her life as told in the *Golden Legend*, the main account, based on the *vita evangelico-apostolica*, and the "Narrat Josephus" variant, which is the same as the *vita eremitica*.⁵⁰⁹ This suggests that the iconographer was working from a text with both variations present, to wit, the *Golden Legend*. Only three of the seven scenes depict gospel events: the *Supper in the House of the Pharisee* (Luke 7. 36-50), *The Raising of Lazarus* (John 11.1-45) and the *Noli me tangere* (John 20.1-18) (see Appendix 1 for all texts). The gloss on these events was also influenced by that presented in the *Golden Legend vita*, as well as by late medieval sermons and by a long tradition of biblical exegesis.

There are also critical visual sources for several of the paintings in this Magdalen cycle. Both the *Raising of Lazarus* (fig. 3.14) and *Noli me tangere* (fig. 3.15) scenes in the Magdalen Chapel were based on those in the Scrovegni Chapel in Padua (fig. 3.20 & fig. 3.21).⁵¹⁰ The Scrovegni Chapel, frescoed by Giotto in 1303 to 1305, is dated almost

⁵⁰⁸ Lunghi, *Basilica of St. Francis*, 148.

⁵⁰⁹ Thus the Magdalen receives a cloak from the hermit, as in the "Narrat Josephus," variant, but she is in a cave as in the main account, not a cell as in the "Narrat Josephus." Nor does it seem she went with the hermit to the church, as told in the "Narrat Josephus," because the hermit is not amongst the religious figures depicted there. Jacobus, *Golden Legend*, vol. I, 380-381.

⁵¹⁰ In the Scrovegni chapel both scenes are on the north wall, with the *Raising of Lazarus*, in the middle register, directly above the *Noli me tangere* in the lowest narrative register.

directly prior to the Magdalen Chapel. The similarities between the frescoes in Assisi and those in Padua make their relationship explicit, yet differences exist due to iconographical considerations arising from their different contexts. The Scrovegni Chapel frames these scenes within a Christological cycle, a cycle dedicated to the life of Christ, whereas in the Magdalen Chapel they are part of a life of the Magdalen cycle. This fundamentally changes the significance of the events and thus causes alteration to the iconography in subtle but important ways.

As previously described, the life of the Magdalen is presented on two levels, over three walls (figs.3.4-3.9). It proceeds clockwise, beginning on the lower level of the west wall, continuing on the lower level of the east wall and then proceeding above in the lunettes, an arrangement that has been explained as a way of avoiding having the *Last Communion and Ascension of the Magdalen* look as if Mary Magdalen is rising into the scene above.⁵¹¹ This interpretation is not persuasive, as there are numerous contemporary examples of ascension scenes in the lower registers of fresco cycles. A more convincing explanation is that the artist grouped the scenes in order to emphasize their similarities: the four scenes from before the sojourn in the wilderness/the active life of the Magdalen, versus the three occurring during the sojourn/the contemplative life of the Magdalen.

The cycle begins with the *Supper in the House of the Pharisee* (fig. 3.13). This depicts the episode as it is described in Luke 7 and repeated in the *Golden Legend*. Not only are the actions in direct accordance with the scriptural description, the formal organization of the scene emphasizes the important lessons told in Luke.

⁵¹¹ Previtali, "Cappelle," 110; Lunghi, *Basilica of St. Francis*, 148; Flores D'Arcais, *Giotto*, 276. Previtali uses this to support his assertion that Giotto was responsible, as does Flores D'Arcais, who describes this unusual inversion as "a stroke of genius from the painter." Since Giotto, however, is known to have placed ascension scenes in lower registers in other cycles, this cannot be seen as support for his authorship.

The architectural setting for this narrative is complex but somewhat ambiguous, and has clear problems of perspective. Christ's chair projects back past the wall, his relationship to the end of the table is peculiar, and Mary Magdalen seems not to be in the room at all, placed at a lower level with the servants, with half of her body located beyond what appears to be the exterior wall. While Schwartz sees this as a sign of incompetence in the artist,⁵¹² the overall quality of the work and the incredible detail of the architectural setting, with patterning that matches the cosmatesque motifs used in the Magdalen Chapel, argue against such an interpretation.⁵¹³

Iconographic considerations explain at least some of the peculiarities, for example, the positioning of Christ and Mary Magdalen. One would expect Mary Magdalen to be facing Christ as she holds his foot. It is the more natural position, not necessitating the contortion of Christ's leg that occurs here, and there is nothing in the composition that would make such a position untenable. Indeed she is depicted in this position in both earlier versions of the scene, that on the *Magdalen Master Dossal* (fig. 1.4) and in the Magdalen Chapel in San Lorenzo Maggiore (fig. 2.4). Why then has she been placed as she is, in an awkward position, half out of the room? For the answer one must turn to Luke's text, which states that Mary Magdalen was behind Christ. This truthfulness to the text is combined with an attempt to give Mary Magdalen's alienation from the righteous as a sinner visible form through the use of the architectural setting. At the same time, the favor shown by Christ to Mary Magdalen over the others at the supper, as described in Luke 7.47, can be seen through the intimate connection between Christ and Mary Magdalen. This physical and emotional connection does not exist between

⁵¹² Schwartz, "Fresco Decoration," 70.

⁵¹³ Sirén, for example, considers this the most artistically important scene of the cycle due to the innovative architectural space and spatial depth. Sirén, *Giotto*, 93.

Christ and the other diners, who are separated from him by the vertical created by the figure of the servant on the left.

The second painting of the cycle is the *Raising of Lazarus* (fig. 3.14). As mentioned above the visual source for this composition is Giotto's *Raising of Lazarus* in the Scrovegni Chapel (fig. 3.20). Because of this they must be discussed in tandem. The compositions of the two are nearly identical; however, the differences are quite important.

The story of the raising of Lazarus is related in John 11. Lazarus, the brother of Mary and Martha, was ill. The sisters sent for Christ, but he did not come until Lazarus had been dead for four days. Martha confronted him first, and Christ informed her that Lazarus would rise again. Christ then met the Magdalen, whose weeping brought him to tears, and he asked that the tomb be opened. Christ then cried "Lazarus, come forth!" and Lazarus did, still in his winding bands. Jesus told the onlookers: "Loose him, and let him go." The Jewish onlookers were so amazed that they believed in him.⁵¹⁴

This event first and foremost was understood as a prefiguration of Christ's Resurrection; secondly, it was an important miracle performed by Christ, one that brought him new followers and confirmed his abilities to those who already followed him. It was thus included in the Christological cycle of the Scrovegni Chapel as a critical event in Christ's ministry. This reading is underscored by its placement; it is directly above the *Noli me tangere* representing Christ's own Resurrection.⁵¹⁵ In the Magdalen Chapel, the significance of the scene has shifted. The brief description of the event in the

⁵¹⁴ John 11.1-45.

⁵¹⁵ This is especially true here, where the *Noli me tangere* is, as I will demonstrate, clearly depicted in a dual fashion as both *Noli me tangere* and Resurrection, through the inclusion of several iconographic features specifically associated with Resurrection imagery rather than *Noli me tangere* iconography.

Golden Legend is telling: “And for the love of her [Mary Magdalen] he raised Lazarus which [sic] had been four days dead.”⁵¹⁶ This account, in its simplicity, is key to the iconographical alterations made to this scene. It was transformed to emphasize the raising of Lazarus as a miracle performed by Christ due to his love of Mary Magdalen, a miracle that still alludes to Christ’s Resurrection, but also references the Magdalen’s critical role as first witness and apostle to the apostles, illustrated in the *Noli me tangere*. This is visually expressed through the visual parallels of the Magdalen’s pose in the *Raising of Lazarus* and *Noli me tangere* (fig. 3.15) in Assisi.⁵¹⁷

Superficially, both *Raising of Lazarus* compositions are similar (figs. 3.14 & 3.20). Both are set in craggy landscapes dotted with trees. At the left stands Christ with a group of followers behind him. His right arm outstretched, hand held in a gesture of blessing, he directs his attention to Lazarus who—just emerged from the tomb behind him—is still swaddled in his tomb wrappings. A group of men surrounds Lazarus, including one who covers his face to protect himself from the odor of Lazarus’ decomposing flesh. Small figures in the right foreground remove the tomb slab. In the center foreground Mary and Martha are at Christ’s feet.

There are, however, notable differences between the compositions in Padua and Assisi. As Schwartz pointed out, in the Scrovegni Chapel the figures are dispersed upon two ground lines, whereas in the Magdalen Chapel, there is one.⁵¹⁸ She stated that in Padua the prostrate women and stooping children do not obscure the crowd of erect

⁵¹⁶ Jacobus, *Golden Legend*, vol. I, 376.

⁵¹⁷ The parallel pose of the Magdalen in the two scenes is not found in the Scrovegni chapel.

⁵¹⁸ Schwartz, “Fresco Decoration,” 40. Her analysis of the frescoes was explicitly designed to “search for signs of Giotto’s intervention in any part at all of the Magdalen Chapel” (ibid., 37). By examining the Magdalen Chapel frescoes in this light, she assessed them to be in all respects inferior, rather than gaining insight into their merits or noting possible intentional alterations on the part of the Assisi artist. See ibid., 37-54 for *Raising of Lazarus*; 54-67 for *Noli me tangere*.

figures, but in Assisi, the assemblage of all the figures on one level conflates the design, and is “less effective,” producing “ambiguity and confusion,” later calling the composition “a spatially incoherent jumble.”⁵¹⁹ Schwartz argued that because of this alteration, in the Magdalen Chapel the direct connection between Christ and Lazarus—whom she terms “the two principal protagonists”—is lost.⁵²⁰ Although I dispute the accuracy of this observation, her wording, “the two principal protagonists,” reveals the crux of the matter. While there are indeed two principal protagonists in the depiction in the Scrovegni Chapel, in the Magdalen Chapel there are not two principal protagonists, but three. This is a deliberate alteration. Placing Mary Magdalen on the same ground line as Christ makes her a prominent element of the composition. This befits the scene’s presence in a Magdalen cycle, and reflects the additional levels of meaning it therefore adopted.

In fact, the treatment of the figure of Mary Magdalen in the *Raising of Lazarus* in the Magdalen Chapel is radically different than it was in the Scrovegni Chapel. The entire section has been reworked to place a greater emphasis on her. In the Scrovegni Chapel, Mary and Martha are not only removed from the action by their placement on the lower ground line, but also by their prostrate postures. This pose effectively limits their visual importance in the composition. Rather than lying prone on the ground as in the Scrovegni Chapel, in the Magdalen Chapel the sisters kneel with their hands folded across their chests (fig. 3.14a). They thus form a strong pyramidal visual focus in the center of the fresco, with Mary’s upturned face and beseeching expression directly below Christ’s outstretched hand. In another notable change, in the Scrovegni Chapel prototype Martha,

⁵¹⁹ Ibid., 40, 41. She believes this is due to the inferiority of the Assisi artist.

⁵²⁰ Ibid., 41.

not Mary, is in front.⁵²¹ Mary's red cloak is visible behind, but it is virtually all that can be seen of her. In the Magdalen Chapel, however, Mary Magdalen is in the foreground in lieu of her sister. Similarly the landscape has been reconfigured to advance this emphasis on the Magdalen. In the Scrovegni Chapel it runs in a steep slope from a peak by Lazarus down to Christ, calling attention to the connection between the two. In Assisi, two hills—one over Christ, the other above Lazarus, create a “V” in the center of the composition, directly above Mary Magdalen, pulling attention to her. The landscape reflects the understanding of the Magdalen as the reason Christ performed the miracle; she is the connecting thread between Lazarus and Christ.

In her analysis of Duccio's *Raising of Lazarus* Ruth Wilkins Sullivan argues that the bystanders to the event are not “mere spectators, but rather...active participants in the miracle.”⁵²² This is true in the Scrovegni Chapel depiction. In the Magdalen Chapel, however, their number has been slashed from eight to only four. This is not due to practical considerations, as the fresco in Assisi's wider format would easily have accommodated the larger number. Rather it also reflects the change in the meaning of the scene. Although Schwartz criticized the composition in the Magdalen Chapel as conflated and jumbled, it is in fact clearer than its prototype in the Scrovegni Chapel due to the removal of the onlookers in the center of the composition. This both strengthens the visual connection between Christ and Lazarus, and isolates and focuses attention upon Mary and Martha, who are obscured amidst the mass of witnesses in the Scrovegni Chapel. These bystanders are critical to the meaning of this scene in the Scrovegni

⁵²¹ I believe it probably due to the fact that according to John, Martha first encounters Christ upon his arrival in Bethany.

⁵²² Ruth Wilkins Sullivan, “Duccio's *Raising of Lazarus* Reexamined,” *The Art Bulletin* 70, no. 3 (Sept. 1988): 377. She argues this based on her reading of the biblical text.

Chapel, where it presents a miracle in which Christ revealed his relationship to God.

They are less important to the meaning in the Magdalen Chapel. Their number, therefore, is reduced so as to not interfere with what is essential: the relationship between the Magdalen and Christ.⁵²³

Besides the increased focus on Mary Magdalen, there is one other highly significant difference between the *Raising of Lazarus* as presented in the Magdalen Chapel and the rendition in the Scrovegni Chapel. In the Magdalen Chapel, Christ's life-giving command to Lazarus, "*Foras Veni Lazare*," that is, "Come Forth, Lazarus," is literally writ in gilded letters on the painting (fig. 3.14b). No serious attempt has been made to understand this addition. Schwartz claimed Christ's hand blends into the "bland hillside" making an explanatory inscription necessary. But this scene was well established and well understood, and because of the removal of the figures between Christ and Lazarus, Christ's action is quite clear. Moreover, following earlier authors, and later echoed by Sullivan, she criticized the addition of the text as an "archaic device."⁵²⁴ The use of text in painted imagery was not, however, archaic in this period; Simone Martini's *Annunciation*, painted in 1333, which shows a similar use of text in image, is not so considered. In fact, such employment of text continued into the next century, for example, on the predella of Fra Angelico's *Coronation of the Virgin* altarpiece from San Domenico in Fiesole, now in the Louvre (1430-2), where, in the *Death of St. Dominic* (fig. 3.22), words emerge from St. Dominic's mouth. In general,

⁵²³ Immediately after Lazarus' resurrection, John states, "Many therefore of the Jews, who were come to Mary and Martha and had seen the things that Jesus did, believed in him." John 11.45. Thus the large number of onlookers, their prominent and central position in the fresco, the importance of their responses for reading the action of Lazarus' resurrection, all speak to their function as key figures in the Assisi composition and for such an interpretation of the fresco's meaning.

⁵²⁴ Schwartz, "Fresco Decoration," 44 and 111 n28, where she cites Wilhelm Hausenstein, *Giotto* (Berlin: Propyläen-Verl., 1923/4), 354; Toesca, *Il Trecento*, 612; Valerio Mariani, *Giotto*, (Napoli: Libreria Scientifica Editrice, 1966), 105. See also Sullivan, "Duccio's *Raising of Lazarus*," 377.

modern scholarship has denigrated the use of text in images because it calls attention to the picture plane, explicitly informing the viewer that this is a flat surface and that one is not looking through a window into an actual space beyond. However the creation of believable three-dimensional space was not always an artist's intent, and words can add additional levels of meaning to images.⁵²⁵

Given that the artist has intentionally deviated from Giotto's template, what additional meaning did this inscription provide? As discussed, the Magdalen was the exemplum of perfect penitence in the period, and the chapel's program was intended to show both her as a penitent and the virtues of penitence as a means to salvation. While others elements in the *Raising of Lazarus* reflect penitence—the Magdalen's weeping, her posture on her knees—the most explicit penitential content of the event is provided by the words uttered by Christ, "Come forth, Lazarus." From the early medieval period on, in the writings of important Church Fathers like Sts. Ambrose, Augustine and Gregory the Great, the raising of Lazarus was associated with the rebirth of the penitent who was heretofore "spiritually lifeless."⁵²⁶ Origen (d. ca. 254) interpreted Mary, Martha and Lazarus as representatives respectively of the contemplative way, the active way and

⁵²⁵ As Andrew Ladis argued with regard to *tituli*, "word and image exercise a reciprocal effect as they force the viewer to shift mentally from one mode of comprehension to another." Andrew Ladis, *Giotto's O: Narrative, Figuration and Pictorial Ingenuity in the Arena Chapel* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008), 18.

⁵²⁶ Derbes and Sandona have made this argument for the *Raising of Lazarus* as a penitential scene in the context of the Arena Chapel; however, they do not provide such a reading of the fresco in the Magdalen Chapel. Anne Derbes and Mark Sandona, *The Usurer's Heart: Giotto, Enrico Scrovegni, and the Arena Chapel in Padua* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008), 132. Given that Christ's words provide the penitential content, and that it is the explicit representation of these words which constitutes the most radical alteration between the two depictions of the narrative, I believe there is a much stronger case to be made for an emphasis on the narrative's penitential content in the Magdalen Chapel *Raising of Lazarus*. Additionally, although penance clearly was a motivation in the Scrovegni Chapel program, I am not convinced that it was a primary reason for the inclusion of the *Raising of Lazarus*, where other considerations such as the prefiguration of Christ's Resurrection (located immediately below in the *Noli me tangere*) were more pressing.

the believer who fell into sin but was redeemed through penitence.⁵²⁷ Around three centuries later, Gregory the Great stated:

the beginning of enlightenment is the humility of confession, because he who does not blush to confess the evil he has committed, already refuses to spare himself...For the same reason, the dead Lazarus, who lay oppressed by a heavy weight, was not at all told, "Come to life again!", but, "Come forth!"...Thus man, dead in his sin, and already buried under the weight of his habitual evil deeds...should come forth through confession. For the dead man is told "Come forth!", so that he can be called upon to proceed from excuse and concealment of his sin to self-accusation by his own mouth.⁵²⁸

St. Ambrose likewise interpreted the story of Lazarus as a parable of a sinner called to repent:

So the Lord Jesus...says to him that is dead, "Come forth" (John 11:43) that is, You who lie in darkness of conscience, and in the squalor of your sins, as in the prison of the guilty, come forth, declare your sins so that you may be justified. "For with the mouth confession is made unto salvation" (Romans 10:10).⁵²⁹

Christ's words to Lazarus were thus widely understood as calling forth sinners to penitence and confession. This interpretation of the event continued to be popular in the late medieval sermons and *laude* of important preachers and mendicants such as St. Anthony, Jacopone da Todi and Jacobus de Voragine. In a sermon by Jacobus, Lazarus is described as a "habitual sinner, who offended God...thus he must make manifest penance."⁵³⁰ Jacopone's "Second Letter to Pope Boniface VIII" is an emotional penitential plea written during his period of excommunication and imprisonment, in

⁵²⁷ See McVoy, "Those Whom Jesus Loved," 78, 80.

⁵²⁸ Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Job*, xxii, 15, 31. The translation used here is a combination of that published in O.K. Werckmeister, "The Lintel Fragment Representing Eve from Saint-Lazare, Autun," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 35 (1972): 13 and the slight adaptation of Werckmeister's translation found in Derbes and Sandona, *Usurer's Heart*, 132. Werkmeister's translation has "come out" instead of "come forth." I follow Derbes and Sandona in using "come forth" and several smoother transitional phrases, but included passages from Werckmeister that they omitted.

⁵²⁹ Ambrose, *On Repentance*, bk. II, ch. VII, 57. Cited from Derbes and Sandona, *Usurer's Heart*, 132, who altered this translation slightly as well.

⁵³⁰ Jacobus, *Quadragesimale*, *sermo* 59 (sermones.net); Iacopo, *Sermones quadragesimales*, 308-313, esp. 311; *RLS* 3:253. The translation above is from Derbes and Sandona, *Usurer's Heart*, 132.

which he begs for release, calling himself a sinner and a sheep and comparing Boniface to a shepherd. In the climax, in keeping with the personal associative religious attitudes of the time, he compares his situation as a sinner and penitent to that of Lazarus: “I am four days in the fetid tomb, / But with no Mary or Martha to plead for me to the Lord, / Would it not be your honor to call out, ‘Lazarus, Come forth’ / So that I might once more be son and brother?”⁵³¹ This added level of meaning for the events in the *Raising of Lazarus*—of extreme importance in a chapel where the primary message is of penitence as a means of salvation—is explicitly predicated upon the *words* spoken by Christ. By depicting these words in the image, the artist makes an unambiguous statement on behalf of the penitential content of the *Raising of Lazarus*.

The Magdalen Chapel’s *Raising of Lazarus* illuminates the deep connection between Mary Magdalen and Christ. Christ raises Lazarus because the penitent Magdalen acted as intercessor. This is the crux of the description in the *Golden Legend* and what has been emphasized in the fresco. Thus the changes from the Scrovegni Chapel fresco, such as the prominent position of the Magdalen, are iconographically significant choices. It has been altered from its prototype specifically in order to make the relationship between Christ and the Magdalen, the Magdalen’s penitent nature, and penitence writ large, explicitly the subject.

The *Noli me tangere* (fig. 3.15) depicts Christ’s appearance to the Magdalen after his Resurrection. According to the Gospel of John, Mary Magdalen was the person to whom Christ first appeared.⁵³² The account in the *Golden Legend* emphasizes this fact and her role in spreading this news, for which she was known as the apostle to the

⁵³¹ Jacopone da Todi, “Second Letter to Pope Boniface VIII” in *The Lauds*, trans. Elizabeth Hughes and Serge Hughes (Ramsey, NJ: Paulist Press: 1982), pp. 178-180.

⁵³² John 20.1-18.

apostles.⁵³³ The *Noli me tangere* had been depicted in art since the Carolingian period in both reliefs and manuscripts.⁵³⁴ As in the previous scene, this composition is drawn from the Scrovegni Chapel (fig. 3.21). It has often been considered inferior, lacking the harmony and dramatic subtlety of the prototype,⁵³⁵ but as was the case in the *Raising of Lazarus* the changes are iconographically significant and linked to the differences in context between the two chapels.

The most conspicuous change from the Paduan original to the reinvention in Assisi is the elimination of the sleeping soldiers at the foot of the tomb, making the depiction in the Magdalen Chapel a more intimate scene between Mary Magdalen and Christ, and a more accurate pictorial account of the story related in John. In the Scrovegni Chapel, by including the soldiers, and depicting Christ holding aloft a triumphal banner reading VICTOR MORTIS, Giotto painted a scene that was both *Noli me tangere* and *Resurrection*.⁵³⁶ The Magdalen touches the tomb and the soldiers, and is also linked with

⁵³³ Jacobus, *Golden Legend*, vol. I, 376.

⁵³⁴ Rafanelli, "The Ambiguity of Touch," 91. In the late medieval period it was almost ubiquitous in central and southern Italian Magdalen cycles. The one exception is the earliest frescoed cycle, in San Lorenzo Maggiore in Naples. As several scenes have been lost, it is quite possible, even probable, that a *Noli me tangere* was originally included in that program.

⁵³⁵ Sirén, *Giotto*, 95, and Schwartz, "Fresco Decoration," 67. Rafanelli believes Giotto's version "may well be the single most influential representation of the motif in Western art." She argues that while Giotto includes traditional motifs, he "reinterprets the interaction of Christ and the Magdalene – lending it poignancy and emotion, and giving new visual form to the complexity of the Magdalene's longing to touch Christ, as well as to Christ's reaction to her." Rafanelli "The Ambiguity of Touch," 147.

⁵³⁶ Rafanelli claims that although the *Resurrection* motif was gaining in popularity at this period in the west, Giotto stuck with a more traditional approach and painted a *Noli me tangere*. Although she mentions the addition of the banner, she does not seem to read this and the incongruous presence of the soldiers as a sign that in fact Giotto was conflating the two events/iconographies. Rafanelli, "The Ambiguity of Touch," 148. Additionally, the *Resurrection* was not a new iconography. For eleventh and twelfth century examples see, Franz Rademacher, "Zu den frühesten Darstellungen der Auferstehung Christi," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 28, no. 3 (1965): 195-224. John Ruskin referred to the Scrovegni Chapel *Noli me tangere* as the *Resurrection* as early as 1854; however, his comments indicate that he understood this image as representing the Resurrection of Christ, not that he saw the iconography as a conflated one. John Ruskin, *Giotto and His Works in Padua: Being An Explanatory Notice of the Frescoes in the Arena Chapel* (Sunnyside, Orpington and London: George Allen, 1900), 154. It is captioned *La resurrezione* in Gabriella Greco, ed., *Giotto* (Milano: Electa, 2006), 190; and *Noli me tangere. La Resurrezione di Cristo* in Giuseppe Basile, ed., *Giotto: gli affreschi della Cappella degli Scrovegni a Padova* (Milano: Skira, 2002), 355.

the left side of the painting by Giotto's use of color.⁵³⁷ This dilutes the intensity of her interaction with Christ, located on the right. With the removal of the soldiers, the visual focus in the fresco in the Magdalen Chapel is more clearly the interaction between the Magdalen and Christ. A hoe replaces Christ's banner, and two small angels fly directly overhead. As there are fewer figures, the composition is cleaner and less cluttered; thus the viewer's eye is more strongly drawn to the primary participants. Whereas in the Scrovegni Chapel the Magdalen is linked with the left side of the fresco through both color and compositional elements, here there is a distinct cleavage—a vertical cleft in the landscape—separating the tomb from Mary Magdalen and Christ. Thus the setting is used to physically isolate the protagonists, emphasizing their interaction as the crucial element of the scene.

The intensity of this interaction, too, is more emphatic in the Magdalen Chapel than in the Scrovegni Chapel rendition. As opposed to the pyramidal Magdalen of Giotto, so still that her hair remains neatly covered by her red mantle, in the Magdalen Chapel the Magdalen lunges towards Christ with true longing. Her cloak falls back to reveal her hair, covered only by a transparent veil. The Magdalen's hair both recalls her conversion in the House of the Pharisee when she washed Christ's feet with her tears and dried them with her hair, and foreshadows her legendary sojourn in the desert clad only in her hair, thus functioning as a multivalent symbol connoting both her sinful former life and her penitence. Christ, who in the Scrovegni Chapel calmly holds up his hand to prevent the Magdalen from touching him, here twists and bends dramatically away, his garment

While neither volume explains the rationale by which the work was titled, the extended title in the latter seems to recognize the mixed iconography inherent to this version.

⁵³⁷ Her characteristic red is used in the angels' wings, the uniforms of the soldiers, and strikingly, the massive empty tomb.

flaring out in a dynamic swirl behind his right shoulder. The diagonal created from his outstretched arm to her straining body produces a palpable tension and sense of arrested, panicked motion not seen in the Scrovegni Chapel version. Moreover, in the Scrovegni Chapel, Christ seems to be moving away from Mary Magdalen—his left arm disappears behind the right-hand border—reducing the tension between them. In contrast, in the Magdalen Chapel Christ has nowhere to go to escape the Magdalen's touch; the landscape increases the dramatic tension. Although Christ twists away, a wall of rock hems him in on the right and the cleft prevents escape on the left. The compositional structure thus renders his words, "*noli me tangere*," necessary as they were not in the Scrovegni Chapel.

In general, there is a greater urgency to Christ's admonition, "don't touch me" in the Magdalen Chapel, because her touch is so imminent (fig. 3.15a). In the Scrovegni Chapel a considerable lacuna exists between the two protagonists, and plants spring up between the Magdalen's hand and Christ. While redolent with symbolic meaning,⁵³⁸ they visually act as a barrier separating Mary Magdalen from Christ, preventing her from touching him. Although the plants are also present in the fresco in the Magdalen Chapel, they are not placed between the Magdalen's hands and Christ, and thus present no obstacle. In fact, The Magdalen's outstretched fingertips *do touch*—indeed begin to penetrate—the radiating golden nimbus encircling Christ, a visual representation of his sanctified state.

The final significant change in the Magdalen Chapel depiction of the *Noli me tangere* is the radically different depiction of the angels on the tomb. In the Magdalen Chapel, the angel on the right now faces towards the protagonists and points towards

⁵³⁸ They represent Christ's rebirth.

Christ, as opposed to being turned slightly away and facing outwards as in the Scrovegni Chapel. Thus both angels now face the Magdalen and Christ, observing them, reinforcing the increased focus on the central action seen throughout this version of the *Noli me tangere*.⁵³⁹ Damage, however, partially obscures the most radical alteration in the angels, an innovation in the Magdalen Chapel that is without clear precedent. The angels' heads have been modeled in low relief and their faces and hands have been covered in gold leaf (fig. 3.15a&b).⁵⁴⁰ This is apparently a reference to the scriptural account in Matthew 28.3 in which an angel at the tomb is described as having a "countenance...like lightning."⁵⁴¹ While Eve Borsook notes it is a "rare allusion to the Gospel account" she critiques it and the gold aureole surrounding Christ as old-fashioned.⁵⁴² This misguided criticism seems to be based primarily on the fact that it has no precedent in the Scrovegni Chapel. The use of large quantities of gold was not old-fashioned in the first decade of the fourteenth century; indeed, it would not be so a century or more later.⁵⁴³ Furthermore, little mention has been made of the unusual use of relief for the faces of the angels. While relief was used in fresco, it was limited to halos. The three-dimensionality was then an unusual and inventive element.⁵⁴⁴ It was also necessary if the artist was to render the faces in gold and

⁵³⁹ It also strengthens the sense of rightward movement throughout the fresco—seated angels, flying angels, lunging Magdalen—which culminates, and is abruptly halted, at the figure of Christ.

⁵⁴⁰ This was discovered in the 1967 restoration. Previtali, "Capelle," 111.

⁵⁴¹ Matthew 28.3.

⁵⁴² This is much the same grounds as others' criticisms of the text in the *Raising of Lazarus*.

⁵⁴³ See works such as those of Fra Angelico in the 1440s, or Pinturicchio in the 1480s, for example.

⁵⁴⁴ I am aware of no other example of the use of this kind of relief for figures in fresco painting. A few examples exist in panel painting, most notably the *Madonna and Child* altarpiece, the so-called *Madonna del Carmelo*, or *Madonna del Carmine*, in Santa Maria Maggiore, Florence. The rationale and meaning behind the use of relief, however, cannot have been the same. In the case of the altarpiece, cavities in the relief heads held pouches containing relics, thus the relief medium enabled the altarpiece to also serve as reliquary. Susannah Fisher thus argues that the use of relief in this altarpiece is transitional between three dimensional cult statue and painted image, and were a meditation on the miracle of the Incarnation. And that furthermore, the use of three-dimensionality served to make the Virgin and Christ "tangibly present." See Susannah Fisher, "The Tabernacle of the Most High: The Florentine Santa Maria Maggiore Madonna," *Arte Medievale* 7, no. 2 (2007): 75-85. Thus in the altarpiece the relief medium emphasizes the word made

not have them appear to be without depth. This attempt to “tangibly signify unearthly brightness”⁵⁴⁵ is so uncommon, daring, and radical, that old-fashioned is a singularly inappropriate term for it. This departure from the classicizing angels of the Scrovegni Chapel shows inventiveness and a willingness to express new ideas, not archaism.

As in the *Raising of Lazarus*, the Magdalen Chapel *Noli me tangere* displays an increased emphasis on Mary Magdalen and her relationship with Christ. In the Scrovegni Chapel the scene is both *Resurrection* and *Noli me tangere* and is primarily concerned with the revelation of the divine nature of Christ. In the Magdalen Chapel it is only *Noli me tangere* and the emphasis on the interaction between Christ and the Magdalen indicates that the primary concern is that the revelation was to the Magdalen, the reward for her penitence and great devotion to Christ. This event made her apostle to the apostles, a unique role that was the basis for her post-biblical legendary life as a preacher, and one source for her remarkable popularity.

While both the *Raising of Lazarus* and the *Noli me tangere* repeat formulas established in the Scrovegni Chapel, there are notable alterations from these originals. Given the nature of the changes, and the extent to which the artist did follow Giotto in other aspects of the formal structure, these should not be understood as signs of a less talented artist unable to replicate Giotto’s compositions, but as iconographically meaningful adaptations, which are signifiers of content. In the Scrovegni Chapel, the frescoes are part of a Christological cycle; in the Magdalen Chapel they are part of a

flesh, but in the fresco, it is used for the otherworldly angels. For the altarpiece more generally, and for an extensive bibliography covering from 1684-1992, see also Boskovits, *Origins of Florentine Painting*, sect. I, vol. I, 128-130, 570, 584-88. Boskovits notes the existence of some other painted wooden relief altarpieces, but calls the image “decidedly singular” for its combination of painting and sculpture (ibid, 128 n258).

⁵⁴⁵ Previtali, “Cappelle,” 111.

pictorial cycle narrating the life of Mary Magdalen. The emphasis of the cycle's narration in the former is therefore on Christ, and in the latter on the Magdalen. This change in focus alters the meaning and significance of the two events; the new iconographic details seen in the Magdalen Chapel are an intentioned response to this shift in the meaning of these scenes.

The fourth and final scene in the lower register, *The Voyage to Marseilles* (fig. 3.16), is the first fresco in the cycle to depict the legendary post-biblical life of Mary Magdalen. The story is that of the *Miracle of Marseilles*, as told in the *Golden Legend* and discussed in chapter two in relation to the Pipino Chapel. In this rendition two parts of the legend are depicted: the Magdalen's arrival in Marseilles, and the return voyage of the ruler of Marseilles from his pilgrimage to Rome and Jerusalem. It is not, strictly speaking, a continuous narrative; rather two moments of the legend are depicted simultaneously. In the center of the fresco we see the Magdalen with her entourage approaching Marseilles when they first arrive. At the same time the ruler's wife and their son (whose image is badly damaged) are depicted on an island offshore to the left, and a boat arrives to rescue them. Two angels fly in front of the Christians' ship, leading them towards safety at Marseilles. Originally they were pulling the vessel with a golden rope—a visual representation of God's guidance, which miraculously brought them to Marseilles.⁵⁴⁶ While difficult to make out, a bit of the rope and the loop attaching it to the boat are still observable with magnification.

The damage to this painting is perhaps the most problematic to its reading. In addition to the loss of gold in the rope, as previously mentioned, the child on the island was so badly damaged that it was painted over in an earlier restoration and was only

⁵⁴⁶ Schwartz, "Fresco Decoration," 81.

uncovered in the 1967 conservation treatment (Figs. 3.16a&b). Rotondi argued that the damage was likely caused by the transformation of white lead pigment into lead dioxide through an incompetent restorer's use of soda with hydrogen peroxide as a cleansing agent.⁵⁴⁷ While the transformation of the whites is not limited to this figure, the rediscovery of the child resonated beyond the technical issues, initiating a reassessment of the content and meaning of the scene.⁵⁴⁸

According to Sirén, this fresco is one of the earliest seascapes in western art.⁵⁴⁹ An ambitious composition, it is not totally successful. The perspective and scale of the fresco is inconsistent, with some of the figures appearing miniaturized. The boat carrying the Christians is awkward and oddly rounded in appearance. However, the small sailboats in the harbor are much more realistically rendered. Due to the composition, Mary Magdalen is a less dominant figure here than in the other scenes in the cycle. She is clearly emphasized, however, through her placement in the center of the boat, and her red garments serve to focus the viewer's attention.

To the right of the painting, directly in front of the Magdalen's boat is an unusual emblem (fig. 3.16c). It consists of two flags, both with white grounds. The lower flag features a red cross, the upper depicts a red rampant lion. They rise from a crenellated tower, which emerges out of an upside-down crown. Beneath this is another upside-down crown. This symbol is located in an area of the surface that has significant damage, impairing legibility. Directly to the right of the emblem is an odd shape, so faint that it

⁵⁴⁷ Rotondi, "Giotto nella cappella della Maddalena," 85-86. As lead white cannot be used *a fresco*, this suggests that the figure was either painted in lead white *a secco* or that another explanation for the damage must be found. Lime white, or chalk, was typically used as the white pigment in fresco. Cennini, *Craftsman's Handbook*, 50.

⁵⁴⁸ Rotondi, "Giotto nella cappella della Maddalena," 85, 86. It can be seen in a lesser degree in the lunette of *Mary Magdalen in Colloquy with Angels*, in figures in the under-arch, and in the cosmatesque decoration on the ribs of the vault.

⁵⁴⁹ Sirén, *Giotto*, 95.

can hardly be made out. It appears to be a box (perhaps in gold leaf) above five legs or strings. It may originally have been part of the same symbol, but is so badly damaged as to prohibit further discussion of it.⁵⁵⁰

This unusual emblem is difficult to interpret. The flags seemingly refer to the commune of Assisi, and can be seen throughout the city today. The crenellated tower also appears as a symbol of Assisi. The emblem, therefore, seems in part to imply a connection between Assisi, whose symbols are depicted, and Provence, where the figures are heading. But what to make of the upside down crowns? Schwartz posits that these may allude to St. Louis of Toulouse, who renounced his claim to the Angevin throne in order to become a friar.⁵⁵¹ As discussed in chapter one, St. Louis was the son of King Charles II of Naples and Provence. He was born in Provence in February 1274. After taking Franciscan Orders in 1296, St. Louis was made Bishop of Toulouse at the extraordinarily young age of twenty-two or twenty-three. He died in 1297 and was buried in the Franciscan church at Marseilles.⁵⁵² After his canonization St. Louis was made the patron saint of Marseilles along with Mary Magdalen.⁵⁵³

Images exist of St. Louis with an upside down crown symbolizing his renunciation of temporal kingship. One such image, painted by Simone Martini, is located in the St. Elizabeth Chapel in the north transept of the Lower Church, adjacent to the western entrance arch to the Magdalen Chapel (fig. 3.23). Schwartz hypothesizes that the dual crowns, which are not seen elsewhere in conjunction with St. Louis, may here

⁵⁵⁰ Schwartz, "Fresco Decoration," devotes a small section at the end of her dissertation to discussion of the emblem (193-198) but does not note this odd box-figure, saying only that "the surface of the fresco in which the emblem appears has suffered considerable damage from moisture; thus, it is possible that originally the emblem included additional features of which no trace survives" (ibid., 193-194).

⁵⁵¹ Ibid., 194.

⁵⁵² In 1423 his relics were translated to the cathedral church of Valencia.

⁵⁵³ Schwartz, "Fresco Decoration," 195.

represent not only the crown of Naples, but also Provence,⁵⁵⁴ an idea that is very attractive given the context. Provence and its Angevin rulers were, as we have seen in the previous chapters, intimately linked with Mary Magdalen. Her arrival in Provence, depicted in this scene, was a prerequisite for the Angevins' intimate relationship with her.

Although St. Louis of Toulouse was canonized by Pope John XXII on April 7, 1317, his canonization was officially promoted by Pope Clement V in 1307, thus at precisely the time this chapel's decorative program was likely begun.⁵⁵⁵ Surprisingly, Schwartz argues that it is unlikely that this emblem was meant as an "official endorsement" for his canonization, citing St. Louis' "Spiritualist sympathies" as a deterrent.⁵⁵⁶ Given that St. Louis' canonization had been officially promoted, there can have been no difficulty in advancing this cause in this chapel. Although St. Louis' canonization was more actively advocated by Charles II and his allies than by the Order,⁵⁵⁷ this has less to do with Franciscan reluctance than with the aggressive Angevin pursuit of *beata stirps* discussed in chapter one. Nevertheless, we know at least one prominent Franciscan was active in the canonization process. The former Minister

⁵⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁵ See the discussion of the canonization of Louis of Toulouse in chapter one. See also Livarius Oliger, "St. Louis of Toulouse," in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 9 (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1910), 25 Jun. 2012, <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/09385c.htm>.

⁵⁵⁶ Schwartz, "Fresco Decoration," 196-7. Schwartz cites what she refers to as "the reluctance on the part of the Franciscan establishment to support an effort for Louis' canonization," based on his Spiritualist sympathies and his association with Olivi, one of the Spiritual leaders, as a reason against this symbol being read as a sign of support for making Louis a saint. While there is no doubt that Olivi had contacts with St. Louis (a letter dated May 1295 exists from Olivi to the three Angevin princes in which he responds to an invitation from them to visit), Olivi was not in disgrace at the time the chapel was decorated, so their friendship would not have been a hindrance. Olivi was censured in 1283 and his ideas were attacked again in 1311. David Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans: From Protest to Persecution in the Century After Saint Francis* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), 74. The letter is available in its entirety in Heinrich Denifle O.P., und Franz Ehrle S.J. eds., *Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters* (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1887), vol. 3, 534-40. Furthermore, Pope John XXII, under whom Louis was canonized, was no friend of the Spirituals. Any Spiritual sympathies on St. Louis' part do not, therefore, seem to have been problematic for his canonization.

⁵⁵⁷ Schwartz, "Fresco Decoration," 196.

General of the Order, Raymond Geoffroi acted as a witness for St. Louis sometime prior to his death in 1310.⁵⁵⁸ Given that the painting was carried out at the time of the first canonization process, and that St. Louis of Toulouse was connected with Provence, where this narrative occurs, with the Angevins, in whose territory Teobaldo had previously served as bishop, and that he was both a member of the Franciscan Order and bishop, like the patron himself, it is likely that the emblem in the *Voyage to Marseilles* indeed supported St. Louis' canonization.⁵⁵⁹

Leaving aside the emblem, the *Voyage to Marseilles* is a liminal scene, serving as a bridge between the early life of Mary Magdalen and her later years as a penitent in the desert, seen in the lunettes above. It depicts Mary Magdalen's physical transition from the East to the West, and her transition from biblical saint to legendary penitent. It sets up her tenure in the desert, but also, via the inclusion of the mother and son on the island, alludes to her role as a preacher and apostle, which developed out of her biblical role during Christ's ministry and as the announcer of Christ's Resurrection to the apostles.

Continuing to the upper register, the first scene depicted in the lunettes is *The Magdalen in Colloquy with Angels* (fig. 3.17), located directly above the *Noli me tangere* and the *Voyage to Marseilles*. According to the *Golden Legend*, after converting Marseilles, which elected Lazarus bishop, the Christians next converted Aix, where St. Maximin was named bishop. Thus completing her worldly work, the Magdalen devoted herself to heavenly contemplation, residing in the desert for thirty years, where:

⁵⁵⁸ Burr, *Spiritual Franciscans*, 113-114. A Spiritual who, after he was dismissed as Minister General in 1295, had been intimate with St. Louis of Toulouse, he was present when St. Louis died.

⁵⁵⁹ Schwartz alternately proposes that the emblem refers to a treaty of 1297 between Assisi and Naples, hypothesizing that Teobaldo, by virtue of his connections with both parties, might have been involved in its formation. This explanation provides an explanation for the presence of multiple symbols of the commune of Assisi in the emblem. However, why Naples would be indicated by a symbol for St. Louis of Toulouse instead of one clearly associated with the state, is problematic, and raises questions as to the validity of this line of reasoning. Schwartz, "Fresco Decoration," 197.

Every day at the seven canonical hours she was carried aloft by angels and with her bodily ears heard the glorious chants of the celestial hosts. So it was that day by day she was gratified with these supernal delights and, being conveyed back to her own place by the same angels, needed no material nourishment.⁵⁶⁰

This is the event depicted in the *Colloquy with Angels*. It is an unusual scene in central Italian Magdalen pictorial *vitae* of this period, appearing elsewhere only on the *Magdalen Master Dossal* in a quite different composition (fig. 1.8). This depiction lyrically illustrates the rewards of the contemplative life.⁵⁶¹ Mary Magdalen is praying, held aloft on a cloud by two angels. Two other angels fly above, one of them making a gesture of benediction upon the Magdalen. Below, in the rocky landscape, we see the cavern in which she resided. Thus, after scenes alluding to the active life of the Magdalen, such as the *Noli me tangere* and the *Voyage to Marseilles*, the emphasis in the upper register switches to the contemplative life, so that both aspects of the *vita mixta* followed by the Franciscans, of which the Magdalen was an exemplar, are represented.

The Magdalen is naked, covered only with her long hair, one of her most typical attributes.⁵⁶² Although loose hair traditionally symbolized sexual sin, it was transformed through Mary's actions at the *Supper in the House of the Pharisee* into a symbol of her penitence.⁵⁶³ It is in this same guise, as a contemplative and penitent, that the Magdalen is depicted in the subsequent scene.

In the lunette above the main entrance arch is the scene of *Mary Magdalen Receiving the Mantle* (fig. 3.18). Although it is derived directly from the *Golden Legend*, this event, like the one in the previous fresco, is rarely represented in pictorial *vitae*.

⁵⁶⁰ Jacobus, *Golden Legend*, vol. I, 380.

⁵⁶¹ Schwartz, "Fresco Decoration," 87; Schwartz, "Patronage and Franciscan Iconography," 33.

⁵⁶² For the naked Magdalen see Haskins, *Myth and Metaphor*, 117, 227; and Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen*, 130-134.

⁵⁶³ Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen*, 130, 132.

According to Jacobus, after thirty years, a priest residing in the desert saw Mary Magdalen in communion with the angels. He approached her cave, called out to her and she told him whom she was. Jacobus provides two variants on the tale. According to the first, she sent him to tell St. Maximin that on the day of the Lord's Resurrection she would appear in the church with angels. In the second, or "Narrat Josephus" variant, the Magdalen asked the priest for some clothing, which she received, and then went with him to the church.⁵⁶⁴ This rendering therefore follows the "Narrat Josephus" version, depicting the holy man giving her clothing.

While scenes of the Magdalen in her cave are found in all of the Magdalen cycles considered in this study, this is the only appearance of this particular narrative. When the Magdalen was depicted in her cave she was most frequently shown receiving Communion from an angel, as seen on the *Magdalen Master Dossal*, in all three Neapolitan cycles, and later, in the Magdalen Chapel in the Palazzo del Podestà, Florence (figs. 1.9, 2.5, 2.18, 2.27, 5.9). Additionally on both the *Magdalen Master Dossal* (1.10) and in the Palazzo del Podestà (fig. 5.10), there is a second cave scene, where St. Maximin provides the Magdalen with the Host. Neither of these more popular narratives followed textual sources, indicating that this cycle cleaves more closely to Jacobus' account. Often this scene is misidentified as *Mary Magdalen Receiving the Mantle from the hermit Zosimo* or *Zosimus*.⁵⁶⁵ In the legend of Mary Magdalen, however, the hermit/priest is unnamed. Zosimus is the hermit in the story of St. Mary of Egypt's

⁵⁶⁴ Jacobus, *Golden Legend*, vol. I, 380-1.

⁵⁶⁵ Lunghi, *Basilica of St. Francis*, 151; Sirén, *Giotto*, 95; Berenson, *Italian Pictures*, 80; Flores D'Arcais, *Giotto*, 276; Baccheschi, *Complete Paintings*, 111; Salvini, *All the Paintings*, 88; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, vol. 1, 315 n2; etc.

sojourn in the desert,⁵⁶⁶ a story that, as discussed previously, was a primary source for the legends of Mary Magdalen's stay in the wilderness.

In *Mary Magdalen Receiving the Mantle*, the Magdalen kneeling inside her cave looks much as she did when elevated in the *Colloquy with the Angels* (fig. 3.17). Again she appears clad only in her flowing golden hair. While her expression and facial position are almost identical, however, she lacks the subtle modeling of the *Colloquy*.⁵⁶⁷ The rocky outcropping containing her cave takes up almost the entire picture plane. She looks out at the priest from the blackness of the interior and grasps the mantle that he hands to her. The priest wears a brown hooded cloak much like that worn by Teobaldo Pontano in his donor portrait as a friar. The two figures, although engaged in action, seem totally still, as if lost in contemplation of each other.

In the final scene of the Magdalen cycle, the *Last Communion and Ascension of the Magdalen* (fig. 3.19) we see the Magdalen receiving Holy Communion prior to her death. This scene thus represents the final stage of the penitential path, in which contrition and the successful fulfillment of penance is rewarded with Holy Communion.

All the clergy, including the priest already mentioned, were now called together, and blessed Mary Magdalene, shedding tears of joy, received the Lord's Body and Blood from the bishop. Then she lay down full length before the steps of the altar, and her most holy soul migrated to the Lord.⁵⁶⁸

Here the Magdalen is receiving Viaticum, or Last Communion, reminding us of the words of St. Francis in the *Rule of 1221*, "Blessed are those who die in penance, for they shall be in the kingdom of heaven."⁵⁶⁹

⁵⁶⁶ Jacobus, *Golden Legend*, vol. I, 227.

⁵⁶⁷ Also while the halo in the *Colloquy* is shown at an oblique angle appropriate to the profile view, the halo in this scene is more circular and less subtly rendered.

⁵⁶⁸ Jacobus, *Golden Legend*, vol. I, 381.

⁵⁶⁹ Saint Francis, *The Earlier Rule*, ch. XXI, in *The Saint*, 78.

The fresco is divided into three compositional groups. On the left are members of the clergy in attitudes of prayer. On the right the Magdalen kneels before the high altar, while St. Maximin administers Communion. Although her hair is now bound and she is clothed, her serene and peaceful expression relates this representation to the other lunette frescoes, as opposed to the torment and yearning expressed by the Magdalen in the first three frescoes of the cycle. In the center, under the apex of the lunette, we see the ascension of the Magdalen.⁵⁷⁰ Mary Magdalen is held aloft by four angels. Instead of being inside a typical mandorla, she is carried within what has alternately been described as a small boat⁵⁷¹ and a shell.⁵⁷² Her hands are in an attitude of prayer and she looks up to her left, as do two of the angels, while the other two look at the Magdalen. Her gaze is therefore in the direction of both the altar depicted in the fresco and of actual altar in the chapel, the location where the Sacrament of the Eucharist was performed. More specifically, she gazes upon the ceiling tondo containing a bust of Christ the Redeemer (figs. 3.24 & 3.24a), visually confirming her place among the blessed, and the source of her redemption. That she receives the Eucharist and thus her final absolution from a

⁵⁷⁰ Most scholars believe the upper section depicts Mary Magdalen's soul (or even her physical body) ascending to heaven. See for example: Kenaan-Kedar, "Emotion, Beauty and Franciscan Piety," 706; Flores D'Arcais, *Giotto*, 297; Sirén, *Giotto*, 95 (who calls the work *The Magdalen's Last Communion and Translation*); Troiano and Pompei, *Illustrated Guide*, 29-30; Baccheschi, *Complete Paintings*, 111. The text of the *Golden Legend* suggests an alternate possibility: her miraculous transportation by angels to the church prior to receiving Last Communion. Volpe adopts this reading, arguing that given the rarity of the theme of the ascension of the Magdalen, and the potential conflict that this interpretation creates with the discovery of her body in Provence in 1279 it is unlikely that the iconography would be in potential conflict with the new cult. Volpe, in Bonsanti, *Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi*, vol. 4, 386. If we see her soul ascending, however, not her physical body, there is no conflict with the cult in St.-Maximin. Furthermore, the theme is not in fact rare, it is possible that it appeared in the Pipino Chapel fresco (fig. 2.28), which is too damaged for assessment, and it certainly appears in the Magdalen Chapel in the Palazzo del Podestà (fig. 5.11), as well as later, in the Magdalen Chapel in S. Domenico, Spoleto. Lastly the fact that the Magdalen wears different clothing, of an angelic white, in the image where she is held aloft by angels, rather than the pink gown given to her by the hermit in the previous scene and worn by her while receiving Last Communion, argues against it being read as her arrival at the church.

⁵⁷¹ Previtali, "Cappelle," 110; Flores D'Arcais, *Giotto*, 297; Volpe, in Bonsanti, *Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi*, vol. 4, 386.

⁵⁷² Kenaan-Kedar, "Emotion, Beauty and Franciscan Piety," 706.

bishop saint (St. Maximin) must have appealed to the patron Teobaldo in his guise as bishop, and this fresco is located on the same wall as the donor portrait of Bishop Teobaldo with St. Rufino.

The life of Magdalen cycle is designed to emphasize the importance of penance on the path to salvation. The choice of scenes is devised to elucidate Mary Magdalen's penitential nature and to accentuate specific themes of particular importance to the Franciscan Order: her intimate relationship with Christ, and the active and contemplative way of life, or *vita mixta*, which she exemplified.

The Supper in the House of the Pharisee (fig. 3.13), the Magdalen's penitential conversion, depicts a sublimely repentant Magdalen, weeping tears of contrition. Through its illustration of the close personal connection between Mary Magdalen and Christ it reminds the worshipper that although the Magdalen was a sinner, Christ forgave her due to the sincerity of her repentance. *The Raising of Lazarus* (fig. 3.14) not only shows the depth of Christ's love for the Magdalen, but with the inclusion of the text, "*Foras Veni Lazare,*" can be understood to be calling sinners to confess and repent. *Noli me tangere* (fig. 3.15) presents the Magdalen as the person chosen by Christ for his first post-Resurrection appearance. By singling her out over all others, the virtue of the penitential path was confirmed, and the Magdalen became the apostle to the apostles, a role of great importance to the Franciscans, who modeled their lives on those of Christ's early apostles.⁵⁷³ *The Voyage to Marseilles* (fig. 3.16) illustrates not only God's favor, which enabled her to miraculously cross the ocean, but, through the inclusion of the *Miracle of Marseilles*, references her activities as a preacher, one of the most important duties of the Franciscan friars, key to the active element of the *vita mixta*. It also seems to

⁵⁷³ See discussion in chapter one.

advocate for the canonization of the Angevin Franciscan saint, Louis of Toulouse. The Magdalen's sojourn in the desert was understood as both penitential and contemplative in nature. In particular, the *Magdalen in Colloquy with the Angels* (fig. 3.17) illustrates the rewards of contemplation, that is, the mystical union with God. *The Last Communion and Ascension of the Magdalen* (fig. 3.19) represents the final reward for a life filled with penance, contemplation, apostolic activity, and love of Christ.

The depiction of the figure of Mary Magdalen augments the penitential theme of the pictorial cycle. Mary Magdalen is represented on her knees in a penitential posture in nearly every scene. This can be clearly seen in five of the frescoes: *The Supper in the House of the Pharisee*, *The Raising of Lazarus*, the *Noli me tangere*, the *Colloquy with the Angels*, and the *Last Communion and Ascension of the Magdalen*. In the remaining two scenes—*The Voyage to Marseilles* and *The Magdalen Receiving the Mantle*—her lower body is obscured. She is not standing, however, and is probably intended to be kneeling in these as well.⁵⁷⁴ Further emphasizing her penitential nature, the Magdalen is shown in tears in both *The Supper in the House of the Pharisee* and *The Raising of Lazarus*. The intimate association between Mary Magdalen and tears, seen in the biblical accounts of her life (Luke 7.38; John 11.33, John 20.11-15), was used in medieval writings as a symbol of her sincere penance, as tears were understood in the Middle Ages to represent the state of contrition and symbolize the washing away of sin.⁵⁷⁵ The

⁵⁷⁴ The similarity of Mary Magdalen's pose in the *Colloquy with the Angels* and *Magdalen Receiving the Mantle*, and in *The Voyage to Marseilles* and the *Angelic Transportation and Last Communion of the Magdalen* gives support to this interpretation.

⁵⁷⁵ For Mary Magdalen and the medieval understanding of tears, see Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen*, 207-212. See also above in chapter one for Mary Magdalen and tears in Gregory the Great, Homily 33; Ubertino da Casale, *Arbor vitae*, bk. 3, ch. 22, f. 266a – f. 271b; St. Bonaventure (comparing the Magdalen's tears and those of St. Francis), *Opera Omnia* IX, 5, Sermo de angelis, 625-626a.

Franciscan preacher Guibert de Tournai (d. 1284) wrote that through her devotion, Mary Magdalen had been turned into liquid and tears.⁵⁷⁶

Lastly, the somewhat unusual layout of the cycle (figs. 3.4-3.9) also serves to emphasize the penitential aspects of the Magdalen's story. The peculiarities of the scheme result, as previously noted, in the first and final scene being located on the same wall, one below the other. Thus the scene of Mary Magdalen's initial penance-fueled conversion is located directly beneath the scene in which she receives Last Communion, signifying her imminent salvation. This confluence of the initial phase of the penitential path with its final rewards makes a powerful statement in favor of the penitential life. In fact, the cycle can be understood as a visual depiction of penitential theology as it had been laid out by Pope Innocent III at the Fourth Lateran Council in November 1215. Every member of the church had to feel contrition, make confession, fulfill their penance and then could receive Holy Communion.⁵⁷⁷

⁵⁷⁶ MS Angelica 819, f. 286r in *RLS* 2:129. Latin text published in Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen*, 209.

⁵⁷⁷ Innocent III, Canon 21, *Fourth Lateran Council*, in Tanner, ed., *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 245.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE MAGDALEN CHAPEL IN ASSISI II: A PENITENTIAL PANORAMA

In the Magdalen Chapel in Assisi, the strong penitential tenor of the pictorial cycle of the life of the Magdalen is further expressed and augmented through its many iconic devotional images. Most of the holy figures depicted within the chapel had long been understood as penitents. In a sixth-century homily on Mary Magdalen, Gregory the Great mentions David, St. Peter, and the good thief (St. Latro), all depicted here, as well as Mary herself, as “examples put before our eyes of hope and repentance.”⁵⁷⁸ Those saints appearing in the chapel who are not penitents, such as St. Rufino, were chosen for specific reasons linking them to the location and the patron Teobaldo Pontano. While some figures remain unidentified, given the preponderance of penitential saints it is likely they too fit into this schema. The two Old Testament figures, David and Miriam, have halos identical to those of the saints, and Miriam, in fact, is identified as a saint in her *titulus*. This unusual way of depicting Old Testament figures is important, as it indicates that the as yet unidentified figures may be saints, Old Testament figures, or perhaps even virtues.⁵⁷⁹

Most of the figures have identifying *tituli*. The poor condition of the inscriptions and of the blue ground on which most of them appear, suggests that originally all the figures were so identified. Due to this, the program did not rely heavily on attributes for identification. It is therefore particularly difficult to identify the figures without inscriptions, as their attributes are unusual or not specific. Furthermore, three of the four

⁵⁷⁸ Gregory the Great, *Homily 25*, in *Forty Gospel Homilies*, 198.

⁵⁷⁹ It was unusual but not unknown to depict Old Testament figures as saints. For example, in Venice, the church of San Moise, or St. Moses, was founded in the 9th century.

unidentified female figures in the main entrance arch lack attributes altogether. I begin my discussion of the iconic frescos of the Magdalen Chapel with the two figures paired with the donor portraits (discussed in the previous chapter), then turn to those of the entrance arch and end with the figures surrounding the window. I conclude my discussion of the Magdalen Chapel with a brief discussion of the iconography of the windows, which, like the fresco program of the chapel, features both a Magdalen pictorial cycle and iconic imagery.

LOWEST REGISTER FIGURES

Paired with the two donor portraits are two unidentified figures (figs. 3.4-3.7, 4.1 & 4.2).⁵⁸⁰ Because their identity is unknown it has been difficult to see how they fit into the program as a whole and what connection they have with the donor portraits. I propose a speculative identification which links the four figures, and fits into the Franciscan iconographic program of the Magdalen Chapel.

Located on the east wall, on the other side of the side entrance arch from the portrait of Mary Magdalen and friar Teobaldo, this is the only half-length figure in the chapel (fig. 4.1).⁵⁸¹ The figure is dressed in white with thick gold trim at the opening at the neck and down the sides of the cloak. There is also a thick band of gold on the chest of the undergarment. It has golden, wavy hair that may be chin length or may be pulled back, and is capped by a tiara-style crown with a ball at the pinnacle. The figure holds a golden orb in its right hand, which it presses to its chest. Its left hand is at its waist

⁵⁸⁰ All four are framed with painted columns with capitals mimicking those in the chapel, making it evident they should be understood as related.

⁵⁸¹ The wall protrudes here at what would be the midpoint of a full-length image, hence the image needed to be half-length.

clutching a fold of its robe. If any inscription existed it has been lost due to the poor condition of the blue ground.

Crowe and Cavalcaselle believed this to be Lazarus,⁵⁸² Bonsanti identified it as a female saint,⁵⁸³ while Brown and Rankin identified it as an angel, as did Schwartz.⁵⁸⁴ The Lazarus identification is untenable; Lazarus is nowhere depicted in this manner. While a female saint is possible, the attributes do not suggest any particular saint. The identification as an angel is more persuasive. The iconography suggests a dominion or domination—angels of the second hierarchy according to the *De Hierarchia Celesti* attributed in the Middle Ages to St. Dionysius the Areopagite⁵⁸⁵—which are associated with the attributes of orbs and crowns.⁵⁸⁶ Problematically, however, it has no wings. I suggest an alternate possibility: that this figure is the virtue Queen Wisdom, who confounds Satan, according to St. Francis in his *Salutation to the Virtues*.⁵⁸⁷ Orbs and a

⁵⁸² Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *New History of Painting* (1908), vol. 1, 315, n2.

⁵⁸³ Bonsanti, *Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi*, vol. 1, 381; also Volpe, in Bonsanti, *Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi*, vol. 4, 385-6. Berenson also identified it as a saint; no gender was mentioned. Berenson, *Italian Pictures*, 80.

⁵⁸⁴ Alice Van Vechten Brown and William Rankin, *A Short History of Italian Painting* (London: J.M. Dent; New York: E.P. Dutton, 1914), 57; Schwartz, "Fresco Decoration," 158-9. Schwartz notes that the imagery is confused (claiming incorrectly that no angel carries a globe), and suggests an allegorical interpretation is possible. By the writing of her 1991 article, she no longer believes it to be an angel at all but a "sainted ruler." Schwartz, "Patronage and Franciscan Iconography," 35-6, fig. 49.

⁵⁸⁵ In addition to Pseudo-Dionysius, St. Ambrose (in *Apologia Prophet David*, 5), St. Jerome and Gregory the Great all listed Dominations as a rank in the celestial hierarchy. See Gustave Davidson, *A Dictionary of the Angels Including the Fallen Angels* (New York: The Free Press; London: Collier Macmillan Publishers, 1967), 97, 336-337.

⁵⁸⁶ Leslie Ross, *Medieval Art: A Topic Dictionary* (Westport, CT; London: Greenwood Press, 1996), 13; James Hall, *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art*, rev. ed. (Boulder: Westview Press, 1979), 17.

⁵⁸⁷ Saint Francis, *A Salutation to the Virtues*, in *The Saint: Francis of Assisi: Early Documents I*, eds. Regis J. Armstrong, O.F.M. Cap., J.A. Wayne Hellmann, O.F.M. Conv., and William J. Short, O.F.M. (New York: New City Press, 1999), 164-165. This work is found in multiple manuscripts including Assisi MS 338 (13th c.) and the Ognissanti MS (14th c.). Schwartz first suggested that this figure could have an allegorical reading, stating that it might visually affirm the vocation presented in the facing donor portrait—that of St. Rufino and Bishop Teobaldo—as a representation of governance in the name of God. She later argued that this figure may represent "earthly governance" while the other paired figure represents "monasticism." Thus in her view the two figures paired with the donor portraits are representative of the "double calling" of Teobaldo. The idea that a bishop's role would be analagous to that of a ruler strikes me as implausible, and it seems that if that was the aim of the iconographer, another bishop saint would be the more likely

crown, as attributes of royalty, are appropriate for a virtue hailed as queen. Such a reading would also suggest an identity for the figure to the northwest, that is, Lady Holy Poverty, praised by St. Francis in the same work.

The west wall figure (fig. 4.2) across the side entrance from the portrait of St. Rufino and Bishop Teobaldo also lacks a *titulus*, although a trace of gold may remain above her shoulders. Her only attribute is her clothing; she wears a nun's habit, a simple brown robe with no belt. Speculations as to her identity have varied.⁵⁸⁸ She has sometimes been identified as St. Clare,⁵⁸⁹ but there is nothing to support this. Although she is dressed as a nun and this is a Franciscan church, her garments are not Clarissan. She has a white veil, not the black veil of the Poor Clares, and she lacks the triple knotted rope belt worn to signify poverty, chastity and obedience.⁵⁹⁰ Nor does she carry any of the attributes of St. Clare, such as the monstrance, crozier or lily. She is most safely identified simply as a sainted nun.⁵⁹¹ However, as suggested, it may be that she represents Lady Poverty, a virtue of great importance to the Franciscans.⁵⁹²

choice. Schwartz, "Fresco Decoration," 158-159; Schwartz, "Patronage and Franciscan Iconography," 35-36.

⁵⁸⁸ Baccheschi identifies this figure as "the penitent Magdalen." No reason is given for this inexplicable identification; Flores D'Arcais identifies her as a Franciscan saint; Salvini and Previtali neglect to mention the existence of this work on the west wall. Baccheschi, *Complete Paintings*, 111; Flores D'Arcais, *Giotto*, 275; Salvini, *All the Paintings*, 88; Previtali, "Cappelle," 110.

⁵⁸⁹ Berenson, *Italian Pictures*, 80.

⁵⁹⁰ The rope belt and black veil were first mentioned in Innocent IV's regulations of 1247. White veils were worn only by lay sisters and novices. Warr, *Dressing For Heaven*, 135. See also Ross, *Medieval Art*, 51.

⁵⁹¹ Schwartz, "Patronage and Franciscan Iconography," 33-34, 35, fig. 48. Volpe and Bonsanti identify her only as a female saint. Bonsanti, *Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi*, vol. 1, 383; Volpe, in Bonsanti, *Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi*, vol. 4, 386.

⁵⁹² Saint Francis, *Salutation to the Virtues*, in *The Saint*, 164-165. See also *The Sacred Exchange Between Francis and Lady Poverty (1237-1239)*, in *The Saint: Francis of Assisi: Early Documents I*, eds. Regis J. Armstrong, O.F.M. Cap., J.A. Wayne Hellmann, O.F.M. Conv., and William J. Short, O.F.M. (New York: New City Press, 1999), 523-554. Schwartz suggests she was intended to "personify those virtues associated with the acceptance of holy orders and the pursuit of the contemplative life." No specific virtue is identified. Schwartz, "Fresco Decoration," 158.

The hypothesis that these two unidentified figures represent the virtues Queen holy Wisdom and Lady holy Poverty associates all four works of the lowest register. In addition to linking the two individual figures as personifications of important Franciscan virtues, this identification connects the frescoes across the chapel. Friar Teobaldo thus faces the critical virtue of poverty, while as a bishop, a position requiring him to be a learned man, Teobaldo faces the virtue of wisdom. The fact that the viewer also reads the two frescos on the east wall and the two on the west as paired, suggests that Teobaldo may have intended to show these virtues and roles as complementary instead of creating a strict dichotomy between bishop/wisdom and friar/poverty. By representing virtues of special importance to the Franciscans paired with the dual donor portraits of Teobaldo, the iconography comments on Teobaldo's position as a Franciscan bishop and reflects the particularly Franciscan nature of the chapel program.

FIGURES IN THE MAIN ENTRANCE INTRADOS—FIG. 4.3

Within the main entrance arch there are twelve portraits of saints depicted against blue backgrounds, and seven busts against backgrounds of gold placed within quatrefoils. Most, but not all, of the saints are identified by gilded inscriptions. My discussion proceeds from bottom to top, considering each successive register of paintings as a related unit.

St. Anthony Abbot (fig. 4.4) is depicted in the west quatrefoil on the bottom register.⁵⁹³ He is an old man dressed in a pink hooded garment with a gray cape, holding a ferocious hairy black demon head with long pointed ears and massive fangs. St. Anthony's story has parallels to the Magdalen's; he retreated into the mountains and was

⁵⁹³ Bonsanti, *Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi*, vol. 1, 371.

carried aloft by angels. Demons, however, attempted to stop him, complaining of his earlier sins. “To them the angels said: ‘You should not tell these things, because by the mercy of Christ they are wiped away.’”⁵⁹⁴ This is reminiscent of Christ’s admonition to the Pharisee for criticizing Mary Magdalen. Furthermore, because of his retreat into the wilderness, St. Anthony is part of a tradition of desert saints, including Mary Magdalen and Mary of Egypt, who were viewed as important examples of ascetic penance.⁵⁹⁵ St. Augustine, also in the program, was moved to tears by his friend’s conversion upon reading the life of St. Anthony. Then, following St. Anthony’s example, who had “been admonished from a reading of the Gospel,” he himself turned to a book and was converted.⁵⁹⁶ Moreover, St. Anthony, like the Franciscan Order, believed in total poverty. According to Jacobus, he said, “Those who renounce the world and still want to have money will likewise be assailed by demons and torn apart.”⁵⁹⁷ That he holds a demon in this depiction could be seen as a pictorial defense of the apostolic poverty observed by the friars.

Like St. Anthony, the figure in the bottom east quatrefoil is an older, balding man with a short beard of curling white hair, positioned frontally, but looking outwards towards the nave (fig. 4.5). Dressed in a white hooded garment covered by a blue-gray cloak, the saint holds a closed scroll in his left hand while gesturing upwards with his right hand. The scroll is a general attribute, but provides a clue to his identity. Given the pairing with St. Anthony, I suggest that he may be St. Athanasius (c. 296-373), who is reputed to have spent time with St. Anthony in the desert and have written the life of St.

⁵⁹⁴ Jacobus, *Golden Legend*, vol. I, 94.

⁵⁹⁵ Ward, *Harlots of the Desert*, 3.

⁵⁹⁶ St. Augustine, *Confessions*, trans. William Watts (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1950 [first printed 1912]), book 8, vi-vii, xii. The book he read was by the apostle Paul.

⁵⁹⁷ Jacobus, *Golden Legend*, vol. I, 95.

Anthony, which was adapted into the account found the *Golden Legend*.⁵⁹⁸ This makes sense of both his pairing with St. Anthony, and his attribute. Like several other figures depicted within the arch, Athanasius was a bishop saint, and thus potentially especially appealing to Teobaldo.⁵⁹⁹ One of the Doctors of the Church, he was called the “Father of Orthodoxy.”⁶⁰⁰ In keeping with the Franciscan ideal of the *vita mixta*, St. Athanasius worked actively in the world as a bishop and preacher, but was also a contemplative, retreating to the desert of Egypt for six years of contemplation and writing. He is infrequently depicted; Jameson called him “of all saints the most unpopular,” however when he is portrayed he is old, balding and white bearded, like this figure.⁶⁰¹

The lowest level of full-length saints consists of four unidentified female figures (figs. 4.6 & 4.7). All are elegantly dressed, with haloes and crowns of different types. None have surviving inscriptions. The deteriorated condition of the ground makes it impossible to tell if *tituli* originally existed, but traces may remain in the figures of the southeast and northwest.⁶⁰² In much of the nineteenth-century literature, the figures were identified as Agatha and Catherine on the west (fig. 4.6), and Agnes and Rose on the east (fig. 4.7), identifications that are occasionally found through the middle of the twentieth

⁵⁹⁸ Cornelius Clifford, “St. Athanasius,” in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 2 (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1907). 29 Jun. 2012, <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/02035a.htm>; Jacobus, *Golden Legend*, vol. I, 93.

⁵⁹⁹ He was bishop of Alexandria.

⁶⁰⁰ Clifford, “St. Athanasius.”

⁶⁰¹ Anna Jameson, *Sacred and Legendary Art* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin and Co., 1895), vol. 1, 335.

⁶⁰² Schwartz believed these figures never had identifying inscriptions. Her reasoning is that Thode discarded the identification of the figures as Agatha, Catherine, Agnes and Rose. She states that due to the precision of his description elsewhere, it “more closely reflects the actual content of the compositions than those of his predecessors and that the traditional identification of these figures was not, in fact, founded upon a series of inscriptions which subsequently has been lost.” However, inscriptions could have been lost before Thode wrote in 1885, or indeed before any of the 19th century accounts. Schwartz, “Fresco Decoration, 171; Thode, *Franz von Assisi*, 285.

century.⁶⁰³ As there is no obvious reason for these identifications, no early literary evidence, and no attributes, with the exception of the halos, crowns and the rose, by which to identify them, Thode called these figures simply “female saints.” Many scholars have followed him in this, including Kleinschmidt, Previtali and Bonsanti.⁶⁰⁴ Schwartz more specifically calls them “virgins.”⁶⁰⁵

Clearly there is significance in the fact that there are four female figures of a similar type grouped together, in decided contrast to the more varied male saints above. Perhaps they are not saints at all, but allegorical figures—personifications of the virtues. Such allegorical figures were common in late medieval art, and Giotto had used them in

⁶⁰³ The earliest appearance of these identifications was in 1863. See: Luigi Carattoli, Mariano Guardabassi e Giovanni Battista Rossi-Scotti, “Descrizione del santuario di S. Francesco d’Assisi,” *Bollettino della regia deputazione di storia patria per l’Umbria* 28 (1925) [1863]: 150-1. These identifications are also found in: Mariano Guardabassi, *Indice-guida dei monumenti pagani e cristiani riguardanti l’istoria e l’arte esistenti nella provincia della Umbria* (Perugia: Boncompagni, 1872), 19; Giuseppe Fratini, *Storia della Basilica e del Convento di S. Francesco in Assisi* (Prato: Ranieri Guasti, 1882), 157; Antonio Cristofani e Leonello Leonelli, *Guida d’Assisi e suoi dintorni* (Assisi: D. Sensi, 1884), 37; Adolfo Venturi, *La basilica di Assisi* (Torino: Anonima Libreria Italiana, 1921), 124; Rudolf Guby, *Assisi, ein Wegweiser zu seinen Weihestätten Zweite unveränderte Auflage* (Augsburg-Wien: Filser, 1925), 74; Arturo Jahn Rusconi, *Assisi* (Bergamo: Istituto italiano d’arti grafiche, 1926), 96; Arnaldo Fortini, *Assisi nel medio evo: leggende, avventure, battaglie* (Roma: Edizioni Roma, 1940), 313; Raniero Sciamannini, *La Basilica di San Francesco e gli altri santuari di Assisi* (Firenze: Arnaud, 1952), 42. The most recent T.C.I. “guida rossa” maintains this identification: *Umbria. Guida d’Italia del T.C.I.*, 6th ed. (Milano: Touring Club Italiano, 1999), 277. Three of the four names do seem to fit with the iconography—St. Agnes, St. Catherine of Alexandria and St. Agatha were all early female saints who were of the nobility (hence the crowns and elaborate dress) and were popular in art. St. Rose is more problematic as it is unclear which St. Rose could be meant. If these early, noble, female saints are the key, it seems much more likely that the saint with the rose would be St. Elizabeth of Hungary, who furthermore was a Franciscan tertiary and ancestor of the Angevins. Kaftal however identifies her as St. Rose of Viterbo. George Kaftal, *Iconography of the Saints in Tuscan Painting* (Florence: Sansoni, 1952), 909.

⁶⁰⁴ The following works identify the figures as “female saints”: Thode, *Franz von Assisi*, 285; Kleinschmidt, *Basilika San Francesco*, vol. 2, 216; Zocca, *Assisi*, 45; Giancarlo Vigorelli, *L’opera completa di Giotto* (Milano: Rizzoli, 1966), 111-12; Giovanni Previtali, *Giotto e la sua bottega* (Milano: Fabbri, 1967), 305; Previtali, “Cappelle,” fig. 109; Bonsanti, *Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi*, vol. 1, 360; Volpe, in Bonsanti, *Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi*, vol. 4, 383.

⁶⁰⁵ Schwartz, “Fresco Decoration,” 169-172. The identification of the figures as virgins seems to conflict with her subsequent assertion that they represent “four successive stages in pregnancy,” in keeping with the theme of motherhood and sisterhood that she argues exists within the chapel. She claims that the garments “include a strange, window-like opening placed over the womb” and that the women’s gestures draw attention to this. While three of the gowns are open in the front, there is no particular emphasis on the womb. Additionally, while Schwartz states that the figures represent stages in pregnancy, she does not suggest an order. This is because no progression can be determined, as she acknowledges when she suggests that the rose and specific adornments may be “emblems of either the initiation or eventual fruition of the process.” (emphasis mine). Schwartz, “Fresco Decoration,” 174-5.

the Scrovegni Chapel.⁶⁰⁶ The most commonly depicted are the three theological virtues—Faith, Hope and Charity—taken from I Corinthians 13.13, and the four cardinal virtues—Justice, Prudence, Fortitude and Temperance—from Plato’s *Republic*. In keeping with the particularly Franciscan iconography of the chapel, however, I would suggest that if these are allegorical figures, they represent the remaining four of the six Franciscan virtues described by St. Francis in *A Salutation of the Virtues*: Queen Wisdom and her sister holy Simplicity, Lady holy Poverty and her sister holy Humility, Lady holy Charity (or Love) and her sister holy Obedience.⁶⁰⁷ I have already suggested that Queen Wisdom and Lady holy Poverty are found on the lowest register of the east and west wall. These figures would therefore be Lady holy Charity, holy Humility, holy Simplicity and holy Obedience. While the figures (and indeed, the virtues themselves) are so similar that it is difficult to assign specific identifications, the figure with a rose would be Lady holy Charity. Roses were a symbol of charity, as can be seen in the twelfth-century writings of Saint Bernard of Clairvaux, where the Virgin is described as the rose of charity.⁶⁰⁸

Both quatrefoils between the female saints and the second register contain angels. The one on the west is clad in a white, toga-like garment, with gold embroidery along the edge and holds up a golden circlet (fig. 4.8). The angel in the east quatrefoil seems to be by a different hand (fig. 4.9). The treatment of the wings is dissimilar, and the angel’s white garments are more akin to those seen elsewhere in the chapel, with a thick belt of golden embroidery. This angel is less frontal, twisting slightly and looking out into the nave. In its left hand it holds a scepter, pointing to it with its right hand. The scepter has

⁶⁰⁶ In the Scrovegni Chapel Giotto depicts the three theological virtues (Faith, Hope and Charity) and the four cardinal virtues (Justice, Prudence, Fortitude and Temperance).

⁶⁰⁷ Saint Francis, *Salutation of the Virtues*, in *The Saint*, 164-5.

⁶⁰⁸ Saint Bernard of Clairvaux, *Homily on the Annunciation*. Cited in Margaret B. Freeman, “The Iconography of the Merode Altarpiece,” *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* 16 (Dec. 1957): 132.

suffered a considerable amount of paint loss, and is difficult to read, as the top is gold against the gold ground, however, it is crowned by a fleur-de-lys, like that on the scepters held by the angels in the *Noli me tangere*.

St. Latro, the good thief who is unnamed in the gospels,⁶⁰⁹ is depicted in the second register on the southwest (fig. 4.10).

And one of those robbers who were hanged, blasphemed him, saying: If thou be Christ, save thyself and us. But the other answering, rebuked him, saying: Neither dost thou fear God, seeing thou art condemned under the same condemnation? And we indeed justly, for we receive the due reward of our deeds; but this man hath done no evil. And he said to Jesus: Lord, remember me when thou shalt come into thy kingdom. And Jesus said to him: Amen I say to thee, this day thou shalt be with me in paradise.⁶¹⁰

Previously thought to be St. Andrew, a more frequently depicted saint with a cross as an attribute, he has an identifying *titulus*, noted by Previtali in 1967.⁶¹¹ Located at the left above the cross bar, it is difficult to read; “S LAT,” however, is clear.⁶¹²

The youthful saint faces inward, looking towards Christ in the quatrefoil above. He is dressed in a simple, white long-sleeved shift that stops above his ankles and holds his cross in front of him, with both arms clasped around it. Like the other cross in the chapel, it is a tau. Tau crosses were intimately associated with St. Francis and the Franciscans. His place in the penitential schema of the chapel is manifestly evident. Because he repented, Christ awarded him a seat in paradise. Ubertino da Casale, in a passage from the *Arbor Vitae*, not only writes of being transformed into the Magdalen,

⁶⁰⁹ Latro means simply “robber” or “bandit” in Latin. In the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus he is called Dismas (good), in contrast with the other thief Gestas (bad). Hall, *Subjects and Symbols*, 83.

⁶¹⁰ Luke 23.39-43.

⁶¹¹ Previtali, *Giotto* (1967), 305. For identification as St. Andrew see: Carattoli, Guardabassi e Rossi-Scotti, “Descrizione del santuario,” 150-1; Guardabassi, *Indice-guida dei monumenti pagani*, 19; Fratini, *Storia della Basilica*, 157; Cristofani and Leonelli, *Guida d’Assisi*, 37; Venturi, *Basilica di Assisi*, 124; Guby, *Assisi*, 74; Rusconi, *Assisi*, 97; Fortini, *Assisi nel medio evo*, 313; Sciamannini, *Basilica di San Francesco*, 42; Giovanni Errani, *Assisi, guida storico-critica* (Bologna: L. Cappelli, 1949), 58; *Umbria* (T.C.I.), 277.

⁶¹² The “O” at the end is also legible with difficulty.

but also into St. Latro, the Good Thief.⁶¹³ The late twelfth-century French theologian Radulphus Ardens uses him both as an example of true contrition, and of hope, indicating it is never too late to do penance⁶¹⁴

Another saint who played a role in Christ's Crucifixion, St. Longinus, the centurion, is depicted next to St. Latro to the northwest (fig. 4.10). He is referred to in all four of the gospels.⁶¹⁵ In Mark, he is the first to react to the death of Christ, and to do so by converting: "And the centurion who stood over against him, seeing that crying out in this manner he had given up the ghost, said: Indeed this man was the son of God."⁶¹⁶ John's account also focuses on the conversion of the soldier, who is witness to the truth of Christ as the Magdalen is witness to the Resurrection: "But one of the soldiers with a spear opened his side, and immediately there came out blood and water. And he that saw it, hath given testimony, and his testimony is true. And he knoweth that he saith true; that you also may believe."⁶¹⁷ The *Golden Legend* further elaborates the story of the centurion, now identified as St. Longinus: "What did most to convince him was that age and infirmity having left him almost blind, the blood that ran down the shaft of the spear

⁶¹³ Ubertino, *Arbor vitae*, Prologue f. 3b. "Finally, close to the sufferings of his passion he made me be close to him in a way that transformed me so that now I seemed to myself to be the sinner Magdalene, now a spouse chosen by him, now that brother and chosen disciple John, now the pious mother who bore him lamenting, now the thief crucified on his right, now the pure Jesus himself calling out on the wood of the cross and dying in pain." Latin passage transcribed in Decima L. Douie, *The Nature and Effect of the Heresy of the Fraticelli* (Manchester: University Press, 1932), 122.

⁶¹⁴ Radulphus Ardens, *The Questions on the Sacraments: Speculum uniuersale* 8.31-92, ed. and trans. Christopher P. Evans (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2010), 151-3, 157.

⁶¹⁵ Matthew 27.54; Mark 15.39, 15.44; Luke 23.47; John 19.31-37. Like St. Latro he is not identified by name in the gospels so it is unclear whether the soldier mentioned in John, and the Centurion from Matthew, Mark and Luke were originally the same person, however, they came to be associated.

⁶¹⁶ Mark 15.39.

⁶¹⁷ John 19.34-35.

touched his eyes and at once he saw clearly.”⁶¹⁸ The name Longinus is in fact derived from the Greek word for lance.⁶¹⁹

Early sources identified this saint as George, an oft-depicted military saint.⁶²⁰

Thode, Kleinschmidt, Zocca and Vigorelli, did not give a specific identity—the first two referred to him as a warrior saint, the latter two as “saint in a cuirass.”⁶²¹ Previtali was the first to suggest he was St. Longinus, based on his discovery of the identity of St. Latro.⁶²² While Longinus was also originally identified by a *titulus*, no legible sign of it remains.⁶²³ Schwartz and others, including Bonsanti and Volpe, have accepted Previtali’s identification,⁶²⁴ although portraits of St. Longinus are quite rare.⁶²⁵ His appearance here

⁶¹⁸ Jacobus, *Golden Legend*, vol. I, 184.

⁶¹⁹ Hall, *Subjects and Symbols*, 83.

⁶²⁰ Carattoli, Guardabassi e Rossi-Scotti, “Descrizione del santuario,” 150-1; Guardabassi, *Indice-guida dei monumenti pagani*, 19; Fratini, *Storia della Basilica*, 157; Cristofano and Leonelli, 37; Venturi, *Basilica di Assisi*, 124; Guby, *Assisi*, 74; Rusconi, *Assisi*, 96; Fortini, *Assisi nel medio evo*, 313; Sciamannini, *Basilica di San Francesco*, 58; *Umbria* (T.C.I.), 277.

⁶²¹ Thode, *Franz von Assisi*, 285; Kleinschmidt, *Basilika San Francesco*, vol. 2, 216; Zocca, *Assisi*, 45; Vigorelli, *Opera completa*, 111-12.

⁶²² Previtali, *Giotto* (1967), 305; Previtali, “Cappelle,” fig. 18.

⁶²³ Schwartz stated that it can be seen in an unintelligible state at the figure’s left side but I was unable to do so. She had superior lighting during her examination so I defer to her assessment. Schwartz, “Fresco Decoration,” 176.

⁶²⁴ Schwartz, “Fresco Decoration,” 177; Bonsanti, *Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi*, vol. 1, 360; Volpe, in Bonsanti, *Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi*, vol. 4, 383. Flores D’Arcais more hesitantly identifies the figure as “Longinus(?)”. Flores D’Arcais, *Giotto*, 275.

⁶²⁵ Schwartz inaccurately asserts that St. Longinus is commonly depicted, while admitting that this is the only instance she knows of in which he is paired with S. Latro. Schwartz, “Fresco Decoration,” 177. Of the three hundred and sixty-three references for Longinus in the *Princeton Index of Christian Art*, almost all were in Crucifixion scenes. Of the rest, one painting showed St. Longinus in a Nativity (Giulio Romano, *New Testament Nativity*. Image available in the Frick Photo Ref. Call number 703-4), and the other four were illuminations depicting events from his *vita*: (1) *Gregory Nazianzen, Homilies*, 9th c., Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, E. 49-50 inf. Oratorio 39. It has as a Medallion inclosing the bust of Longinus. Inscribed EKATONTAPX. Image available in Grabar, A. *Miniatures du Gregoire de Nazianze, I* (1943), plate XXXVIII. (2) *Morgan-Macon Golden Legend*. New York, Morgan Library M.672-5. Chroniques II Workshop, Late gothic, Flemish, 1445-65. There are two scenes that show the torture and martyrdom of Longinus. Inscription reads: LONGIS FU UNG DES CHEUALIERS. *Golden Legend* 3.15, Longinus the soldier. (3) *Menologium of Basil II*. Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, gr. 1613. Byzantine, Constantinople, 976-1025. It depicts a scene of Longinus’ beheading and then a blind woman burying his head. (4) *Gospel Book*. Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana plut. VI.23. 11th c. Matthew 27.54, Longinus of Jerusalem believing. Image is available in T. Velmans, *Tetraevangile* (1971), 33, fig. 121.

is thus unusual, but appropriate to the context, as both a penitent and a pendant for St. Latro.

St. Longinus is older than St. Latro, and bearded, with long, wavy, graying light brown hair. An elegant figure, he is dressed in a red cloak with gold embroidery around the edges, worn over gold and blue armor and red stockings. St. Longinus stands with his right hand gesturing to the side of his chest. This is a reference to Christ's wound made by the spear he holds in his left hand. Both St. Longinus and St. Latro look inward, towards each other, and upward toward a quatrefoil containing a bust of Christ in Benediction. They interact thus interact with each other more than most of the other paired saints in the chapel. This strengthens the identification of this figure as St. Longinus, providing clear visual indication that these saints' stories are related, and that they both have an intimate and direct connection with Christ, whose crucifixion spurred the repentance and conversion of both saints.

St. Longinus' *vita* in the *Golden Legend* focuses on penance. After the revelation that Christ is the son of God he renounces his military career, receives instruction from the apostles and lives as a monk for twenty-eight years. In his martyrdom account, St. Longinus told the blind governor of Caesarea that if the governor killed him, he would ask God to restore his sight. The governor ordered St. Longinus' death, then wept tears of penance and his sight was restored.⁶²⁶ Furthermore, as the man who pierced Christ's side, Longinus recalls Franciscan emphasis on the stigmata. St. Francis was the first saint to receive the honor of the stigmata; Thomas of Celano wrote of him "(h)is right side was with an oblong scar, as if pierced with a lance, and this often dripped blood, so that his

⁶²⁶ Jacobus, *Golden Legend*, vol. I, 184.

tunic and undergarments were frequently stained with his holy blood.”⁶²⁷ These wounds made Francis an *alter Christus*, and the wound in his side “made them remember the One who poured out *blood and water* from His own side and *reconciled the world* to the Father.”⁶²⁸ The references to Christ’s stigmata would thus have had a Franciscan resonance in addition to the penitential reading of this figure.⁶²⁹

Notwithstanding the still legible inscription reading S AUGUSTINUS, the southeast figure was called St. Paul the Hermit in earlier scholarship (fig. 4.11).⁶³⁰ Thode correctly identified him in 1885.⁶³¹ St. Augustine (ca. 360-440) wears a hooded gray mantle over a white shift and stands in a rather static position although twisting slightly inward. St. Augustine was a bishop; however, he is dressed humbly, not in his garb of office. This is true for all the bishop saints in the chapel except St. Rufino, indicating that although there was perhaps an interest in bishop saints due to Teobaldo’s position as bishop of Assisi, the emphasis was on their thoughts and actions rather than on their place in church hierarchy.

⁶²⁷ I Celano, bk. II, ch. III, 95, in *The Saint*, 264.

⁶²⁸ Ibid., bk. II, ch. IX, 113, in *The Saint*, 280.

⁶²⁹ An additional possible Franciscan significance for this figure is suggested by the fact that the piercing of Christ’s side was a matter of doctrinal controversy in the Order around the time of the chapel’s decoration. While the orthodox view followed John 19.33-34 that Christ was stabbed after his death, Petrus Iohannis Olivi, a Spiritual Franciscan, argued that the wound was made prior to his death. In the great debate of 1310-1312, the Conventuals came up with a list of Olivian errors for the pope, including this charge. Ubertino da Casale defended Olivi, yet opened himself up to the same charge, as did the Spirituals Raymond Délicieux and Matthew of Bouzigue, who believed that a passage to this effect had been in the Gospel of Matthew, but was removed due to the apparent contradiction with John. While this debate postdates the decoration of the chapel, Olivi’s writings on the matter do not. It is therefore suggestive, given the rarity of depictions of Longinus as a devotional saint, that the wielder of the spear is depicted here. Burr, *Spiritual Franciscans*, 151, 154.

⁶³⁰ Carattoli, Guardabassi e Rossi-Scotti, “Descrizione del santuario,” 150-1; Guardabassi, *Indice-guida dei monumenti pagani*, 19; Fratini, *Storia della Basilica*, 157; Cristofani and Leonelli, *Guida d’Assisi*, 37; Venturi, *Basilica di Assisi*, 124; Guby, *Assisi*, 74; Rusconi, *Assisi*, 96; Fortini, *Assisi nel medio evo*, 313; Sciamannini, *Basilica di San Francesco*, 42; Errani, *Assisi*, 58; *Umbria* (T.C.I.), 277. My suspicion is that the inscription was obscured by dirt, and that even after it was revealed, oftentimes the identification of earlier scholars was simply repeated.

⁶³¹ Thode, *Franz von Assisi*, 285; Zocca, *Assisi*, 45; Vigorelli, *Opera completa*, 111-12; Previtali, *Giotto* (1967), 305; Schwartz, “Fresco Decoration,” 180; Bonsanti, *Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi*, vol. 1, 360; Volpe, in Bonsanti, *Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi*, vol. 4, 383.

St. Augustine presses his right hand to his chest, while in his left he holds a closed green book, a fitting attribute given his fame as an author. A doctor of the Latin Church, St. Augustine was a penitential figure, the author of the *Confessions*, in which he discussed at length his early life of sin and dissipation, or, as he stated, “my past foulness, and the carnal corruptions of my soul.”⁶³² His penitence for his sins was so great that Jacobus wrote, “in his book *Confessions* he confesses and humbly accuses himself to God of sins so slight that we would think little or nothing of them.”⁶³³ The sins St. Augustine accused himself of involved women and money. Their sexual nature recalls Mary Magdalen, the repentant prostitute to whom he was devoted, describing her as “Mary Magdalene, who unquestionably was surpassingly more ardent in her love than these other women who had administered to the Lord.”⁶³⁴ Furthermore, both his writing and his *Golden Legend* contain repeated references to tears, penitential symbols closely associated with Mary Magdalen.⁶³⁵

St. Augustine was also an exemplar for other Franciscan ideals. As a contemplative—a theologian and a philosopher—and an active fighter against heresy, he embodied the *vita mixta*. His attitude on apostolic poverty was also in keeping with Franciscan dogma. St. Augustine refused legacies and gave all he received to the poor,

⁶³² Saint Augustine, *The Confessions of St. Augustine*, trans. Edward B. Pusey (New York: P. F. Collier & son, 1909), bk. II.I, 23.

⁶³³ Jacobus, *Golden Legend*, vol. II, 123.

⁶³⁴ Saint Augustine, *Harmony of the Gospels*, in *The Works of Aurelius Augustine, Bishop of Hippo: A New Translation*, ed. Rev. Marcus Dods, D.D. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1873), vol. 8, bk. III, ch. XXIV, 452. See Haskins, 91-92, for more on Augustine’s views regarding Mary Magdalen.

⁶³⁵ Jacobus, *Golden Legend*, vol. II, 126, writes that during the Vandal occupation of Africa “tears were his bread, flowing day and night.” And “realizing that the dissolution of his body was imminent, he had the seven Penitential Psalms written out and hung on the wall opposite his bed, and lying there he read them and wept constantly and copiously.” According to Jacobus, St. Augustine himself was the priest described in *City of God* whose tears freed a young woman of Hippo from the devil.

“he made no last will or testament, since, as the poor man of Christ, he had nothing to bequeath.”⁶³⁶

The identity of the northeast figure is problematic (fig. 4.11). Often identified as St. Nicholas,⁶³⁷ Kaftal believed him to be St. Ambrose,⁶³⁸ while Schwartz argued he was St. Dionysius the Areopagite.⁶³⁹ Many scholars provide no identification for this saint.⁶⁴⁰ As noted by Kaftal, there was originally an inscription behind the head;⁶⁴¹ however, it is no longer legible. Schwartz, with the assistance of Dott. Mario Roncetti, deciphered traces on the right side, which read SII.⁶⁴² This eliminates St. Nicholas, and suggests either St. Dionysius or St. Ambrose. The attribute—an orb, astrolabe, or armillary sphere—also discounts Nicholas, who is associated with three golden balls.⁶⁴³ Kaftal’s identification was based in part on incorrectly reading the attribute as a sphere containing a church⁶⁴⁴ Schwartz’s identification as St. Dionysius, author of *On Celestial Hierarchy*—a description of the plan of the heavenly cosmos—is due to reading the attribute as “a hollow astrolabe with a jeweled ribbon laced among its ribs.”⁶⁴⁵ Damage, however, makes it difficult to tell if her interpretation is accurate.

⁶³⁶ Ibid., 127.

⁶³⁷ Carattoli, Guardabassi e Rossi-Scotti, “Descrizione del santuario,” 150-1; Guardabassi, *Indice-guida dei monumenti pagani*, 19; Fratini, *Storia della Basilica*, 157; Cristofani and Leonelli, *Guida d’Assisi*, 37; Venturi, *Basilica di Assisi*, 124; Guby, *Assisi*, 74; Rusconi, *Assisi*, 96; Fortini, *Assisi nel medio evo*, 313; Sciamannini, *Basilica di San Francesco*, 42; Errani, *Assisi*, 58; *Umbria* (T.C.I.), 277.

⁶³⁸ Kaftal, *Tuscan Painting*, col. 21.

⁶³⁹ Schwartz, “Fresco Decoration,” 179.

⁶⁴⁰ Thode, *Franz von Assisi*, 285; Zocca, *Assisi*, 45; Vigorelli, *Opera completa*, 111-12; Previtali, *Giotto* (1967), 305; Bonsanti, *Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi*, vol. 1, 360; Volpe, in Bonsanti, *Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi*, vol. 4, 383. Flores D’Arcais neglected to mention this figure.

⁶⁴¹ Kaftal, *Tuscan Painting*, col. 21.

⁶⁴² Schwartz, “Fresco Decoration,” 178. To me they appeared to read SUS, however my lighting conditions were inferior, so I will defer to her reading of the inscription. It is unclear whether the entire inscription was visible when Kaftal made his identification, or whether he, too, was working from a partial inscription.

⁶⁴³ Hall, *Subjects and Symbols*, 223; Schwartz, “Fresco Decoration,” 178.

⁶⁴⁴ Kaftal, *Tuscan Painting*, col. 21. The other reason being the “name on background.”

⁶⁴⁵ Schwartz, “Fresco Decoration,” 178-180. According to Schwartz a French manuscript from later in the 14th c. shows Dionysius with an astrolabe.

This dynamic figure stands in an open pose, the spread of his arms emphasized by the dramatic draping of his garment. He holds the orb in his left hand with fingers spread, and faces towards St. Augustine, his right hand pointing upwards. His gaze is focused on the orb. He wears a red hooded cape with an orange lining over a white undergarment. His cloak, unlike that of St. Augustine, is ornamented in gold trim around the hem, down the front and around the edge of the hood. Clearly he should be understood in conjunction with the adjacent figure of St. Augustine. The artist has emphasized their similarities, yet called attention to their differences. Both are older men, with similar beards, and they turn to face each other. There is movement and dynamism to the unidentified figure, however, which contrasts strikingly with the stillness of St. Augustine.

While St. Dionysius has some points of contact with St. Augustine—both were bishops and Neo-Platonic philosophers—they do not justify the relationship between the two figures. And although the description in the *Golden Legend* of St. Dionysius as “the wing of heaven through contemplation of the things of heaven,” would explain his contemplation of the astrolabe, St. Dionysius’ renunciation of the world is not in keeping with the depiction of the figure, nor is he a penitent.⁶⁴⁶ In contrast, St. Ambrose, like St. Augustine, was one of the four Latin Doctors of the Church. In fact, he baptized St. Augustine. Like St. Augustine, St. Ambrose advocated penance, fought heresy, was a contemplative and a preacher. Voragine states, “His generosity was such that he gave away everything he had to the churches and the poor, keeping nothing for himself.”⁶⁴⁷ Thus St. Ambrose fits both with St. Augustine and within the iconographical program.

⁶⁴⁶ Jacobus, *Golden Legend*, vol. II, 236.

⁶⁴⁷ Jacobus, *Golden Legend*, vol. I, 232.

Although the question of the attribute is unresolved, I tentatively identify this saint as St. Ambrose.

The bust figure in the west quatrefoil above Sts. Latro and Longinus is Christ the Redeemer (fig. 4.12). He wears a red robe with gold embroidery around the neck and on the arms, with a blue cloth draped over his left shoulder. Christ turns his head slightly to his right, looking down into the nave. In his left hand he holds a closed blue book pressed to his chest, and with his right hand he makes a gesture of benediction. His physical appearance and the angle of his head are similar to that of the Christ in the *Noli me tangere*.

Like the angel directly below, the angel in the east quatrefoil (fig. 4.13) above Sts. Augustine and Ambrose (?) carries a scepter topped with a fleur-de-lys, but while the lower angel held the scepter in its left hand, this one holds it in its right, and the left hand, held at its waist, may hold a rolled scroll. It is unclear why two angels, one over the other, have this same attribute. Clad in white with gold embroidery, like the other angels, this angel's garments mirror those of Christ, as they both wear a cloth draped over their left shoulder.

The top register features three apostles and the Old Testament King David. Jacobus' Life of Saint Matthew helps elucidate this combination of figures:

His [Matthew's] gospel is read more frequently in church than the others, as the Psalms and Paul's letters are heard more often than the other Scriptures. The reason for this is, as James testifies, that there are three kinds of sins, namely, pride, lust, and avarice. Saul, who was called Saul after the exceedingly proud King Saul, sinned by pride when he persecuted the Church beyond measure. David sinned by the sin of lust, when he not only committed adultery but killed Uriah, his most loyal soldier. Matthew sinned by avarice by seeking ill-gotten gains, since he was a tax-gatherer, a keeper of the customs. Granted therefore that Saul, David and Matthew were sinners, their repentance so pleased the Lord that he not only forgave their sins but heaped his gifts upon them in greater abundance. He made the cruelest persecutor the most faithful

preacher, the adulterer and homicide a prophet and singer of Psalms, the covetous seeker of profit an apostle and evangelist. Therefore the sayings and writings of these three men are recited to us so frequently so that no one who might wish to be converted would despair of pardon, when he sees that such great sinners were also so great in grace.⁶⁴⁸

This passage on the penitents St. Paul (Saul), David, and St. Matthew is not only an eloquent justification of their presence in the iconographic program of the Magdalen Chapel, but provides a prior instance of their association as penitential figures. As they are grouped together here, perhaps this text served as the iconographer's source. This is especially significant for the Old Testament figure David, whose presence in this group of apostles might otherwise appear anomalous. I begin my discussion with the one saint in the top register not included in the above passage, St. Peter.

The southwest figure is identified by a *titulus* reading S. PETRUS (fig. 4.14).⁶⁴⁹ St. Peter is depicted as an older man with a short, gray, curling beard. He has a full head of elaborately coiffed, almost white hair. Like the other saints on this register, St. Peter wears a toga-like garment over a long-sleeved shift. He stands frontally, but his head is turned slightly to his right, looking into the nave. He points up at himself with his right hand, while in his left hand he holds an open scroll inscribed with a passage from Acts 5.29: OBEDIRE OPORTET DEO MAGIS QUAM HOMINIBUS: "We ought to obey God, rather than men."⁶⁵⁰ This text is critical to the Franciscan concept of obedience. While the Rule commands the friars to obey their leaders and the pope, they are explicitly freed from this when asked to do anything contrary to their consciences or the Rule.⁶⁵¹

⁶⁴⁸ Jacobus, *Golden Legend*, vol. II, 187

⁶⁴⁹ St. Peter and the neighboring figure, St. Matthew, are consistently identified properly in the literature.

⁶⁵⁰ The content of the scroll was published by Thode, *Franz von Assisi*, 285. I have altered it slightly based on my reading of the inscription.

⁶⁵¹ Saint Francis, *The Later Rule*, ch. X, in *The Saint*, 105.

Like the other saints in this register, St. Peter was a penitent. He repented because of his denial of Christ. One of the indications of his remorse was his tears:

inside his tunic he always carried a towel with which to wipe away his frequent tears, because, when the dear memory of the Lord's presence and speech came to his mind, the surge of love made him unable to contain his weeping. When he remembered how he had denied his Lord, his sense of guilt made him shed tears again. Indeed, weeping became so habitual to him that, as Clement says, his whole face seemed to be burned with tears.⁶⁵²

This links him to the Magdalen, for whom, as was seen in the fresco cycle, tears serve as a sign of her penitence and a frequent attribute.

Like St. Peter, St. Matthew, on the northwest, is identified with a legible inscription, reading S MATHEUS (fig. 4.14). He too is an older figure with gray hair, but it recedes and curls freely in contrast to St. Peter's structured coif. He is dressed in a toga with gold embroidery. He stands frontally, but looks towards St. Peter and the nave. Like St. Peter, St. Matthew carries a scroll in his left hand, but unfortunately the inscription is illegible due to damage. With his right hand he points down at the dramatically twisting scroll.

As the above quote from the *Golden Legend* Life of Saint Matthew illustrates, St. Matthew was widely understood as a penitential figure. His remorse for his former life as a tax collector redeemed him in the eyes of the Lord. That his sin had to do with money suggests why he was of particular interest to the Franciscans who, like St. Matthew after his conversion, disdained money and worldly goods. In St. Francis' writings, the Gospel of Matthew was the one most frequently quoted.⁶⁵³

⁶⁵² Jacobus, *Golden Legend*, vol. I, 341.

⁶⁵³ Matthew is quoted sixty-two times. Placid Hermann O.F.M., "Introduction to the Writings of St. Francis," in *St. Francis of Assisi: Writings and Early Biographies. English Omnibus of the Sources for the Life of St. Francis*, ed. Marion A. Habig (Quincy, IL: Franciscan Press, Quincy University, 1991), vol. I, 19.

Despite having a *titulus* reading DAVID REX, the figure to the southeast has been frequently misidentified, often as St. Anthony the Abbot, who appears in one of the quatrefoils (fig. 4.15).⁶⁵⁴ Kleinschmidt first identified him as David, as is now universally accepted.⁶⁵⁵ His physical type is similar to the other figures in this register—older and bearded. His clothing, however, differs. He wears a red cloak with gold embroidery, clasped at the neck over a white shift, and a white conical cap with a golden jewel-encrusted base. Clearly this is to differentiate David as an Old Testament figure and to show his prestige and status. He is turned in three-quarters view facing inwards, looking up. In his left hand he holds an open scroll inscribed QUONIAM INIQUITATEM.

This inscription is highly significant. It is taken from Psalm Fifty,⁶⁵⁶ the *Miserere*, one of the seven penitential psalms recited during Lent. Verse five reads, “For I know my iniquity, and my sin is always before me.”⁶⁵⁷ David was believed to be the author of the psalms, and the *Miserere* was understood as an act of contrition for his sin with Bathsheba. Its presence, not only here, but also on the scroll held by the adjacent figure of St. Paul, speaks to the penitential theme of the chapel, provides an association with the Franciscan Order, and suggests why these two figures are paired.⁶⁵⁸

Told in 2 Samuel, David was enamored of Bathsheba, seduced her, and had her husband Uriah killed. God sent the prophet Nathan to David to tell him of God’s

⁶⁵⁴ Fratini, *Storia della Basilica*, 157; Cristofani and Leonelli, *Guida d’Assisi*, 37; Venturi, *Basilica di Assisi*, 124; Guby, *Assisi*, 74; Rusconi, *Assisi*, 96; Fortini, *Assisi nel medio evo*, 313; Sciamannini, *Basilica di San Francesco*, 42; Errani, *Assisi*, 58; *Umbria* (T.C.I.), 277. Two early works identify him simply as a monk: Carattoli, Guardabassi e Rossi-Scotti, “Descrizione del santuario,” 150-1; Guardabassi, *Indice-guida dei monumenti pagani*, 19. Thode identifies him as a Patriarch or prophet. Thode, *Franz von Assisi*, 285.

⁶⁵⁵ Kleinschmidt, *Basilika San Francesco*, vol. 2, 216; Zocca, *Assisi*, 45; Vigorelli, *Opera completa*, 111-12; Previtali, *Giotto* (1967), 305; Schwartz, “Fresco Decoration,” 182; Bonsanti, *Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi*, vol. 1, 360; Volpe, in Bonsanti, *Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi*, vol. 4, 383.

⁶⁵⁶ Schwartz identifies this Psalm as 51, apparently because she is looking at the protestant Bible, not the Catholic. Schwartz, “Fresco Decoration,” 182.

⁶⁵⁷ Psalm 50.5 In Latin: “quoniam iniquitatem meam ego cognosco et peccatum meum contra me est semper. The text of the vulgate is available online. see: http://vulgate.org/ot/psalms_50.htm

⁶⁵⁸ See also Schwartz, “Fresco Decoration,” 182-3.

displeasure. “And David said to Nathan: I have sinned against the Lord. And Nathan said to David: The Lord also hath taken away thy sin: thou shalt not die.”⁶⁵⁹ His child, however, was condemned to death. David fasted and prayed for seven days, but could not lift God’s punishment.⁶⁶⁰

As a prophet and ancestor of Christ, not a saint, David does not have an entry in the *Golden Legend*.⁶⁶¹ He is discussed, however, as a penitent in several saints’ lives. In addition to the passage from St. Matthew, he is twice mentioned in the life of St. Ambrose. The sinful emperor Theodosius, criticized by the saint, retorted that David sinned too. To which St. Ambrose responded “You have followed him in sin, follow him in repentance.” And, following David’s example, Theodosius did public penance.⁶⁶² This link to David lends further support to the identification of the figure paired with St. Augustine as St. Ambrose.

David was of course, not only a penitent, but also a model of sacral kingship. According to Gaposchkin, “as the model for royal elevation and anointing at the hand of God...he was the biblical predecessor to whom saint-kings were most often compared in their hagiography.”⁶⁶³ One of these was Saint Louis, the Capetian monarch canonized in 1297, brother to King Charles I of Naples, and thus part of the Angevin collection of

⁶⁵⁹ 2 Samuel 12.13.

⁶⁶⁰ 2 Samuel 12.1-20.

⁶⁶¹ William Caxton’s English translation of the *Golden Legend*, printed in 1483, does have a section devoted to David; however Caxton’s version added about sixty figures not included in the original, of which David is one. Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend or Lives of the Saints, Englished by William Caxton*, ed. F.S. Ellis (London: J.M. Dent and Co., 1900), vol. 2, 26-40.

⁶⁶² Jacobus, *Golden Legend*, vol. I, 232, 236. Jansen mentions that this story appears in a sermon on Mary Magdalen by the Franciscan friar Ludovicus. Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen*, 204-205, See MS Marc. Lat. fondo antico 91 (1775), f. 16v.; J.B. Schneyer, ed. *Repertorium der lateinischen sermones des Mittelalters für die Zeit von 1150-1350* 4:15.

⁶⁶³ Gaposchkin, *Making of Saint Louis*, 112.

royal saints. St. Louis's office, *Ludovicus decus*, composed circa 1298, evokes David at least five times, implicitly and explicitly comparing the two figures.⁶⁶⁴

To see how David fits into the Franciscan context of the chapel, I refer to early Franciscan texts. Both Thomas of Celano and Bonaventure's biographies cast Francis as a new David. In the *First Life*, Thomas of Celano describes St. Francis's vision in which his home was filled with objects of war:

It is a fine thing
that at the outset mention be made of arms,
and very fitting
that arms be handed over
to a soldier about to do battle
with one strong and fully armed.
Thus,
like a second David
in the name of the Lord God of hosts
from the long-standing abuse of its enemies,
he might *liberate Israel.*"⁶⁶⁵

St. Bonaventure also unequivocally drew a comparison between the two in his *Major Legend*, stating, "he [St. Francis] savored in each and every creature...that frontal Goodness, and discerned an almost celestial choir in the chords of power and activity given to them by God, and, like the prophet David, he sweetly encouraged them to praise the Lord."⁶⁶⁶

Furthermore, in chapter three of the *Earlier Rule*, dealing with the Divine Office, clerics are prescribed daily celebration of the liturgy, the *Miserere* and one *Our Father* for "the failings and negligence of the brothers" as well as the *de Profundis* and one *Our Father* for the dead friars.⁶⁶⁷ While the *Earlier Rule* was never presented for approval to

⁶⁶⁴ Ibid., 100-101, 112. See 106-107 for an explicit comparison of St. Louis and David.

⁶⁶⁵ I Celano, bk. I, ch. II, 5, in *The Saint*, 186.

⁶⁶⁶ St. Bonaventure, *Major Legend*, part 1, ch. IX, 1, in *The Founder*, 597.

⁶⁶⁷ Saint Francis, *Earlier Rule*, ch. III, in *The Saint*, 65.

the Holy See,⁶⁶⁸ the friars considered it a valued and more detailed record of St. Francis' wishes and ideals. It is significant, therefore, that this psalm is one of the few celebratory prescriptions, and that it is included specifically for the friars' faults and failings. Its appearance in the chapel thus illustrates a Franciscan connection beyond the penitential theme, suggestive of a strict interpretation of the Rule.

Although the inscription on the northeast figure, S PAULUS, is difficult to make out, his identity has rarely been questioned (fig. 4.15).⁶⁶⁹ Like David, he is turned inwards in three-quarters view, so that these two figures interact more dynamically than any others in the main arch with the exception of Sts. Latro and Longinus. Like David, St. Paul holds his right hand to his chest, while in his left he holds a scroll that twists impossibly upwards.

He has short gray hair, and is balding like St. Matthew. He looks heavenward with an almost sad expression, due to his deep-set eyes, long beard, drooping moustache, and long nose. His garments are the type worn by the other apostles, and yet his pairing with David is emphasized through their dress, for they wear the same colors: a cranberry red overgarment with a white undergarment, both embroidered in gold.

The use of text makes the intended link between David and St. Paul explicit. Paul's scroll reads MISERICORDIAM. This is from Psalm Fifty, the same psalm that appears on the scroll carried by David. The passage is from verse three, which reads, "Have mercy on me, O God, according to thy great mercy. And according to the

⁶⁶⁸ The *Later Rule* includes no information on the celebration of the Divine Office.

⁶⁶⁹ Somewhat exceptionally, Thode identified him only as a gray-bearded saint, with no mention of the scroll. Thode, *Franz von Assisi*, 285.

multitude of thy tender mercies blot out my iniquity.”⁶⁷⁰ The fact that both figures in the top register of the east intrados carry inscriptions from this psalm, the *Miserere*, underscores its penitential message within the context of this chapel.⁶⁷¹ While David, the Old Testament king, bears a message emphasizing his recognition of his iniquity and sin, the passage alluded to on St. Paul’s scroll, repeatedly stresses the idea of mercy, thus reflecting the new covenant initiated at the advent of Christ. This belief about the new covenant was in fact described by Paul in his Epistle to the Hebrews: “I will be merciful to their iniquities, and their sins I will remember no more.”⁶⁷²

St. Paul was a penitent because of his remorse for persecuting Christians prior to his conversion. The frequent mention of tears throughout his Life in the *Golden Legend* also suggests penitence, although it is true he wept over the sins of others more than his own.⁶⁷³ The inscription, “mercy,” taken from a penitential psalm in combination with his pairing with another famous penitent, King David, indicates that he appears in this chapel as a penitential saint. His particular appeal to the Franciscans, a preaching order, is illustrated in the passage cited above from the *Golden Legend* life of St. Matthew: “He [God] made the cruelest persecutor the most faithful preacher”⁶⁷⁴ Furthermore, St. Paul, who “chose to earn his living with his own hands and to preach tirelessly,” but was also a

⁶⁷⁰ Psalm 50.3: “miserere mei Deus secundum magnam; misericordiam tuam et; secundum multitudinem miserationum tuarum dele iniquitatem meam.” http://vulgate.org/ot/psalms_50.htm

⁶⁷¹ Schwartz further noted that St. Paul quoted Psalm Fifty in Romans 3.4. Schwartz, “Fresco Decoration,” 183. While this provides an additional connection for the two figures via this psalm, the cartiglio text is not that quoted by St. Paul in Romans (verse six), but verse three. Psalm Fifty verse six reads: “To thee only have I sinned, and have done evil before thee: that thou mayst be justified in thy words and mayst overcome when thou art judged.” See also Romans 3.4: “But God is true; and every man a liar, as it is written, That thou mayest be justified in thy words, and mayest overcome when thou art judged.”

⁶⁷² Hebrews 8.12.

⁶⁷³ Jacobus, *Golden Legend*, vol. I, 358, 360, 361.

⁶⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. II, 187.

great contemplative,⁶⁷⁵ can be viewed as an adherent of the *vita mixta* followed by Franciscans, of which Mary Magdalen was an exemplar. According to the *Golden Legend*, “from cockcrow until late morning Paul plied a manual trade, then proceeded to preach.”⁶⁷⁶ In a like fashion, St. Francis advised friars to continue working in the trade they had engaged in prior to entering the Order.⁶⁷⁷ Like the Franciscans, St. Paul disdained material things, and “ministered bodily to those in need.”⁶⁷⁸ This conjunction of preaching and poverty is eloquently expressed by Jacobus:

He hurried towards the confusions and hurts that he sustained because of his zeal for preaching rather than toward the enjoyment of the good things of life...desired poverty rather than riches, sought toil much more than others seek rest after toil.⁶⁷⁹

Thus St. Paul reflects the *vita mixta* practiced by the friars and exemplified by the life of Mary Magdalen, as well as augmenting the penitential tenor of the decorative program.

Called an angel by Bonsanti,⁶⁸⁰ the figure in the pinnacle of the entrance arch consists of only head, neck and red wings, and should properly be identified as a seraph (fig. 4.16). Its head points to the north, so it is properly viewed by looking up upon entering the chapel. Seraphim have a special place in Franciscan thought. Thomas of Celano, in his first *Life of Saint Francis*, wrote, “he [St. Francis] had both the image and

⁶⁷⁵ Ibid., vol. I, 350.

⁶⁷⁶ Ibid., vol. I, 351.

⁶⁷⁷ This prescription is found in the *Earlier Rule*, the *Later Rule* and the *Testament*. The *Earlier Rule* is more specific in this regard and in fact Francis cites St. Paul as support. “Let the brothers who know how to work do so and exercise that trade they have learned, provided it is not contrary to the good of their souls and can be performed honestly.” Francis continues on to quote Psalm 127.2 and St. Paul (2 Thess. 3.10) in support of this view. Saint Francis, *Earlier Rule* in *The Saint*, ch. VII, 68-9. The *Later Rule* does not state that the friars *should* work if they have a trade, but it says they may do so. “Those brothers to whom the Lord has given the grace of working may work faithfully and devotedly.” Saint Francis, *Later Rule* in *The Saint*, ch. V, 102. In the *Testament* Francis states “I earnestly desire all brothers to give themselves to honest work. Let those who do not know how to work learn.” Saint Francis, *The Testament*, in *The Saint*, 125.

⁶⁷⁸ Jacobus, *Golden Legend*, vol. I, 358.

⁶⁷⁹ Ibid., vol. I, 359.

⁶⁸⁰ Bonsanti, *Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi*, vol. 1, 371.

the form of the Seraph.”⁶⁸¹ It is fitting that a seraph, a member of the first hierarchy of angels, is located at the apex of the arch. Classified as “pure,” beings closest to God, Pseudo-Dionysius also calls them “contemplatives,” as they have entered into a direct communion with Christ.⁶⁸² This figure is located directly at the base of the upper register of the pictorial narrative cycle, which focuses on the Magdalen’s contemplative sojourn in the wilderness. It thus seems to reflect the transition from the active to the contemplative life depicted in the two registers of the Magdalen cycle.

FIGURES SURROUNDING THE WINDOW—FIGS. 4.17 & 4.18

Four female figures surround the windows on the north wall of the chapel, two on either side. They read as both vertically and horizontally paired. Both figures to the west of the window are Marys: Mary of Egypt (fig. 4.19) and Mary or Miriam, sister of Moses (fig. 4.20).⁶⁸³ One of the figures to the east can only be identified as a female martyr (fig. 4.21); the other is St. Helena, finder of the True Cross (fig. 4.22). All four are depicted before blue grounds and set in frames with pointed arches, creating the illusion that they are standing in niches. I first discuss the west figures (bottom and top) then those to the east (bottom and top).

St. Mary of Egypt (fig. 4.19) was a desert saint whose *vita* provided many of the elements of the legendary life of Mary Magdalen. Her story first circulated in the East in the sixth century and quickly spread to the West where she became a “model of

⁶⁸¹ I, Celano, bk II, 114, 115 in *The Saint*, 282-3. To be sure, Celano is discussing the six-winged form of Seraphim, so this image is in no way meant to be a depiction of St. Francis; the possibility of it as a multivalent symbol referencing Francis however, holds.

⁶⁸² Pseudo-Dionysius, *The Celestial Hierarchy*, ch. 7, 208B & C, in *Pseudo-Dionysius: The Complete Works*, trans. Colm Luibhéid and Paul Rorem (New York :Paulist Press, 1987), 163-4.

⁶⁸³ The grouping of Marys in this area is further augmented by the appearance of four Marys—Mary Magdalen, Mary Salome, Mary Cleophas and the Virgin—in the adjacent set of stained glass lancet windows (figs. 4.23 & 4.26).

repentance.”⁶⁸⁴ She was a prostitute who prayed to the Virgin and cried, asking for pardon. She was told to go into the desert and lived there for forty-seven years atoning for her sins.⁶⁸⁵ Her conversion was precipitated by an attempt to enter the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, which was then displaying the relic of the True Cross. An invisible force prevented her from entering and “at once sudden contrition filled her heart and she began to weep.”⁶⁸⁶ This links her to St. Helena, depicted on the same wall, the discoverer of the True Cross. Mary of Egypt’s standing as a penitent saint, in combination with her relationship with Mary Magdalen and with the True Cross, explains her depiction in the Magdalen Chapel.

The figure of St. Mary of Egypt is in poor condition,⁶⁸⁷ thus Schwartz was the first to note the identifying *titulus* above her left shoulder.⁶⁸⁸ Previous scholars had identified the saint as a penitent, perhaps Mary Magdalen herself.⁶⁸⁹ In fact, her appearance is in marked contrast with that of Mary Magdalen in the chapel. Even in the desert, the Magdalen is depicted as beautiful and young. Mary of Egypt has a gaunt face, dusky complexion, down-turned mouth, prominent collarbones and bony chest. Her sad eyes have dark circles underneath. Her long curling hair, while similar to that of the

⁶⁸⁴ Ward, *Harlots of the Desert*, 26.

⁶⁸⁵ Jacobus, *Golden Legend*, vol. I, 228. Her story extends from 227-229.

⁶⁸⁶ Ward, *Harlots of the Desert*, 27.

⁶⁸⁷ The bottom of the fresco is destroyed, as is the right side, from her left shoulder to the window. There are also small areas of paint loss throughout.

⁶⁸⁸ Schwartz, “Fresco Decoration,” 165. Damage on the right side means no evidence of an inscription is visible in that region. Errani did correctly identify this figure as Mary of Egypt in 1949, but made no mention of the inscription. Errani, *Assisi*, 58. The identification as St. Mary of Egypt is now generally accepted. See Flores D’Arcais, *Giotto*, 275; Bonsanti, *Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi*, vol. 1, 388; Volpe, in Bonsanti, *Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi*, vol. 4, 387.

⁶⁸⁹ Identifications as a penitent include Kleinschmidt, *Basilika San Francesco*, vol. 2, 215; Zocca, *Assisi*, 45; Vigorelli, *Opera completa*, 111; Previtali, *Giotto* (1967), 305; Previtali, “Cappelle,” 110. All but Previtali suggested it might be Mary Magdalen. Thode described her simply as an old holy woman with long hair, wearing a shirt-like dress exposing her chest and arms. Thode, *Franz von Assisi*, 285;

Magdalen, is darker in color. Furthermore, atypically for the Egyptian, this figure is clothed in a simple garment with a ragged edge.

Miriam, on the top west, has a *titulus* reading S MARIA SOROR MOISY on a simulated plaque at the base of the fresco, and also holds one of the most recognizable attributes (fig. 4.20). The large timbrel or tambourine in her left arm is associated with Miriam due to the passage in Exodus when, in celebration of their escape through the red sea, “Mary the prophetess, the sister of Aaron, took a timbrel in her hand: and all the women went forth after her with timbrels and with dances”⁶⁹⁰

Miriam is the youngest and most graceful of the four women surrounding the window. Her swaying pose suggests movement, perhaps a reference to her dancing and playing music. She wears a white shift with a simple dark red cape clasped at her throat, and smiles gently, in contrast to the saints’ stern expressions. She stands on a platform with her right foot protruding from beneath her dress.

One reason for Miriam’s presence in this chapel may be that like Mary of Egypt, below her, Miriam shares her name with Mary Magdalen. She was also interpreted as prefiguring the Magdalen.⁶⁹¹ Abelard, in a sermon, compared the importance of women (Miriam) at Passover in the Old Testament and at Easter in the New Testament (Mary Magdalen).⁶⁹² Most important for explaining her inclusion in this iconographic program, however, is that Miriam, like David, is an Old Testament penitent.⁶⁹³ In Numbers,

⁶⁹⁰ Exodus 15.20.

⁶⁹¹ Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen*, 174.

⁶⁹² Petrus Abaelardus (Abelard), *Sermo 13*, in *Patrologiae Cursus Completus: Series Latina* (ed J.-P. Migne, 1855), vol. 178, 485.

⁶⁹³ For example, In the *Biblia Pauperum* (c.1460) a depiction of Luke’s sinner is flanked on the right by Miriam being cured of her leprosy and on the left by David. Schwartz’s discussion of the fresco of Miriam ignored the penitential aspects of her *vita*, instead focusing on the fact that Miriam is identified in the *titulus* as sister to Moses. She argues this reflects a theme of sisterhood running through the chapel. Schwartz, “Fresco Decoration,” 173-4. Jansen criticized the fact that Schwartz did not identify Miriam (or

Miriam and Aaron confront Moses for marrying an Ethiopian (or Cushite). God, angered, asks, “Why then were you not afraid to speak ill of my servant Moses?”⁶⁹⁴ Miriam was cursed with leprosy. Aaron asked forgiveness for their foolish sin and Moses pleaded with God for mercy on her behalf. She was then cast out for seven days to atone on God's command.⁶⁹⁵

Leprosy connects Miriam with Mary Magdalen, as well as with St. Francis.

Women in general, and prostitutes specifically, were associated with leprosy and believed to be its main transmitters,⁶⁹⁶ as both prostitutes and lepers were viewed as impure defilers, and were marginalized and pushed to the edge of society. Mary Magdalen was further associated with lepers through the story of the anointing at Bethany (Matt. 26.6-13; Mk. 14.3-9), in which she anoints Christ at the house of Simon the leper,⁶⁹⁷ and through the confusion of Lazarus the leper (Lk 16.20), with Lazarus the brother of Mary and Martha.⁶⁹⁸ Lastly, Mary Magdalen was often the patron saint of leper houses. There

Matthew) as penitents, arguing that it was solely as penitential figures that they were included in the program. Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen*, 204, n24. Furthermore, the sisterhood argument does not explain Miriam's presence in the chapel, as it begs the question of why Miriam, as opposed to other sisters mentioned in the Bible. Schwartz's other arguments for the theme of sisterhood are equally unconvincing. She states that “St Martha of Bethany, the well-known sister of Mary Magdalen, is honored repeatedly throughout the chapel.” While St. Martha is depicted in *The Raising of Lazarus* and *The Voyage to Marseilles*, her presence in those scenes is standard and expected. The tondo in the ceiling (fig. 3.24) is the only example that singles her out for special attention. Schwartz also argues that Martha is referenced in the figure of Martha of Persia to the east of the window (bottom); however, I am not convinced that this is Martha of Persia. See discussion below.

⁶⁹⁴ Numbers 12.8.

⁶⁹⁵ Numbers 12.1-15.

⁶⁹⁶ Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen*, 174. For more on the association of women and leprosy, see Danielle Jacquart and Claude Thomasset, *Sexuality and Medicine in the Middle Ages*, trans. Matthew Adamson (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), 177-93.

⁶⁹⁷ Jacobus, *Golden Legend*, vol. I, 375 actually places the scene of Luke 7 in the house of Simon the leper, though on the following page (376) he refers to him as Simon the Pharisee.

⁶⁹⁸ Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen*, 174.

were two such leper houses around Assisi at the time of the Magdalen Chapel's decoration.⁶⁹⁹

Thomas of Celano's first and second life of Saint Francis, as well as the *Major Legend* of St. Bonaventure, describe Saint Francis interacting with lepers after he had turned to a penitential life. Reviled as they are, Francis kisses them repeatedly.⁷⁰⁰ Another notable activity performed by St. Francis for lepers was washing their feet, an act of great import in the Bible, and one with which Mary Magdalen, as well as Christ, is associated.⁷⁰¹ St. Francis' miracles include the healing of lepers.⁷⁰² St. Francis himself makes clear the role lepers played on his path to penitence, when he begins his *Testament* by stating:

The Lord gave me, Brother Francis, thus to begin doing penance in this way: for when I was in sin, it seemed too bitter for me to see lepers. And the Lord Himself led me among them and I *showed mercy* to them. And when I left them, what had seemed bitter to me was turned into sweetness of soul and body. And afterwards I delayed a little and left the world.⁷⁰³

He thus explicitly ties his penitential lifestyle, and indeed his decision to become a man of God, to his attitude towards lepers. It is worth noting that the Latin phrase here translated as "I showed mercy," is *feci misericordiam*. When found in the Gospels, it is

⁶⁹⁹ Ibid., 175. For Rivo Torto, where St. Francis worked early in his conversion see *Speculum Perfectionis (minus)*, ed. Marino Bigaroni, O.F.M., Pubblicazioni della biblioteca Franciscana, Chiesa Nuova 3 (Assisi: Edizioni Porsiuncola, 1983), 13. For another leper house in the area called Santa Maria Maddalena de Archis see the Trecento and Quattrocento entries in Cenci, *Documentazione*, vol. 1, 69, 175, 179, 183, 279, 294; vol. 2, 770.

⁷⁰⁰ Stories of St. Francis living with the lepers are related in I Celano, bk I, ch. VII, in *The Saint*, 195; Saint Bonaventure, *Major Legend*, part I, ch. II, 6, in *The Founder*, 539. St. Francis kisses lepers in all three early biographies: I Celano, bk I, ch. VII, in *The Saint*, 195; II Celano, bk I, ch. V in *The Founder*, 248-9; Saint Bonaventure, *Major Legend*, part I, ch. II, 6, in *The Founder*, 539-40.

⁷⁰¹ Saint Bonaventure, *Major Legend*, part I, ch. II, 6, in *The Founder*, 539.

⁷⁰² I Celano, bk. III, ch. V, in *The Saint*, 305-306; Thomas of Celano, *Treatise on the Miracles of Saint Francis*, ch. XV, 146-147, in *The Founder: Francis of Assisi: Early Documents II*, eds. Regis J. Armstrong, O.F.M. Cap., J.A. Wayne Hellmann, O.F.M. Conv., and William J. Short, O.F.M., (New York: New City Press, 2000), 453-54; Saint Bonaventure, *Major Legend*, part II, ch. VIII, 5, in *The Founder*, 675.

⁷⁰³ Saint Francis, *The Testament*, in *The Saint*, 124.

associated with penance,⁷⁰⁴ as indeed is seen in the image of St. Paul in the entrance arch of this chapel, where the inscription MISERICORDIAM references Psalm fifty, the *Miserere*, one of the penitential psalms. The penitent leper Miriam thus speaks to the penitential theme of the iconographic program and alludes to important elements in the *vita* of both Mary Magdalen and St. Francis.

The female saint on the bottom east cannot be securely identified (fig. 4.21). Like St. Mary of Egypt she had a *titulus* in gold against the blue ground above her shoulders, but no trace of it now remains.⁷⁰⁵ She is an older woman with a stern, heavily lined face, thin lips, downcast eyes, and unhappy expression. She faces inwards slightly, towards the window and St. Mary of Egypt on the opposite side. In her right hand she holds a palm, symbol of martyrdom, while her left hand is hidden beneath a cloth. She wears a peach underdress, an orange hooded wrap and what Schwartz identifies as a “long white apron.”⁷⁰⁶

Due to the non-specific attribute and lack of inscription, most scholars identify this figure only as a female martyr.⁷⁰⁷ Schwartz reads the possible apron as an attribute associated with Martha of Bethany, sister of the Magdalen, and suggests that due to the martyr’s palm (not usually associated with Martha of Bethany), this figure is St. Martha of Persia, who was confused with Martha of Bethany in the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*. This makes her a parallel to St. Mary of Egypt, who was often confused

⁷⁰⁴ Ibid., note c.

⁷⁰⁵ Schwartz, “Fresco Decoration,” 166, claimed to see a few gold chips in this region. While I did not, I am convinced there was an inscription.

⁷⁰⁶ Ibid., 166. While it may be an apron, the wrap makes it difficult to tell whether it might not be simply an overdress similar to those of the female saints in the entrance arch.

⁷⁰⁷ For identification as a martyr see Kleinschmidt, *Basilika San Francesco*, vol. 2, 215; Zocca, *Assisi*, 45; Errani, *Assisi*, 58; Vigorelli, *Opera completa*, 111; Previtali, *Giotto* (1967), 305; Previtali, “Cappelle,” 110; Flores D’Arcais, *Giotto*, 275; Bonsanti, *Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi*, vol. 1, 388; Volpe, in Bonsanti, *Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi*, vol. 4, 387. Thode does not call her a martyr, but by describing her as a female saint with a palm, the inference is clear. Thode, *Franz von Assisi*, 285.

with Mary Magdalen.⁷⁰⁸ While it is an interesting theory, there are factors that seem to caution against accepting it. For one, Martha of Persia is not frequently depicted. Moreover, her life does not seem to suggest penance as a major feature, so if it is she, she is one of the only non-penitential saints in the program. Lastly, I am not convinced that this is an apron and nothing else about the representation suggests Martha of Bethany, nor does Martha appear with an apron elsewhere in the chapel. With regards to the martyr's palm, it should be noted that although Martha of Bethany is not typically a martyr saint, she is identified as such in the late twelfth-century *Life of Saint Mary Magdalene and of her Sister Saint Martha*. If Schwartz's reading of the attribute is correct, it is therefore possible that this could be Martha of Bethany without any conflation with Martha of Persia.⁷⁰⁹ Still, this does not seem to have been a typical understanding of the saint, and it seems unlikely that this image was intended to depict either Martha.

The last figure on the north wall, St. Helena, is identified on a painted plaque reading S. ELENA MATER CONSTANTINI (fig. 4.22). Thus, like Miriam with whom she is horizontally paired, she is defined through an important male relation.⁷¹⁰ This is likely due to the fact that Helena was converted through the influence of her son Constantine,⁷¹¹ and it was Constantine who sent St. Helena to Jerusalem to find the True Cross.⁷¹² Moreover it was through her son that St. Helena, like Mary Magdalen, Lazarus, and Miriam, was associated with leprosy. In Jacobus' *Life of Saint Silvester* he reports

⁷⁰⁸ For Schwartz's arguments see Schwartz, "Fresco Decoration," 166-8.

⁷⁰⁹ *Life of Saint Mary Magdalene*, 102.

⁷¹⁰ Schwartz therefore believes her to be an example of the "theme of motherhood" she saw running through the chapel. Schwartz, "Fresco Decoration," 174-175.

⁷¹¹ Jacobus, *Golden Legend*, vol. I, 65, 70.

⁷¹² Jacobus, *Golden Legend*, vol. I, 279, 280.

that Constantine persecuted Christians before his conversion, and for his sin, like Miriam he was punished with leprosy. Pope Silvester cured him by baptizing him.⁷¹³ This event was therefore critical in his mother's path to Christianity.

St. Helena is richly dressed as befits her rank as empress. Like Miriam, she wears a white dress with a red tasseled belt, with a red over-garment with gold embroidery. She has a white head-covering, topped with a hat of red, blue and white.⁷¹⁴ She is the oldest of these figures and her face is somewhat stern. She faces slightly inwards towards Miriam. Her attribute is a tau cross like that carried by St. Latro in the entrance arch, although here it has nails and a footrest to indicate that this is the True Cross, discovered by St. Helena in Jerusalem.

St. Helena is less clearly a penitential saint than are the majority of figures depicted in this chapel. Although penance largely drives the iconographical scheme, perhaps Franciscan devotion to the cross provides the reason for Helena's presence here. While the cross was important to all Christians, the Franciscans were especially devoted to it. And, of key importance in this context, the True Cross was understood as a powerful force that could cause repentance and conversion, as in the story of St. Mary of Egypt, as well as physical healing, as was related in the story of St. Helena's discovery of the cross.⁷¹⁵

⁷¹³ Jacobus, *Golden Legend*, vol. I, 64-5.

⁷¹⁴ Schwartz argued that this type of headdresses denotes "temporal kingship" in Giottesque works. Schwartz, "Fresco Decoration," 164.

⁷¹⁵ The Eastern Church celebrates Mary of Egypt during Lent, saying, "The power of Thy Cross, O Christ, has worked wonders, for even the woman who was once a harlot chose to follow the ascetic way. Casting aside her weakness, bravely she opposed the devil; and having gained the prize of victory, she intercedes for our souls." Ward, *Harlots of the Desert*, 34. See: *Canon of St. Mary of Egypt*, in *The Lenten Triodion*, trans. Mother Mary and Bishop Kallistos Ware (London: Faber & Faber, 1978), 448.

STAINED GLASS—FIG. 4.23 & 4.24

Located in the center of the north wall, between the four female saints discussed above, is a stained glass window approximately 191 inches wide. It takes up the greater part of the wall, rising to the height of the ceiling. Recent scholarship dates the stained glass just prior to the frescoed decoration, sometime around the year 1300-1305.⁷¹⁶ Like the fresco program, the window features a life of the Magdalen cycle and iconic images of saints. The relationship between the chapel's two pictorial programs is difficult to untangle. However, as Teobaldo Pontano commissioned the entire chapel, he was likely responsible for deciding the program and iconography of the window as well as the fresco cycle.⁷¹⁷ It is therefore of interest to briefly examine the stained glass program.

The earliest known description of the windows of the Magdalen Chapel was that of Ludovico da Pietralunga, written circa 1580.⁷¹⁸ Stylistic analysis has varied widely.⁷¹⁹ In the windows scholars have variously seen: the early style of Giotto,⁷²⁰ the glassmaker

⁷¹⁶ Bonsanti, *Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi*, vol. 1, 390; Frank Martin, in Bonsanti, *Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi*, *Mirabilia Italiae* 11 (Modena: Franco Cosimo Panini Editore, 2002), vol. 4, 388; Gerhard Ruf, "Le vetrate," in Bonsanti, *Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi*, *Mirabilia Italiae* 11 (Modena: Franco Cosimo Panini Editore, 2002), vol. 3, 237; Frank Martin und Gerhard Ruf, *Die Glasmalereien von San Francesco in Assisi: Entstehung und Entwicklung einer Gattung in Italien* (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 1997), 298, 299. Due to the general confusion around the dating of the chapel's construction and decoration, dates have varied somewhat, but the 1300-1305 dating reflects the most current scholarship on the issue. For more information, see Martin, in Bonsanti, *Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi*, vol. 4, 388-89. Troiano and Pompei state that the stained glass is contemporary with the frescoes. Troiano and Pompei, *Illustrated Guide*, 30.

⁷¹⁷ Lunghi, in contrast, argues that the chapels on the north side of the Lower church were built by the friars and that later patrons were sought to cover the cost of decoration, thus he hypothesizes that the Franciscan community was responsible for the iconographic program of the window and that this in turn was a possible motivation for the dedication by Teobaldo to Mary Magdalen. Lunghi, *Basilica of St. Francis*, 100-101, 148.

⁷¹⁸ Bonsanti, *Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi*, vol. 4, 390; Martin und Ruf, *Die Glasmalereien von San Francesco in Assisi*, 297; Martin, in Bonsanti, *Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi*, vol. 4, 388.

⁷¹⁹ An in-depth analysis of the various scholarly views of the windows is beyond the scope of this work. For a synopsis see Martin, in Bonsanti, *Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi*, vol. 4, 388-89; Martin und Ruf, *Die Glasmalereien von San Francesco in Assisi*, 297.

⁷²⁰ Thode, *Franz von Assisi*, 619.

of the windows of the Upper Church,⁷²¹ or the artist who executed the St. Nicholas Chapel windows and those of the Bardi Chapel in Sta. Croce in Florence.⁷²² Marchini first argued that the same artist did all the windows of the Lower Church in an anachronistic style to match the motifs of those of the Upper Church, and later commented on northern and Giottesque influences.⁷²³ Zocca noted a similarity to late thirteenth-century Roman painting.⁷²⁴ Supino compared the windows to the Florentine *Magdalen Master Altarpiece*,⁷²⁵ while Troiano and Pompei say that the works are based on Florentine sketches but executed in a Roman-influenced style.⁷²⁶

The window is a four-light window comprised of four lancets, each 12'-11½" high and 2'-7½" wide, grouped in pairs separated by a wider mullion in the center.⁷²⁷ Above each set of lancets is a quatrefoil surmounted by a stone arch with stained glass spandrels, and above, in the center is a circular rose window also flanked by stained glass spandrels.⁷²⁸ As is typical of the medium, the colors are bright, clear and jewel-toned, in marked contrast with the more subdued coloration of the frescoed decoration. The stone surrounds are decorated with cosmatesque designs that match those throughout the chapel. Each of the lancets contains four panels with iconic or narrative images. The quatrefoils, spandrels and rose window have decorative imagery. Both the rose window and spandrels contain fleurs-de-lys. This is not the only appearance of this symbol of the

⁷²¹ Egidio Giusto, *Le vetrate di S. Francesco in Assisi: studio storico iconografico* (Milano: Alfieri & Lacroix, 1911), 264-74. He therefore dated them to the end of the 13th century.

⁷²² Giustino Cristofani, "Le vetrate del '300 nella basilica inferiore di Assisi," *Rassegna d'arte*, 11 (1911): 152-157.

⁷²³ Giuseppe Marchini, *Le Vetrate Italiane* (Milano: Electa editrice, 1956), 22, 223-224 n24.

⁷²⁴ Zocca, *Assisi*, 29.

⁷²⁵ Igino Benvenuto Supino, *La basilica di San Francesco d'Assisi: illustrazione storico-artistica, con duecento incisioni e sei tavole fuori testo* (Bologna: N. Zanichelli, 1924), 222.

⁷²⁶ Troiano and Pompei, *Illustrated Guide*, 30.

⁷²⁷ Martin, in Bonsanti, *Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi*, vol. 4, 389. Its form echoes the windows of the transept of the Upper Church, but on a smaller scale.

⁷²⁸ The diameter of the rose window is 6'-9". Martin, in Bonsanti, *Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi* vol. 4, 389.

Angevin dynasty in the chapel and may reflect the Angevin connections and sympathies of the patron Bishop Teobaldo. The figural images are divided into two sets. The two windows on the right (fig. 4.25) contain gospel scenes of the life of the Magdalen, while the left set (fig. 4.26) primarily features devotional figures. The two sets utilize different framing elements, thus reinforcing the impression created by the iconography that each set of windows is intended to function as a largely independent unit.⁷²⁹

From the far right, the biblical life of the Magdalen reads as follows, from bottom to top, right to left: (right window) *The Supper in the House of the Pharisee*, *The Meeting at the Gate of Bethany*, *The Raising of Lazarus*, *The Supper at Bethany*, (left window) a scene usually identified as *Christ Appears to the Marys*,⁷³⁰ *Christ Defends the Magdalen from Martha's Reproaches (Christ in the House of Mary and Martha)*, *Christ Appears to the Magdalen*, and the *Noli me tangere*.⁷³¹ Because of the lack of narrative content in many of the panels the order of the left set of windows is less clear, seemingly reading from top to bottom, right to left: (right window) *Virgin and Child*, *The Magdalen in the Desert*, *The Magdalen Receives a Garment from an Angel*, *The Burial of the Magdalen*, (left window) *The Redeemer*, *St. Mary Magdalen*, *St. Mary Cleophas*, and *St. Mary Salome*.⁷³² Each saint is accompanied by an abbreviated identifying inscription.

Of the gospel scenes, the one usually identified as *Christ Appears to the Marys* (fig. 4.27) deserves special attention. It has been assumed to represent the scene of the

⁷²⁹ The right set of windows has the scenes within interconnected, vertically elongated shapes, bulging three times along their length, which come to a point at both ends. The figures of the left set are placed within rectangular shapes, augmented with a semicircle on all four sides.

⁷³⁰ See below for an alternate reading of this scene.

⁷³¹ The Supper in Bethany, not depicted in the frescoed decorative scheme, is told in Matthew 26.6-13 and Mark 14.3-9 and is strongly reminiscent of the earlier scene in the house of the Pharisee.

⁷³² These identifications are from Martin, in Bonsanti, *Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi*, vol. 4, 388-92; and also Bonsanti, *Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi*, vol. 1, 390. For a catalogue entry for each glass panel, see Martin und Ruf, *Die Glasmalereien von San Francesco in Assisi*, 298-303.

three Marys at the tomb described in Mark 16.1-8.⁷³³ In Mark's account, however, the Marys do not encounter Christ, but find an empty tomb. In the Gospel of Matthew (28.1-10), the Marys meet Christ; but there are only two: Mary Magdalen and "the other Mary." More critically, its placement makes this identification problematic. While the narrative seems to generally proceed chronologically, according to textual sources, this scene appears before *Christ Defends the Magdalen from Martha's Reproaches*. A post-Resurrection scene cannot precede the pre-Passion Mary and Martha scene.⁷³⁴ This image must therefore represent an event prior to Christ's Crucifixion and Resurrection. Furthermore, upon close examination it is evident that in this panel Christ has no stigmata, which are clearly visible in each post-Resurrection scene and in the image of Christ as *Redeemer* in the left set of windows.⁷³⁵ It is inconceivable that this theologically significant element would have been omitted, especially in a Franciscan context where exceptional emphasis was placed on the stigmata. The presence of the male figure behind Christ reinforces the interpretation of this as a pre-Passion event.⁷³⁶ He does not appear in either post-Resurrection scene, but is found in all of the pre-Resurrection scenes except *The Supper at Bethany*.⁷³⁷ Furthermore if this was indeed *Christ Appears to the Marys*,

⁷³³ This scene is not commonly depicted in Magdalen cycles of the Late Medieval period. Of the cycles under consideration it only is found in the Magdalen Chapel in the Palazzo del Podestà, Florence (fig. 5.7).

⁷³⁴ Martin und Ruf, *Die Glasmalereien von San Francesco in Assisi*, 298; and Martin, in Bonsanti, *Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi*, vol. 4, 389, 392, comment on the problematic nature of the order of scenes, but do not propose any solution to the difficulties, beyond saying that it does not seem the order of scenes has been modified based on the documentation of their state by Ramboux in 1836 (pg. 113-114) and Overbeck (fol. 14r.). These images are reproduced in Martin und Ruf, *Die Glasmalereien von San Francesco in Assisi*, Figs. 120-122 and 135, respectively. Furthermore given the armature, which interrupts the scenes, it is virtually impossible that the scenes could have been configured in another order.

⁷³⁵ *Christ Appears to the Magdalen* and *Noli me tangere*.

⁷³⁶ Martin calls his presence "inexplicable." Martin, in Bonsanti, *Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi*, vol. 4, 389, 392.

⁷³⁷ I tentatively suggest that he represents the twelve apostles, who could not all be included given the limited space.

no other person should be present. His inclusion here thus strengthens the argument that this scene occurs prior to the Crucifixion.

I would suggest that instead of *Christ Appears to the Marys*, this scene should be identified as *Christ with Mary Magdalen, Joanna and Susanna*. Nothing indicates that these women are the three Marys: there is no *titulus*, nor are there any strong similarities between them and St. Mary of Cleophas and St. Mary Salome as depicted in the left set of windows. As Christ is clearly depicted prior to his Resurrection, I suggest that the figures are rather Mary Magdalen, Joanna and Susanna, the women described in Luke 8.2-3, the first mention of Mary Magdalen by name in the Bible.⁷³⁸ They were three of the women who traveled with, and provided for, Christ and the apostles:

And it came to pass afterwards, that he travelled through the cities and towns, preaching and evangelizing the kingdom of God; and the twelve with him: And certain women who had been healed of evil spirits and infirmities; Mary who is called Magdalen, out of whom seven devils were gone forth, And Joanna the wife of Chusa, Herod's steward, and Susanna, and many others who ministered unto him of their substance.⁷³⁹

This image would thus provide another example of the Magdalen in an active role, ministering to the apostles and Christ, and living, much like the apostles and friars themselves, an apostolic life.

The left set of windows is less straightforward, with three scenes from the legendary life of Mary Magdalen in one corner of what is otherwise a series of iconic devotional images (fig. 4.26). The iconography of these scenes presents a blending of elements of the lives of Mary Magdalen and Mary of Egypt. While the inscription S(ANCTA) MA(RIA) MAG(DALENA) makes clear the intended identification, the lion

⁷³⁸ While it seems rather late in the program for this scene, it is more likely than a post-Crucifixion appearance out of chronological order and without the stigmata, and, as the scenes are compiled from the four gospels, it is not impossible that this scene could be placed so late.

⁷³⁹ Luke 8.1-3.

in the *Burial* is a feature of the *vita* of Mary of Egypt, not the Magdalen. This confusion is not found in the iconography of the fresco cycle. The devotional figures, with the exception of *Christ the Redeemer*, present a panoply of Marys. Not only is the Virgin Mary depicted, in the *Virgin and Child*, but the window also contains *Mary Magdalen*, *Mary Salome* and *Mary of Cleophas*, the three Marys who go to Christ's tomb and find it empty (Mk. 16.1-8). Thus this constellation of Marys spans the Christological experience, from Incarnation to Resurrection. The multitude of Marys in the window iconography also alludes to the confusion between the many figures with that name. Indeed, with the exception of Christ, every iconic figure in the left set of windows, as well as in the paintings flanking it on the left, is named Mary.

As is clear, the fresco cycle repeated some of the scenes that appear in the stained glass. Where scenes are duplicated—*Supper in the House of the Pharisee*, *Raising of Lazarus*, *Noli me tangere* and in the scenes in the wilderness—the treatment is not terribly similar. While the space constraints inherent to the stained glass medium led to an abbreviated form, this does not completely account for their differences. As in the earlier pictorial cycles in San Lorenzo Maggiore and on the *Magdalen Master Dossal* the Magdalen faces towards Christ in the *Supper in the House of the Pharisee*. Most particularly in the scenes of the later life of Mary Magdalen the iconographer was clearly using a different source material than in the fresco cycle in this chapel, or indeed in any other. The lion, and the fact that she is receiving a garment from an angel, are particularly telling. It has not been possible to determine the source for this program.

CONCLUSION

The Magdalen Chapel, a chapel dedicated to Mary Magdalen by a Franciscan bishop with Angevin ties, has a highly complex iconographical program. I have examined its iconography within the context of Franciscanism, penitential theology, and the newly popular cult of the Magdalen. That the pictorial cycle of the life of the Magdalen should be read as penitential seems obvious given the medieval understanding of the Magdalen. However, as discussed in the previous chapter, the iconographer in the Magdalen Chapel augmented this theme through the cycle's organization, and the iconic imagery that surrounds it enhances the import of the narrative. By beginning with the Magdalen repenting in the *Supper at the House of the Pharisee*, and concluding directly above with her receiving Last Communion in the *Last Communion and Ascension of Mary Magdalen*, the cycle visibly lays out penitential theology, illustrating that penitence is a necessary step for Communion and salvation. The iconic saints, penitents and exemplars of the *vita mixta*, reinforce the message of the narrative cycle.

From the Old Testament figures David, who repented of his sin with Bathsheba, and Miriam, whose leprosy was cured by doing penance in the desert, to New Testament saints such as Peter, who had rejected Christ, and Paul, who had persecuted the Christians, to the early Christian saints such as Mary of Egypt, a repentant prostitute, and Augustine who lived a life of pleasure before his conversion, almost every figure depicted in this chapel has a *vita* in which penance is a prominent feature. As we saw in chapter one, penance was of particular importance to the Franciscans, but it is not only this that reveals the Franciscan nature of the iconography. Most of the figures depicted engaged in the *vita mixta* sanctioned by St. Francis and the Franciscan Order. Mary

Magdalen is the prime example, and the scenes in the chapel emphasize both the contemplative and active aspects of her life. The saints Paul and Augustine, as well as the tentatively identified St. Athanasius and St. Ambrose practiced this way of life. Poverty and a disdain for worldly goods, key elements of the Franciscan way of life, can be seen in the lives of St. Anthony, St. Augustine, St. Peter, St. Paul, St. Matthew and St. Mary of Egypt. Other Franciscan elements include the theme of leprosy in the lives Miriam, St. Helena and Mary Magdalen, and the appearance of Psalm Fifty, discussed by Francis in *The Earlier Rule*, in the images of David and St. Paul. The Franciscan emphasis on the Crucifixion, the True Cross, and the receiving of the stigmata is seen in the presence of Saints Mary of Egypt, Helena, Longinus and Latro.

It is in part due to this pervasive Franciscan nature of the iconography that I propose that six of the unidentified “saints”—the four female figures in the lowest register of the entrance arch, and the two figures paired with the donor portraits—should instead be read as Franciscan Virtues—*Queen Wisdom*, *holy Simplicity*, *Lady Holy Poverty*, *holy Humility*, *Lady Holy Charity* (or *Love*), and *holy Obedience*—as honored by St. Francis in *A Salutation to the Virtues*.

Regarding the patron, Teobaldo Pontano, while the association between Teobaldo and the Angevin dynasty has been discussed previously by Schwartz, I believe that Teobaldo was not only showing his Angevin loyalties, but also displaying his personal attachment to Mary Magdalen and the ideals of the Franciscan Order, making an argument for Mary Magdalen as an exemplar of these ideals. While Teobaldo acknowledged his role as Bishop of Assisi in his donor portrait with the sainted bishop Rufino, the iconography does not emphasize the episcopacy. Despite the inclusion of

several bishop saints in the program, none except Rufino are depicted in ways that emphasize their office. Instead, they illustrate matters of special importance to the Franciscans, and are chosen as exemplars of penitence and Franciscan ideals.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE MAGDALEN CHAPEL IN THE PALAZZO DEL PODESTÀ, FLORENCE

The Magdalen Chapel, often called the Chapel of the Podestà, in the Palazzo del Podestà, Florence, now the Museo Nazionale del Bargello, is somewhat of an anomaly in this study.⁷⁴⁰ Of the late medieval chapels dedicated to the Magdalen in central and southern Italy, it is the only one not located within an ecclesiastical context.⁷⁴¹ Instead, it is the chapel for and within one of the most important civic structures of late medieval Florence, the palace where, depending on the political situation at the time, the Podestà, Signore, or the Signore's Vicar lived, and whence justice was dispensed. The edifice was begun in the mid-duecento and was significantly expanded in the second decade of the trecento, under the auspices of the Angevin Vicars, acting in Florence as the authority of the Signore, King Robert of Naples.⁷⁴² According to Amee Yunn's study of the architectural history of the Palazzo, this enterprise, carried out from 1316-1322,

⁷⁴⁰ I hereafter refer to this chapel as the Magdalen Chapel I am not adopting the term Chapel of the Podestà as I contend the chapel originated during the Signoria of Robert and thus in a period when there was no Podestà. It would, however, have been used by the Podestà subsequently.

⁷⁴¹ There is a cycle currently located within the Palazzo della Ragione, Bergamo (Lombardy), a 12th-century structure that served as the administrative center of the city in the Communal period. However these late 14th-century frescoes are not from this location, but were originally in the former Disciplinati Church of S. Maria Maddalena. On this cycle see Stefania Buganza, "Le confraternite Lombarde e l'arte: tracce per una storia della committenza in età tardomedioevale e rinascimentale," in *Confraternite: fede e opere in Lombardia dal medioevo al settecento*, eds. Stefania Buganza, Paolo Vanoli e Danilo Zardin (Milano: Scalpendi editore, 2011), 44-49; Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen*, 227-228, 300. See also Sandrina Bandera Bistoletti, "La pittura dal 1350 al 1450," in *Pittura a Bergamo dal romanico al neoclassicismo*, ed. Mina Gregori (Milano: Silvana Ed. D'Arte, 1991), 9, tav. 12, p. 74; Sandrina Bandera Bistoletti, Catalogue entry in *Pittura a Bergamo dal romanico al neoclassicismo*, ed. Mina Gregori (Milano: Silvana Ed. D'Arte, 1991), 226; and Miklós Boskovits, ed., *Le origini*, vol. 1 in *I pittori bergamaschi dal XIII al XIX secolo*, 13 vols., ed. G.A. Dell'Acqua (Bergamo: Bolis, 1975), 408-14, figg 1 e 2 p. 502, fig. 1 p. 503.

⁷⁴² For the most up-to-date chronology of the architectural history of the Palazzo see Amee Yunn, "The Bargello: A New History of the First Communal Palace of Florence, 1255-1346" (PhD diss., New York University, 2009). For the period under consideration see *ibid.*, "Chapter 5: The New Bargello of the Trecento, 1316-1346," 165-218, especially 165-189. For a trecento reference to this expansion program, linking it to the Angevins, see Giovanni Villani, *Nuova Cronica*, (Parma: Ugo Guanda Editore, 1991), X, LXXIX. This passage can also be found as G. Villani, *Cronica*, vol. 2 bk. 9, ch. 79.

“transformed the old communal palace into a magnificent court for the Angevin Viceroys.”⁷⁴³ It was as part of the palace’s metamorphosis into a royal residence of the Anjou that the Magdalen chapel was built,⁷⁴⁴ and, I argue, that the greater part of its decorative program was conceived and carried out. This palace chapel in Florence, therefore, at last provides evidence of the Angevin patronage of an iconographical program dedicated to their patron saint Mary Magdalen.

The sizable chapel⁷⁴⁵ currently contains an extensive painted program dating to the start of the third decade of the trecento (fig. 5.1), as well as various liturgical fittings and objects of a later date, added to it as part of its current role in a museum context (fig. 5.2). A small chamber can be entered through a door in the south wall to the right of the altar. Perhaps originally serving as a sacristy for the chapel, none of its original decoration or liturgical fittings has survived. The fresco program of the chapel consists of a *Paradiso* (fig. 5.3), an *Inferno* (fig. 5.4), eight scenes from the *Life of Mary Magdalen* (figs. 5.5-5.12), a two-scene cycle of the *Life of John the Baptist* (fig. 5.13 & 5.14), a devotional image of *S. Venzio* (fig. 5.15), also called *St. Venantius*, with inscriptions below (fig. 5.15a & b), a painted ceiling and decorative borders. The condition of the frescoes is generally poor, and two frescos have been lost.

⁷⁴³ Yunn, “The Bargello,” 217.

⁷⁴⁴ Both Amee Yunn and Janis Elliott date the construction of the chapel between the years 1316-20. Yunn, “The Bargello,” 239 and n591; Janis Elliott, “The Judgement of the Commune: The Frescoes of the Magdalen Chapel in Florence,” *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 61, no. 4 (1998): 512 n9, 513, 516; Janis Elliott, “The Last Judgement Scene in Central Italian Painting, c.1266-1343: The Impact of Guelf Politics, Papal Power and Angevin Iconography” (PhD Diss., University of Warwick, 2000), 201 and n535, 209-210.

⁷⁴⁵ Crowe and Cavalcaselle give the dimensions of the chapel as 36’x26’ and 60’ high. Joseph Archer Crowe and Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle, *A New History of Painting in Italy from the Second to the Sixteenth Century* (London: Murray, 1864), vol. I, 260 n4, n5; Joseph Archer Crowe and Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle, *A History of Painting in Italy: Umbria, Florence and Siena from the 2nd to the 16th Century*, vol. II: *Giotto and the Giottoesques*, ed. Langton Douglas, assisted by S. Arthur Strong (London: Murray, 1903), 49 n1.

The later history of the chapel accounts for its poor state. In 1574 the Palazzo del Podestà was converted to a prison, at which time the frescoes were covered in whitewash, a second floor was added, bisecting the chapel horizontally, and it was converted to cells and storage areas. The beams supporting the dividing scaffolding broke through the walls.⁷⁴⁶ When the frescoes were rediscovered in 1839, they suffered further. The removal of the whitewash lifted much of the pictorial surface, which was particularly vulnerable, as it had been carried out largely *a secco*, and there has been considerable restoration and repainting over the years.⁷⁴⁷ The losses and interventions have somewhat affected our ability to comprehend the content and scope of the program, and have seriously compromised assessments of its artistic merit.⁷⁴⁸

The context of the chapel is critical to understanding the meaning of the program and its imagery. Yet much of the scholarship has instead treated its highly contested attribution to Giotto, focusing on his possible portrait of Dante in the *Paradiso* on the altar wall (fig. 5.3a & b). This continuing interest in the “Dante portrait” is understandable. Literary accounts describing Giotto’s portrait of Dante, beginning with that of Filippo Villani, and found in variations in the writings of Ghiberti, Vasari and others,⁷⁴⁹ led to the rediscovery of the frescos of the chapel during the Risorgimento in

⁷⁴⁶ Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *New History of Painting* (1864), vol. I, 260; Danti and Felici, 30; I.B. Supino, *Giotto* (Firenze: Istituto di Edizioni Artistiche, 1920), vol. I, 230. Crowe and Cavalcaselle specify that the upper floor contained the prison cells, while the lower was the storage magazine.

⁷⁴⁷ Debates raged over the initial restoration among contemporaries and afterwards. On this first restoration see: Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *New History of Painting* (1864), vol. I, 266-67, 266, n2; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *History of Painting*, vol. II, 56 and n1-2; E. H. and E. W. Blashfield, and A. A. Hopkins, eds., *Lives of Seventy of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects by Giorgio Vasari. Edited and Annotated in the Light of Recent Discoveries* (London: Bell, 1897), vol. I, 50-1 n4.

⁷⁴⁸ The most serious issues of loss in terms of understanding the pictorial program are, as mentioned above, the loss of two scenes on the north wall, as well as the almost total obliteration of the *Inferno* on the entrance wall, which prohibits all but the most cursory or highly speculative analysis.

⁷⁴⁹ For a discussion of all of these early texts, and more, most complete with the relevant passages, consult Luigi Passerini e Gaetano Milanesi, *Del Ritratto di Dante Alighieri che si vuole dipinto da Giotto nella Cappella del Podestà di Firenze* (Firenze: Cellini, 1865), 7-10. Villani stated: “Dipinse eziandio a publico

1839.⁷⁵⁰ Little, however, can be gained from continuing the debate. Given the condition of the frescoes and the extensive repainting that occurred, especially in the nineteenth-century intervention, any attribution is problematic. Despite this, scholars have continued to focus extensively on Giotto's possible authorship and the question of the portrait of Dante.⁷⁵¹

spettaculo nella ciptà sua con aiuto di specchi se medesimo et il contemporano suo Dante Alighieri, poeta, nella cappella del palagio del podestà nel muro." This passage also notes a self-portrait by Giotto, though this has not been identified and has not been the focus of scholarly attention. For the original Latin (1381-2) and the Italian version (c. 1396) see: Filippo Villani, *De origine civitatis Florentiae et de eiusdem famosis civibus*, ed. Giuliano Tanturli (Padova: Antenore, 1997), B II XXVI, 8; C XXV, 6. For a translation into English see Michael Baxandall, *Giotto and the Orators: Humanist Observers of Painting in Italy and the Discovery of Pictorial Composition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 71. On the discrepancy between the earlier Latin version of Villani's text, which refers to an altarpiece, and the text in the vulgar which states that Giotto painted on the wall, see Passerini e Milanesi, *Del Ritratto di Dante*, 7ff.; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *History of Painting*, vol. II, 50-51 and Baxandall, *Giotto and the Orators*, 70 n45. Another early source was provided by the writings of Lorenzo Ghiberti. See Lorenzo Ghiberti, *I commentarii* (*Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze II, I, 333*), ed. Lorenzo Bartoli, Biblioteca della Scienza Italiana XVII (Firenze: Giunti, 1998), Commentario II. Arte Moderna, II.1, 84. Although no mention is made of the Dante portrait, Ghiberti states that Giotto: "Dipinse nel palagio del podestà di Firenze, dentro fece el comune come era rubato e la capella di sancta Maria Maddalena." This is the earliest known reference to the chapel as the Chapel of Mary Magdalen. An English translation is available in Christie Knapp Fengler, "Lorenzo Ghiberti's *Second Commentary*: The Translation and Interpretation of a Fundamental Renaissance Treatise on Art," (PhD diss., University of Wisconsin, 1974), 22. The Dante portrait is the first of Giotto's works mentioned by Vasari, who states, "Giotto...portrayed among others, as is still seen to-day in the Chapel of the Palace of the Podestà at Florence, Dante Alighieri, a contemporary and his very great friend, and no less famous as poet than was in the same times Giotto as painter, so much praised by Messer Giovanni Boccaccio in the preface to the story of Messer Forese da Rabatta and of Giotto the painter himself. In the same chapel are the portraits, likewise by the same man's hand, of Ser Brunetto Latini, master of Dante, and of Messer Corso Donati, a great citizen of those times." Giorgio Vasari, *Lives of the Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, trans. Gaston Du C. De Vere (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996), 97. For commentary on Vasari, see Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori scultori e architettori: nelle redazioni del 1550 e 1568*, testo a cura di Rosanna Bettarini; commento secolare a cura di Paola Barocchi (Firenze: Sansoni editore, 1967), vol. II-I (Commento), 350-352.

⁷⁵⁰ For the rediscovery of the portrait of Dante see: Paola Barocchi, "La scoperta del ritratto di Dante nel Palazzo dei Podestà. Dantismo letterario e figurativo," in *Studi e ricerche di collezionismo e museografia. Firenze 1820-1920* (Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore, 1985), 151-178; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *New History of Painting* (1864), vol. I, 260 n3; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *History of Painting*, vol. II, 49 n1; Supino, *Giotto*, vol. I, 230. Barocchi gives an extensive account of the controversial events surrounding the rediscovery, complete with excerpts of the writings of some of the participants. The debate included Mr. Kirkup, Mr. Wilde, Sr. Bezzi and Sr. Marini in the discovery and restoration, and the quality of said restoration; much of their public disagreement was published in *The Spectator* in letters between Kirkup (May 11, 1850, vol. xxiii, 452), and Bezzi (May 25, 1850, vol. xxiii, 493, 494).

⁷⁵¹ Among those who support the Giotto attribution (or the attribution to Giotto's bottega) are Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *New History of Painting* (1864), vol. I, 259-261, 269; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *History of Painting*, vol. II, 50-52, n4 (which contains an extensive refutation of those who contest the claim of Giotto); Supino, *Giotto*, vol. I, 229, 231-4; Previtali, *Giotto* (1993), 129; Those against it include Passerini and Milanesi, *Del Ritratto di Dante*, esp. 12-13, 15; Luigi Passerini, *Del Pretorio di Firenze* (Firenze: Stefano Jouhaud, 1866), 19-21; Milanesi in: Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori e*

Beyond the issue of attribution, most scholarship on the Magdalen Chapel in the Palazzo del Podestà deals with its condition, and its restoration history, especially during and subsequent to a recent campaign undertaken in the 2000s.⁷⁵² Furthermore, there has been little critical assessment of the work of previous scholars, so that mistakes found in Crowe and Cavalcaselle's description of the fresco cycle in 1864 are still repeated by scholars writing about the cycle in 2010.⁷⁵³ Most critically for my purposes, the extensive Magdalen cycle has been virtually ignored—the choice of scenes and their iconography has gone unexamined—despite scholars' passing acknowledgment of it as important for

architetti, Scelte e annotate da Gaetano Milanese. (Firenze: G. Barbera Ed. Tip., 1872), 57 n2; Michael Viktor Schwarz, *Giottus Pictor*, Band II: *Giottos Werke* (Wien: Böhlau, 2008), 481. Passerini and Milanese argue that Giotto's portrait of Dante was on an altarpiece panel (Milanese omits reference to the alternate version of Villani's text which mentions paintings on the walls) and that it was lost in the early years of the cinquecento. Authors who, like myself, consider the issue unresolvable due to the poor condition and numerous restorations, include Yunn, "The Bargello," 236 (who seems somewhat tentatively positive regarding the idea; *ibid.*, 235 and n576-577). For more discussion of the Dante portrait, see Passerini e Milanese, *Del Ritratto di Dante*, 3-11; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *New History of Painting* (1864), 266-7,9; E.H. Gombrich, "Giotto's Portrait of Dante?" *Burlington Magazine* 121, no. 917 (Aug. 1979): 471-483; Barocchi, "La scoperta dei ritratto di Dante," 151-178; Schwarz, *Giottus Pictor*, II, 480-481. For an extensive bibliography of the discussion on the Dante portrait up to 1974 see Giovanni Previtali, *Giotto e la sua bottega*, 2nd ed. (Milano: Fratelli Fabbri Editori, 1974), 336. For a recent summary of the history of the attribution to Giotto and the Dante portrait see also Grötecke, *Das Bild des Jüngsten Gerichts*, 3a) Traditionelle Datierungsversuche: 142-8.

⁷⁵² Cristina Acidini Luchinat, "Il ritorno di Dante: la cappella del Podestà nel Bargello a Firenze," *Art e dossier* 20, no. 209 (March 2005): 34-39; Cristina Danti e Alberto Felici, "Il ciclo giottesco nella Cappella della Maddalena al Museo Nazionale del Bargello di Firenze: aspetti storico-artistici e vicende conservative," in *Sulle pitture murale: Riflessioni, conoscenze, interventi. Atti del Convegno di studi, Bressanone 12-15 luglio 2005*, eds. Guido Biscontin e Guido Driussi (Marghera-Venezia: Edizioni Arcadia Ricerche, 2005), 30-38; Cristina Danti, Alberto Felici, e Paola Ilaria Mariotti, "Il ciclo giottesco nella Cappella della Maddalena: Una cronaca sui restauri ottocenteschi e su quelli attuali," *Kermes: Cronache del restauro* 61, anno XIX (Gennaio-Marzo 2006): 27-38. While providing some critical information, these articles tend to be repetitive and derivative. They also all focus primarily on the *Paradiso*.

⁷⁵³ For example in the *Magdalen Receiving Communion* on the south wall, many recent Italian scholars identify the Bishop Maximin as Zosimo/Zosimus. See: Enrica Neri Lusanna, "La bottega nel cantiere: il ciclo giottesco della cappella della Maddalena e il Palazzo del Podestà a Firenze," in *Medioevo: le officine*, AISAME, Associazione Italiana Storici dell'Arte Medievale, ed. Arturo Carlo Quintavalle (Milano: Electa, 2010), n14; Acidini Luchinat, "Il ritorno di Dante," 34; Danti and Felici, "Il ciclo giottesco," 31. I believe this can be traced back to an error in Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *New History of Painting* (1864), vol. I, 261, where the fresco is described *S. Mary of Egypt kneels and receives the blessing of bishop Zosimus enthroned in a church*. Although current scholars have generally changed the female saint's identification to Mary Magdalen, the Bishop has often remained Zosimo who features in the Egyptian's legend, not that of Mary Magdalen.

the proposed penitential purpose of the chapel, and the fact that the chapel was already identified as the “capella di sancta Maria Maddalena” in the early quattrocento.⁷⁵⁴

In the late 1990s, both Janis Elliott and Iris Grötecke, in independent studies of Last Judgment imagery, argued for some involvement of the Angevin rulers of Naples in the decoration of the Magdalen chapel.⁷⁵⁵ Approaching the chapel within the context of Last Judgment imagery, each focused almost exclusively on that aspect of the program in their investigation of possible Angevin iconography. Their arguments and conclusions diverge significantly. While both Elliott and Grötecke saw this as a commission by the Commune, relating to the Angevins, they proposed the involvement of different Angevins and suggested a different dating. They also envisioned strikingly dissimilar functions for the chapel. The work of these two scholars suggested much more fecund lines of investigation than those previously attempted with regards to this chapel. Especially important was the document of January 1321 that Elliott published for the first time in full, regarding the allocations of funds for the painting of the chapel.⁷⁵⁶ The single-minded concentration on Last Judgment imagery displayed in both studies meant, however, that each included only a cursory treatment of the Magdalen material and the

⁷⁵⁴ Ghiberti, *Commentarii*, 84.

⁷⁵⁵ Iris Grötecke, *Das Bild des Jüngsten Gerichts: Die ikonographischen Konventionen in Italien und ihre politische Aktualisierung in Florenz* (Worms am Rhein: Wernersche Verlagsgesellschaft mbH, 1997); Elliott, “Judgement of the Commune;” Elliott, “The Last Judgement Scene in Central Italian Painting.”

⁷⁵⁶ This document exists in two nearly identical copies in the Archivio di Stato di Firenze. ASF: *Provvisioni del Comune*, Reg. 17, f.56v: 22 genaio 1320 (1321); *Capitoli del Comune*, Reg. 23, f.100v: 22 genaio 1321(1322). Elliott, “Judgement of the Commune,” 512, 519; Elliott, “The Last Judgement Scene in Central Italian Painting,” 200 n533. Supino was the first to note this document in connection with the chapel, but published only a small edited section. Supino, *Giotto*, vol. I, 236. Because the Florentine calendar began on March 25 (Annunciation) in the medieval period, dates falling between 1 January and 24 March were allocated to the previous year according to the modern reckoning. In my dissertation text, except when giving a precise document reference, I have converted the dates to the modern reckoning for reasons of clarity. In the footnotes, the Florentine date is given first, with the modern year provided afterwards in parentheses. Elliott dated both documents to 1321 (1322), however this was in error. I have discovered that both versions of the document are actually dated 22 January 1320 (1321), and that the listing in the ASF records for *Capitoli del Comune*, Reg. 23, f.100v: 22 genaio 1321 (1322) is incorrect. I will address this point at greater length later in the chapter.

evidence it provides of Angevin patronage.⁷⁵⁷ Indeed, for a “Magdalen Chapel,” discussion of the Magdalen imagery has been surprisingly absent throughout the literature.

In this dissertation, I argue that the appearance and development of Magdalen narrative imagery in Italy—beginning around 1280 in the Florentine *Magdalen Master Dossal* (fig. 1.1), now in the Accademia Gallery⁷⁵⁸—is linked to the promotion of the Magdalen’s cult and image by three groups, the Franciscans, the Dominicans, and the Angevin dynasty that ruled Naples from the mid duecento onwards. As discussed earlier, the seminal event that inspired the new surge in Magdalen devotion and led to its spread to Italy was the discovery of the body of Mary Magdalen in 1279 at the church of St.-Maximin near Aix-en-Provence by Charles of Salerno, soon to become King Charles II of Naples and the Count of Provence. Given the close ties between the Angevin rulers and the mendicant orders, as well as the Magdalen’s intrinsic appeal to these penitential orders as the exemplar of penitence, it was largely within the context of Dominican and, most particularly, Franciscan churches that Magdalen narrative imagery first appeared in Italy.

Neither the Franciscans nor the Dominicans, however, had a role in the decoration of the Magdalen Chapel in the Palazzo del Podestà.⁷⁵⁹ Although given that it is the Magdalen as perfect penitent which is emphasized in the life of the Magdalen cycle on the south wall of the Chapel—a view of the Magdalen most heavily promoted by these

⁷⁵⁷ In Grötecke the Angevin-Magdalen relationship receives only a footnote near the very end of her treatment of the chapel. See Grötecke, *Das Bild des Jüngsten Gerichts*, 192 n633.

⁷⁵⁸ As discussed in chapter one, this altarpiece of unknown provenance is likely linked to the patronage of the mendicant orders.

⁷⁵⁹ Unless it is possible that the “fratribus religiosis” and “fratres religiosos” referenced in the documents of 1321 regarding the decoration of the chapel (discussed later in this chapter) in fact refer to members of one of these orders. The term is too general, however, to speculate further.

very groups—earlier images in Franciscan and Dominican contexts would have influenced the choice of scenes and the manner in which she was depicted. On the other hand, there is a strong case to be made for Angevin involvement in the conception and content of this chapel featuring eight scenes from the life of the family's patron saint, a saint discovered by an Angevin king, a saint whose life was also the subject of three late medieval cycles located in Naples, the seat of Angevin power. By re-assessing all of the historical, archival and visual evidence, a clear picture emerges of the Magdalen Chapel as the Chapel of the Signore, that is King Robert. It is a palace chapel dedicated to the Magdalen, protectress of the House of Anjou.

DATING OF THE PROGRAM

The dating of the decorative program of the Magdalen Chapel is a matter of longstanding debate. While Crowe and Cavalcaselle, writing in the mid-nineteenth century, dated it to 1301-1302,⁷⁶⁰ most scholars since their discovery have dated the decorative program to the later 1330s.⁷⁶¹ There are two major lines of reasoning

⁷⁶⁰ Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *New History of Painting* (1864), vol. I, 259, 269. Their primary argument is that it would only have been possible to represent Dante so prominently in Florence prior to his expulsion in April 1302. This dating informs their identification of the figures contained in the *Paradiso*, discussed subsequently. The 1903 edition maintains this assessment, despite the inclusion of information on the image of *S. Venzio* and on Fidesmino da Varano not present in the earlier edition. See Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *History of Painting*, vol. II, 48-9, 57. They also see the stylistic development as appropriate to a date at this time. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *New History of Painting* (1864), vol. I, 269-270; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *History of Painting*, vol. II, 57-8. Their dating was adopted by Blashfield and Hopkins. Blashfield, and Hopkins eds., *Lives of seventy of the most eminent painters*, vol. I, 50 n4.

⁷⁶¹ General acceptance of the 1337 dating began with the discovery of the inscription and continues to dominate up to the present. It is not directly connected to the issue of the Giotto attribution. Among those who accept the 1337 date for the entire program, see for example: Milanesi, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori*, 57 n2; Previtali, *Giotto* (1993), 129, 348 (1332-1337); Schwarz, *Giottus Pictor*, II, 479. The exceptions (in addition to Crowe and Cavalcaselle), as will be discussed below, are Supino, who dated it to shortly after 1322, Elliott, who dated it to shortly after January 1322, Yunn, who suggests it may be 1316-1322, and Grötecke, who dates the main part of the program to 1326-8. Supino, *Giotto*, vol. I, 236, 241; Elliott, "Judgement of the Commune," 509, n3, 513, 514; Elliott, "The Last Judgement Scene in Central Italian Painting," 199, 201-3; Yunn, "The Bargello," 236; Grötecke, *Das Bild des Jüngsten Gerichts*, 176-178. Because of the inscription, all these scholars accept that some work is done later, around 1337.

regarding the dating of this chapel's frescoes. The argument that has long been accepted is based upon the inscriptions under the image of *S. Venanzio* on the north wall. The other is based on a document from 22 January 1321, which regards the allocation of money for the painting of the chapel. While it is beyond the scope of my dissertation to discuss the entire dating history of the chapel, the date of conception and execution is critical to the argument that the iconography of the chapel expresses and promotes Angevin interests. I therefore summarize the major lines of argument and suggest, as a variant on the previous discussion, that the major part of the program was begun by late January 1321, with the decoration of the north wall and the borders throughout being undertaken at a subsequent date, that is, in the second half of 1337.

The dating of the chapel to 1337 is based on painted inscriptions on the north wall of the chapel. Under the image of *S. Venanzio* is a large cartello (fig. 5.15a). An invocation of san Venanzio, it is almost completely destroyed, as it has been since the frescoes were uncovered,⁷⁶² however an incomplete date, MCCCXXX... is still legible.⁷⁶³ On the border below, a partial inscription in Latin, *Hoc opus factum fuit tempore potestarie magnifici et potentis militis domini Fidesmini de Varano civis Camerinensis honorabilis potestatis....* stating that the work was made during the podesteria of Fidesmino da Varano, provides additional information (fig. 5.15b).⁷⁶⁴ Fidesmino was

⁷⁶² In 1840-43.

⁷⁶³ This portion of the inscription has been published numerous times. See: Passerini e Milanesi, *Del Ritratto di Dante*, 12; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *History of Painting*, vol. II, 50; Elliott "Judgement of the Commune," 510 n4; Elliott, "The Last Judgement Scene in Central Italian Painting," 200 n530; Previtali, *Giotto* (1993), 348. Previtali records the date "Ann. Dni MCCCXXX...A...XX..." and transcribes this inscription inaccurately, as if it came after that cited below about Fidesmino.

⁷⁶⁴ This dedicatory inscription has also been published in numerous sources dating back to the 1860s. No more of it was legible at that time than is today. See Passerini e Milanesi, *Del Ritratto di Dante*, 12; Passerini, *Del Pretorio di Firenze*, 19-20; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *History of Painting*, vol. II, 50; Previtali, *Giotto* (1993), 348; Elliott, "The Last Judgement Scene in Central Italian Painting," 200 n530; and Schwarz, *Giottus Pictor*, II, 479 (with errors).

Podestà in the second half of 1337 (July-31 December).⁷⁶⁵ A fire in 1332 in the Palazzo del Podestà, described by Giovanni Villani in his *Cronica*, has long been used to corroborate the evidence provided by the inscription.⁷⁶⁶ Passerini and Milanesi, who first argued thusly, stated that the fire destroyed the roof of the Palazzo del Podestà, and as the vaults had to be completed before the wall paintings could be begun, the paintings must date after the fire damage was repaired and are therefore all to be dated after 1332.⁷⁶⁷ However it is not clear from Villani's statement on the fire that the chapel would have suffered any damage. Villani's text specifies that the roof of the "old palace," which is not the location of the chapel, was completely destroyed, along with "two parts of the new." This clearly indicates that not all the new palace, where the chapel was located, was damaged. Yunn's architectural analysis argues that the rear wing, housing the chapel, survived.⁷⁶⁸

⁷⁶⁵ For the date of the Podesteria of Fidesmino, see Passerini e Milanesi, *Del Ritratto di Dante*, 12-13; Passerini, *Del Pretorio di Firenze*, 20; Yunn, "The Bargello," 236; Elliott, "Judgement of the Commune," 510, n4; and Neri Lusanna, "La bottega nel cantiere," 609. Archival documents regarding the podesteria of Fidesmino can be found in the Archivio di Stato di Firenze: ASF *Provvisioni*, Reg. 28, f.25 (31 dicembre 1337) and f.68 (30 luglio 1337). Elliott noted that in Crowe and Cavalcaselle (1903) there is a reference to a Fidesmino serving as Podestà in 1331, but that she could not find evidence of it. Elliott, "Judgement of the Commune," 510, n4; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *History of Painting*, vol. II, 50. The reference to 1331 in Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *History of Painting*, vol. II, 50 n2 (editor's note) appears to have been a typographical error. No other source states that Fidesmino was Podestà in 1331, nor does it seem to be born out by archival evidence. Furthermore the body text states that Fidesmino was Podestà in 1337, while it is the associated note which states "Fidesmini was podestà in the year 1331, and it was probably about this date, shortly after his return from Naples, that Giotto painted this fresco." No mention of 1337 is made in the note. The odd and uncommented upon discrepancy between the dates in the text and note, combined with the fact that the reference to Giotto's return from Naples makes no sense for the year 1331 (he was in Naples 1328-1333), leads me to believe that 1331 is simply written in error for 1337.

⁷⁶⁶ G. Villani, *Nuova Cronica*, XI, CLXXIII. "E poi a dì XXVIII di febbraio la notte vegnente s'apprese fuoco nel palagio del Comune, ove abita la podestà, e arse tutto il tetto del vecchio palazzo e le due parti del nuovo dalle prime volte in su. Per la qual cosa s'ordinò per lo Comune che si rifacesse tutto in volte infino a' tetti." Note that the book and chapter number have a different indication (X, CLXXII) in the oft-cited version: G. Villani, *Cronica di Giovanni Villani*, edited by F. Gherardi Dragomanni, vol. III.

⁷⁶⁷ Passerini e Milanesi, *Del Ritratto di Dante*, 5; Passerini, *Del Pretorio di Firenze*, 19.

⁷⁶⁸ Yunn, "The Bargello," 194. Previous scholars to discard the idea that the chapel was destroyed in the fire include: Supino, *Giotto*, vol. I, 238; Grötecke, *Das Bild des Jüngsten Gerichts*, 159. Although Elliott never directly states that the chapel was not destroyed in the fire, her dating of the large part of the chapel decoration to shortly after January 1322 implicitly does so. Elliott, "Judgement of the Commune," 514; Elliott, "The Last Judgement Scene in Central Italian Painting," 203.

Although important for establishing 1337 as the terminus ante quem for the decoration of the Magdalen Chapel, these inscriptions should not be taken as indication that Fidesmino commissioned this program, nor that it originated in 1337 during his podesteria. The complex and extensive decoration of the chapel could not have been both planned and carried out to completion during his single six-month term as Podestà.⁷⁶⁹ Planning the program would have required coordination between Fidesmino, the Commune, the artist and a theological advisor. Given the sizeable number of painting fields on the side walls (there are a total of thirteen, including both narrative scenes and the iconic figure), the large *Paradiso* and *Inferno* on the end walls—each crowded with numerous figures, and, in the case of the *Paradiso*, including portrait likenesses—and the program's theological complexity, even had the project been begun immediately upon Fidesmino taking up his office, it is hard to imagine how the entire program could have been conceived and finished within this brief timeframe.

The inscriptions therefore should be understood as applying only to a specific portion of the program.⁷⁷⁰ I believe the inscriptions and the saint above, to which the plaque clearly refers, were painted as part of a campaign carried out subsequent to the rest of the chapel, a campaign encompassing this wall and decorative motifs throughout

⁷⁶⁹ Passerini and Milanese made the argument that six months was sufficient time to complete the paintings of this chapel. Their facile claim was that artists of this period did simple works with great speed, citing the work of Michelangelo, executed nearly two centuries afterwards, as evidence. Furthermore they did not take into account the time required for the planning of the program. The fact that they argued the point makes it clear that there were already questions being raised as to the feasibility of conceiving and executing the entire program within a six-month period. Passerini e Milanese, *Del Ritratto di Dante*, 15.

⁷⁷⁰ Passerini and Milanese argued that the wording of the inscription—in particular the fact that it refers to *opus* as opposed to *imaginem* or *figuram*, and that it states *hoc opus fuit tempore* instead of *hoc opus inceptum tempore potestarie* e.c. *completum* or *absolutum fuit tempore potestarie*—means that the inscription must refer to more than a single image, a point with which I concur, and that it must have been executed entirely within Fidesmino's podesteria or it would have specified "completed" (*ibid.*, 14-15). In my view although it does not refer to the entire chapel *opus* is appropriate, as more than one image was executed in this phase of decoration of the chapel. As this would have taken place during the six-month podesteria, their second point is moot.

the entire chapel.⁷⁷¹ It is possible that some minor damage to the chapel did occur in the fire of 1332, and that the north wall campaign undertaken in 1337 was initiated in response.⁷⁷²

Crowe and Cavalcaselle initially proposed the suggestion that the date on the inscription applied only to a limited portion of the program. To account for the incongruity between what they understood to be a cycle dating from 1301-2 and inscriptions from 1337, they argued that the inscriptions related only to the figure of *S. Venanzio*.⁷⁷³ Supino also suggested that the *S. Venanzio* was a later work, painted over an earlier fresco.⁷⁷⁴

The idea that the north wall as a whole should be seen as later than the rest of the enterprise has recently gained traction, accepted by scholars including Grötecke, Yunn and Elliott.⁷⁷⁵ Perhaps most convincing have been the arguments of Grötecke and

⁷⁷¹ It has been previously noted that the decorative motifs on the side walls, particularly the *stemmi* of Fidesmino da Varano surrounding the window on the north wall must date from this period. See for example, Yunn, "The Bargello," 236. The *stemmi* also appear in the window surround in the window in the *Paradiso* end wall (fig. 5.16). They are marked there in the diagram published by Acidini Luchinat, reproduced here with modifications as figure 5.1, but this fact has not been generally commented on. Acidini Luchinat, "Il ritorno di Dante," 36. One exception was Passerini, who cited the presence of the *stemma* of the da Varano in other parts of the chapter "più specialmente nello strombo di due finestre" to refute the claims of those who would say that the inscription refers only to the figure of *S. Venanzio*, however this was not picked up on by subsequent scholars. Passerini, *Del Pretorio di Firenze*, 20.

⁷⁷² Supino did not believe that the chapel was damaged at all in the fire of 1332. Other scholars who believe it was not destroyed in the fire think it still possible that some damage did occur at that time. Supino, *Giotto*, vol. I, 238; Yunn, "The Bargello," 236.

⁷⁷³ Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *History of Painting*, vol. II, 50.

⁷⁷⁴ Supino, *Giotto*, vol. I, 238. Supino states that an earlier fresco in this location—part of the cycle that he attributes to Giotto and dates to shortly after 1322—was destroyed in order to create this dedicatory image. As evidence, he argues that the pre-existing field was too large for this single figure, which therefore had to be supplemented with the dedicatory plaque. He gives no explanation for the later addition of the *S. Venanzio*.

⁷⁷⁵ Grötecke, *Das Bild des Jüngsten Gerichts*, 3c) Zwei verschiedene Ausmalungskampagnen in der Kapelle: 151-160; Yunn, "The Bargello," 236; Elliott, "The Last Judgement Scene in Central Italian Painting," 203; Elliott, "Judgement of the Commune," 514. Grötecke's arguments are discussed below. Yunn's statement on this is somewhat unclear: "The side walls (the saint above the 1337 inscription, the nearby panel of the Miracle of the Merchant of Marseilles, and the decorative borders) are dated later than the end walls." It appears she means just those works in question, but are the borders indicated those of both side walls? Presumably the other narrative frescoes are not considered to be from 1337 in her

analysis by restorers. Grötecke, in an extensive discussion of the dating of the chapel, argued that both the organization and the border system are different between the north and south walls, and that they should thus be seen as representing two different phases of decoration.⁷⁷⁶ Given the difference in wall structure, with two evenly spaced windows in the north wall, this argument is not in and of itself sufficient, as she acknowledged.⁷⁷⁷ More convincing are her next two points. She noted that the Magdalen scenes on this wall are out of chronological order with regard to those on the south wall and seem appended to an already completed cycle, a point I shall return to later in my discussion of the narrative imagery.⁷⁷⁸ She then provided evidence that the style of garb as well as the hairstyles seen in the paintings of the north wall are substantially different from those present in the *Paradiso* and the Magdalen scenes of the south wall and date to the late 1330s, while the styles depicted in the *Paradiso* and the south wall are datable to before 1330.⁷⁷⁹

Furthermore, while the extensive condition and restoration issues make definitive assessments based on stylistic analysis speculative, the frescoes of the north wall appear stylistically different from those of the rest of the chapel. This inconsistency is substantial enough to suggest something more significant than different hands working within the same workshop.

If the fresco program of the Magdalen Chapel as a whole was not created in 1337, but this date instead marked a smaller undertaking, encompassing the north wall, or a

assessment. Elliott states that both side walls should probably be considered part of the 1337 program, which either completed the chapel or covered earlier decoration.

⁷⁷⁶ Grötecke, *Das Bild des Jüngsten Gerichts*, 151-2.

⁷⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 152.

⁷⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 152-3.

⁷⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 153-7

portion of it, when was the chapel's program originally conceived and executed? A document from 22 January 1321 existing in two almost identical copies in the Archivio di Stato di Firenze (Appendix 6a and b) seems to provide the answer.⁷⁸⁰ Although the Archivio records date the documents to 1321 (*Provvisioni del Comune*) and 1322 (*Capitoli del Comune*) in modern reckoning, I discovered that both copies of the document are rightly dated 1321; the correct date for *Capitoli del Comune*, Reg. 23, f.100v is found on f.100r (see Appendix 6b).

In 1920, I.B. Supino published the first notice of these documents in conjunction with the chapel.⁷⁸¹ He stated that these two documents, dated in the records of the Archivio di Stato to 22 January 1321 and 22 January 1322, indicated two separate appropriations of one hundred gold florins to be spent “*in constructione et laborerio Pallatii Communis Florentie in quo moratur dominus vicarius regius ac etiam in picturis Capelle ipsius Pallatij.*”⁷⁸² Believing erroneously that the document in the *Capitoli del Comune* was dated to January 1322, Supino argued that the decoration of the chapel must have begun shortly after this “latter” document was issued, in the start of 1322.

Despite the fact that the Archivio di Stato documents of 22 January 1321 clearly refer to money being spent on paintings in the chapel in the Palazzo del Podestà, among other things, these documents were generally ignored in subsequent scholarship. In a note, Previtali cited Supino regarding the documents, and stated that they provided a

⁷⁸⁰ ASF: *Capitoli del Comune*, Reg. 23, f.100v: 22 genaio 1321 (1322); *Provvisioni del Comune*, Reg.17, f.56v: 22 genaio 1320 (1321).

⁷⁸¹ The documents were previously published in part by Robert Davidsohn; however it was in the context of a compendium of all known documents relating to the “new Palazzo del Podestà.” He did not connect to the documents to the decorative program of the chapel. Robert Davidsohn, *Forschungen zur Geschichte von Florenz: Vierter Teil (IV): 13. und 14. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Ernst Siegfried Mittler und Sohn, 1908), 504.

⁷⁸² Supino, *Giotto*, vol. I, 236. Note that this is not an accurate quote from either version of the document, but instead has been slightly rearranged by Supino to confer the maximum content in the minimum space. He gives the document references as Archivio di Stato di Firenze, *Provvisioni*, Reg. XVII, f.56 and following: 22 gennaio 1321; *Capitoli del Comune di Firenze*, Reg. XXIII, f.100^r: 22 gennaio 1322.

more secure terminus post quem (1322) for the frescoes than did the fire in 1332.

However in his text he adopted 1332-1337 as the execution date of the fresco program without taking this documentary evidence into account.⁷⁸³ Grötecke dismissed the documents perfunctorily. She first claimed that it is unclear whether the documents refer to an altarpiece, decorative paintings or narrative scenes. The phrase used in the document, *ac etiam in picturis capelle ipsius pallatii*, however, clearly refers to “paintings in the chapel.” As altarpieces are a specific liturgical furnishing, had an altarpiece been intended, it would have been identified as such. Grötecke continued on to argue that in any case there was no evidence to support that the paintings mentioned are those surviving today.⁷⁸⁴ While it is impossible to verify with absolute certainty that the extant paintings are those mentioned in the document, it is improbable that the chapel was decorated at this time and then, as Grötecke suggested, the current program was executed a mere five years later in 1326-8 (with the exception of the north wall).⁷⁸⁵

Neither Previtali nor Grötecke looked at the original documents, relying instead on the edited fragment published by Supino.

⁷⁸³ Previtali, *Giotto* (1993), 149 n243, 129.

⁷⁸⁴ Grötecke, *Das Bild des Jüngsten Gerichts*, 159, n542. She cites it from Previtali, *Giotto*, 1967, 45. She references only one version, ASF: *Provvisioni*, Reg. XVII, f.56ff, and states that it determines Supino’s dating of the chapel.

⁷⁸⁵ Grötecke, *Das Bild des Jüngsten Gerichts*, 166, 172. Although Grötecke believes the program of the chapel relates to the Angevins, she argues that it was commissioned during the latter Angevin Signoria, that of Charles of Calabria (Signore of Florence, 1326-1328), the son of King Robert (ibid., esp. 161-182). While this is a possibility, Grötecke’s argument is very speculative and most of her evidence would better support a commission under Robert. Furthermore, the documentary evidence is compelling, and it is unlikely that the chapel was painted under Robert and then repainted a few years later under his son, given the fact that they would be likely to promote similar imagery and thus a new decorative program for the chapel would be unnecessary under Charles. Furthermore there is no evidence that any decorative program was undertaken when Charles was Signore. While there were minor renovations to his quarters as noted in a document in the Archivio di Stato dated 11 July 1326, Charles of Calabria’s Signoria was not a period when major works were underway in the Palazzo del Podestà, as was clearly the case during the Signoria of Robert. ASF: *Protocolli delle Provvisioni*, reg. 6 f. 269r: 11 luglio 1326. See also *Mostra documentaria e iconografica del Palazzo del Podestà (Bargello)*, Cataloghi di mostre documentarie/Archivio di Stato di Firenze 7 (Firenze: Tipografia Giuntina, 1963), 27-8 and Davidsohn, *Forschungen*, IV, 549, where it is noted that during Charles’ residence the Palazzo was known as the Palazzo Ducale.

As mentioned previously, Janis Elliott was the first to return to the original documents, publishing one version in full. Based on this evidence, Elliott renewed Supino's argument for dating the cycle just after 1322.⁷⁸⁶ However, as I have determined that both the documents date from January 22, 1321, rather than from 1322 as Elliott believed, the starting date for the cycle can be moved forward at least this far. The difference between dating the cycle to 1321 and 1322, a single year, may seem insignificant, but in fact it is critical if one is to interpret the decorative program as an Angevin monument.

The years 1322-5 marked a low point in Angevin-Florentine relations, making it extremely improbable that the Florentine Commune would have chosen to honor Robert by choosing an Angevin iconography during this period, as argued by Elliott. At the end of December 1321 the Florentines decided against renewing the signory of King Robert.⁷⁸⁷ It thus seems problematic to argue that the Commune would have commissioned an iconographic program "probably intended to commemorate Robert's contribution to Florentine military glory, his administration of Florentine civil justice, and probably too, his participation in the building of the Palazzo del Podestà, including the Magdalen Chapel," at this point in time.⁷⁸⁸ They only turned again to Robert for help when the Ghibelline threat became extremely dire in October 1325, resulting in the signory of Robert's son, Charles of Calabria (1326-1328).⁷⁸⁹ Elliott furthermore put

⁷⁸⁶ Elliott, "Judgement of the Commune," 509 n3.

⁷⁸⁷ Léonard, *Angevins*, 241. According to Léonard his signory was not extended after this date because the Florentines felt the cost too high and the effectiveness too low. See also Kelly, *New Solomon*, 229.

⁷⁸⁸ Elliott, "Judgement of the Commune," 517. She is speaking in particular of the portrait of Robert, but as she is arguing that the iconography, more generally, is Angevin in tenor, the criticism is a valid one.

⁷⁸⁹ For Angevin-Florentine relations in this period see: Kelly, *New Solomon*, 229-332; Léonard, *Angevins*, 241-7. For a sermon preached by Robert in response to the request for aid from Florence and Bologna in 1325, see Kelly, *New Solomon*, 230-231 and Darleen Pryds, *The King Embodies the Word: Robert D'Anjou and the Politics of Preaching*. (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2000), 55.

forward as “speculative,” but “clearly arguable that Robert’s ideas informed the decoration of both the end walls and lateral walls of the Magdalen Chapel.”⁷⁹⁰ While I concur that Robert’s ideas, or at least Angevin ideas and influences, informed the decorative scheme, given that Robert was out of power by 1322, this could not have happened at that time. My corrected dating of the documents regarding the chapel paintings supports Angevin intervention in the program by repositioning the conception and execution of the decorative program of the chapel within the period when the Angevins were in power in Florence. I posit that the frescoes were carried out during the signory of King Robert, at the culmination of the intensive building campaign to expand the Palazzo del Podestà for the Angevin Signore and his Vicar.

THE ANGEVINS AND THE FUNCTION OF THE MAGDALEN CHAPEL

From 1313 through 31 December 1321, King Robert of Naples was Signore of Florence.⁷⁹¹ As Robert’s main responsibilities were in his own kingdom, a vicar carried out his duties in Florence.⁷⁹² This officer operated in lieu of a Podestà, as the office was

⁷⁹⁰ Elliott, “Judgement of the Commune,” 518. Jansen, although taking her information and dating from Elliott, goes even further, calling King Robert the “*de facto* patron” of the chapel. Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen*, 320-321.

⁷⁹¹ Léonard, *Angevins*, 241; Kelly, *New Solomon*, 229. Elliott’s dating implies his signory ended in 1322. Elliott, “The Last Judgement Scene in Central Italian Painting,” 208.

⁷⁹² During the period of the expansion of the Palazzo a series of vicars held office. Some were named in the records but seem to never have taken up their post. For information and a listing of the documents associated with their vicariates, see Davidsohn, *Forschungen*, IV, 546-547. For information on Nicholas de Joinville see also Kelly, *New Solomon*, 228-229. The vicars were as follows in chronological order: Count Guido di Battifolle (10 August 1316-30 June 1317); Amiel de Baux (1 July [named 19 June] 1317-September?); Nicholas de Joinville, marshal of the Kingdom (named by Robert in September 1317, but objected to by the Florentine priors who believed he planned to usurp the power of their offices); Diego de la Rath (elected 6 October 1317; 8 March 1318 named Captain General of Tuscany and recalled to Naples, Andrea da Camerino acted as substitute); Andrea da Camerino (1 June 1318-31 Dec. 31? 1318); Jacopino di Pontecarali (modern-day spelling Poncarali) da Brescia (9 January 1319-31 December 1319); Benedetto di Zaccaria da Orvieto (named vicar 1 Jan 1320 for a six-month period but seems not to have taken up the office; vicar in 1328 under Charles of Calabria); Gherardo di Guidone de Robertis da Tripoli di Regio (4 March 1320-30 June 1320); Giacomo Cavalcabò da Cremona (1 July 1320-?. If ever in office, he was there less than two months); Giovanni di ser Brodano da Sassoferrato (27 August 1320-June 1321. His father had

suspended under the signory of Robert.⁷⁹³ It was at this time, in 1316-22, that a large expansion of the Palazzo del Podestà was carried out for the vicar of King Robert.⁷⁹⁴ The “new palace,” as it was called, consisted primarily of the rear wing on Via dell’Acqua, and the arcaded courtyard.⁷⁹⁵ This far-reaching new project declared its Angevin nature publically, on the exterior of the building. Above the entrance on Via della Vigna Vecchia is a lintel decorated with five carved *stemmi*, with the keys of the Church above (fig. 5.17). On the far sides of the lintel are the cross of the Popolo and the lily (giglio) of the Commune of Florence. In its center is the *stemma* of the House of Anjou.⁷⁹⁶ The Angevin coat of arms also appears in the windows of the palace. The *stemmi* displayed in the windows of the north gallery overlooking Via Ghibellina repeat those of the Via della Vigna Vecchia door.⁷⁹⁷ The Angevin *stemma* is also displayed on one of the windows on

been Podestà of Florence in the second half of 1300); Paolo Baglioni da Perugia (23 June 1321-September 1321); Bernardo (or Berardo) da Cornio, also referred to incorrectly as Guido da Cornigio (3 September 1321-December 31 1321).

⁷⁹³ Yunn, “The Bargello,” 170, 223; Davidsohn, *Forschungen*, IV, 503 and 544-547 [Podestà directory]. Elliott erroneously states that Robert elected the Podestà during this period. Elliott, “The Last Judgement Scene in Central Italian Painting,” 208.

⁷⁹⁴ See G. Villani, *Nuova Cronica*, X, LXXIX. “... e per lo detto conte da Battifolle vicario s’ordinò e cominciò e fece gran parte del palagio nuovo, ove sta la podestà.” (1316). For a detailed new account of the Angevin expansion of this period see Yunn, “The Bargello,” 169-189.

⁷⁹⁵ Yunn, “The Bargello,” 175.

⁷⁹⁶ Yunn dates the *stemmi* and doorway to 1320 (*ibid.*, 181-2, 184 n433). The current panel is a replica. See ASF: Acque e Strade 2186 “Direzione Generale delle Fabbriche Civili dello Stato. Affari 1862. Dal N. 5 al N. 14” Perizia No. 3, Anno 1858: “e ricostruire il frontone in pietra forte con cinque stemmi come quello che vi era.” See also Francesco Mazzei’s illustration plate of architectural details from his restoration report of the Bargello, originally published as “Del Palazzo del Podestà in Firenze e del suo recente restauro. Relazione del Prof. Architetto Comm. Francesco Mazzei Ingegnere Capo nel Genio Civile,” *Giornale del Genio Civile* (seconda serie, parte non ufficiale) 1, anno 7 (1869), and reproduced as plate 16d in Yunn, “The Bargello.” Both sources cited in Yunn, “The Bargello,” 182 n426. The Archivio di Stato catalogue states that the two missing *stemmi* were likely those of the Podestà Antonio Galluzzi (1296) and that the Angevin *stemma* is specifically that of Charles II, because it dates the portal to 1296 based on the evidence in ASF: *Provvisioni*, Reg.6, f.114r (10 settembre 1296). *Mostra documentaria*, 10-11. Elliott also dates the portal to 1296. Elliott, “The Last Judgement Scene in Central Italian Painting,” 208. Yunn refutes this argument based on her analysis of the architectural history of the structure and documentary evidence, which indicates that this section of the new palace was not yet constructed in 1296. The courtyard, to which the doorway gives entrance, was begun only in 1316. Yunn, “The Bargello,” 182.

⁷⁹⁷ It is possible that these windows are later alterations/additions by restorers. Yunn incorrectly states this is the only appearance of an Angevin *stemma* in the window program (*ibid.*, 184, n433).

Via della Vigna Vecchia (fig. 18). This extensive expansion, which explicitly declared its Angevin nature, included the construction of the chapel, as well as its decoration.⁷⁹⁸

In order to understand the relationship between the imagery and the nature of Angevin involvement in the Magdalen Chapel, it is necessary to first reconsider and revisit the question of the chapel's function. This chapel has been understood almost exclusively as a place where prisoners who had been condemned to death by the Florentine Commune were brought the night before they were executed in order to repent and prepare themselves for death.⁷⁹⁹ It was overseen by the Compagnia di Sta. Maria della Croce al Tempio, also called the Compagnia dei Neri: this was the confraternity that tended to condemned prisoners, escorted them to their execution and usually provided burial afterwards.⁸⁰⁰ In *Pictures and Punishment: Art and Criminal Prosecution During the Florentine Renaissance*, Samuel Y. Edgerton, Jr. stated that the chapel was "there just for this purpose: to aid the spiritual preparation of the condemned to accept his legal fate."⁸⁰¹ Similarly Janis Elliott opened her discussion on the chapel by simply stating, "[i]n the Magdalen Chapel those condemned to death said their last prayers."⁸⁰² She

⁷⁹⁸ Yunn, "The Bargello," 239. See also Elliott, "The Last Judgement Scene in Central Italian Painting," 201.

⁷⁹⁹ There are exceptions, most notably Grötecke.

⁸⁰⁰ There is considerable need for a thorough historical and archival study to clear up the confusions surrounding this important early Florentine confraternity. For information on the confraternity see: Giovanni Battista Uccelli, *Della Compagnia di S. Maria della Croce al Tempio* (Firenze: dalla Tip. Calasanziana, 1861); Eugenio Cappelletti, *La Compagnia dei Neri: L'Arciconfraternita dei Battuti di Santa Maria della Croce al Tempio* (Firenze: Le Monnier, 1927); William Robert Levin, "Studies in the Imagery of Mercy in Late Medieval Italian Art," 3 vols. (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1983), vol. I, 299-313; Samuel Y. Edgerton, Jr., *Pictures and Punishment: Art and Criminal Prosecution During the Florentine Renaissance* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1985), 51-58; *Mostra documentaria*, 36. Levin, "Studies in the Imagery of Mercy," vol. I, 304, states that the Compagnia dei Neri is a subgroup of the Compagnia di Sta. Maria della Croce al Tempio, while other sources use the two names interchangeably. The Compagnia was suppressed in 1785. *Mostra documentaria*, 36, citing ASF, *Compagnie religiose soppresse, Capitoli della Compagnia di S. Croce al Tempio in Firenze*, n. 202, f. 2v-3r: 1586.

⁸⁰¹ Edgerton, *Pictures and Punishment*, 52.

⁸⁰² Elliott, "The Last Judgement Scene in Central Italian Painting," 196.

argued that the last rites were delivered there⁸⁰³ and that the chapel was the place for the preparation of criminals for execution for the period from the fourteenth through the sixteenth century.⁸⁰⁴ Previous analysis of the meaning of the fresco program, not just the Magdalen cycle, but also the Last Judgment imagery, while it has been extremely superficial, has correctly described it as a penitential program, and thus appropriate to such a use of the chapel.⁸⁰⁵

But was the Magdalen Chapel intended for the final penance-fueled conversion of criminals prior to their execution? In my view, this could not have been the only use—or even the primary use—of this chapel when it was created. Rather the chapel was intended for the use of the palace officials. Built and decorated during the Angevin expansion, it was conceived for the use of Robert’s vicar, standing in for the King himself, the Signore of Florence.⁸⁰⁶ This understanding of the chapel as the chapel of the Signore of Florence accounts for its combination of civic and penitential iconography, as well as providing a rationale for its Angevin-influenced iconography, which would have had little meaning for, or relevance to, the condemned prisoners previously posited by most scholars as the only users of the chapel.

⁸⁰³ Ibid., 197.

⁸⁰⁴ Ibid., 204, n542. For “the use of the chapel and the function of the confraternity, also known as the Compagnia del Neri,” Elliott cites Uccelli, *Della Compagnia di S. Maria della Croce*; Cappelli, *La Compagnia del Neri*; Ronald F. E. Weissman, *Ritual Brotherhood in Renaissance Florence* (New York: Academic Press, 1982); and Edgerton, *Pictures and Punishment*, 51-58. None of these sources, however, provide evidence for this usage of the chapel in the 14th century.

⁸⁰⁵ As will be discussed later, the St. John the Baptist cycle, while not understood as penitential, and even less discussed than the other iconography, has also been interpreted as a message to the condemned regarding the State of Florence, of which he was the patron saint.

⁸⁰⁶ The possibility that the chapel was intended not only for the use of condemned criminals, as she argues consistently, but for the official(s) residing in the Palazzo is mentioned in passing by Elliott. However she states “Conceivably Charles I, or his vicar in Florence, was intended to reside in the Palazzo del Podestà, and to worship in the Magdalen Chapel, and it might have been with a royal resident in mind that expansion and embellishments were undertaken after the Guelf victory in 1266.” Elliott, “The Last Judgement Scene in Central Italian Painting,” 208. As it was not during Charles’ signory but much later, during that of Robert (as she herself argues), that the chapel was planned and built, this a strange claim.

Several interrelated factors indicate that the original use of the chapel was not the preparation of the souls of condemned prisoners. Although there are no records surviving from the trecento regarding the number of people ministered to at their executions by the Compagnia dei Neri, the *Libro dei giustiziati* for the confraternity does record this information for the years 1420-1745. Between 1420 and 1500, on average approximately eight people per year were executed, with the actual number for some years falling as low as one.⁸⁰⁷ While the rate of executions may not have been identical during the trecento, one can assume it was fairly comparable. Given the rarity of executions, it is difficult to assert that the necessary time, energy, money and expense—a point to which I shall return later—would have been employed to build a chapel for such infrequent use.

Moreover, scholars have consistently linked this function of the Magdalen Chapel with the activities of the Compagnia dei Neri. While the Compagnia dei Neri comforted the condemned in the chapel in the quattrocento and cinquecento, there are substantial problems with believing they did so in the period in which the chapel was first used. Elliott noted that the earliest Statutes for the Compagnia dei Neri date from the mid-trecento, but argued that the “practice of ministering to those sentenced to death...dates

⁸⁰⁷ On average 7.99 executions were conducted per annum. The year 1479 has the highest total recorded, at 40, almost double the number executed in 1431, the year for which the next highest total (21) is recorded. Numerous years saw only 1 person executed. Information collated from the table in Appendix B of Edgerton. Edgerton, *Pictures and Punishment*, 234-6. Edgerton’s data is drawn from the *Libro dei giustiziati*, fols. 71r-143v bound in the *Libro di varie notizie e memorie della venerabile Compagnia di Santa Maria della Croce al Tempio*, ms. II, I, 138, Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence. This collection of documents on the company from its 14th-c. founding to late 18th-c. repression only contains executions from the period 1420-1745. It is worth noting that the Compagnia did not service those found guilty in the Pazzi Conspiracy in 1478. The *Libro dei giustiziati* also notes which crimes earned execution. Most common was homicide but also punishable by death were robbery, counterfeiting, treason, sodomy and, on occasion, sacrilege against holy images. Edgerton, *Pictures and Punishment*, 232-233. Levin also provides a figure of eight executions per year, although he does not note for what period or how he came up with this statistic. Levin, “Studies in the Imagery of Mercy,” vol. I, 312.

back long before the official statutes.”⁸⁰⁸ The evidence, however, does not support this statement. In fact the Compagnia dei Neri was not formed until some years after the completion of chapel decoration.⁸⁰⁹ The confraternity was founded on 25 March 1347 or perhaps 1343, not originally to do charitable works, but to chant lauds before a tabernacle of the Virgin.⁸¹⁰ The first Statutes, now lost, were approved May 1356. Those from 1360 establish that by this time the confraternity had a mission of charity, of which aid to prisoners was but one part, and was divided between visiting inmates at the Stinche (the prison) and comforting the condemned.⁸¹¹ The first notice of the confraternity burying someone executed by the Commune dates from the same year as the now lost original Statutes. The account makes no mention of the confraternity members praying with the condemned beforehand. Given its specificity on other points—it is explicit on the fact that they held masses for him after his death—had they comforted him in the chapel,

⁸⁰⁸ Elliott, “The Last Judgement Scene in Central Italian Painting,” 205 n544. In this footnote Elliott continues on to state: “Documents naming a confraternity in connection with the construction of the Bargello do not specifically name the Compagnia dei Neri.” No specifics are given, but one assumes the “fratres religiosos” discussed subsequently are what she has in mind.

⁸⁰⁹ This is true even if one accepts the date of 1337 for the entire program.

⁸¹⁰ There is some confusion over the founding date. Uccelli dated the origin to 1347, while noting that a representation at the Bigallo said it was 1343. Uccelli, *Della Compagnia di S. Maria della Croce*, 8. Levin, in seeing the Neri as a subgroup of the Tempio, dates the former to 1347 and the latter to 1343. Levin, “Studies in the Imagery of Mercy,” vol. I, 305. Multiple sources give the date of origin as 1343. See Luigi D’Indico, *La Confraternità di S. Maria della Croce al Tempio* (Firenze: E. Ducci, 1912), 4; *Mostra documentaria*, 36; Pamela Gravestock, “Comforting the Condemned and the Role of the *Laude* in Early Modern Italy,” in *Early Modern Confraternities in Europe and the Americas: International and Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, eds. Christopher Black and Pamela Gravestock (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2006), 130. There are yet other dates that can be found. John Henderson cites BNF Passerini 55 ‘Memorie dell’origine della Compagnia del Tempio’ f. 3r, for a date of 1356, however I think this is a confusion due to 1356 being the date of the first Statutes. John Henderson, *Piety and Charity in Late Medieval Florence* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994) 55. Monti gives a date of 1278. Gennaro Maria Monti, *Le confraternite medievali dell’alta e media Italia* (Venezia: La Nuova Italia, 1927), vol. I, 159. Calzolari dates it to 1335. Carlo Celso Calzolari, *La Compagnia dei Neri* (Firenze: Parrocchia di San Giuseppe, 1970), [1]. Uccelli is aware of the 1335 date from an unidentified manuscript and calls it “absurd.” There are other reasons for treating Calzolari’s dates with suspicion; see note 813 below. Uccelli, *Della Compagnia di S. Maria della Croce*, 11.

⁸¹¹ Levin, “Studies in the Imagery of Mercy,” vol. I, 305-6 and 416 n343. D’Indico also noted that the first Statutes are from 1356 and are now lost. He did not mention another set of Statutes from 1360 but provides a quotation without a source stating how they aided the condemned. This he claims was, above all, their principal office. D’Indico, *La Confraternità di S. Maria della Croce*, 5.

given last rights, or accompanied him to his execution, this information would surely also have been included.⁸¹² It is evident that the Compagnia dei Neri was not involved in any activities taking place within the chapel until 1356 at the earliest, although I suspect the date was later.

But perhaps another confraternity with similar objectives was active in the chapel prior to the Compagnia dei Neri, with the Neri merely taking over what was then an already established arrangement, sometime during or after the 1350s. Elliott stated “[d]ocuments naming a confraternity in connection with the construction of the Bargello do not *specifically* name the Compagnia dei Neri,”⁸¹³ suggesting that if the Neri were not involved from the start, a similar confraternity was. *Compagnie di giustizia* or *conforterie*, as confraternities such as the Compagnia dei Neri were known, were still a relatively new phenomenon when the Compagnia dei Neri was founded. While the notion of providing mercy to the condemned dated back to the Council of Mainz in 745,⁸¹⁴ confraternities organized specifically to carry out acts of mercy seem to have first appeared during the trecento.⁸¹⁵ The earliest was the Compagnia di S. Maria della Morte,

⁸¹² Uccelli, *Della Compagnia di S. Maria della Croce*, 10-11; Levin, “Studies in the Imagery of Mercy,” vol. I, 306. Calzolari states that the first time they assisted in an execution was October 14, 1423, when 10 brothers were present for the execution of Dolfo di Ambrogio. As we have records in the *Libro dei giustiziati* dating as early as 1420 it seems that this source is to be treated with suspicion. Calzolari, *Compagnia dei Neri*, [1]. See also Gravestock, “Comforting the Condemned,” 143 n4, for the same information—no source is given. Uccelli, *Della Compagnia di S. Maria della Croce*, 11, references the 1423 date, saying it is in a manuscript (no source given) but states that this information is false.

⁸¹³ Elliott, “The Last Judgement Scene in Central Italian Painting,” 205 n544. Emphasis mine.

⁸¹⁴ For the Council of Mainz see Levin, “Studies in the Imagery of Mercy,” vol. I, 300.

⁸¹⁵ Levin notes the existence of two earlier such Confraternities, that in Lodi founded in 1254 and Lucca founded in 1296 (*ibid.*, 303). His source for this is Monti, *Le confraternite*, vol. I, 281-281, 252. Monti however also gives the date of the founding of the Compagnia di S. Maria della Croce al Tempio as 1278, a date completely out of line with any other piece of evidence or source (*ibid.*, vol. I, 159), thus putting his early dating of the Lodi and Lucca confraternities into question as well. While saying “Monti...implausibly gives the date 1278” Levin does not seem to think that this calls some of his other exceptionally early dates into question as well. Levin, “Studies in the Imagery of Mercy,” vol. I, 416 n340.

established in Bologna, in 1335 or 1336.⁸¹⁶ It is from there that these “companies of justice” slowly spread to other cities.⁸¹⁷ If such confraternities did not exist until 1336, it is impossible that in ca. 1320-1322, when the chapel was built and decorated, such a confraternity was involved in the planning, or that the chapel was build and decorated for the purpose of a *compagnia di giustizia* providing comfort to the condemned.

Elliott however maintained that a confraternity was in charge of operations at the chapel.⁸¹⁸ This is due to her interpretation of the document regarding the decoration of the chapel⁸¹⁹ in which she translated the two terms used to describe the individuals who were in charge of overseeing the money and operations—*fratres religiosos* and *fratribus religiosis*—as “lay brothers.”⁸²⁰ In fact, while the terminology for confraternities was still developing at the time, these terms are not among those generally used to indicate members of a confraternity.⁸²¹

It is more likely that the *fratres religiosos/fratribus religiosis* were members of a religious order who were overseeing the building projects in the Palazzo del Podestà and

⁸¹⁶ Nicholas Terpstra, *Lay Confraternities and Civic Religion in Renaissance Bologna* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 10; Trevor Dean, *Crime and Justice in Late Medieval Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 62; Gravestock, “Comforting the Condemned,” 130, 143 n3. Terpstra and Dean date the founding to 1336. Fanti and Gravestock to 1335. For more details on the Compagnia di S. Maria della Morte see Mario Fanti, “La Confraternita di Santa Maria della Morte e la Conforteria dei condannati in Bologna nei secoli XIV e XV,” in *Confraternite e città a Bologna nel Medioevo e nell’età moderna* (Roma: Herder, 2001), 61-173.

⁸¹⁷ Dean, *Crime and Justice*, 62. Gravestock explicitly states that the next city to establish such a confraternity is Florence in 1343. Gravestock, “Comforting the Condemned,” 130.

⁸¹⁸ Elliott, “The Last Judgement Scene in Central Italian Painting,” 201; Elliott, “Judgement of the Commune,” 509, 513. She does state that the Commune would have chosen the artist and the program, however.

⁸¹⁹ ASF: *Capitoli del Comune*, Reg. 23, f.100v: 22 genaio 1321 (1322); *Provvisioni del Comune*, Reg.17, f.56v: 22 genaio 1320 (1321). Again note, both documents should in fact be dated 22 January 1320 (1321).

⁸²⁰ Elliott, “The Last Judgement Scene in Central Italian Painting,” 201; Elliott, “Judgement of the Commune,” 512.

⁸²¹ There are many terms used for confraternities during the period: *societas*, *consortium*, *conventio*, *convenientia*, *collecta*, *convivium*, *exactio*, *symbolum*. For associations of pious laypeople the terms *agape*, *caritas* e *fraternitas* were used as well as the neologisms *fraterna*, *confraternitas*, *confratria* and *fraternitas*. See Gilles Gérard Meersseman, *Ordo Fraternitatis: Confraternite e pietà dei laici nel medioevo* (Roma: Herder Editrice e Libreria, 1977), 6-7. Additionally, nothing about the phrase “religious brothers” suggests that this refers to lay individuals, rather the contrary.

handling the funds used to carry them out. A document from July 28, 1317, regarding the construction of the palace, illustrates this practice. In it, Fra Guido of the Umilitati of Ognissanti is cited as deputy of the work on the Palazzo and given power over the funds assigned to carry it out.⁸²² A subsequent document dated September 7, 1318, named Fra Guidone of the Umiliati of Ognissanti as the supervisor of constructions and repairs in the Palazzo.⁸²³ The Umilitati of Ognissanti were already involved in administering the construction and works at the Palazzo, in addition to being one of two orders—the other were the Cistercians of Settimo—whose members acted as *camerarii camere comunis Florentie*, the treasurers who dispensed the funds to these *fratres religiosos/fratribus religiosis*. It may well be then, that the *fratres religiosos/fratribus religiosis* cited in the document of 1321 were also members of this order, so firmly ensconced in the administrative working of the Palazzo del Podestà.⁸²⁴

Additionally there are several physical features of the Magdalen Chapel that indicate it was originally conceived of as a palace chapel intended for Angevin use, rather than for usage by condemned prisoners. Leaving aside iconographical considerations for the moment, one must first take into account its exceptional richness and luxury. Almost impossible to envision today due to its poor condition, this was originally a chapel of great magnificence, a fact that ironically has contributed to the poor survival of the

⁸²² ASF, *Provvisioni*, Reg.15, f.77r/v: 28 luglio 1317.

⁸²³ ASF, *Provvisioni del Comune*, filza 16: 7 settembre 1318. Yunn, “The Bargello,” 327 (II, 90) provides the document in Latin and English translation. It was previously published in Walter Paatz “Zur Baugeschichte des Palazzo del Podestà (Bargello) in Florenz,” *Mitteilungen des kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 3, no. 6 (1931): 317, no. 30; and Johann Wilhelm Gaye, *Carteggio inedito d'artisti dei secoli XIV-XVI* (Firenze: Presso G. Molini, 1839), vol. I, Appendix II, 453. It seems conceivable that Fra Guido and Fra Guidone are the same individual.

⁸²⁴ From 1250 until 1436 members of these two orders, sometimes in concert with laypeople, acted as bursars for the Commune. See: Richard C. Trexler, “Honor Among Thieves. The Trust Function of the Urban Clergy in the Florentine Republic,” in *Essays Presented to Myron P. Gilmore*, eds. Sergio Bertelli and Gloria Ramakus, vol. 1 (Florence, 1978), 321; *Mostra documentaria*, 16; Yunn, “The Bargello,” 227.

pictorial surface. A large part of the decoration was done not in *buon fresco*, but *a secco* in tempera with binders, using expensive and precious pigments and a considerable quantity of gold leaf. This enabled the artists to achieve a greater chromatic range than is possible in true fresco and the extensive use of gold created an opulent effect. In describing the technique, Acidini Luchinat stated that it “gave the sacred scenes a fairytale splendor, difficult to imagine today.”⁸²⁵ While penitential imagery is appropriate for a chapel intended for condemned prisoners, this exceptional decorative magnificence is not. Instead it speaks to its function as the palace chapel, a chapel meant for the use of palace officials, intended to glorify the Florentine state and its head, the Signore of Florence.

We know that when the money was assigned for the Magdalen Chapel, the vicar of the king resided in the Palazzo del Podestà. The document allocating the money for decoration stated this clearly: *in quo moratur dominus vicarius regius*. Other documents indicate that vicars of Robert had been in residence throughout the period of expansion on the Palazzo that began circa 1316.⁸²⁶ This Angevin expansion project of the Palazzo del Podestà was even at times called the Palace of the Vicars, illustrating the close connection understood in the period between the expansion and the Angevins in

⁸²⁵ Acidini Luchinat, “Il ritorno di Dante,” 37-38. Translation mine. She also notes that the palette is richer in the *Paradiso* and *Inferno*. This is at least somewhat explained by the subject matter.

⁸²⁶ Records show that the vicar of King Robert resided in the Palazzo in 1317, 1319, 1320 and 1322. One such document is ASF, *Provvisioni*, Reg.15, f.77r/v (28 luglio 1317) cited in *Mostra documentaria*, 11; and Elliott “The Last Judgement Scene in Central Italian Painting,” 209 n559. Other documents can be found in Gaye, *Carteggio inedito*, I, Appendix II, 452 (*Provvisioni*, filza 16: 8 luglio 1317); 458 (*Provvisioni*, filza 17: 20 novembre 1319); 459 (*Provvisioni*, filza 18: 4 settembre 1320). Many of these are also found in Davidsohn, *Forschungen*, IV, 503-504, with the addition of several others, including ASF, *Cisterc.*: 24 luglio 1319 (also in Paatz, “Zur Baugeschichte des Palazzo,” 317, n34; Yunn, “The Bargello,” 327, II, no. 92) and ASF, *Diplomatico*, *Carmines di Firenze*: 17 settembre 1320 (also in Paatz “Zur Baugeschichte des Palazzo,” 318-319, n38-39; Yunn, “The Bargello,” 328-9, II, no. 96). Most of these documents are in Yunn, “The Bargello,” appendix II: Documents: “Building History: New Palace, Stage IV, 1316-1322,” 326-33.

power.⁸²⁷ Yunn, in her new architectural history of the Palazzo del Podestà, has argued that this new expansion remained separate from the old palace and constituted “a secure residence” for the vicar.⁸²⁸ Furthermore, she hypothesized that the north gallery, which provides the only entrance to the Magdalen Chapel, served as the vicar’s quarters.⁸²⁹ If correct, this would confirm that the chapel must have been primarily for Angevin use.

As we have seen, the expansion of the palace under the auspices of the king’s vicar was explicitly understood as Angevin in nature, intended to create a residence for the vicar. The Magdalen Chapel was built and decorated as part of this undertaking. It is likely that entrance to the chapel was restricted, as it was embedded in this new Angevin palatial fabric. By January 1321, money for the decoration was allotted and a group of friars were assigned to oversee the decoration of the chapel. One can assume that the program was already established by this date, and that the content was chosen, or largely influenced by, the primary intended user of the chapel, that is, the Angevin vicar acting for King Robert. It is in that light that we should view this program containing the most extensive cycle of the life of Mary Magdalen thus far painted in central Italy.⁸³⁰

While Elliott and Grötecke noted the presence of Magdalen imagery in the Magdalen Chapel as corroborating evidence of the program’s Angevin associations, these

⁸²⁷ Davidsohn, *Forschungen*, IV, 503. Davidsohn cites and quotes a document in the Archivio di Stato di Firenze supporting this assertion. Dated 12 July 1317, it regards expenditures “[in] *constructione palatii Domini vicarii Florentini*” and also references expenditures in March and April made “[pro] *constucone novi palatii regii vicarii Florentie*.” ASF: Protocollo di Lapo Di Gianni di Fir f. 106² ss. 12 luglio 1317. See also Yunn, “The Bargello,” 326, II no. 87.

⁸²⁸ Yunn, “The Bargello,” 185.

⁸²⁹ Ibid., 184. It is this gallery that contains the window with the Angevin *stemma*.

⁸³⁰ There are also eight scenes in the Pipino Chapel in S. Pietro a Maiella, Naples and on the panel in the Accademia Gallery. Those are both complete cycles, however, whereas in this chapel there were originally nine Magdalen scenes.

are studies of Last Judgment imagery, and thus it is the *Paradiso*⁸³¹ on the altar wall of the chapel that provides their primary visual evidence, rather than the narrative scenes (fig. 5.3).⁸³² Although badly damaged, with entire passages lost, it today still displays a tantalizing mix of civic and sacred imagery. At the apex of the wall, above the narrow lancet window, Christ sits inside a vivid multi-hued nimbus. Much of the surrounding composition is lost, especially in the upper reaches. Clearly, however, it was arranged in a heavenly hierarchy, proceeding downwards through the ranks of angels and saints to the lowest and best-preserved section, which depicts, not saints, but members of the Florentine Commune. It is here, in a group of figures to the right of the window, where we find the oft-debated portrait of Dante, and, more critically for our purposes, where two prominent frontal portraits flank the base of the window, one on either side.

Most scholars have identified the portrait to the right of the window as an Angevin ruler (fig. 5.3c). This is true regardless of whether they believe there was Angevin involvement in the chapel. One presumes this is in part because the figure is clearly a ruler, and that given Florence's Guelf loyalties it is difficult to imagine any ruler except an Angevin being depicted positively in a Florentine context during this period. Milanesi and Passerini first identified the figure as King Robert, an identification that is

⁸³¹ There has been little discussion of the *Inferno* because of its near total destruction. Grötecke attempts an analysis, however the condition makes it heavily speculative and reliant on comparison. See Grötecke, *Das Bild des Jüngsten Gerichts*, 182-189.

⁸³² Elliott, "Judgement of the Commune," 515-16; Elliott, "The Last Judgement Scene in Central Italian Painting," 206-207; Grötecke, *Das Bild des Jüngsten Gerichts*, 192 n633. Elliott provides a brief overview of Angevin involvement in the promotion of the Magdalen cult and some other iconographic programs, and states that the Magdalen program "suggests at least the possibility of Angevin interest in the decoration of the program," but does not further discuss the Magdalen imagery. Grötecke states only that while the Angevins' particular veneration for the Magdalen opens additional areas of association, it probably could not have been a critical factor in the choice of saint cycle and she can only mention it in passing. In fact Amee Yunn, whose dissertation focuses primarily on the architectural history of the building, is the only scholar to, even in brief, look at the narrative cycles in light of Angevin involvement. Yunn, "The Bargello," 239-241.

broadly accepted.⁸³³ Elliott tentatively concurred that the figure is Robert.⁸³⁴ She then however suggested that this image of Robert represents the “Judgment of the Commune.”⁸³⁵ As he is one of two similar figures, is not shown “in judgment,” nor is this argument fleshed out, this seems overly speculative.⁸³⁶ Crowe and Cavalcaselle, who dated the cycle earlier, alternately proposed that the figure represented Charles of Valois, cousin to the Angevin kings, who had been married to Robert’s sister Margaret, Countess of Anjou.⁸³⁷ Grötecke argued that this figure is instead the Signore after Robert, his son, Charles of Calabria.⁸³⁸ Among the several reasons she gives for re-identifying this figure, is his unusual crown (fig. 5.3d). She convincingly associates this with one that belonged to the Emperor Henry VII of Luxembourg, seen in his tomb sculpture by Tino da Camaino in Pisa (fig. 5.19), which records indicate Robert probably purchased in 1316, three years after the death of the Emperor.⁸³⁹ However as it was Robert who was “systematically taking possession of the legacy of the last Emperor” in order to ensure that no further German emperors would enter Italy, it is unclear how this crown helps to

⁸³³ See Passerini e Milanesi, *Del Ritratto di Dante*, 11. Supino inexplicably claimed that the figure could not be Robert due to the fact that Robert was still alive when the portrait was painted. Supino, *Giotto*, vol. I, 241.

⁸³⁴ Elliott, “Judgement of the Commune,” 517; Elliott, “The Last Judgement Scene in Central Italian Painting,” 210.

⁸³⁵ Elliott, “The Last Judgement Scene in Central Italian Painting,” 212.

⁸³⁶ Yunn also disputed this line of reasoning. Yunn, “The Bargello,” 240.

⁸³⁷ They relate the program to a transient peace in which Charles of Valois played a role. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *New History of Painting* (1864), vol. I, 264-5; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *History of Painting*, vol. II, 55.

⁸³⁸ Grötecke, *Das Bild des Jüngsten Gerichts*, 165-171. Her reasoning is long and complex. Firstly, she sees this figure as younger and therefore states that a father-son relationship must be intended, with this being the son. In actuality however, this figure looks considerably older and is much more individualized. Her argument regarding this figure being at the left hand, and thus subordinate side of Christ, is more convincing (*ibid.*, 166). Regarding portrait-likenesses for the Angevin rulers, others of which exist, Grötecke argues that they did not exist in the period and that identification is made possible by context. In fact, however, this figure bears much more of a resemblance to known portraits of Robert than does the figure on the left (*ibid.*, 166-7).

⁸³⁹ *Ibid.*, 167-171. Gardner, “Saint Louis of Toulouse,” 26; Gardner, “Seated Kings, Sea-Faring Saints and Heraldry,” 125-126. In the latter article, Gardner states that the attempt was unsuccessful.

identify the figure as Charles of Calabria.⁸⁴⁰ In fact it strengthens the argument for identifying the figure as Robert.

The frontal figure to the left of the window (fig. 5.3e) is more difficult to securely identify. Many scholars believed him to be a religious official. Milanese and Passerini identified him as Cardinal Bertrando del Poggetto.⁸⁴¹ Crowe and Cavalcaselle, in keeping with their understanding of the *Paradiso* as a representation of the political events of 1300-1, believed him to be Cardinal Matteo d'Aquasparta.⁸⁴² However, having argued that the paired figure is Charles, Grötecke identified this as another ruler portrait, that of King Robert.⁸⁴³

I believe Grötecke was correct that this second portrait also is a “ruler portrait.” While his red robe could be that of a cardinal, rulers are depicted in similar garments. Furthermore he does not have a cardinal’s hat, but rather wears a small crown, although damage makes it hard to read clearly (fig. 5.3f). His youthful, idealized face is much less portrait-like than that of the older, individualized ruler figure on the right. This, in combination with his smaller, less prominent crown, leads me to suggest a reversal of Grötecke’s identifications.

To the right of the window stands Robert wearing the crown of Henry VII, a crown that he purchased and is also depicted wearing in MS Royal 6 E. ix, f. 10v (fig. 5.20), a manuscript of Tuscan provenance from around 1335. To the left of the window stands his son Charles of Calabria, not yet an official of Florence, but already Vicar-

⁸⁴⁰ Grötecke, 170. Translation mine.

⁸⁴¹ Passerini e Milanese, *Del Ritratto di Dante*, 11. Supino rejects this on the same grounds as he did the Robert identification. Supino, *Giotto*, vol. I, 241.

⁸⁴² Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *New History of Painting*, (1864), vol. I, 264, 265; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *History of Painting*, vol. II, 54, 54-5 n3 editors comment, 55. If they had been correct, this would have provided a Franciscan component to the program as well, however there seems no possibility that the program was executed as early as Crowe and Cavalcaselle believed.

⁸⁴³ Grötecke, *Das Bild des Jüngsten Gerichts*, 165-171.

General of the Kingdom of Naples. Elliott describes the image of Robert as “probably intended to commemorate Robert’s contribution to Florentine military glory, his administration of Florentine civil justice, and probably too, his participation in the building of the Palazzo del Podestà, including the Magdalen Chapel.”⁸⁴⁴ In this she does not go far enough.⁸⁴⁵ Commissioned during, not after, the Signoria of Robert, this is a dynastic image. An image that depicts the king and Signore Robert, and his son and heir Charles—who Robert believed would ascend to the throne after him—in paradise. Standing at the front of the members of the Commune, below the choirs of saints and angels, it is these two figures alone, along with Christ above, that face the worshipper.⁸⁴⁶

As significant as the iconography of the *Paradiso* is in elucidating the Angevin nature of the program of the Magdalen Chapel, it is not the only visual evidence present in the chapel that points to Angevin involvement. By considering the relationship of the Magdalen cycle to its civic context, another line of evidence illuminating Angevin influences emerges.⁸⁴⁷ Furthermore, while it is impossible to determine what, if any, Angevin meanings might exist in the north wall imagery, as we do not know how it related to the original program of 1320/21, an analysis of the Magdalen iconography in relation to the abbreviated cycle of the life of John the Baptist reveals a profound combination of civic and religious meaning, and a focus on good government. This, in

⁸⁴⁴ Elliott, “The Last Judgement Scene in Central Italian Painting,” 211.

⁸⁴⁵ Nor does she account for the other prominent portrait.

⁸⁴⁶ Passerini and Milanesi identified the kneeling figures in front of the two frontal figures as the podestà on the left, and a religious official, perhaps the bishop of Florence on the right. Passerini e Milanesi, *Del Ritratto di Dante*, 12. The figure on the right is particularly badly damaged, but does not seem to be a religious official. It is not clear that they are identifiable and most scholars have not followed Passerini and Milanesi in attempting to do so.

⁸⁴⁷ The relationship of the imagery to its civic context has been noted, see for example, Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen*, 321; Yunn, “The Bargello,” 239. However it has been noted in passing, not as the focus of sustained inquiry regarding whether this truly could reflect Angevin content, and in what ways. Furthermore the iconography of the cycle has not been discussed in any of the scholarship.

combination with the dedicatory saint and inscription, clearly illustrates that the chapel functioned as the chapel of the Podestà at the time these images were painted, showing its continuity in usage, although the leadership of the city had changed.

THE NARRATIVE CYCLES

The Magdalen imagery in the Magdalen Chapel currently consists of eight scenes, notwithstanding the fact that two of them are occasionally erroneously identified as scenes from the life of Mary of Egypt.⁸⁴⁸ As can be seen in the diagram (fig. 5.1), there are seven Magdalen frescoes on the south wall: three in the upper register, with one field taken up by a window, and four in the lower register.⁸⁴⁹ Another Magdalen scene is located on the lower register of the north wall adjacent to the counter-facade, where there is a representation of the *Inferno*. As discussed previously, the standing image of *S. Venanzio* is also located on the north wall—on the lower register, in the central field between the two windows—and on the right side of the wall, near the *Paradiso* on the altar wall, is the two-scene cycle of the life of John the Baptist. The upper register of the north wall is particularly badly damaged: the scenes/images originally located in the fields above the Magdalen scene and *S. Venanzio* have been completely lost. I believe

⁸⁴⁸ The scenes are as follows: the *Supper in the House of the Pharisee*, the *Raising of Lazarus*, the *Marys at the Tomb*, the *Noli me tangere*, the *Magdalen in Her Cave with an Angel*, the *Magdalen Receiving Communion from Bishop St. Maximin*, *The Bishop St. Maximin Blessing Mary Magdalen and Her Ascension* and *The Miracle of the Ruler of Marseille*. The two scenes with St. Maximin are identified as the Life of Mary of Egypt by Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *New History of Painting*, (1864), vol. I, 261-262; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *History of Painting*, vol. II, 49, 52-3.

⁸⁴⁹ Grötecke notes that this window in the upper register had been covered and was rediscovered in a 1937 restoration. She follows the restorer Rossi in arguing that it was created in the second campaign (1337) to light the image of *S. Venanzio*, and states that it probably destroyed an extant Magdalen scene. Grötecke, *Das Bild des Jüngsten Gerichts*, 157-8. One of her rationales involves the framing elements, however those surrounding the window in the altar wall are also from this second campaign, so it is difficult to judge the validity of this argument. If she were correct the scene would likely have been *Christ at the House of Mary and Martha* as it is the only scene depicted in any Magdalen cycle (the later Guidalotti-Rinuccini Chapel in Sta. Croce, Florence) that makes sense chronologically.

that the scene above *The Miracle of the Ruler of Marseilles* on the north wall was also a Magdalen scene, thus the chapel originally had nine scenes depicting the life of the Magdalen.⁸⁵⁰

One of the most striking aspects of the Magdalen narrative imagery in this chapel is its organization. There is a “complete” Magdalen cycle on the south wall, and then there are an additional two scenes on the north wall, which are out of narrative sequence with regards to those on the south wall. The south wall cycle begins on the upper register at the left with the scene that initiates every Magdalen cycle considered in this dissertation. The Magdalen’s conversion in the *Supper in the House of the Pharisee* (fig. 5.5) is the depiction of the “birth” of the Magdalen, that is, her birth into repentance and the spiritual life. Next is the *Raising of Lazarus* (fig. 5.6), another commonly depicted gospel scene. The third and final scene in the upper register, *The Marys at the Tomb* (fig. 5.7), is, however, not depicted in any other Magdalen cycle. Magdalen cycles instead typically illustrate the *Noli me tangere*, a scene which focuses exclusively on the Magdalen and Christ, giving her a much more prominent role. Despite the seeming redundancy between the two events, *Noli me tangere* is also depicted here, in the lower register on the left (fig. 5.8).

The narrative then passes from gospel accounts to the legendary life of the Magdalen in Provence. This cycle omits her journey west and her activities in the city of Marseilles, where she preached and converted the Provencal people and continues with

⁸⁵⁰ Elliott, “The Last Judgement Scene in Central Italian Painting,” 206 n546 implies that both missing frescoes on this wall were Magdalen scenes, but I disagree, as this would break the pattern of the wall. Furthermore, it is difficult to imagine a further additional scene that would make sense with the *Miracle*. More likely it was another iconic standing saint. I would suggest an image of the titular saint of the chapel: Mary Magdalen. Regarding Grötecke’s suggestion of an additional Magdalen scene on the south wall: this would bring the total scenes to ten, but only if the north wall scenes, which I believe date to the campaign of 1337, replicate earlier Magdalen narrative imagery on this wall which was destroyed. We simply do not know what, if anything was originally on the north wall when the chapel was painted in 1321.

scenes from her retreat to the wilderness at La Sainte-Baume. The first of these scenes, the *Magdalen in Her Cave with an Angel* (fig. 5.9),⁸⁵¹ depicts the Magdalen receiving Communion from an angel. The *Magdalen Receiving Communion* or the *Last Communion of the Magdalen* (fig. 5.10) shows the Magdalen receiving Communion in the wilderness from St. Maximin, one of her companions on her journey from Jerusalem. While hagiographic accounts have the Magdalen receiving Communion not in the wilderness but inside the bishop's church, there was an iconographic precedent for this image in Florence on the *Magdalen Master Dossal*.⁸⁵² The cycle concludes on this wall with *The Bishop Maximin Blessing Mary Magdalen and Her Ascension* (fig. 5.11), in which the Magdalen is depicted twice, first kneeling before the altar, and again carried up the heavens by angels in a nimbus, kneeling on a cushion of clouds. Thus this wall seemingly presents a complete Magdalen cycle, from birth to death and ascension, focusing on the Magdalen as a penitent saint.

On the opposite (north) wall in the lower register, there is a representation of the *Miracle of the Ruler (or Prince) of Marseilles* (fig. 5.12); part of her legendary life, this miracle occurs when she first arrives in Provence, prior to her sojourn in the wilderness depicted on the south wall. The missing scene above almost certainly depicted the *Magdalen Preaching in Marseilles*.⁸⁵³ Although not frequently depicted, this event, immediately preceding and intimately related to the *Miracle of Marseilles*, was visible in

⁸⁵¹ Often misidentified as the *Magdalen in Colloquy with Angels* / *Maddalena a colloquio con gli Angeli* in Italian scholarship, although there is clearly only one angel present. See: Acidini Luchinat, "Il ritorno di Dante," 34; Danti and Felici, "Il ciclo giottesco," 31.

⁸⁵² See discussion in chapter one.

⁸⁵³ Grötecke suggests the lost scene depicted the arrival in France and the conversion of the Royal couple, although noting the presence of the Magdalen preaching on the *Magdalen Master Dossal*, she suggests it as an alternate possibility. I agree that the arrival is also a possibility though I would rank them in the opposite order of likelihood. Grötecke, *Das Bild des Jüngsten Gerichts*, 152.

Florence in an earlier example on the *Magdalen Master Dossal* (fig.1.7).⁸⁵⁴ I propose that due to both its organization and the dating discrepancies between the north and south wall decoration campaigns, discussed earlier in this chapter, the Magdalen iconography of this chapel must be understood not as one Magdalen cycle, but two: the extensive one of seven scenes on the south wall, and a two-scene cycle on the north wall.

The “complete” Magdalen cycle on the south wall is largely canonical. Roughly evenly split between biblical and legendary scenes, it emphasizes the Magdalen in her role as the Perfect Penitent. However, the bracketing of the cycle on either end by the Last Judgment imagery of the *Paradiso* and *Inferno* further augments the penitential message of both the cycle and the chapel as a whole. With the exception of the aforementioned *Marys at the Tomb*, all of the events depicted are ones that were popular in Magdalen cycles.⁸⁵⁵ The *Supper in the House of the Pharisee* (fig. 5.5) more than any other scene represents the Magdalen in her penitential guise. The *Raising of Lazarus* (fig. 5.6), also frequently found in Magdalen cycles, similarly had deep penitential connotations, with Christ’s words “Come forth, Lazarus” understood as a calling forth to penance.⁸⁵⁶ The *Noli me tangere* (fig. 5.8) tangibly illustrates to worshippers the rewards of penitence: the Magdalen is the first to see the Resurrected Christ, thus instituting her other great role as apostle to the apostles. Furthermore a Eucharistic connotation to the scene adds an additional penitential significance. The Magdalen was rewarded for her

⁸⁵⁴ Although the whereabouts of the *Magdalen Master Dossal* during this period are unknown, as the dossal is believed to be of Florentine provenance, it is likely that it was known to the artist/iconographer responsible for this chapel. This scene is also found later in Naples, in the cycle in San Pietro a Maiella dating to the 1340s (fig. 2.24). See chapter two for a discussion of the iconography of the preaching Magdalen.

⁸⁵⁵ While the Magdalen receiving Communion is rarely depicted in the wilderness, as noted, it has a precedent, and depictions of her receiving Communion from St. Maximin are seen in both the Basilica of St. Francis, Assisi and in S. Pietro a Maiella, Naples.

⁸⁵⁶ See discussion in chapter three.

penitence by seeing Christ's real living body on Easter. It was on this day when, according to liturgical practice in the late medieval period, people did their annual penance and received Communion, the body of Christ.

The puzzling origins of the oft-seen imagery of the *Magdalen in her Cave* (fig. 5.9) have been discussed in chapter two. The angel offering the Magdalen the host imparts a clear Eucharistic and penitential meaning to the event beyond the usual penitential connotation of the Magdalen's sojourn in the wilderness. Uniquely, this angel holds a vessel containing the blood of Christ; the Communion wafer it held in its right hand has been lost due to damage. While it is unusual that the Magdalen receiving the Viaticum (fig. 5.10) is thus divided from the conferring of the Apostolic benediction, or "last blessing" and from her ascension (fig. 5.11), by separating them here two penitential scenes are created out of what often was a single narrative. Confession and the performance of penance are a requisite part of the rites of Viaticum, enacted prior to receiving the host.⁸⁵⁷ Similarly, the last blessing is granted only after the dying person "professes his willingness to accept all his sufferings in reparation for his sins."⁸⁵⁸

Omitted in this discussion of the penitential meaning of the south wall scenes is the narrative of the *Marys at the Tomb* (fig. 5.7).⁸⁵⁹ As this scene appears in no other Magdalen cycle, it must have been chosen here for a particular reason. The composition suggests one reason. Although Mary Magdalen, dressed in red and carrying her ointment jar, is the most prominent of the Marys who come to Christ's tomb and find it empty,

⁸⁵⁷ Augustin Joseph Schulte, "Viaticum," in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 15 (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1912). 1 Feb. 2012, <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/15397c.htm>.

⁸⁵⁸ Joseph Delany, "Preparation for Death," in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 4 (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1908). 1 Feb. 2012, <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/04660c.htm>.

⁸⁵⁹ Mark 16.1-7; Matthew 28.1-10 (this version only has 2 women, but damage to the image makes it unclear if there were 2 or 3). Luke 24.1-8 describes 2 angels.

they are not the focal point of the composition. Rather it is Christ's tomb, surmounted by a seated angel, which is located near the center of the image. Being set within a large cave emphasizes the tomb further. While the cave also appears in the *Noli me tangere* (fig. 5.8), it is hardly visible, off to the left of the frame. This cave framing the tomb which recently had held Christ's body forms a visual parallel to the cave seen in the lower register, where Mary Magdalen kneels and receives the body of Christ from an angel (fig. 5.9). Furthermore, with two scenes showing Mary Magdalen visiting the tomb of Christ, a schema is created where one scene is placed adjacent to the *Inferno*—the *Marys at the Tomb*—where she is searching but cannot find Christ, and another adjacent to the *Paradiso*—the *Noli me tangere*—where she succeeds in doing so. Thus Christ's resurrection and its eschatological implications for humankind merge into the Last Judgment imagery on the end walls of the chapel.

The north wall contains a less unified program than the Magdalen cycle on the south wall. The windows divide the wall into three separate fields that present three discrete but I would contend, thematically related subjects. Each of these fields reads from top to bottom, in marked contrast to the opposite wall, which reads from left to right across the entire upper register before continuing on the lower register from left to right. On the left we have an abbreviated Magdalen cycle, one that illustrates aspects related to her preaching activity in Provence. In the center field, where *S. Venanzio* remains in the lower register, I would posit another standing saint in the now empty field above, either one linked to the city of Florence, such as John the Baptist, or the titular saint of the chapel, Mary Magdalen. On the right remains, more or less intact, a short cycle of the life of John the Baptist with the *Birth and Naming of John the Baptist* (fig. 5.13) in the top

register and the *Feast of Herod* below (fig. 5.14).⁸⁶⁰ This wall primarily conveys civic messages, appropriate to the context of the chapel, that is to say, within the Palazzo where the ruler of Florence lived and dispensed justice.⁸⁶¹

Although some previous scholars have understood the presence of the John the Baptist cycle as having civic significance, because he is the patron saint of Florence and thus a representative of the state,⁸⁶² no one has looked at it in conjunction with the other images on this wall,⁸⁶³ which speak about political power in different ways. Paired with the Baptist cycle is the abbreviated Magdalen cycle. Given the other Magdalen imagery depicted in the chapel, which well represents both her biblical life and her sojourn in the wilderness, and the presence in the lower register of the *Miracle of Marseilles*, I contend that the missing scene in the upper register was most likely the *Preaching of the Magdalen*. Thus this cycle presents the active ministry of the Magdalen in Provence.

According to the *Golden Legend*, the Magdalen's preaching is closely tied to the Marseilles miracle, as it was through her preaching that the Magdalen prevented the ruler of Provence and his wife from sacrificing to the gods in order to have a child. Through the Magdalen's prayers, the wife then conceived and, as discussed in chapter two, the

⁸⁶⁰ It should be noted that this is quite similar to the abbreviated John the Baptist cycle by Giotto in the Peruzzi Chapel in Sta. Croce, which consists of the *Annunciation to Zacharias (Zachary)*, *The Birth and Naming of John the Baptist*, and the *Feast of Herod*. The Peruzzi Chapel program pairs the John the Baptist cycle with a cycle of the life of John the Evangelist. These two saints are linked not only by name, but also through the fact that John the Evangelist died on the day John the Baptist was born (June 24th), although John the Evangelist's feast day is celebrated on the 27th of December.

⁸⁶¹ If this wall (with the exception of *S. Venanzio*) does not reflect the original program, then the ruler would be the Podestà, if it does, then it would be the Signore (or his Vicar).

⁸⁶² Elliott, "The Last Judgement Scene in Central Italian Painting," 206; Acidini Luchinat, "Il ritorno di Dante," 35; Danti and Felici, "Il ciclo giottesco," 31 (N.B. this text is plagiarized from Acidini Luchinat); Yunn, "The Bargello," 238, 239.

⁸⁶³ An exception is Elliott, who notes that as John is often an intercessor in Last Judgment scenes, his presence here in conjunction with eschatological scenes is apt. Yunn presents it as choosing salvation through Mary Magdalen and remembering duty to state through John the Baptist, but does not address the way in which the left wall, with its division between Mary Magdalen and John the Baptist, and its particular choice of Magdalen scenes, functions in this. Elliott, "The Last Judgement Scene in Central Italian Painting," 206; Yunn, "The Bargello," 239.

ruler and his now pregnant wife went on a pilgrimage. The wife took sick on the journey, gave birth and died, and her husband left her body and the infant on a rocky shore, praying to the Magdalen to protect them. When he returned from his pilgrimage, he found they were alive through Mary Magdalen's intervention, and his wife had been on a spiritual pilgrimage to Jerusalem with the Magdalen as her guide.⁸⁶⁴ In this depiction of this miracle (fig. 5.12), the Magdalen is shown floating up above the woman and her child, although only her arms remain today due to damage. This is the only representation of this event where Mary Magdalen makes an appearance, and is thus the most active depiction of her role in this miracle.

This is a miracle with clear implications for the House of Anjou. As discussed in chapter two, the ruler of Provence, converted to Christianity by Mary Magdalen, was a prototype of Charles II, who discovered the Magdalen's body in Provence. It was his son, Robert, who was the Signore of Florence when the decorative program of this chapel was begun. The miracle, in which the Magdalen first enabled the wife to become pregnant and then kept the ruler's child alive, was one with clear dynastic implications. Through the association between Charles II and the ruler of Provence, it suggested an ancestral relationship between the Magdalen, the *de facto* progenitor of the ruling dynasty, and the current rulers of Provence, the Angevins, who claimed the Magdalen as their patron saint. It is possible, given their clear significance for an Angevin patron, that these scenes were also part of the original iconographic program. However, even if they were later additions, due to the conspicuous role the Angevins played in the original decorative project, this connotation must have been to some degree intentional.

⁸⁶⁴ Jacobus, *Golden Legend*, vol. I, 377-8.

In between the two narrative cycles—the abridged life of the patron saint of the state of Florence and the brief cycle of events from the life of the Angevin patron saint of particular resonance for the relationship between the Magdalen and the House of Anjou—we have the figure of *S. Venanzio* (fig. 5.15c). The inscription has been discussed previously, but I would like to suggest some implications of the image. The commissioner, the Podestà Fidesmino da Varano came from Camerino—a town in the Marche. San Venanzio was the patron saint of Camerino, where he was martyred under Decius in 254 AD as a youth of fifteen.⁸⁶⁵ This image, however, raises the question of why this Podestà included an image of a saint with personal significance to him and his city in the Palace chapel and did so in combination with a lengthy inscription, which is unfortunately mostly illegible.⁸⁶⁶ Not only a statement on the power of the office of Podestà, this *personal* aggrandizement and commemoration of an individual Podestà and his contribution to the decorative program of the chapel is clearly part of the merging of religious and political messages that predominate on the north wall.

Although the principal meaning of the north wall is religio-political, the pairing of John the Baptist with Mary Magdalen also reinforced the penitential message of the

⁸⁶⁵ Francis Merishman, “Sts. Wigand,” in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 15 (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1912). 1 Feb. 2012, <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/15619a.htm>. S. Venanzio or Venantius was protected from fire, smoke, etc., before he was finally beheaded. Yunn suggests that there is another possible identity for the saint, Venantius Honorius Clementianus Fortunatus, a 6th c. poet and bishop of Poitiers, whom she suggests has Angevin connections. Beyond a coincidence of location, however, she does not flesh them out, and provides no evidence of Angevin devotion to the saint. Yunn, “The Bargello,” 242. Given the inscription linking the saint to Fidesmino, who was from Camerino, home of the other S. Venanzio, the suggestion seems improbable.

⁸⁶⁶ San Venanzio does in fact have a small Angevin connection. In 1259, the troops led by Manfred, king of Naples, sacked the city of Camerino and took the relics of S. Venanzio from Camerino to Naples where they were kept at Castel dell’Ovo. In 1268, Charles I returned them to Camerino by order of Pope Clement IV. Cesare Orlandi, *Delle città d’Italia e sue isole adjacenti compendiose notizie sacre, e profane* (Perugia: typ. M. Reginaldi, 1778) tomo 5, 155. Perhaps it seemed fitting to Fidesmino to add an image of his city’s patron saint, whose relics were recently returned to the city by the Angevin King, to a chapel commissioned by the Angevin King.

chapel. Remarkably this has gone almost completely unnoted in previous scholarship.⁸⁶⁷

While a worshipper would have understood John the Baptist as a representative of the state of Florence, he was also, like the Magdalen and the other desert saints, explicitly a penitential figure. John is linked to penitence in numerous gospel sources, largely through his baptismal activities. In the opening of the Gospel of Mark (1.4-5), for example: “John was in the desert baptizing, and preaching the baptism of penance, unto remission of sins. And there went out to him all of the country of Judea, and all they of Jerusalem, and were baptized by him in the river of Jordan, confessing their sins.”⁸⁶⁸ Matthew (3.1-2) recounts the Baptist preaching in the desert of Judea, saying “Do penance: for the kingdom of heaven is at hand.”⁸⁶⁹

While John the Baptist is thus most directly connected to penance through images of him baptizing or depictions of him as a desert saint—neither of which are present in this abbreviated cycle which proceeds immediately from the scene of his birth and naming, to his death in the *Feast of Herod*—John has another connection with penitence as seen in the chapel imagery. At the naming of John, described in Luke (1.67-79), his father, the priest Zachary,⁸⁷⁰ who had been struck dumb for doubting the annunciation of John’s birth, is miraculously able to speak again. He prophesizes, stating that John’s role is to: “give knowledge of salvation to his people, unto the remission of their sins:

⁸⁶⁷ The only exception I have found is Jansen. While she does not state that they are paired in the chapel for this reason, she notes, after saying that images of the Magdalen as hermit recall images of John the Baptist, and citing Roberta Gilchrist, that the idea of “rebirth through baptism and repentance” forged associations between the two saints. Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen*, 134. Of course the pairing on the north wall does not involve a hirsute Magdalen. See also Jansen “Mary Magdalen and the Contemplative Life,” 259-260.

⁸⁶⁸ Mark 1.4-5.

⁸⁶⁹ Matthew 3.6-11 also deals with issues of baptism, confession and penance. Further associations can be seen in Acts 13.24: “John first preaching, before his [Jesus’] coming, the baptism of penance to all the people of Israel.” See also Acts 19.4: “Then Paul said: John baptized the people with the baptism of penance, saying: That they should believe in him who was to come after him, that is to say, in Jesus.”

⁸⁷⁰ Also rendered as Zecharias, Zechariah and Zachariah.

Through the bowels of the mercy of our God, in which the Orient from on high hath visited us: To enlighten them that sit in darkness, and in the shadow of death: to direct our feet into the way of peace.”⁸⁷¹ The *Naming of the Baptist* (fig. 5.13) thus explicitly calls attention to John’s role in bringing people to the path of penitence. It is interesting to note that the Compagnia dei Neri, an organization focused on penitence, which later used the chapel for explicitly penitential purposes, adopted John the Baptist as their patron saint in 1423.⁸⁷²

The most obvious point of comparison between the Magdalen and John the Baptist is, as mentioned previously, that they are both understood as desert saints. However in their brief cycles on the north wall, neither saint is shown in this guise. It is for this reason perhaps that no one has previously proposed an interpretation of John as penitent in concert with the Magdalen. However both saints are engaged in narratives, at least on the lower register (if my interpretation of the Magdalen cycle is correct this story spans both registers), which entail urging the ruler of a city to repent. These narratives thus have both penitential *and* civic meanings, which would have been most appropriate for a chapel used by the Signore and Podestà. These scenes call upon rulers to be wise and penitent, and present contrasting examples. They are not precisely representative of good and bad government, although that is an aspect. More specifically, they provide an example of rulers who follow the path of penitence and are rewarded, as seen in the Magdalen scene, and of those who do not and are punished, as is the outcome of the events depicted in the *Feast of Herod*. This is reinforced by the fact that, as previously mentioned, this version of the Magdalen miracle narrative is unique in that the Magdalen

⁸⁷¹Luke 1.77-79.

⁸⁷² For John the Baptist as patron of the Neri, see Uccelli, *Della Compagnia di S. Maria della Croce*, 19, and Levin, “Studies in the Imagery of Mercy,” vol. I, 307.

herself appears. The vision of Mary Magdalen hovering above the sleeping body of the wife and the child visually illustrated the rewards she brought to the penitent ruler.

The Magdalen Chapel was both built and decorated as part of the Angevin expansion to the Palazzo del Podestà that was carried out between 1316 and 1322. Intended for the use of the Angevin official who resided in the Palazzo, it was a palace chapel, and was not used in this period for the condemned to repent before execution as has been argued previously. Commissioned on or before 22 January 1321, when money was allotted for the undertaking, the Angevin Vicar would have had direct input in the decorative program that was carried out at that time. Although I have argued that the chapel presents not one Magdalen cycle, but two, I would like to conclude by briefly considering the iconography in its entirety. Bracketed on either end by Last Judgment imagery, here separated into *Paradiso* and *Inferno*, the south wall emphasizes penitence while the north wall combines penitential messages with politically resonant ones. Both side walls gain significance in combination with the politicized eschatological iconography of the end walls of this chapel.

It is impossible to now know the original program of the north wall during the Angevin decoration phase of 1321. However, as completed in 1337, this chapel contains one of the largest assemblages of narrative Magdalen scenes in central Italy.⁸⁷³ Of the nine scenes that then existed, it is almost certain that five were taken from the legendary life of the Magdalen. This emphasis on her legendary life, the events occurring in the Angevin territory of Provence, is a potential reflection of the Angevin influence in the iconographical program of the chapel, and a suggestion that the narrative scenes on the north wall may well reflect the original program. It is an ironic twist that it is in Florence,

⁸⁷³ The later cycle in San Domenico, Spoleto contains 11 scenes.

rather than Naples that we have perhaps the most direct Angevin involvement in a Magdalen cycle. All three programs in Naples were commissioned not by the House of Anjou or their official representatives, but instead by noble patrons seeking to illustrate, through commissioning cycles dedicated to the Angevin patron saint, their allegiance to the royal family. This cycle, created under the auspices of the King's Vicar, may thus represent the best example of a truly Angevin cycle of the Life of Mary Magdalen.

CONCLUSION

The Magdalen pictorial cycles of Naples, Assisi and Florence are crucial elements in understanding the meaning and significance of Mary Magdalen for late medieval worshippers. They were an important means by which the Angevins, Dominicans and Franciscans authenticated and promoted the cult of the Magdalen in Italy. Through the scene selection, organization and iconographical choices, these three groups used narrative cycles of the life of the Magdalen to emphasize diverse elements of the Magdalen's *vita* depending on the specific location and on their individual interests. They did not simply reiterate textual material, but created new events and new meanings, not found in the written *vitae*. She was depicted as an exemplar of perfect penitence, as the apostle to the apostles, as the patron saint of the Angevin dynasty and as an example of the *vita mixta*. These roles were not discrete, but overlapped, as did, in many cases, the influence of the key promoters of her cult, the Angevins and the mendicant groups.

Scholarship has overlooked these narrative cycles and their contribution to the making of the Magdalen in the late medieval period. By treating them as a group in my dissertation, I have revealed and elucidated their importance and the interconnected nature of the spread of narrative Magdalen imagery. While each cycle is specific to its individual setting, they form part of a larger phenomenon and can best be understood by examining them within their context at both a micro and macro level. Therefore, in my first chapter I considered the historical context for the late medieval expansion of the Magdalen cult in Italy. I discussed the textual sources, both biblical and legendary, and the Magdalen's particular appeal for the three groups promoting her cult, concluding with

an examination of the earliest pictorial Magdalen cycle, a *vita* panel by the Magdalen Master with an iconic image of the Magdalen flanked by eight scenes of her life.

In my second chapter I treated the three Neapolitan Magdalen pictorial cycles. While none were commissioned by members of the Angevin dynasty, I argued that given the aggressive Angevin use of *beata stirps* and the well-recognized ties between the dynasty and the saint, these chapels commissioned by Neapolitan nobles should be viewed as evidence of Angevin conceptions of Mary Magdalen, as patrons illustrated their close ties to the ruling dynasty through pictorial promotion of the dynasty's patron saint. This is especially true in the final chapel in Naples, in San Pietro a Maiella, which shows a particularly Angevin iconography. In the case of the cycles in San Domenico Maggiore, and most especially in San Lorenzo Maggiore, the input of the Dominican and Franciscan orders housed in these churches also played a role in the development of the pictorial narratives.

In the third and fourth chapters I provided an in-depth analysis of the program of the Magdalen Chapel in the Basilica of St. Francis in Assisi. In the third chapter I discussed the patron, Teobaldo Pontano, a Franciscan bishop of Assisi, and his unusual dual donor portraits located within the chapel, before analyzing the extensive seven-scene Magdalen cycle. The fourth chapter is a consideration of the iconic imagery of the chapel, as well as its stained glass window, which also contains both iconic images and a Magdalen pictorial cycle. I argued that the entire pictorial program, both narrative and iconic, expresses the preeminence of the penitent path and of the *vita mixta* or *vita apostolica* followed by the friars, with the Magdalen depicted as an exemplar of both in the narrative cycle.

In the final chapter the Magdalen Chapel in the Palazzo del Podestà was re-examined. I argued that it was not, as has been previously stated, originally intended for the use of prisoners condemned to death, but was a palace chapel for the use of the Signore of Florence, King Robert, and his vicars. It therefore must be understood within the context of the Angevin promotion of the Magdalen cult, and in fact presents the most direct evidence of a Magdalen pictorial cycle commissioned by an Angevin patron.

In conclusion, I would like to touch briefly on three Magdalen narrative cycles that are beyond the chronological scope of my dissertation. Located in Umbria and Tuscany, these pictorial programs dating from the latter trecento and the first years of the quattrocento illustrate that the use of narrative imagery to present the Magdalen as an exemplar and promote her cult continued after the period under discussion, under the auspices of some of the same groups of advocates, although the Angevins no longer played a role. The Guidalotti-Rinuccini Chapel is located in Santa Croce, the main Franciscan church of Florence. The Oratory of the Magdalen in Cetona is one of three oratories that comprise a Franciscan tertiary establishment, the Hermitage of Belverde. The Magdalen Chapel in San Domenico, Spoleto, is an example of Dominican narrative imagery. While much of the basic iconography remains the same, the cycles of this later period show continued innovation and the same tendency to remodel the life of the Magdalen for the particular context in which it was being presented. In these cycles there is the development of new iconography for established scenes and to visualize scenes that had not previously been part of the pictorial *vita* of the Magdalen.

The Guidalotti-Rinuccini Chapel (1365-70) located in the sacristy of Santa Croce, pairs a Magdalen cycle on the south wall, with a Marian cycle on the north wall. The

ceiling features images of four Old Testament prophets in the vele and a tondo of Christ in the center. The intrados of the main entrance arch displays four Franciscan saints on the lower registers (Sts. Francis, Anthony of Padua, Louis of Toulouse and Bl. Andrew of Anagni), with the bust-length figures of the twelve apostles above.

The Guidalotti-Rinuccini Chapel is the only one of these later chapels to have been the focus of scholarly inquiry. It was the subject of a dissertation by Michelle Erhardt in 2004, which considered it in the context of Franciscan ideology and patronage in the latter part of the trecento.⁸⁷⁴ Other valuable scholarship includes an entry in Joachim Poeschke's compendium of important trecento chapels and several influential treatments by Mina Gregori.⁸⁷⁵ Most recently, it was the subject of an essay on Giovanni da Milano's technical methods.⁸⁷⁶

The Magdalen pictorial cycle consists of five frescos (fig. 6.1). The program is unusual. It concentrates not on the legendary Magdalen, but on the Magdalen as revealed in the Gospels, and is thus in direct contrast with the cycle in the Basilica of St. Francis in Assisi. Reading from the top downwards in three registers, the narrative begins in the lunette with the scene that, as has been established, was the "birth" scene of the Magdalen, *The Supper in the House of the Pharisee*. Unlike most of the later versions of the scene, it reverts to the earlier iconography with the Magdalen kneeling in front of

⁸⁷⁴ Michelle A. Erhardt, "Two Faces of Mary: Franciscan Thought and Post-Plague Patronage in the Trecento Fresco Decoration of the Guidalotti-Rinuccini Chapel of Santa Croce, Florence (Blessed Virgin Mary, Saint Mary Magdalene)" (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2004). See this source for an extensive recent bibliography for the chapel.

⁸⁷⁵ Joachim Poeschke, *Italian Frescoes: The Age of Giotto 1280-1400* (Abbeville Press Publishers: NY; London, 2005), 350-361; Mina Gregori, "Giovanni da Milano" in *Il complesso monumentale di Santa Croce: La basilica, le cappelle, i chiostrì, il museo*, a cura di Umberto Baldini e Bruno Nardini (Firenze: Nardini Ed., Centro Internazionale del Libro, 1983), 161-83; Mina Gregori, *Giovanni da Milano alla Cappella Rinuccini* (Milano: Fabbri, 1965).

⁸⁷⁶ Fabrizio Bandini et al., "Technical similarities between mural and panel paintings by Giovanni da Milano: Guidalotti-Rinuccini chapel, Santa Croce, Florence," in *Studying Old Master Paintings: Technology and Practice: the National Gallery Technical Bulletin 30th Anniversary Conference Postprints*, ed. Marika Spring (London: Archetype Publications, 2011), 21-27.

Christ.⁸⁷⁷ In an innovative twist, the seven devils, which are said to have gone out of the Magdalen in Luke 8.2, are depicted flying above the roof of the house.⁸⁷⁸ Below that, on the left, is an event not depicted in any of the fresco cycles previously considered, *Christ in the House of Mary and Martha*, which established Mary as the exemplar of the contemplative life in contrast to her sister Martha, who represented the active life. Adjacent to this newly developed iconography is a highly unusual depiction of the *Raising of Lazarus*, with Christ standing in the middle of the fresco behind a centrally placed marble tomb, out of which Lazarus, in a white shift rather than winding cloths, climbs, and scurries away to his left. On the lowest register at the left is what is normally identified as the *Noli me tangere*, but in truth it contains both the *Noli me tangere* at the left and the *Marys at the Tomb* on the right. Thus, as in the earlier fresco cycle in Florence in the Palazzo del Podestà, both events are present. Unusually Christ's tomb is not visible, the events instead take place next to each other inside an enclosed garden, a *hortus conclusus*. The final scene is the only one of the five that draws on the Magdalen's legendary *vita*. Instead of depicting her sojourn in the wilderness, so prominently featured in the cycle in the Magdalen Chapel in Assisi, it is a depiction of the *Miracle of Marseilles*, seemingly influenced by the version in the Palazzo del Podestà, which it greatly resembles in mirror image, though without the miraculous apparition of the Magdalen floating above the scene.

Like the Guidalotti-Rinuccini Chapel, the Oratory of the Magdalen in Cetona is a Franciscan monument. Their physical contexts could not be more dissimilar. The former was in the main Franciscan church of Florence, a wealthy, ornate and prestigious

⁸⁷⁷ Seen on the *Magdalen Master Dossal* and in the Magdalen Chapel in San Lorenzo Maggiore.

⁸⁷⁸ This was not seen in any of the previous Magdalen cycles, with the possible exception of the cycle in the Pipino Chapel, San Pietro a Maiella, where there are dark splotches on the much-damaged sky.

structure, while the latter was part of the Hermitage of Belverde, a more humble and isolated Franciscan tertiary establishment.⁸⁷⁹ Still, both were commissioned by wealthy private patrons for the primary use of Franciscan religious, friars in the case of the Guidalotti-Rinuccini Chapel located in the church sacristy, members of the third order in the case of the Oratory of the Magdalen.⁸⁸⁰ Neither was easily accessible to most worshippers.⁸⁸¹

Despite the fact that both programs are in a Franciscan *milieu*, the Magdalen cycle in the Oratory of the Magdalen, dating to around 1400, has no points of commonality with the cycle in the Guidalotti-Rinuccini Chapel commissioned three to four decades earlier. The pictorial program consisting of six frescoes on the gently barrel-vaulted ceiling focuses almost exclusively on the legendary life of the Magdalen, with only one fresco depicting a gospel event.⁸⁸² This is in direct contrast to the situation in the Guidalotti-Rinuccini Chapel where four of the five scenes were biblical in origin. Furthermore the scene that begins the program, while it appears familiar, is in fact new to Magdalen cycles (fig. 6.2). Although this looks like the scene that begins every other Magdalen cycle heretofore discussed, it is not precisely the *Supper in the House of the Pharisee*. The imagery instead fuses this event with the much later *Anointing in Bethany*. The artist indicates the change not only by having additional people at the supper, but

⁸⁷⁹ It is one of three oratories; the other two are dedicated to Christ the Redeemer and to the Blessed Virgin.

⁸⁸⁰ The hermitage was founded around 1367 by Count Niccolò Corbaro (or della Corbara), a noble of Perugia or Orvieto, who was a Franciscan tertiary. For historical information and documents on the founding of the Hermitage, see Carlo Corticelli, ed., *Notizie e Documenti Sulla Storia di Cetona*, con disegni originali del Prof. G. Fumè (Firenze: Società per le Industrie grafiche G. Spinelli & C., 1926), 85-97. See also Enzo Carli, *Gli affreschi di Belvedere* (Firenze: Edam, 1977), 5-6.

⁸⁸¹ The oratory was visited on occasion. Gonzaga, one of Corticelli's sources, reports that Pope Innocent VII, according to his bull leaded and preserved in Ventulonia during the second year of his pontificate, granted seven years of indulgences to all people visiting the Magdalen Oratory on the feast day of the Magdalen and offering alms. Corticelli, *Notizie e Documenti*, 92.

⁸⁸² This fresco program has not been the subject of any serious scholarly inquiry. For a brief analysis, see Carli, *Gli affreschi*, 14-15.

through the use of inscriptions. *Tituli* identify the men sitting at the table with Christ as SIMON LEPROSUS, S. PETRUS APOSTULUS, JUDA SCHARIOTES, and S. JOANNES EVANGELISTA. Christ and Judas have long inscriptions, which appear much like the text bubbles in a modern comic book. Difficult to make out today, taken together they indicate the conflation of the two events.⁸⁸³ Christ states: VADE, IN PACE, NOLI AMPLIUS PECCARE, referring to the events in Luke 7.50. Judas' inscription, however, is from Matthew 26.8-9, the anointing in Bethany: UT QUID PERDITIO HAEC POTUIT ISTUD VENUNDARI MULTO ET DARI PAUPERIBUS.⁸⁸⁴

The absence of the *Noli me tangere*, ubiquitous in Magdalen narrative *vitae* is perhaps explained by the fact that the adjacent oratory is dedicated to Christ the Redeemer and includes a representation of the *Resurrection* quite near to the entrance of the Magdalen Oratory. Still its absence is notable. Also notable is the emphasis on the Magdalen's activity in Marseilles. The second scene is the *Arrival at Marseilles* (fig. 6.3). Too badly damaged to permit much analysis, its presence perhaps reflects the depiction in the Magdalen Chapel in the Basilica of St. Francis, Assisi (fig. 3.16). There, however the event is combined with the *Miracle of Marseilles*. Here it stands alone as a separate event. The *Miracle of Marseilles* is divided into two separate scenes, quite similar in appearance. The first, the *Death of the Ruler's Wife* (fig. 6.4), shows the ruler and his entourage sailing away after leaving his wife and child on an island. The second, the *Miracle of Marseilles* (fig. 6.5) faces this scene across the center of the barrel vault.

⁸⁸³ The inscriptions are transcribed from Corticelli, *Notizie e Documenti*, 103. They can also be found in Carli, *Gli affreschi*, 14. The versions provided by Carli are, however, shorter, perhaps reflecting subsequent losses.

⁸⁸⁴ The first inscription translates, "Go in peace, do not sin anymore," the second, "To what purpose is this waste? For this might have been sold for much, and given to the poor." The image also conflates John 12.1-8, where as here, the Magdalen anoints Christ's feet (not his head as in Matthew 26.6-13) and where it is explicitly Judas who criticizes the Magdalen's actions.

The wife and child now are seated and she greets her returning husband with an inscription (now lost), which read: MADDALENA DA DIO CAVA QUEL FANCIULLO VIVO.⁸⁸⁵ This unusual, three-scene treatment of the Magdalen's life in Marseilles is followed by two scenes depicting her sojourn in the wilderness. *The Magdalen in Her Cave* (fig. 6.6) depicts the oft-seen iconography of a hirsute Magdalen receiving Communion from an angel. The final scene is the less commonly depicted *The Magdalen in Colloquy with the Angels* (fig. 6.7). Although also present in the Magdalen Chapel in Assisi (fig. 3.17), it is only found in combination with the Magdalen receiving Communion from an angel once previously, on the *Magdalen Master Dossal* (fig. 1.8), the first cycle discussed in this study. Atypically this is where the cycle closes. There is no scene of Last Communion, no death of the Magdalen. It ends with the Magdalen in contemplation in the wilderness, communing with God and the angels.

Although completely different in content from the cycle in the Guidalotti-Rinuccini Chapel, the Magdalen cycle in the Oratory of the Magdalen in Cetona is equally idiosyncratic. It presents new events and omits many of the standard ones. Furthermore, through the division of events into multiple scenes, and in the scene choice generally, it heavily emphasizes the Magdalen's activity in Marseilles and the wilderness. The reasons for this presentation of the Magdalen in this location deserve further investigation. Certainly the Magdalen as contemplative, and in particular her period of contemplation in the wilderness, would have had particular appeal in a hermitage given St. Francis' instructions to the friars living in hermitages.⁸⁸⁶

⁸⁸⁵ "The Magdalen, through God, brings back that child alive." Corticelli, *Notizie e Documenti*, 103. The scroll-like text bubble is still visible, but no words can be made out. Carli makes no reference to this inscription.

⁸⁸⁶ Saint Francis, *A Rule for Hermitages*, in *The Saint*, 61. See chapter one for this text.

Despite the fact that the Dominicans featured prominently in the promotion of the Magdalen cult, as we have seen, only one of the cycles commissioned during the period under consideration in this dissertation was in a Dominican *milieu*. Certain aspects of the program in San Domenico Maggiore do relate to its Dominican context, most overtly the presence of Dominican saints in the *Crucifixion* facing the Magdalen cycle. It seems, however, that the impetus for, and iconography of, the chapel's Magdalen program were as much related to Angevin influence and to the church's Angevin-arranged dedication to the Magdalen, as to any Dominican interests. The dearth of Dominican narrative Magdalen imagery during the late medieval period, however, is due to the general lack of interest shown by this Order in the possibilities of narrative imagery, especially when compared to the Franciscans.

The Magdalen Chapel in the Dominican church of San Domenico, originally San Salvatore, in Spoleto may provide the best example of Dominican narrative Magdalen imagery.⁸⁸⁷ Almost completely unstudied, this small chapel at the far right of the main choir is the only part of the church that retains the main part of its early decorative program.⁸⁸⁸ Joanna Cannon's doctoral dissertation provides some information on the church, but nothing on its decorative scheme, as it post-dates her chronological period.⁸⁸⁹ The most recent scholarship on the fresco decoration in San Domenico, Bruno Toscano's analysis of newly rediscovered frescoes elsewhere in the church, says of the Magdalen

⁸⁸⁷ The church is now a Franciscan church, as it was turned over to them in 1916 after the Dominicans left in 1915. Cannon, "Dominican Patronage of the Arts in Central Italy," 441, 444.

⁸⁸⁸ Most of the early decoration of the church is destroyed, although a recent restoration, completed in November 2005, brought other early fresco fragments to light. For these, see Bruno Toscano, "San Domenico a Spoleto" (I) *Spoletium* 45, no. 1 (2008): 6-27; (II) *Spoletium* 46, no. 2 (2009): 4-15. Neither says anything of consequence about the Magdalen Chapel

⁸⁸⁹ Cannon, "Dominican Patronage of the Arts in Central Italy," 441-444. While she mentions 14th-century frescoes in the cappella maggiore and in the Oratory of St. Peter Martyr, and a 13th-century Virgin and Child on the north wall of the nave, she does not mention the Magdalen Chapel decorative program.

Chapel program only that it dates to the late trecento.⁸⁹⁰ It has previously been dated to the first years of the 1400s.⁸⁹¹ The condition of many of the frescoes is not good and the lighting conditions are problematic.⁸⁹²

Although not a terribly large chapel, it contains the largest Magdalen cycle thus far considered. There are eleven scenes of the life of the Magdalen. The altar wall contains an elaborate rendition of the *Crucifixion* (fig. 6.8), and floating lengthwise on the barrel-vaulted ceiling is an enormous image of Christ the Redeemer holding a book, surrounded by angels (fig. 6.9). Flanking the door are two full-length Dominican saints, and two more are in the intrados, with the *Agnus Dei* at the apex (fig. 6.10). The cycle begins above the entrance, with *The Supper in the House of the Pharisee* (fig. 6.10). An inscription originally ran below the image, but much of it, along with a considerable portion of the scene, has been lost due to damage. It is the only scene on this wall and is larger than the others. By positioning the scene in isolation from the rest of the life of the Magdalen, juxtaposing it with the Dominican saints below, and placing it opposite the Crucifixion, this event has been singled out for special emphasis by the Dominicans.

The cycle then proceeds in two registers reading clockwise from the left by the door, first on the upper register and then the lower. The left wall has three scenes in each register, while due to a window in the right wall, it is divided into two scenes per register. The first scene on the left wall is *The Raising of Lazarus* (fig. 6.11), followed by the *Noli me tangere* (fig 6.12). Thus this cycle, unlike the other two later cycles we have looked

⁸⁹⁰ Toscano, "San Domenico a Spoleto (I), 7; (II) 7-9.

⁸⁹¹ Lamberto Gentili, Luciano Giacché, Bernardino Ragni, e Bruno Toscano, *Spoleto*, vol. 2 of *L'Umbria: manuali per il territorio* (Roma: Edindustria, 1978), 170; *Umbria* (T.C.I.), 419; Lorenzo Sinibaldi, *Guida di Spoleto e suoi dintorni* (Spoleto: Bassoni, 1873), 20-21. This last source dated the frescoes based on the Christ in Benediction on the ceiling and some fragments of the wall paintings, which were all that was visible as the rest were then all covered in whitewash.

⁸⁹² They were restored in 1973 by the Amici di Spoleto under the direction of A. Polidori. Gentili, et. al, *Spoleto*, 172.

at, contain all three of the standard biblical events from the Magdalen's life. Given the number of scenes that make up this cycle, however, the majority of the pictorial life comes from the legendary *vita* of the Magdalen. The left wall's top register concludes with the first post-biblical event (fig. 6.13), although whether it is the *Departure for Marseilles*, a completely innovative scene, or the *Arrival at Marseilles*, a rare event, but one depicted also in the cycle in Cetona (fig. 6.3), is unclear.

As in the Oratory of the Magdalen, the Marseilles imagery dominates heavily. In addition to the aforementioned scene, there are five other scenes relating to Marseilles, not including the death of the Magdalen. On the upper register of the right wall another unusual scene, *The Magdalen Preaching*, is on the left (fig. 6.14). As in San Pietro a Maiella (fig. 2.24), the ruler and his wife are amongst the people listening to her message. The *Miracle of Marseilles* is, exceptionally, split into three sections here. It begins with the *Death of the Ruler's Wife* (fig. 6.15) where her body is left on the island, as in the Oratory of the Magdalen (fig. 6.4). It continues on the lower register of the left wall with the *Ruler Greeted in Rome by Peter* (fig. 6.16), only previously seen in San Pietro a Maiella in Naples (fig. 2.26), and concludes with the *Miracle* (fig. 6.17), where unlike in Cetona, the wife is not visible, but the lively child darts under her robes. The saga of the ruler and his wife ends with a new scene. *The Ruler and His Wife Receive Baptism from S. Maximin Assisted by Mary and Martha* (fig. 6.18) was not seen prior to this chapel.

The two scenes located on the lower right wall depict events localized in Dominican sanctuaries. On the left is the *Magdalen in Colloquy with the Angels* (fig. 6.19). Although she is elevated in the air, her cave at La-Sainte-Baume is clearly visible below. The final scene depicts *The Last Communion, Death and Ascension of the*

Magdalen (fig. 6.20 & 6.20a). It is split into two through the fictive architecture. She receives *Viaticum* inside an elaborate church interior, probably intended to evoke the Dominican church of Saint-Maximin. To the right, in a small private chapel, she kneels before an altar, her arms crossed in prayer, accepting death. Above the chapel two angels carry her soul up to heaven.

The *Crucifixion*, seen only in conjunction with one other Magdalen cycle, that in the Brancaccio Chapel in the Dominican church of San Domenico Maggiore in Naples, the *Christ in Benediction* on the ceiling, and the *Agnus Dei*, as well as the presence of the four Dominican saints, point to an effort to make this iconography specific to the location. Not only is this chapel sited in a Dominican church, but it is in one that at the time of the chapel's decoration had a dedication to the Savior. The detailed emphasis on the Magdalen's activities in Provence, which are the subject of eight out of the eleven scenes, also point to the Dominican nature of the iconographical program. While the Angevins had an interest in emphasizing the Magdalen's Provençal connection, so too did the Dominicans, who were the guardians of her relics at the Church of Saint-Maximin, and the place where she retreated into the wilderness, La-Sainte-Baume. As the Order of the Friars Preachers, their choice to include the unusual imagery of the Magdalen preaching is especially germane. This unstudied pictorial program thus suggests fruitful avenues for future investigations into the later development of Dominican narrative imagery to promote the cult of the Magdalen.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

BIBLICAL REFERENCES TO MARY MAGDALEN AND THE WOMEN WHO WERE CONFLATED WITH HER (ALL TEXT TAKEN FROM THE *THE DOUAY-RHEIMS BIBLE*)

REFERENCES TO MARY MAGDALEN (BY NAME) PRIOR TO THE CRUCIFIXION NARRATIVE:

Luke Chapter 8.

1. And it came to pass afterwards, that he travelled through the cities and towns, preaching and evangelizing the kingdom of God; and the twelve with him: 2. And certain women who had been healed of evil spirits and infirmities; Mary who is called Magdalen, out of whom seven devils were gone forth, 3. And Joanna the wife of Chusa, Herod's steward, and Susanna, and many others who ministered unto him of their substance.

REFERENCES TO MARY MAGDALEN'S PRESENCE AT THE CRUCIFIXION AND ENTOMBMENT OF CHRIST:

Matthew, Chapter 27.

55. And there were there many women afar off, who had followed Jesus from Galilee, ministering unto him: 56. Among whom was Mary Magdalen, and Mary the mother of James and Joseph, and the mother of the sons of Zebedee. 57. And when it was evening, there came a certain rich man of Arimathea, named Joseph, who also himself was a disciple of Jesus. 58. He went to Pilate, and asked the body of Jesus. Then Pilate commanded that the body should be delivered. 59. And Joseph taking the body, wrapped it up in a clean linen cloth. 60. And laid it in his own new monument, which he had

hewed out in a rock. And he rolled a great stone to the door of the monument, and went his way. 61. And there was there Mary Magdalen, and the other Mary sitting over against the sepulchre

Mark, Chapter 15

40. And there were also women looking on afar off: among whom was Mary Magdalen, and Mary the mother of James the less and of Joseph, and Salome: 41. Who also when he was in Galilee followed him, and ministered to him, and many other women that came up with him to Jerusalem. 42. And when evening was now come, (because it was the Parasceve, that is, the day before the sabbath,) 43. Joseph of Arimathea, a noble counsellor, who was also himself looking for the kingdom of God, came and went in boldly to Pilate, and begged the body of Jesus...

46. And Joseph buying fine linen, and taking him down, wrapped him up in the fine linen, and laid him in a sepulchre which was hewed out of a rock. And he rolled a stone to the door of the sepulchre. 47. And Mary Magdalen, and Mary the mother of Joseph, beheld where he was laid.

John, Chapter 19

25. Now there stood by the cross of Jesus, his mother, and his mother's sister, Mary of Cleophas, and Mary Magdalen.

REFERENCES TO MARY MAGDALEN IN THE RESURRECTION NARRATIVE:

Matthew, Chapter 28

1. And in the end of the sabbath, when it began to dawn towards the first day of the week, came Mary Magdalen and the other Mary, to see the sepulchre. 2. And behold there was a great earthquake. For an angel of the Lord descended from heaven, and coming, rolled back the stone, and sat upon it. 3. And his countenance was as lightning, and his raiment as snow. 4. And for fear of him, the guards were struck with terror, and became as dead men. 5. And the angel answering, said to the women: Fear not you; for I know that you seek Jesus who was crucified. 6. He is not here, for he is risen, as he said. Come, and see the place where the Lord was laid. 7. And going quickly, tell ye his disciples that he is risen: and behold he will go before you into Galilee; there you shall see him. Lo, I have foretold it to you. 8. And they went out quickly from the sepulchre with fear and great joy, running to tell his disciples. 9. And behold Jesus met them, saying: All hail. But they came up and took hold of his feet, and adored him. 10. Then Jesus said to them: Fear not. Go, tell my brethren that they go into Galilee, there they shall see me.

Mark, Chapter 16

1. And when the sabbath was past, Mary Magdalen, and Mary the mother of James, and Salome, bought sweet spices, that coming, they might anoint Jesus. 2. And very early in the morning, the first day of the week, they come to the sepulchre, the sun being now risen. 3. And they said one to another: Who shall roll us back the stone from the door of the sepulchre? 4. And looking, they saw the stone rolled back. For it was very

great. 5. And entering into the sepulchre, they saw a young man sitting on the right side, clothed with a white robe: and they were astonished. 6. Who saith to them: Be not affrighted; you seek Jesus of Nazareth, who was crucified: he is risen, he is not here, behold the place where they laid him. 7. But go, tell his disciples and Peter that he goeth before you into Galilee; there you shall see him, as he told you. 8. But they going out, fled from the sepulchre. For a trembling and fear had seized them: and they said nothing to any man; for they were afraid. 9. But he rising early the first day of the week, appeared first to Mary Magdalen, out of whom he had cast seven devils. 10. She went and told them that had been with him, who were mourning and weeping. 11. And they hearing that he was alive, and had been seen by her, did not believe.

Luke, Chapter 24

1. And on the first day of the week, very early in the morning, they came to the sepulchre, bringing the spices which they had prepared. 2. And they found the stone rolled back from the sepulchre. 3. And going in, they found not the body of the Lord Jesus. 4. And it came to pass, as they were astonished in their mind at this, behold, two men stood by them, in shining apparel. 5. And as they were afraid, and bowed down their countenance towards the ground, they said unto them: Why seek you the living with the dead?

6. He is not here, but is risen. Remember how he spoke unto you, when he was in Galilee, 7. Saying: The Son of man must be delivered into the hands of sinful men, and be crucified, and the third day rise again. 8. And they remembered his words. 9. And going back from the sepulchre, they told all these things to the eleven, and to all the rest.

10. And it was Mary Magdalen, and Joanna, and Mary of James, and the other women that were with them, who told these things to the apostles. 11. And these words seemed to them as idle tales; and they did not believe them.

John, Chapter 20

1. And on the first day of the week, Mary Magdalen cometh early, when it was yet dark, unto the sepulchre; and she saw the stone taken away from the sepulchre. 2. She ran, therefore, and cometh to Simon Peter, and to the other disciple whom Jesus loved, and saith to them: They have taken away the Lord out of the sepulchre, and we know not where they have laid him. 3. Peter therefore went out, and that other disciple, and they came to the sepulchre. 4. And they both ran together, and that other disciple did outrun Peter, and came first to the sepulchre. 5. And when he stooped down, he saw the linen cloths lying; but yet he went not in. 6. Then cometh Simon Peter, following him, and went into the sepulchre, and saw the linen cloths lying, 7. And the napkin that had been about his head, not lying with the linen cloths, but apart, wrapped up into one place. 8. Then that other disciple also went in, who came first to the sepulchre: and he saw, and believed. 9. For as yet they knew not the scripture, that he must rise again from the dead. 10. The disciples therefore departed again to their home.

11. But Mary stood at the sepulchre without, weeping. Now as she was weeping, she stooped down, and looked into the sepulchre, 12. And she saw two angels in white, sitting, one at the head, and one at the feet, where the body of Jesus had been laid. 13. They say to her: Woman, why weepest thou? She saith to them: Because they have taken away my Lord; and I know not where they have laid him. 14. When she had thus said,

she turned herself back, and saw Jesus standing; and she knew not that it was Jesus. 15. Jesus saith to her: Woman, why weepest thou? whom seekest thou? She, thinking it was the gardener, saith to him: Sir, if thou hast taken him hence, tell me where thou hast laid him, and I will take him away. 16. Jesus saith to her: Mary. She turning, saith to him: Rabboni (which is to say, Master). 17. Jesus saith to her: Do not touch me, for I am not yet ascended to my Father. But go to my brethren, and say to them: I ascend to my Father and to your Father, to my God and your God. 18. Mary Magdalen cometh, and telleth the disciples: I have seen the Lord, and these things he said to me.

REFERENCES TO THE UNNAMED SINNER AT THE HOUSE OF THE PHARISEE ASSOCIATED WITH MARY MAGDALEN:

Luke, Chapter 7

36. And one of the Pharisees desired him to eat with him. And he went into the house of the Pharisee, and sat down to meat. 37. And behold a woman that was in the city, a sinner, when she knew that he sat at meat in the Pharisee's house, brought an alabaster box of ointment; 38. And standing behind at his feet, she began to wash his feet, with tears, and wiped them with the hairs of her head, and kissed his feet, and anointed them with the ointment. 39. And the Pharisee, who had invited him, seeing it, spoke within himself, saying: This man, if he were a prophet, would know surely who and what manner of woman this is that toucheth him, that she is a sinner. 40. And Jesus answering, said to him: Simon, I have somewhat to say to thee. But he said: Master, say it. 41. A certain creditor had two debtors, the one who owed five hundred pence, and the other fifty. 42. And whereas they had not wherewith to pay, he forgave them both. Which

therefore of the two loveth him most? 43. Simon answering, said: I suppose that he to whom he forgave most. And he said to him: Thou hast judged rightly. 44. And turning to the woman, he said unto Simon: Dost thou see this woman? I entered into thy house, thou gavest me no water for my feet; but she with tears hath washed my feet, and with her hairs hath wiped them. 45. Thou gavest me no kiss; but she, since she came in, hath not ceased to kiss my feet. 46. My head with oil thou didst not anoint; but she with ointment hath anointed my feet. 47. Wherefore I say to thee: Many sins are forgiven her, because she hath loved much. But to whom less is forgiven, he loveth less. 48. And he said to her: Thy sins are forgiven thee. 49. And they that sat at meat with him began to say within themselves: Who is this that forgiveth sins also? 50. And he said to the woman: Thy faith hath made thee safe, go in peace.

REFERENCES TO MARY OF BETHANY OR MARY, SISTER OF MARTHA AND LAZARUS:

Luke, Chapter 10 (Christ in the House of Martha/Mary Chooses the Best Part)

38. Now it came to pass as they went, that he entered into a certain town: and a certain woman named Martha, received him into her house. 39. And she had a sister called Mary, who sitting also at the Lord's feet, heard his word. 40. But Martha was busy about much serving. Who stood and said: Lord, hast thou no care that my sister hath left me alone to serve? speak to her therefore, that she help me. 41. And the Lord answering, said to her: Martha, Martha, thou art careful, and art troubled about many things: 42. But one thing is necessary. Mary hath chosen the best part, which shall not be taken away from her.

John, Chapter 11 (The Raising of Lazarus)

1. Now there was a certain man sick, named Lazarus, of Bethania, of the town of Mary and Martha her sister. 2. (And Mary was she that anointed the Lord with ointment, and wiped his feet with her hair: whose brother Lazarus was sick.) 3. His sisters therefore sent to him, saying: Lord, behold, he whom thou lovest is sick. 4. And Jesus hearing it, said to them: This sickness is not unto death, but for the glory of God: that the Son of God may be glorified by it. 5. Now Jesus loved Martha, and her sister Mary, and Lazarus. 6. When he had heard therefore that he was sick, he still remained in the same place two days. 7. Then after that, he said to his disciples: Let us go into Judea again. 8. The disciples say to him: Rabbi, the Jews but now sought to stone thee: and goest thou thither again? 9. Jesus answered: Are there not twelve hours of the day? If a man walk in the day, he stumbleth not, because he seeth the light of this world: 10. But if he walk in the night, he stumbleth, because the light is not in him.

11. These things he said; and after that he said to them: Lazarus our friend sleepeth; but I go that I may awake him out of sleep. 12. His disciples therefore said: Lord, if he sleep, he shall do well. 13. But Jesus spoke of his death; and they thought that he spoke of the repose of sleep. 14. Then therefore Jesus said to them plainly: Lazarus is dead. 15. And I am glad, for your sakes, that I was not there, that you may believe: but let us go to him.

16. Thomas therefore, who is called Didymus, said to his fellow disciples: Let us also go, that we may die with him. 17. Jesus therefore came, and found that he had been four days already in the grave. 18. (Now Bethania was near Jerusalem, about fifteen furlongs off.) 19. And many of the Jews were come to Martha and Mary, to comfort them concerning

their brother. 20. Martha therefore, as soon as she heard that Jesus had come, went to meet him: but Mary sat at home.

21. Martha therefore said to Jesus: Lord, if thou hadst been here, my brother had not died. 22. But now also I know that whatsoever thou wilt ask of God, God will give it thee. 23. Jesus saith to her: Thy brother shall rise again. 24. Martha saith to him: I know that he shall rise again, in the resurrection at the last day. 25. Jesus said to her: I am the resurrection and the life: he that believeth in me, although he be dead, shall live:

26. And every one that liveth, and believeth in me, shall not die for ever. Believest thou this? 27. She saith to him: Yea, Lord, I have believed that thou art Christ the Son of the living God, who art come into this world. 28. And when she had said these things, she went, and called her sister Mary secretly, saying: The master is come, and calleth for thee. 29. She, as soon as she heard this, riseth quickly, and cometh to him. 30. For Jesus was not yet come into the town: but he was still in that place where Martha had met him.

31. The Jews therefore, who were with her in the house, and comforted her, when they saw Mary that she rose up speedily and went out, followed her, saying: She goeth to the grave to weep there. 32. When Mary therefore was come where Jesus was, seeing him, she fell down at his feet, and saith to him: Lord, if thou hadst been here, my brother had not died. 33. Jesus, therefore, when he saw her weeping, and the Jews that were come with her, weeping, groaned in the spirit, and troubled himself, 34. And said: Where have you laid him? They say to him: Lord, come and see. 35. And Jesus wept.

36. The Jews therefore said: Behold how he loved him. 37. But some of them said: Could not he that opened the eyes of the man born blind, have caused that this man should not die? 38. Jesus therefore again groaning in himself, cometh to the sepulchre.

Now it was a cave; and a stone was laid over it. 39. Jesus saith: Take away the stone.

Martha, the sister of him that was dead, saith to him: Lord, by this time he stinketh, for he is now of four days. 40. Jesus saith to her: Did not I say to thee, that if thou believe, thou shalt see the glory of God?

41. They took therefore the stone away. And Jesus lifting up his eyes said: Father, I give thee thanks that thou hast heard me. 42. And I knew that thou hearest me always; but because of the people who stand about have I said it, that they may believe that thou hast sent me. 43. When he had said these things, he cried with a loud voice: Lazarus, come forth. 44. And presently he that had been dead came forth, bound feet and hands with winding bands; and his face was bound about with a napkin. Jesus said to them: Loose him, and let him go. 45. Many therefore of the Jews, who were come to Mary and Martha, and had seen the things that Jesus did, believed in him.

John, Chapter 12 (The Anointing at Bethany)

1. Jesus therefore, six days before the pasch, came to Bethania, where Lazarus had been dead, whom Jesus raised to life. 2. And they made him a supper there: and Martha served: but Lazarus was one of them that were at table with him. 3. Mary therefore took a pound of ointment of right spikenard, of great price, and anointed the feet of Jesus, and wiped his feet with her hair; and the house was filled with the odour of the ointment. 4. Then one of his disciples, Judas Iscariot, he that was about to betray him, said: 5. Why was not this ointment sold for three hundred pence, and given to the poor?

6. Now he said this, not because he cared for the poor; but because he was a thief, and having the purse, carried the things that were put therein. 7. Jesus therefore said: Let

her alone, that she may keep it against the day of my burial. 8. For the poor you have always with you; but me you have not always.

REFERENCES TO THE UNNAMED WOMAN WHO ANOINTED CHRIST AT BETHANY:

Matthew, Chapter 26

6. And when Jesus was in Bethania [Bethany], in the house of Simon the leper, 7. There came to him a woman having an alabaster box of precious ointment, and poured it on his head as he was at table. 8. And the disciples seeing it, had indignation, saying: To what purpose is this waste? 9. For this might have been sold for much, and given to the poor. 10. And Jesus knowing it, said to them: Why do you trouble this woman? for she hath wrought a good work upon me. 11. For the poor you have always with you: but me you have not always. 12. For she in pouring this ointment upon my body, hath done it for my burial. 13. Amen I say to you, wheresoever this gospel shall be preached in the whole world, that also which she hath done, shall be told for a memory of her.

Mark, Chapter 14

3. And when he was in Bethania [Bethany], in the house of Simon the leper, and was at meat, there came a woman having an alabaster box of ointment of precious spikenard: and breaking the alabaster box, she poured it out upon his head. 4. Now there were some that had indignation within themselves, and said: Why was this waste of the ointment made? 5. For this ointment might have been sold for more than three hundred pence, and given to the poor. And they murmured against her. 6. But Jesus said: Let her alone, why do you molest her? She hath wrought a good work upon me. 7. For the poor

you have always with you: and whensoever you will, you may do them good: but me you have not always. 8. She hath done what she could: she is come beforehand to anoint my body for burial. 9. Amen, I say to you, wheresoever this gospel shall be preached in the whole world, that also which she hath done, shall be told for a memorial of her.

APPENDIX 2**Reg. Ang. 1307, n. 167, f. 245****DOCUMENT FROM CHARLES II REGARDING PIETRO CAVALLINI,****10 JUNE 1308**

tenore presentium notum facimus universis quod ad requisitionem nostram Magister Petrus Cavallinus de Roma pictor ad partes istas accesit nobis de dicto suo ministerio serviturus, convento ei per nostram curiam quod pro gagiis et expensis suis cuncie auri triginta quolibet anno, quosque in dictis nostris servitiis de nostro bene placito fiunt, per nostram curiam de fiscali pecunia exolvetur, quodque ultra id eodem tempore conducetur pro eo per curiam ipsam in civitate Neapolis sub pensione unciarum duarum per curiam exolvenda et assignabitur eo domus una, in qua ipse cum sua familia possit habiliter commorari...Datum Neapoli in camera nostra anno domini MCCCVIII, de X iunii sexte indictionis.

Transcribed from: Ferdinando Bologna, *I pittori alla corte angioina di Napoli* (Roma: U. Bozzi, 1969), 115.

APPENDIX 3

**PAPAL BULL OF JOHN XXII, 9 JANUARY 1330,
ON THE BEQUEST OF BISHOP TEOBALDO PONTANO OF ASSISI**

Originally printed as Bulle Johannes XXII über die Hinterlassenschaft des Bischofs Teobaldo Pontano von Assisi. 9 January 1330 in Beda Kleinschmidt, *Die basilika San Francesco in Assisi* (Berlin: Verlag für kunstwissenschaft, 1915-1928), vol. 3, 7.¹

2328. Rectori et Thesaurario ducatus Spoletan. Accepimus nuper quod bone memorie Theobaldus Episcopus Assisinas dum adhuc viveret in sua bona memoria constitutus de bonis mobilibus que habebat disponens quedam suo futuro successori et aliqua dilectis filiis...Conventui fratrum Minorum Assisinat., nec non Capelle, quam in ecclesia dictorum fratrum, ubi suam sepulturam elegit, construi fecerat, indumenta et paramenta divino cultui deputata et librum, qui missale nuncupatur, ac insuper duo bassilia argentea pro usu altaris et aliqua ornamenta cum reliquiis Sacristie dictorum fratrum ac etiam ducentas libras pro quodam opere complendo in loco S. Marie de Angelis, quosdam etiam libros dilecto filio Bernardo de Bictertio ordinis dictorum fratrum Vicario provincie S. Francisci ac mille libras Conventui fratrum prelibati Ordinis Tudertin legavit darique disposuit et mandavit. Cum autem vos vel alter vestrum pretestu litterarumstrarum vobis super hoc directarum omnia bona mobilia dicti Episcopi ad manum nostre Camere dicamini recepissee, Nos volentes agere misericorditer in hac parte discretioni vestre per

¹ Kleinschmidt gives this document as Reg. Vat. 115, pars II, fol. 650. Both Schwartz and Hueck state that this is not the correct designation. Schwartz states that it is in fact Reg. Vat. 115, fol 65v, 1328; while Hueck states that it is Reg. Vat. 115 fol. 269v ep. 1328. Schwartz, "Fresco Decoration," 133; Hueck, "Ein Dokument zur Magdalenenkapelle," 195 n2, n3.

apostolica scripta mandamus, quatenus si de huiusmodi dispositione vobis constiterit omnia predicta expressa superius preter dictas mille libras, quas per vos volumus donec aliud super hoc ordinaverimus, retineri, personis et locis, quibus ea danda disposuit idem Episcopus, restituere procuretis, nos inde reddituri nichilominus certiores. Datum V Sd. Januarii, anno quatuordecimo.

APPENDIX 4

DOCUMENTATION REGARDING GIOTTO'S PRESENCE IN ASSISI

4 JANUARY 1309

In 1973 this document was discovered at Bevagna, Biblioteca Comunale (Archivio storico comunale). It is part of the Protocollo di Giovanni Alberti, 1303-1317. It has been published by Valentine Martinelli, "Un documento per Giotto ad Assisi," *Storia dell'arte* 19 (1973), 193, 202; Cesare Cenci, *Documentazione di vita assisana, 1300-1530* (Grottaferrata: Editiones Collegii S. Bonaventurae ad Claras Aquas, 1974) vol. I, 51 and Schwartz, "Fresco Decoration," 152, n20.¹

FRAGMENT E, C. 13 v.

Restitutio Palmerini et Iocti

Die .IIII. mensis ianuarii, ante domum mei notarii subscripti, Lippo Tomassutii et Finutio Gilioli testibus.

Iolus Iuntarelli per se et suos heredes fecit finem et refutationem etc. Palmerino Guidi stipulante pro se et Iocto Bondoni de Florentia de. L. libris denariorum cortonensium quos sibi dare et solvere tenebatur causa mutui, ut patet manu Bene Passari notarii, quod instrumentum fecit cassum etc., promittens etc. Et hoc fecit quia fuit confessus sibi esse plenarie satisfactum. Renuntians etc. Et hoc promisit adtendere et observare et dampna et expensas reficere et non contrafacere, sub pena dupli etc.

¹ There are slight variations in each of the transcriptions, primarily regarding punctuation, even between the two versions found in Martinelli. I have followed the second transcription in Martinelli.

APPENDIX 5

PAPAL BULL OF JOHN XXII, 8 JUNE 1332,

ON THE PAYMENTS FOR THE CHAPEL OF BISHOP TEOBALDO PONTANO OF ASSISI

Originally published as Bulle Johannes XXII. from 8 June 1332

(Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Reg. Vat. 116, fol. 374 r., v., ep. 1719)

in Irene Hueck, "Ein Dokument zur Magdalenenkapelle der Franziskuskirche von

Assisi," in *Scritti di storia dell'arte in onore di Roberto Salvini*

(Firenze: Sansoni, 1984), 196.

Rectori et Thesaurario ducatus nostri spoletani.

Significavit nobis dilectus filius Geraldus Otonis ordinis fratrum minorum generalis minister, quod bone memorie Theobaldus Episcopus Assisin(at)is per longum tempus ante mortem suam rogavit dilectos filios Conventu(u)m fratrum ordinis minorum Assisinat(es) quod in ecclesia sua construi facerent unam Capellam pro ipso, promittens eisdem se quicquid pro constructione Capelle huiusmodi expenderent soluturum; cuius voto annuentes Conventus predicti dictam Capellam fecerunt in eadem ecclesia construi, sexcentos florenos auri circa pro constructione huiusmodi expendendo; supradictus vero Episcopus predictae Capelle unum par vestimentorum, unum calicem, duo bassilia argentea et unum missale duxit, licet realiter tunc non assignaverit concedenda. Et nichilominus de dictis sexcentis florenis solvit centum florenos auri fratribus memoratis.

Postmodum autem longa infirmitate de qua finaliter decessit detentus, Trecentos quinquaginta florenos auri pro Capelle predictae fabrica eisdem assignavit conventui, quibus ante infirmitatem predictam dicta paramenta pro eadem Capella tradiderat, et quadraginta sex florenos auri pro cooprenda ecclesia beate Marie de portiuncula Assisinat(e), necnon unum lectum et decem tobalias ad opus eorumdem Conventus duxerat pietatis intuitu largienda. Sane postmodum supradicto Episcopo, sicut Domino placuit, viam universe carnis ingresso, vos vel alter vestrum pretextu quarumdam litterarum nostrarum super exigendis bonis mobilibus eiusdem Episcopi dispositioni vestre reservatis vobis seu vestrum alteri directarum, ab eisdem Conventu exigentes omnia supradicta, quia dicte pecunie in usus dictorum Conventus erant expense, vos alia bona predicta recipientes ab ipsis, adeo artastis eosdem, quod dare vobis unum mercatorem, qui premissa se habere seu tenere a vobis in deposito confessus extitit fuerunt de necessitate compulsi. Cumque vos mercatorem ipsum propterea, sicut ex parte prefati ministri asseritur, vitamini multipliciter molestare, discretioni vestre per apostolica scripta mandamus quatinus, si est ita, a molestatione huiusmodi penitus desistentes, et bona seu paramenta huiusmodi per vos capta restituentes Conventui predictis, prefatum mercatorem ab obligatione dicti depositi quod minime recepisse dicitur liberetis, attentius nichilominus provisuri, quod fraus vel dolus quomodolibet non interveniat in hac parte. Datum vj Idus Junij anno xvj.

APPENDIX 6

**DOCUMENTS OF 22 JANUARY 1321,
NOTING PAYMENT FOR PAINTED DECORATION OF THE MAGDALEN CHAPEL,
PALAZZO DEL PODESTÀ, FIRENZE. ARCHIVIO DI STATO DI FIRENZE.**

A: ASF *Provvisioni del Comune*, Reg. 17, f.56v; 22 gennaio 1320 (1321):

Item possint eis que liceat iam dicti priores et vexillifer providere et de pecunia ipsius communis exacta et exigenda et percepta et percipienda ex ludis vetitis et inventione armorum vetitorum et itu de nocte post tertium sonum campane contra formam statuti dari et assignari et solvi facere per camerarium camere communis Florentie fratribus religiosis pro ipso communi deputatis super constructione et labore pallatii communis Florentie in quo moratur dominus vicarius regius usque in quantitate centum florenorum auri pro ipsis expendendis, solvendis et convertendis per ipsos fratres religiosos in constructione et laborerio pallatii ac etiam in picturis capelle ipsius pallatii et in leteriis dischis fenestris et aliis quibuscumque magisteriis et laboriis opportunis in dicto pallatio.

B: ASF *Capitoli del Comune*, Reg. 23, f.100v; 22 gennaio 1320 (1321)¹

Item possint eis que liceat iam dicti priores et vexillifer providere et de pecunia communis ipsius exacta et exigenda et percepta et percipienda ex ludis vetitis et

¹ Misdated in Archivio records and all publications as 22 gennaio 1321 (1322), however the correct date can be found on the previous folio, f.100r: In dei nomine amen anno sue salutifere incarnationis Millesimo trecentesimo vigesimo, indictione quarta, die vigesimo secundo intrante mensis ianuarii.

inventione armorum vetitorum et itu de nocte post tertium sonum campane contra formam
statuti dari et assignari et solvi facere per camerarium camere communis Florentie
fratribus religiosis pro ipso communi deputatis super constructione et labore pallatii
communis Florentie in quo moratur dominus vicarius regius usque in quantitate centum
florenorum auri pro ipsis expendendis, solvendis et convertendis per ipsos fratres
religiosos in constructione et laborerio pallatii ac etiam in picturis capelle ipsius pallatii et
in leteriis dischis fenestris et aliis quibuscumque magisteriis et laboriis opportunis in
dicto pallatio.

Transcription assistance from Elena Brizio, Vice Director, Medici Archive Project

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ILLUSTRATIONS
CHAPTER 1

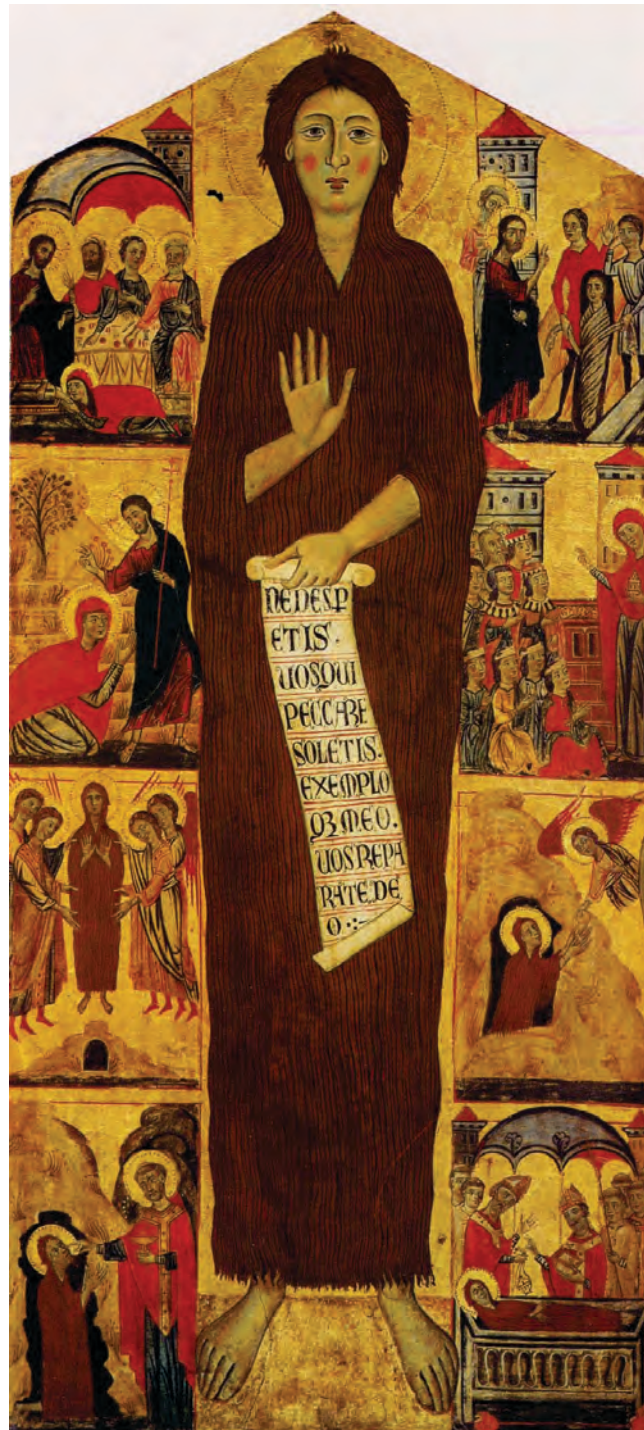


Figure 1.1: *Mary Magdalen and Eight Scenes From Her Life (Magdalen Master Dossal)*,
Magdalen Master, 1280-1285, tempera on panel.
Accademia Gallery (n. 8466), Florence.



Figure 1.2: *Pisa Polyptych* (*Sta. Caterina Polyptych*), Simone Martini, 1319, tempera on panel. Originally Sta. Caterina, Pisa, now in the Museo Nazionale di San Matteo, Pisa.



Figure 1.3: *Life of Mary Magdalen*, Workshop of the Master of the Madonna di Oropa, ca. 1295-1300, sculpted and painted panel. Museo Civico d'Arte Antica, Torino.



Figure 1.4: *Supper in the House of the Pharisee*,
Detail, *Mary Magdalen and Eight Scenes From Her Life* (Magdalen Master Dossal),
Magdalen Master, 1280-1285, tempera on panel. Accademia Gallery, Florence.

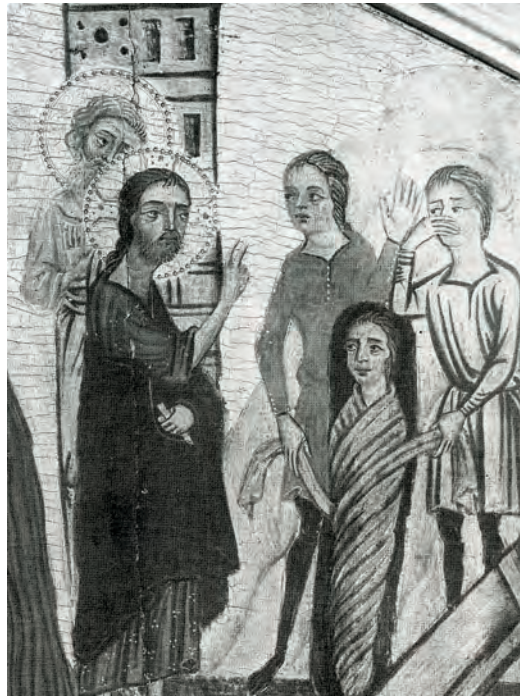


Figure 1.5: *Raising of Lazarus*,
Detail, *Mary Magdalen and Eight Scenes From Her Life* (*Magdalen Master Dossal*),
Magdalen Master, 1280-1285, tempera on panel. Accademia Gallery, Florence.



Figure 1.6: *Noli me tangere*,
Detail, *Mary Magdalen and Eight Scenes From Her Life* (Magdalen Master Dossal),
Magdalen Master, 1280-1285, tempera on panel. Accademia Gallery, Florence.



Figure 1.7: *Mary Magdalen Preaching at Marseilles*,
Detail, *Mary Magdalen and Eight Scenes From Her Life* (Magdalen Master Dossal),
Magdalen Master, 1280-1285, tempera on panel. Accademia Gallery, Florence.



Figure 1.8: *The Colloquy with the Angels*,
Detail, *Mary Magdalen and Eight Scenes From Her Life* (Magdalen Master Dossal),
Magdalen Master, 1280-1285, tempera on panel. Accademia Gallery, Florence.



Figure 1.9: *The Magdalen Receiving the Host From an Angel*, Detail, *Mary Magdalen and Eight Scenes From Her Life (Magdalen Master Dossal)*, Magdalen Master, 1280-1285, tempera on panel. Accademia Gallery, Florence.



Figure 1.10: *The Last Communion with St. Maximin*,
Detail, *Mary Magdalen and Eight Scenes From Her Life* (Magdalen Master Dossal),
Magdalen Master, 1280-1285, tempera on panel. Accademia Gallery, Florence.



Figure 1.11: *The Burial of Mary Magdalen*,
Detail, *Mary Magdalen and Eight Scenes From Her Life* (Magdalen Master Dossal),
Magdalen Master, 1280-1285, tempera on panel. Accademia Gallery, Florence.

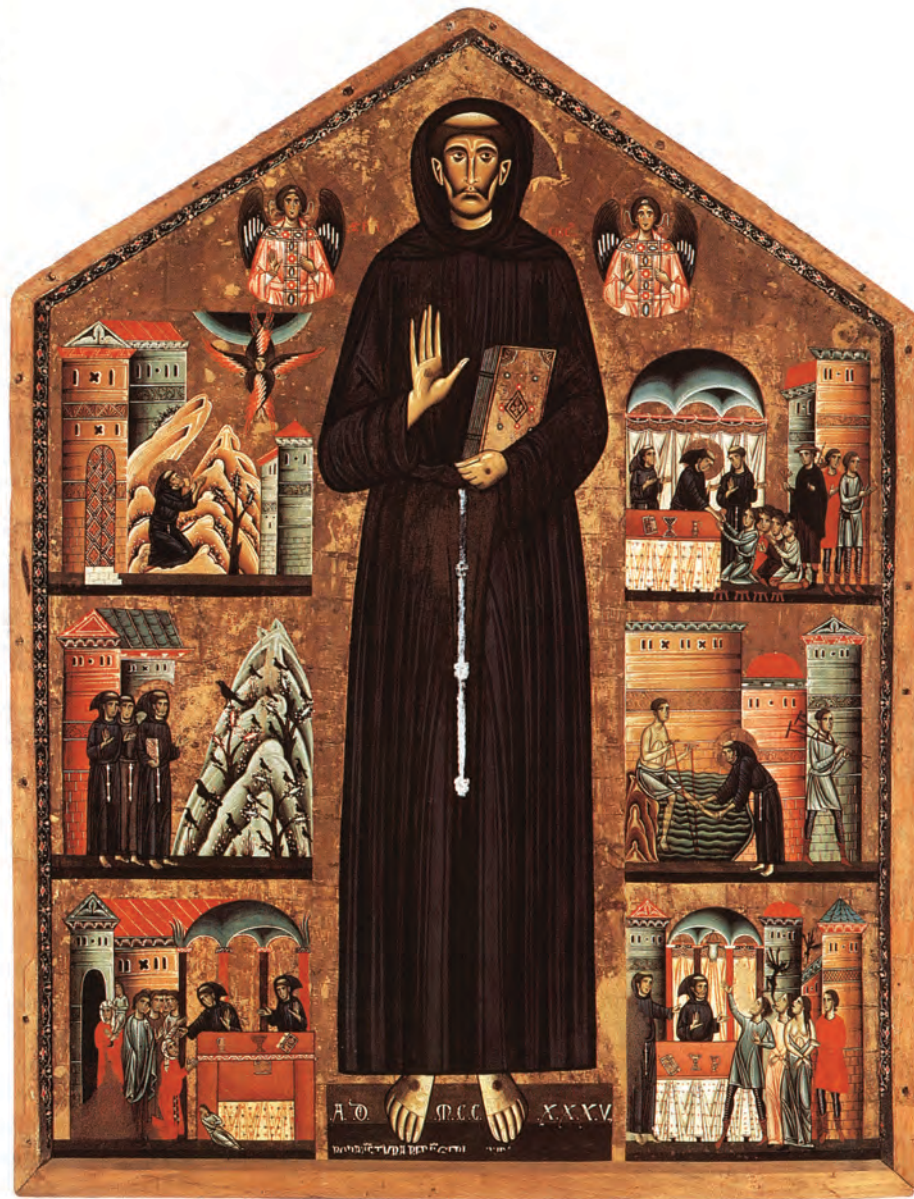


Figure 1.12: *Altarpiece of St Francis (Pescia St. Francis Panel)*, Bonaventura Berlinghieri, 1235, tempera on panel, San Francesco, Pescia.



Figure 1.13: *St. Clare with Eight Scenes from Her Life*, Umbrian artist, 1283, tempera on panel, Santa Chiara, Assisi.



Figure 1.14: *Beata Margherita of Cortona (Margaret of Cortona) with Eight Scenes from Her Life*, Tuscan or Umbrian artist, ca. 1300, tempera on panel, Museo Diocesano, Cortona.



Figure 1.15: *St. Catherine and Eight Scenes from Her Life*, mid-13th century(?), tempera on panel. Originally San Domenico(?), Pisa, now in the Museo Nazionale di San Matteo, Pisa.



Figure 1.16: *St. Francis and Six Scenes from His Life*,
Pisan Painter (Follower of Giunta Pisano), ca. 1255, tempera on panel.
Originally San Francesco, Pisa, now in the Museo Nazionale di San Matteo, Pisa.



Figure 1.17: *Mary Magdalen*.
Detail, *Mary Magdalen and Eight Scenes From Her Life (Magdalen Master Dossal)*,
Magdalen Master, 1280-1285, tempera on panel. Accademia Gallery, Florence.



Figure 1.17a: *Scroll with inscription*.
Detail, *Mary Magdalen and Eight Scenes From Her Life (Magdalen Master Dossal)*,
Magdalen Master, 1280-1285, tempera on panel. Accademia Gallery, Florence.



Figure 1.18: *Polyptych of the Crucifixion with Mourners and Mary Magdalen at the Foot of the Cross, S. Mary Magdalen, S. Michael Archangel, S. Julian the Hospitaler, S. Martha*, Bernardo Daddi (Crucifixion) and Puccio di Simone, ca.1340-1345. Accademia Gallery (Inv. 1890, n. 433/6140), Florence.



Figure 1.18a: Detail, Mary Magdalen with Scroll. *Polyptych of the Crucifixion with Mourners and Mary Magdalen at the Foot of the Cross*, S. Mary Magdalen, S. Michael Archangel, S. Julian the Hospitaler, S. Martha, Bernardo Daddi (Crucifixion) and Puccio di Simone, ca.1340-1345. Accademia Gallery, Florence.



Figure 1.19: Detail, Right Panel of Triptych of *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints Catherine, Francis, Zanobius, and Mary Magdalen*, Lippo D'Andrea, 1430-40. Originally from Santa Maria degli Angiolini Conservatory, Florence, now in the Accademia Gallery (Inv. Depositi n. 18), Florence.



Figure 1.19a: Detail, Mary Magdalen with Scroll. *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints Catherine, Francis, Zanobius, and Mary Magdalen*, Lippo D'Andrea, 1430-40. Originally from Santa Maria degli Angiolini Conservatory, Florence, now in the Accademia Gallery (Inv. Depositi n. 18), Florence.



Figure 1.20: *Magdalen Receiving Communion from Saint Maximin* (often misidentified as Mary of Egypt), attributed to Cenni di Francesco di ser Cenni, 1400-1415, fresco, Cappella Gianfigliuzzi, Santa Trinita, Florence.



Figure 1.21: Detail, Mary Magdalen with inscription. *Pieta* sculptural group (Virgin and Christ flanked by Mary Magdalen and John the Evangelist), 1476, polychrome stone. St-Pierre de Moissac.



Figure 1.22: *Mary Magdalen Carried Aloft by Angels*, Rulle Gradual (Gradual of Gisela von Kerksenbrock), fol. 133 (p. 264), ca. 1300, Westphalia.

CHAPTER 2

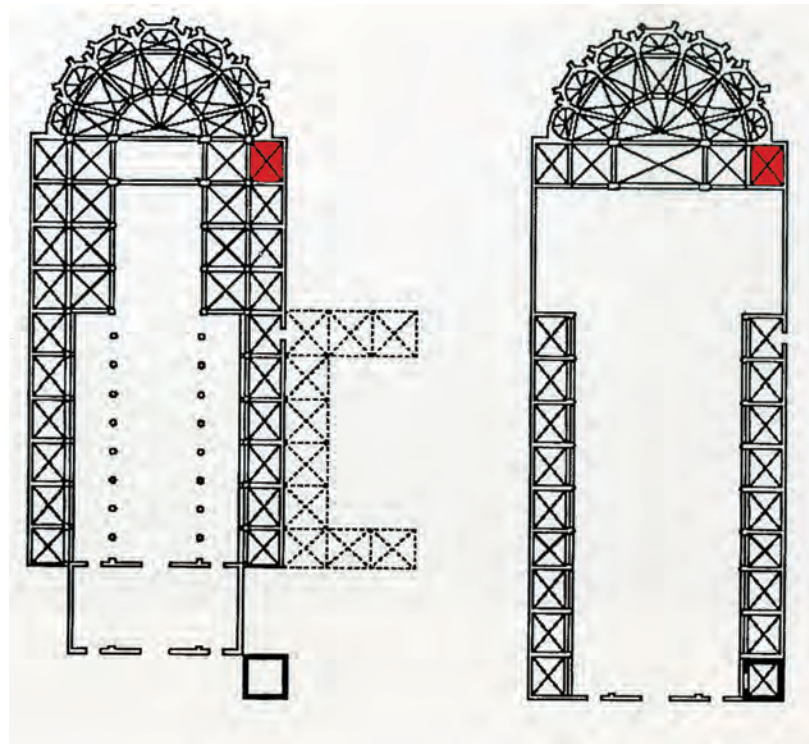


Figure 2.1: Plans of San Lorenzo Maggiore, Naples.
Plan on left shows state ca. 1305, on right ca. 1340.
Magdalen Chapel indicated in red
(After Bruzelius, *Stones of Naples*).

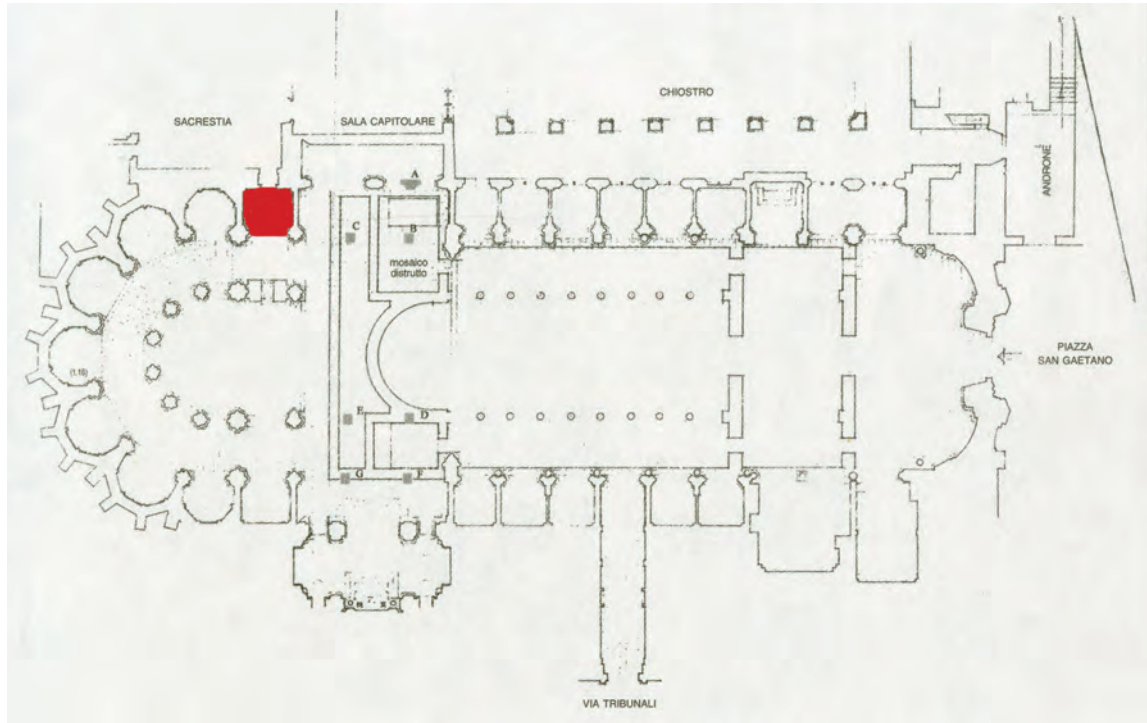


Figure 2.1a: Plan of San Lorenzo Maggiore, Naples.
 Magdalen Chapel indicated in red, with entrance to Sacristy
 (After Serena Romano and Nicolas Bock, *Le chiese di San Lorenzo and San Domenico*).



Figure 2.2: Magdalen Chapel, San Lorenzo Maggiore, Naples.
Overview with left wall, 1295-1300
(photo: Courtesy of Robert Rosinski).



Figure 2.2a: Magdalen Chapel, San Lorenzo Maggiore, Naples.
Overview with right wall, 1295-1300
(photo: Courtesy of Robert Rosinski).

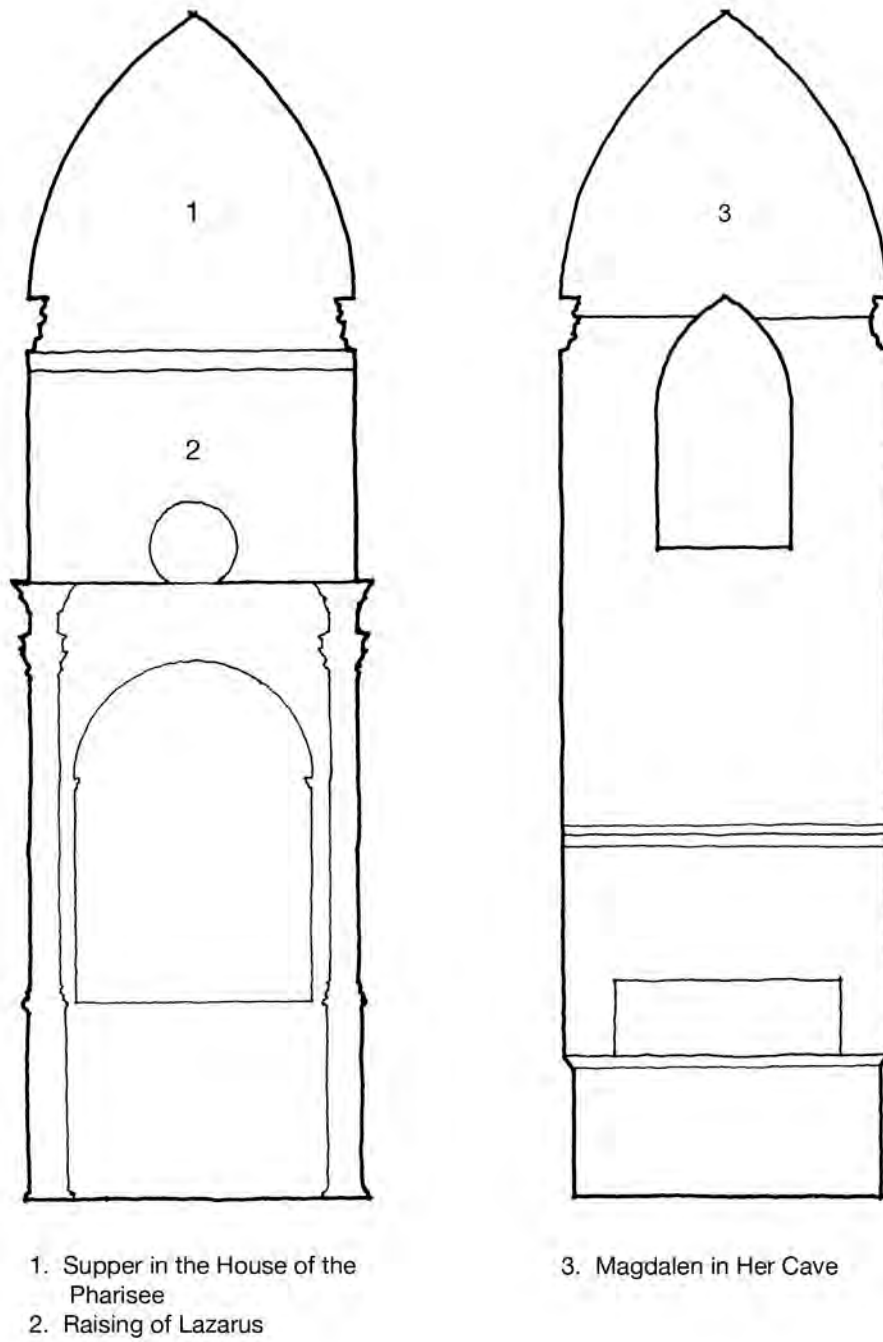


Figure 2.3: Elevation Diagram, Magdalen Chapel, San Lorenzo Maggiore, Naples
(Courtesy of Robert Rosinski).



Figure 2.4: *Supper in the House of the Pharisee and Raising of Lazarus*,
1295-1300, fresco.
Magdalen Chapel, San Lorenzo Maggiore, Naples
(photo: Courtesy of Robert Rosinski).



Figure 2.4a: *Raising of Lazarus*, 1295-1300, fresco.
Magdalen Chapel, San Lorenzo Maggiore, Naples.



Figure 2.5: *The Magdalen in Her Cave*, 1295-1300, fresco.
Magdalen Chapel, San Lorenzo Maggiore, Naples
(photo: Courtesy of Robert Rosinski).



Figure 2.5a: Detail, Magdalen and Inscription. *The Magdalen in Her Cave*, 1295-1300, fresco. Magdalen Chapel, San Lorenzo Maggiore, Naples (photo: Courtesy of Robert Rosinski).



Figure 2.5b: Detail, Magdalen and Inscription, pre-restoration.
The Magdalen in Her Cave, 1295-1300, fresco.
Magdalen Chapel, San Lorenzo Maggiore, Naples.



Figure 2.6: *Tomb Monument of Aniello Arcamone, Count of Borrello, Antonio or Antonino de Marco di Massa, 1510 or 1513. Magdalen Chapel, San Lorenzo Maggiore, Naples (photo: Courtesy of Robert Rosinski).*



Figure 2.7: *Saints*, details of “Triptych” behind tomb monument of Aniello Arcamone, 1295-1300, fresco.
Magdalen Chapel, San Lorenzo Maggiore, Naples.



Figure 2.8: *Stemmi*, 1295-1300, fresco.
Magdalen Chapel, San Lorenzo Maggiore, Naples
(photo: Courtesy of Robert Rosinski).



Figure 2.8a: Detail, right-hand *Stemma*, 1295-1300, fresco.
Magdalen Chapel, San Lorenzo Maggiore, Naples
(photo: Courtesy of Robert Rosinski).



Figure 2.9: *Friar Reading*, 1295-1300, fresco.
Magdalen Chapel, San Lorenzo Maggiore, Naples
(photo: Courtesy of Robert Rosinski).

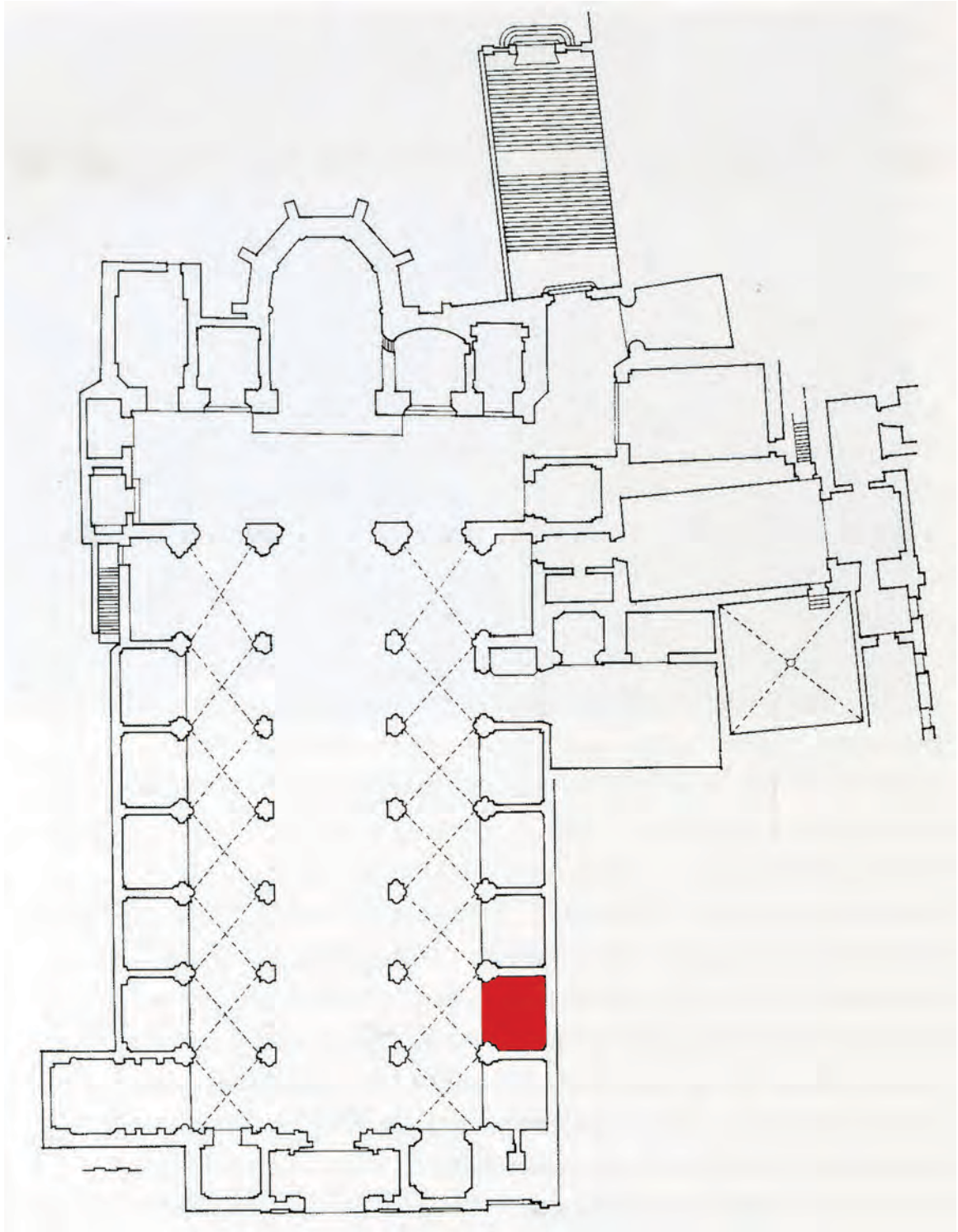


Figure 2.10: Plan of San Domenico Maggiore, Naples.
Brancaccio Chapel indicated in red
(After Bruzelius, *Stones of Naples*).



Figure 2.11: Brancaccio Chapel, San Domenico Maggiore, Naples. View of chapel, showing right wall with Magdalen cycle, ca. 1308-9. (photo: Courtesy of Robert Rosinski).



Figure 2.12: Ceiling, ca. 1308-9, fresco.
Brancaccio Chapel, San Domenico Maggiore,
Naples (photo: Courtesy of Robert Rosinski).



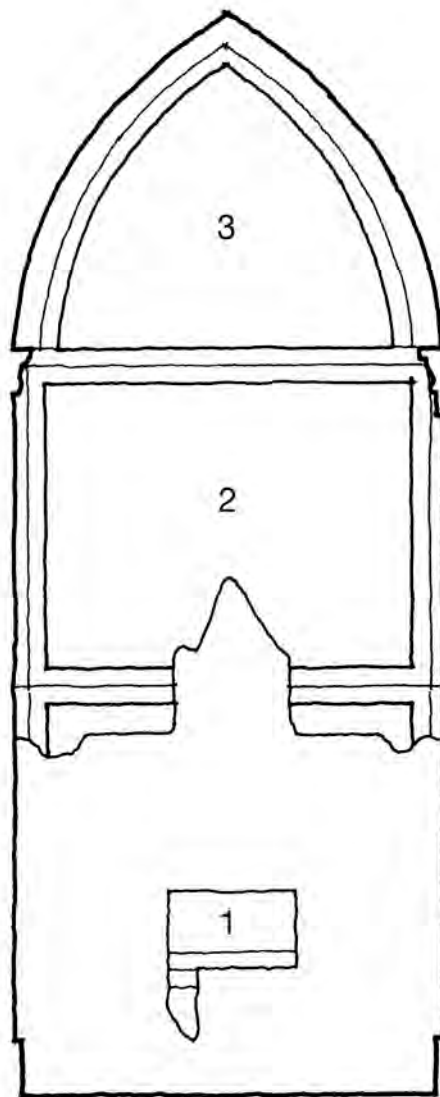
Figure 2.12a: *Stemma*, detail of ceiling, ca. 1308-9, fresco.
Brancaccio Chapel, San Domenico Maggiore, Naples
(photo: Courtesy of Robert Rosinski).



Figure 2.13: *Crucifixion with Saints Dominic and Peter the Martyr*, ca. 1308-9, fresco. Brancaccio Chapel, San Domenico Maggiore, Naples (photo: Courtesy of Robert Rosinski).



Figure 2.13a: Detail of book, *Crucifixion with Saints Dominic and Peter the Martyr*, ca. 1308-9, fresco. Brancaccio Chapel, San Domenico Maggiore, Naples (photo: Courtesy of Robert Rosinski).



1. Supper in the House of the Pharisee
2. *Noli me tangere*
3. Magdalen in Her Cave

Figure 2.14: Elevation Diagram, Brancaccio Chapel, San Domenico Maggiore, Naples (Courtesy of Robert Rosinski).



Figure 2.15: Brancaccio Chapel, San Domenico Maggiore, Naples.
Overview of right wall with Magdalen cycle, ca. 1308-9
(photo: Courtesy of Robert Rosinski).



Figure 2.16: Fragments of *Supper in the House of the Pharisee*, ca. 1308-9, fresco.
Brancaccio Chapel, San Domenico Maggiore, Naples
(photo: Courtesy of Robert Rosinski).



Figure 2.16a: Detail, Fragments of *Supper in the House of the Pharisee*, ca. 1308-9, fresco.

Brancaccio Chapel, San Domenico Maggiore, Naples
(photo: Courtesy of Robert Rosinski).



Figure 2.17: *Noli me tangere*, ca. 1308-9, fresco.
Brancaccio Chapel, San Domenico Maggiore, Naples
(photo: Courtesy of Robert Rosinski).



Figure 2.18: *The Magdalen in Her Cave*, ca. 1308-9, fresco.
Brancaccio Chapel, San Domenico Maggiore, Naples
(photo: Courtesy of Robert Rosinski).



Figure 2.18a: *The Magdalen in Her Cave*, pre-restoration, ca. 1308-9, fresco.
Brancaccio Chapel, San Domenico Maggiore, Naples.

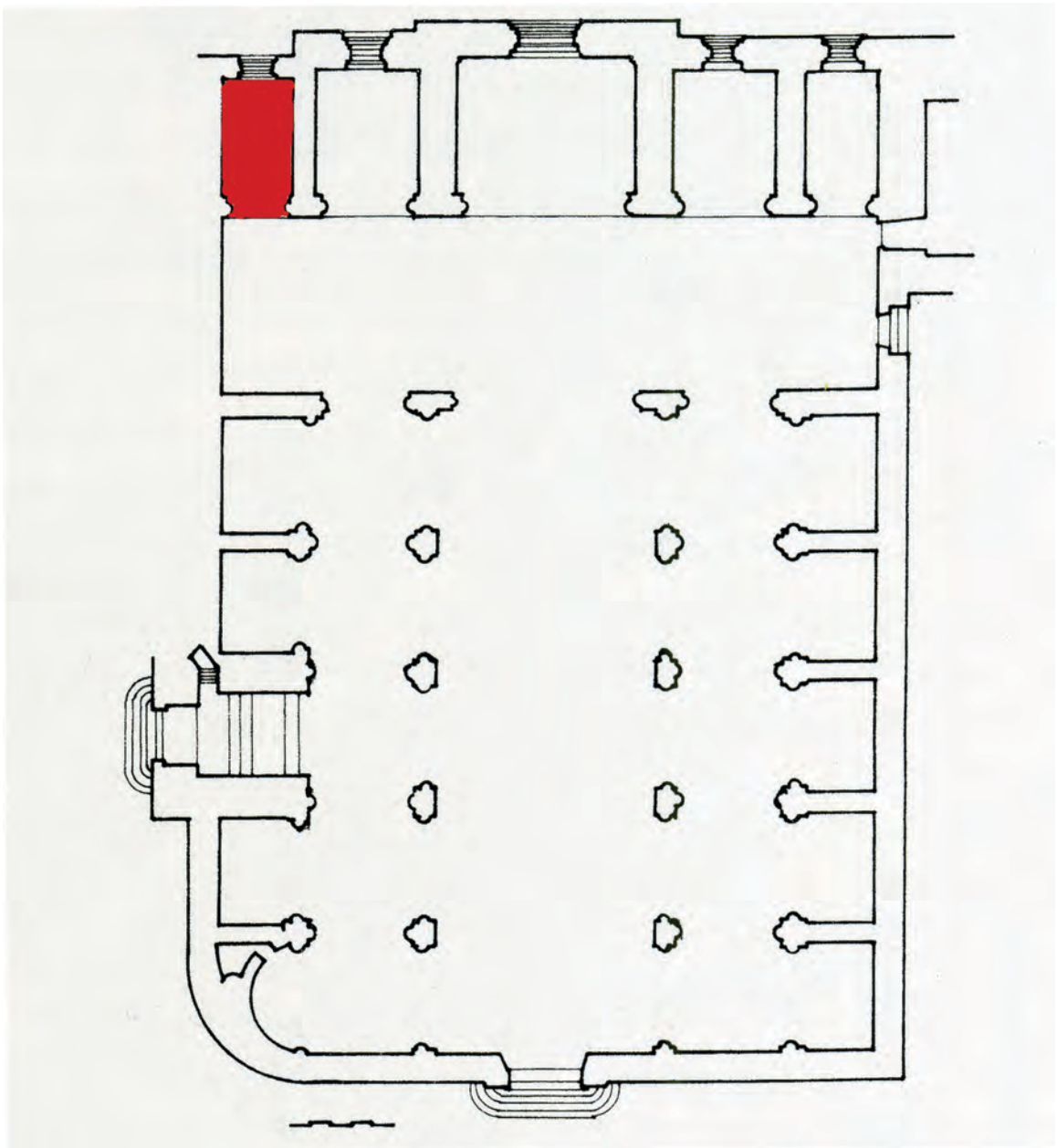


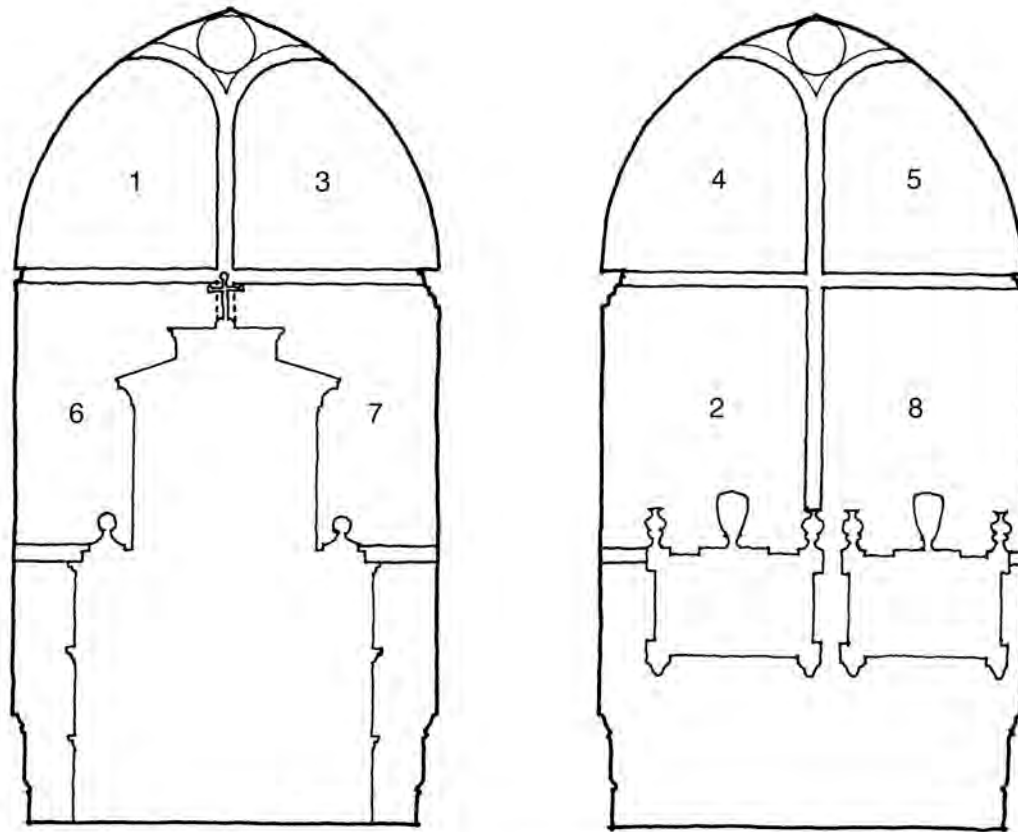
Figure 2.19: Plan of San Pietro a Maiella, Naples. Pipino Chapel indicated in red (After Bruzelius, *The Stones of Naples*, after Filangieri, *San Pietro a Maiella*).



Figure 2.20: Pipino Chapel, San Pietro a Maiella, Naples.
Overview with left wall, ca. 1340-54
(photo: Courtesy of Robert Rosinski).



Figure 2.21: Pipino Chapel, San Pietro a Maiella, Naples.
Overview with right wall, ca. 1340-54
(photo: Courtesy of Robert Rosinski).



1. *The Supper in the House of the Pharisee*
2. *Noli me tangere*
3. *Magdalen Preaching*
4. *Voyage to Rome*
5. *The Prince Greeted in Rome by Peter*
6. *The Penitent Magdalen in Her Cave*
7. *The Death/Last Communion of the Magalen*
8. *Posthumous Miracle*

Figure 2.22: Elevations of Pipino Chapel, left and right walls.
 San Pietro a Maiella, Naples
 (Courtesy of Robert Rosinski).



Figure 2.23: *Supper in the House of the Pharisee*, ca. 1340-54, fresco.
Pipino Chapel, San Pietro a Maiella, Naples (photo: Courtesy of Robert Rosinski).



Figure 2.24: *Magdalen Preaching*, ca. 1340-54, fresco.
Pipino Chapel, San Pietro a Maiella, Naples (photo: Courtesy of Robert Rosinski).



Figure 2.25: *Voyage to Rome*, ca. 1340-54, fresco.
Pipino Chapel, San Pietro a Maiella, Naples (photo: Courtesy of Robert Rosinski).



Figure 2.26: *The Prince Greeted in Rome by Peter*, ca. 1340-54, fresco. Pipino Chapel, San Pietro a Maiella, Naples (photo: Courtesy of Robert Rosinski).



Figure 2.27: *The Penitent Magdalen in Her Cave*, ca. 1340-54, fresco. Pipino Chapel, San Pietro a Maiella, Naples (photo: Courtesy of Robert Rosinski).



Figure 2.28: *The Death/Last Communion of the Magdalen*, ca. 1340-54, fresco. Pipino Chapel, San Pietro a Maiella, Naples (photo: Courtesy of Robert Rosinski).



Figure 2.29: *Noli me tangere*, ca. 1340-54, fresco.
Pipino Chapel, San Pietro a Maiella, Naples (photo: Courtesy of Robert Rosinski).



Figure 2.30: *Posthumous Miracle*, ca. 1340-54, fresco.
Pipino Chapel, San Pietro a Maiella, Naples (photo: Courtesy of Robert Rosinski).



Figure 2.31: *Posthumous Miracle*, *Leggendario Ungherese* (*Hungarian Angevin Legendary*), ca. 1340. MS BAV Vat. lat. 8541, f. 104r.



Figure 2.32: *Magdalen Skull Reliquary*, Francisco de Hollanda, *As antigualhas*, Madrid, El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo, inv. 28-I-20, fol. 48v. 1538-1541, drawing.



Figure 2.33: *Les Reliques qui se voient en la Sainte-Baume et en l'église de Saint-Maximin en Provence*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), département des Estampes et photographie, Collection Lallemand de Betz 2505. 17th century, print.

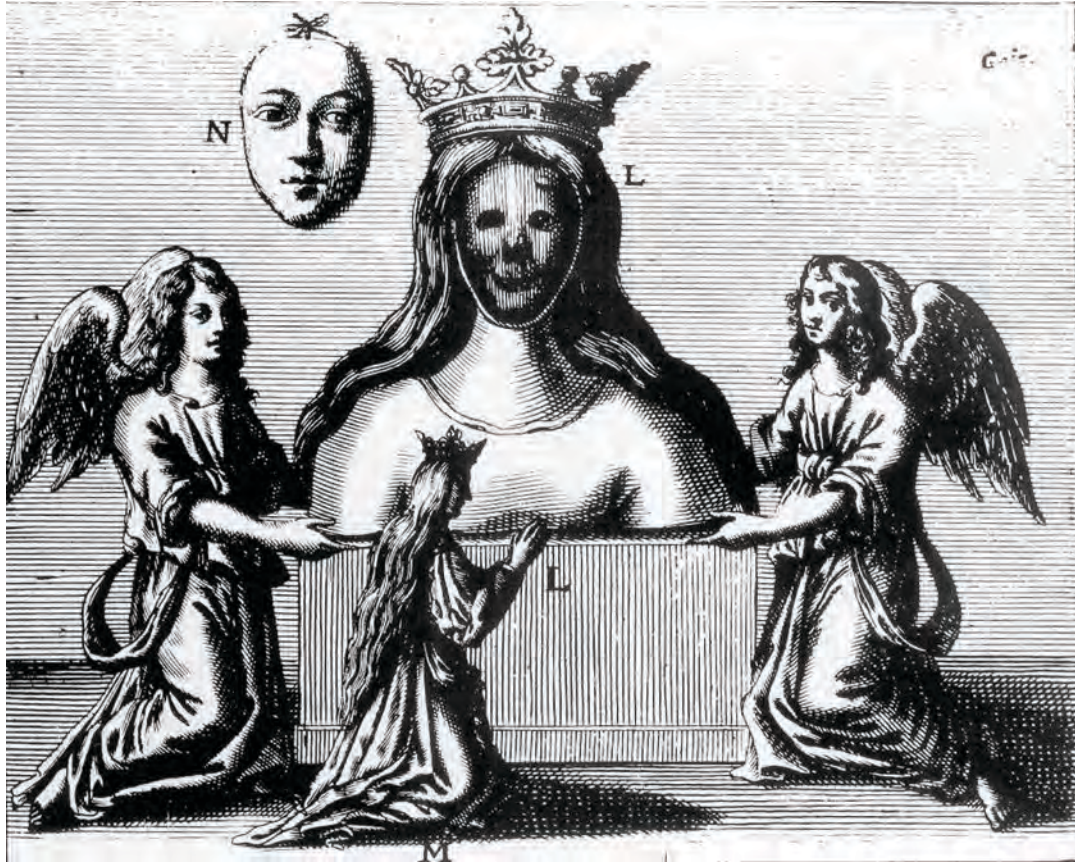


Figure 2.34: *Mary Magdalen Skull Reliquary* (Est. Va. 83, 2.), Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BnF), Cabinet d'Estampes. N.D, Engraving.



Figure 2.35: *Mary Magdalen Skull Reliquary* Paris, Bibliothèque du roi (BnF), Cabinet d'Estampes. N.D., Engraving (reproduced from Faillon).

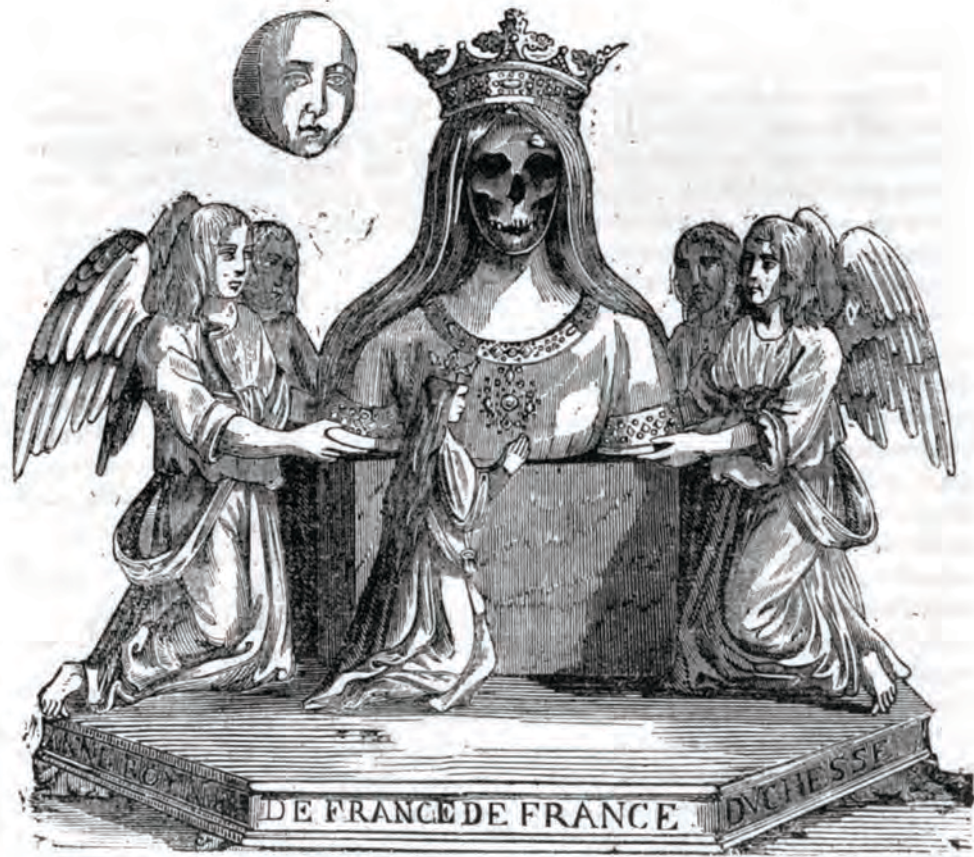


Figure 2.36: *Mary Magdalen Skull Reliquary*, (reproduced from Faillon).



Figure 2.37: *Modern Magdalen Skull Reliquary*, 19th c. Basilica of St-Maximin, Saint-Maximin-la-Sainte-Baume.



Figure 2.38 : *Bust Reliquary of St. Anthony of Padua*, 1349,
Basilica of St. Anthony (del Santo), Padua.

CHAPTER 3



Figure 3.1: Magdalen Chapel, Lower Basilica of St. Francis, Assisi. Overview, 1307-8.

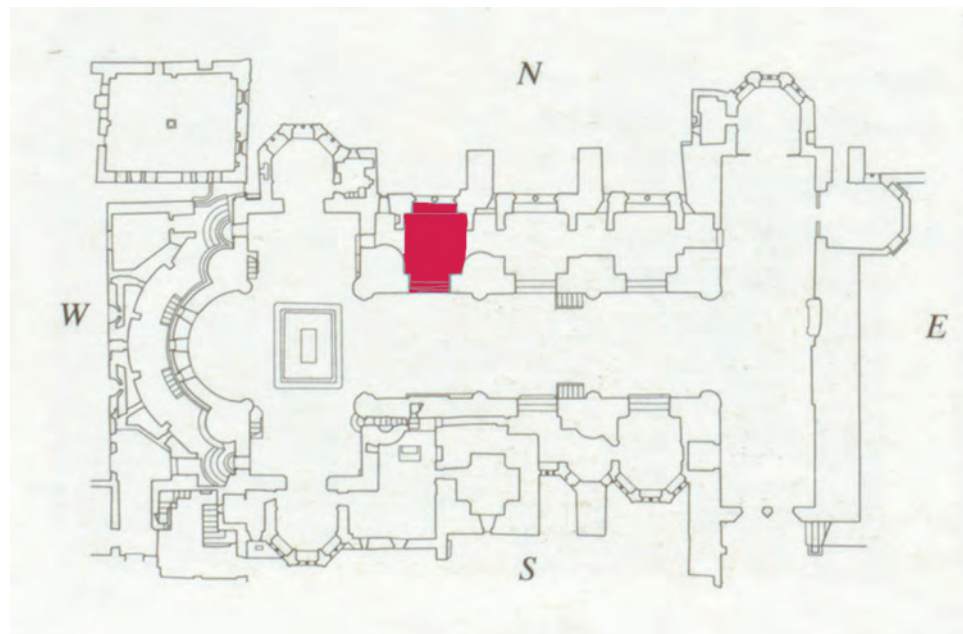


Figure 3.2: Plan of the Lower Basilica of St. Francis, Assisi.
Magdalen Chapel indicated in red
(After Bonsanti, *La Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi*).



Figure 3.3: View into Magdalen Chapel (towards the west) through east entrance, Lower Basilica of St. Francis, Assisi.

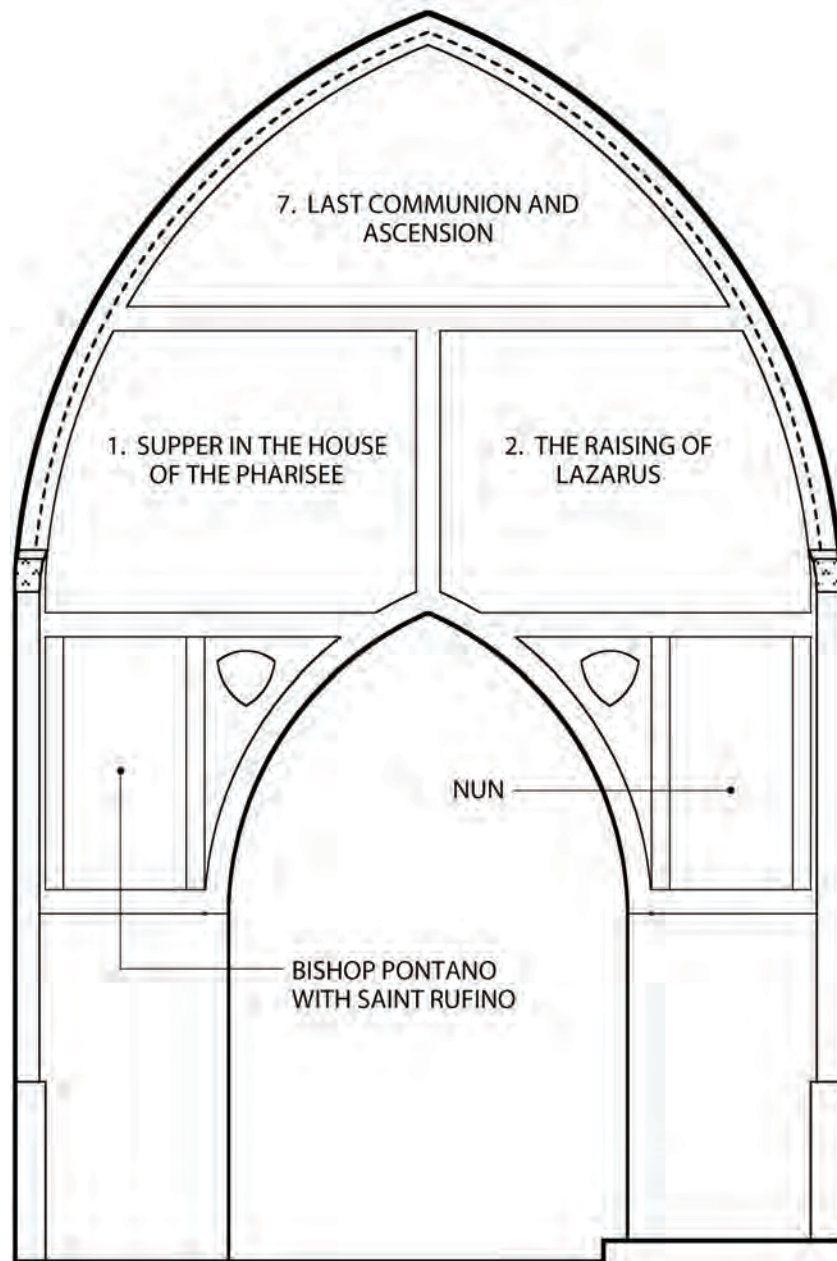


Figure 3.4: Elevation Diagram, West Wall of Magdalen Chapel, Lower Basilica of St. Francis, Assisi (Courtesy of Robert Rosinski).



Figure 3.5: Overall View of West Wall, Magdalen Chapel, 1307-8,
Lower Basilica of St. Francis, Assisi.

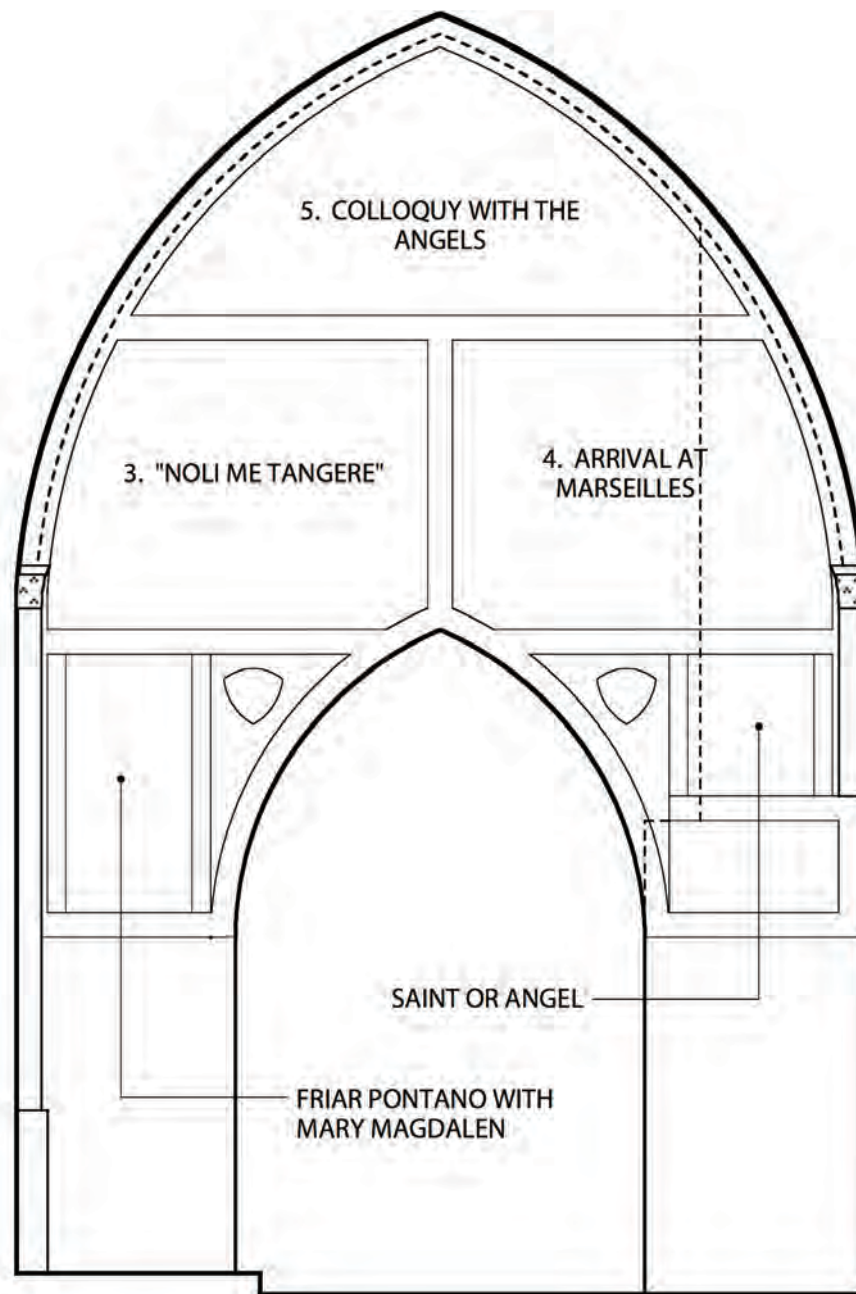


Figure 3.6: Elevation Diagram, East Wall of Magdalen Chapel,
Lower Basilica of St. Francis, Assisi
(Courtesy of Robert Rosinski).



Figure 3.7: Overall View of East Wall, Magdalen Chapel, 1307-8,
Lower Basilica of St. Francis, Assisi.

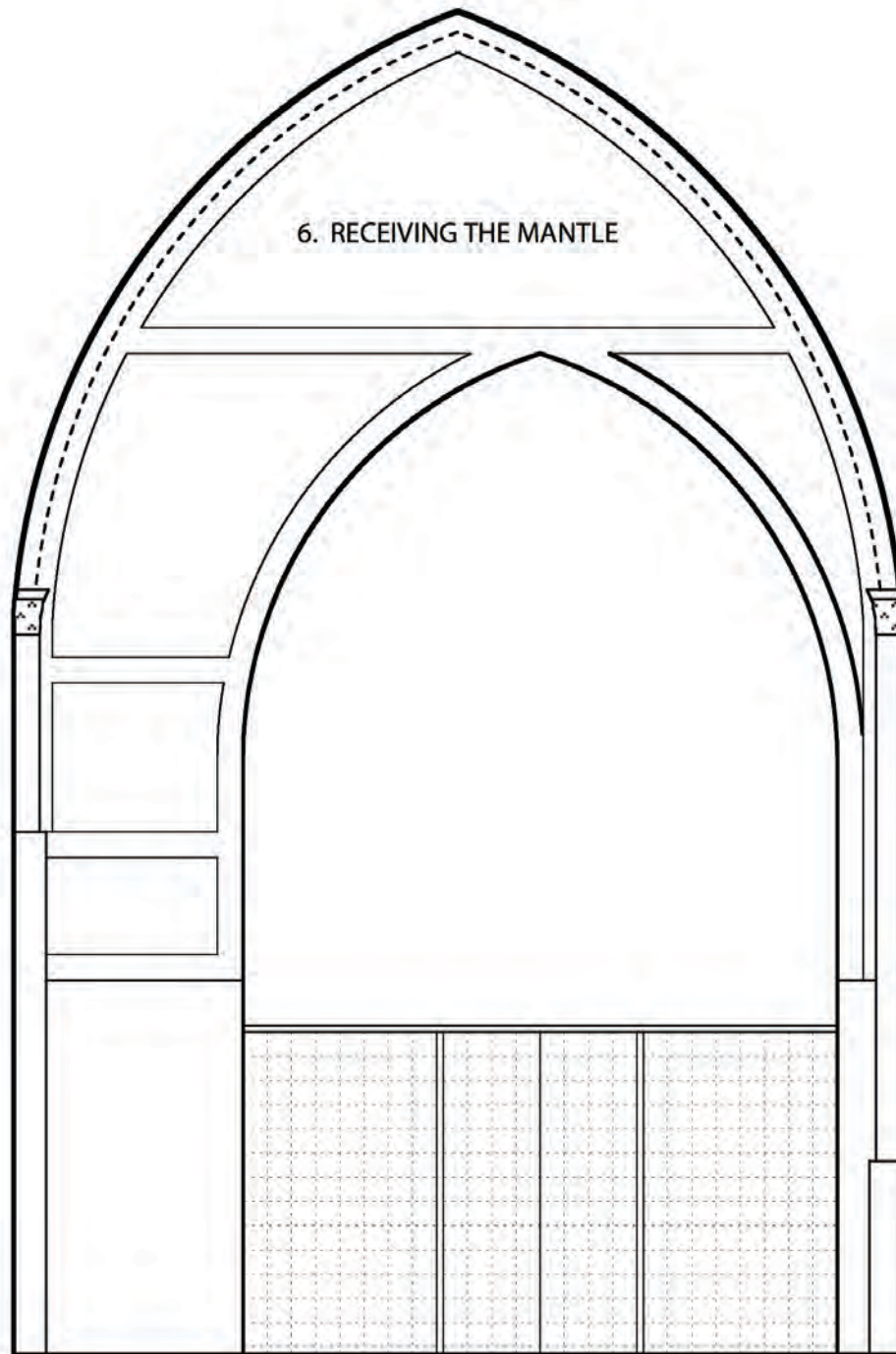


Figure 3.8: Elevation Diagram, South Wall of Magdalen Chapel,
Lower Basilica of St. Francis, Assisi
(Courtesy of Robert Rosinski).



Figure 3.9: Overall View of South Wall (Main entrance onto nave),
Magdalen Chapel, 1307-8, Lower Basilica of St. Francis, Assisi.



Figures 3.10a-c: *Pontano Stemmi*, 1307-9, frescos.
Magdalen Chapel, Lower Basilica of St. Francis, Assisi.



Figure 3.11: *S. Rufino and Bishop Pontano*, 1307-9, fresco.
Magdalen Chapel, Lower Basilica of St. Francis, Assisi.



Figure 3.11a: *S. Rufino and Bishop Pontano*, 1307-9, fresco.
Magdalen Chapel, Lower Basilica of St. Francis, Assisi.



Figure 3.12: *Mary Magdalen and Friar Pontano*, 1307-9, fresco.
Magdalen Chapel, Lower Basilica of St. Francis, Assisi.

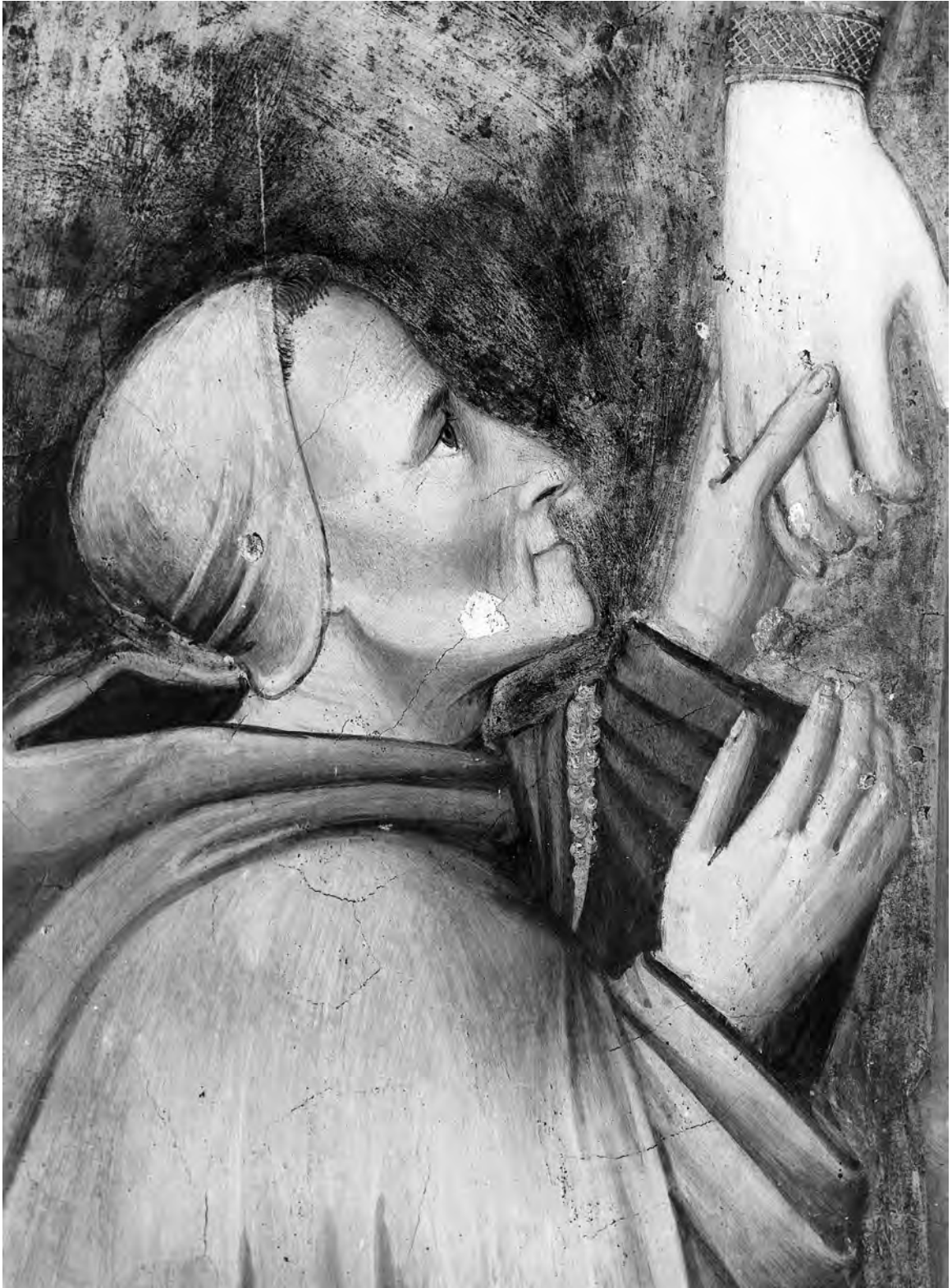


Figure 3.12a: Detail, Friar Pontano. *Mary Magdalen and Friar Pontano*, 1307-9, fresco. Magdalen Chapel, Lower Basilica of St. Francis, Assisi.



Figure 3.12b: Detail, Mary Magdalen. *Mary Magdalen and Friar Pontano*, 1307-9, fresco. Magdalen Chapel, Lower Basilica of St. Francis, Assisi.



Figure 3.13: *Supper in the House of the Pharisee*, 1307-9, fresco.
Magdalen Chapel, Lower Basilica of St. Francis, Assisi.



Figure 3.14: *Raising of Lazarus*, 1307-9, fresco.
Magdalen Chapel, Lower Basilica of St. Francis, Assisi.



Figure 3.14a: Detail, Mary and Martha. *Raising of Lazarus*, 1307-9, fresco. Magdalen Chapel, Lower Basilica of St. Francis, Assisi.



Figure 3.14a: Detail, “Foras veni Lazare.” *Raising of Lazarus*, 1307-9, fresco.
Magdalen Chapel, Lower Basilica of St. Francis, Assisi.



Figure 3.15: *Noli me tangere*, 1307-9, fresco.
Magdalen Chapel, Lower Basilica of St. Francis, Assisi.



Figure 3.15a: Detail, central group. *Noli me tangere*, 1307-9, fresco.
Magdalen Chapel, Lower Basilica of St. Francis, Assisi.



Figure 3.15b: Detail, relief head of angel, *Noli me tangere*, 1307-9, fresco. Magdalen Chapel, Lower Basilica of St. Francis, Assisi.



Figure 3.16: *Voyage to Marseilles (Miracle of Marseilles)*, 1307-9, fresco.
Magdalen Chapel, Lower Basilica of St. Francis, Assisi.



Figure 3.16a: Detail, Island. *Voyage to Marseilles*
(*Miracle of Marseilles*), 1307-9, fresco.
Magdalen Chapel, Lower Basilica of St. Francis, Assisi.



Figure 3.16b: Detail, Island without child, pre-restoration. *Voyage to Marseilles*
(*Miracle of Marseilles*), 1307-9, fresco.
Magdalen Chapel, Lower Basilica of St. Francis, Assisi.

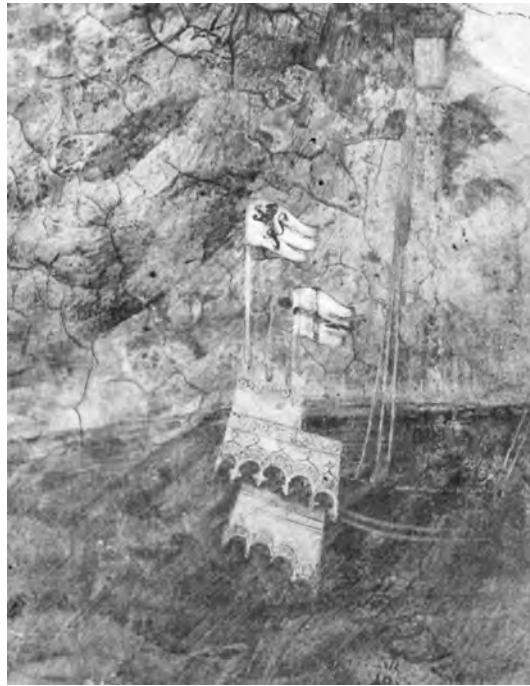


Figure 3.16c: Detail, Emblem, pre-restoration. *Voyage to Marseilles*
(*Miracle of Marseilles*), 1307-9, fresco.
Magdalen Chapel, Lower Basilica of St. Francis, Assisi.



Figure 3.17: *Colloquy with the Angels*, 1307-9, fresco.
Magdalen Chapel, Lower Basilica of St. Francis, Assisi.



Figure 3.18: *The Magdalen Receiving the Mantle*, 1307-9, fresco.
Magdalen Chapel, Lower Basilica of St. Francis, Assisi.



Figure 3.19: *Last Communion and Ascension of the Magdalen*, 1307-9, fresco.
Magdalen Chapel, Lower Basilica of St. Francis, Assisi.



Figure 3.20: *Raising of Lazarus*, Giotto, 1303-1305, fresco.
Scrovegni Chapel, Padua.



Figure 3.21: *Noli me tangere*, Giotto, 1303-1305, fresco.
Scrovegni Chapel, Padua.



Figure 3.22: *Death of St. Dominic*, Predella of the *Coronation of the Virgin* altarpiece, Fra Angelico, 1430-2. San Domenico in Fiesole, now the Louvre, Paris.



Figure 3.23: *St. Louis of Toulouse*, Simone Martini, 1316-19, fresco. St. Elizabeth Chapel, North transept, Lower Basilica of St. Francis, Assisi.



Figure 3.24: Ceiling with tondi of *Mary Magdalen* (west), *Lazarus* (south), *Martha* (east) and *Christ* (north), 1307-9, fresco. Magdalen Chapel, Lower Basilica of St. Francis, Assisi.



Figure 3.24a: Detail of ceiling, tondo of *Christ* (north), 1307-9, fresco.
Magdalen Chapel, Lower Basilica of St. Francis, Assisi.

CHAPTER 4



Figure 4.1: *Angel or Virtue (Queen Holy Wisdom?)*, 1307-9, fresco.
Magdalen Chapel, Lower Basilica of St. Francis, Assisi.



Figure 4.1a: *Angel or Virtue (Queen Holy Wisdom?)*, 1307-9, fresco.
Magdalen Chapel, Lower Basilica of St. Francis, Assisi.



Figure 4.2: *Nun* or *Virtue* (*Lady Holy Poverty?*), 1307-9, fresco.
Magdalen Chapel, Lower Basilica of St. Francis, Assisi.



Figure 4.2a: *Nun or Virtue (Lady Holy Poverty?)*, 1307-9, fresco.
Magdalen Chapel, Lower Basilica of St. Francis, Assisi.

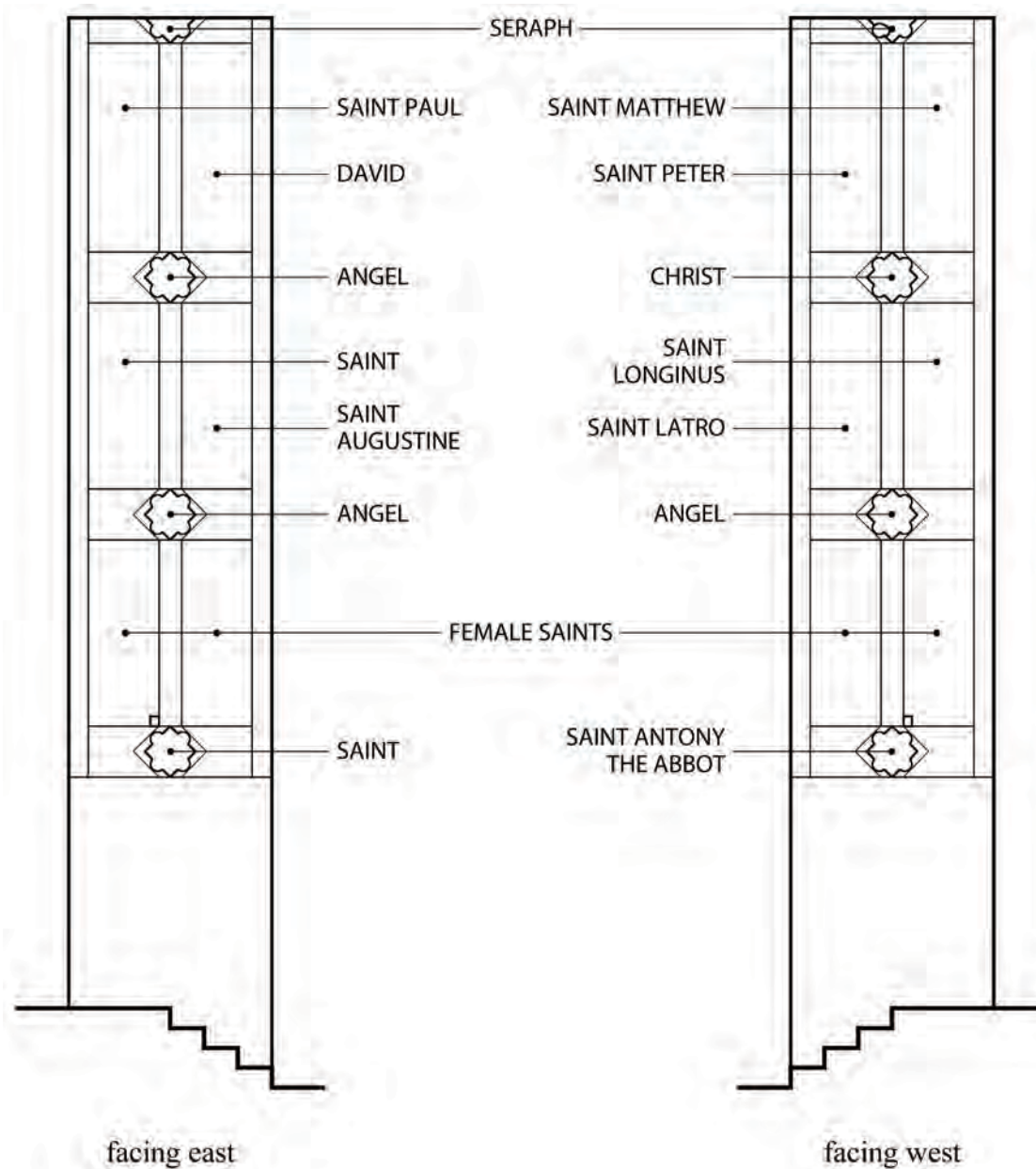


Figure 4.3: Diagram, Entrance arch (intrados) of the Magdalen Chapel, Lower Basilica of St. Francis, Assisi (Courtesy of Robert Rosinski).



Figure 4.4: *St. Anthony Abbot*, intrados (west), 1307-9, fresco.
Magdalen Chapel, Lower Basilica of St. Francis, Assisi.



Figure 4.5: *St. Athanasius(?)*, intrados (east), 1307-9, fresco.
Magdalen Chapel, Lower Basilica of St. Francis, Assisi.



Figure 4.6: *Female Saints or Virtues*, intrados (west), 1307-9, fresco.
Magdalen Chapel, Lower Basilica of St. Francis, Assisi.



Figure 4.7: *Female Saints or Virtues*, intrados (east), 1307-9, fresco.
Magdalen Chapel, Lower Basilica of St. Francis, Assisi.



Figure 4.8: *Angel with Circlet*, intrados (west), 1307-9, fresco.
Magdalen Chapel, Lower Basilica of St. Francis, Assisi.



Figure 4.9: *Angel with Scepter*, intrados (east), 1307-9, fresco.
Magdalen Chapel, Lower Basilica of St. Francis, Assisi.



Figure 4.10: *St. Latro* (left) and *St. Longinus* (right), intrados (west), 1307-9, fresco. Magdalen Chapel, Lower Basilica of St. Francis, Assisi.



Figure 4.11: *St. Augustine* (left) and a *Saint (Ambrose?)* (right), intrados (east), 1307-9, fresco.

Magdalen Chapel, Lower Basilica of St. Francis, Assisi.



Figure 4.12: *Christ the Redeemer*, intrados (west), 1307-9, fresco.
Magdalen Chapel, Lower Basilica of St. Francis, Assisi.



Figure 4.13: *Angel with Scepter*, intrados (east), 1307-9, fresco.
Magdalen Chapel, Lower Basilica of St. Francis, Assisi.



Figure 4.14: *St. Peter* (left) and *St. Matthew* (right), intrados (west), 1307-9, fresco. Magdalen Chapel, Lower Basilica of St. Francis, Assisi.



Figure 4.15: *David* (left) and *St. Paul* (right), intrados (east), 1307-9, fresco. Magdalen Chapel, Lower Basilica of St. Francis, Assisi.



Figure 4.16: *Seraph*, intrados (center), 1307-9, fresco. Magdalen Chapel, Lower Basilica of St. Francis, Assisi.

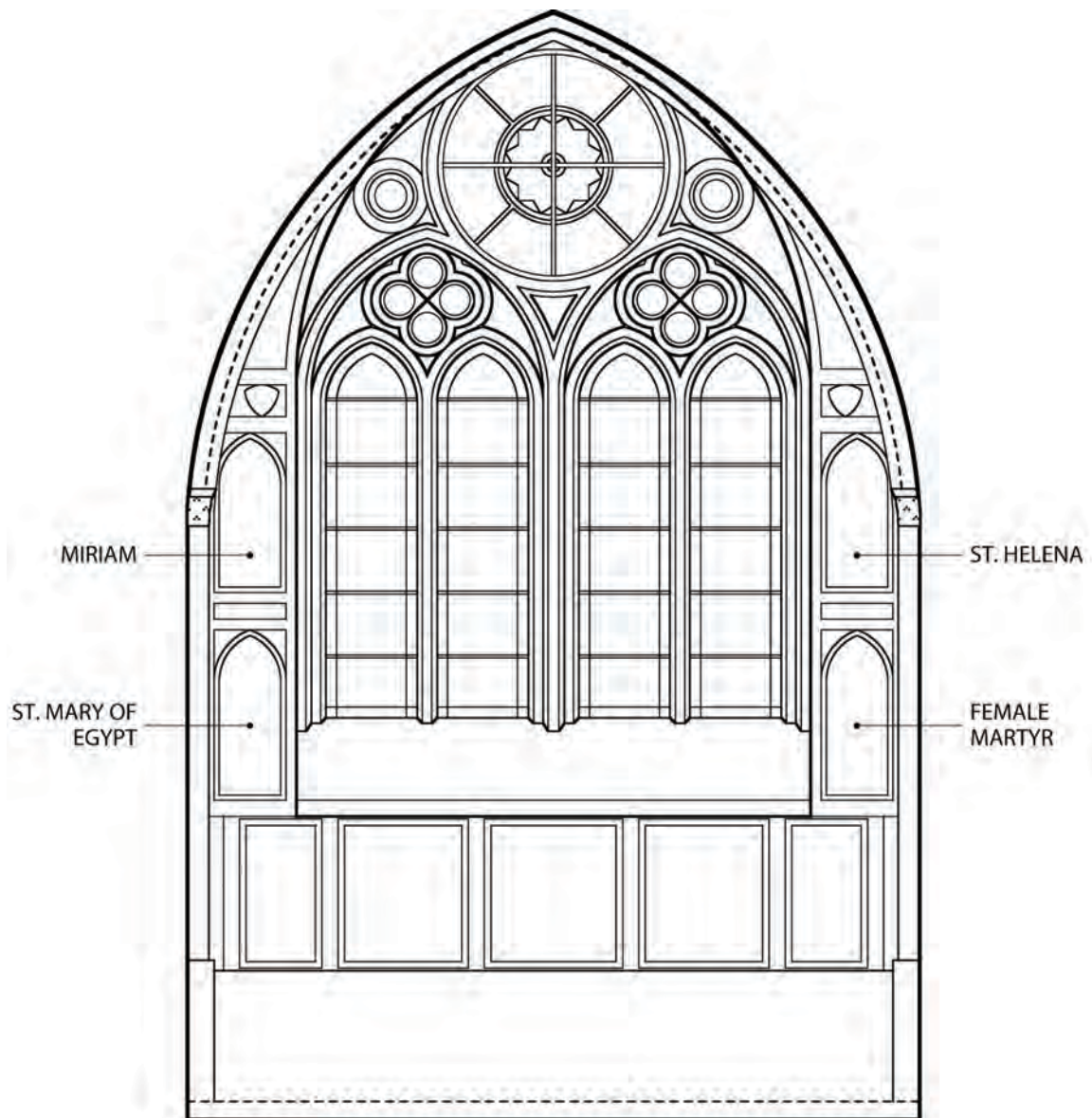


Figure 4.17: Elevation Diagram, North wall of Magdalen Chapel,
Lower Basilica of St. Francis, Assisi
(Courtesy of Robert Rosinski).



Figure 4.18: North wall of Magdalen Chapel,
Lower Basilica of St. Francis, Assisi.



Figure 4.19: *St. Mary of Egypt*, north wall (west), 1307-9, fresco.
Magdalen Chapel, Lower Basilica of St. Francis, Assisi.



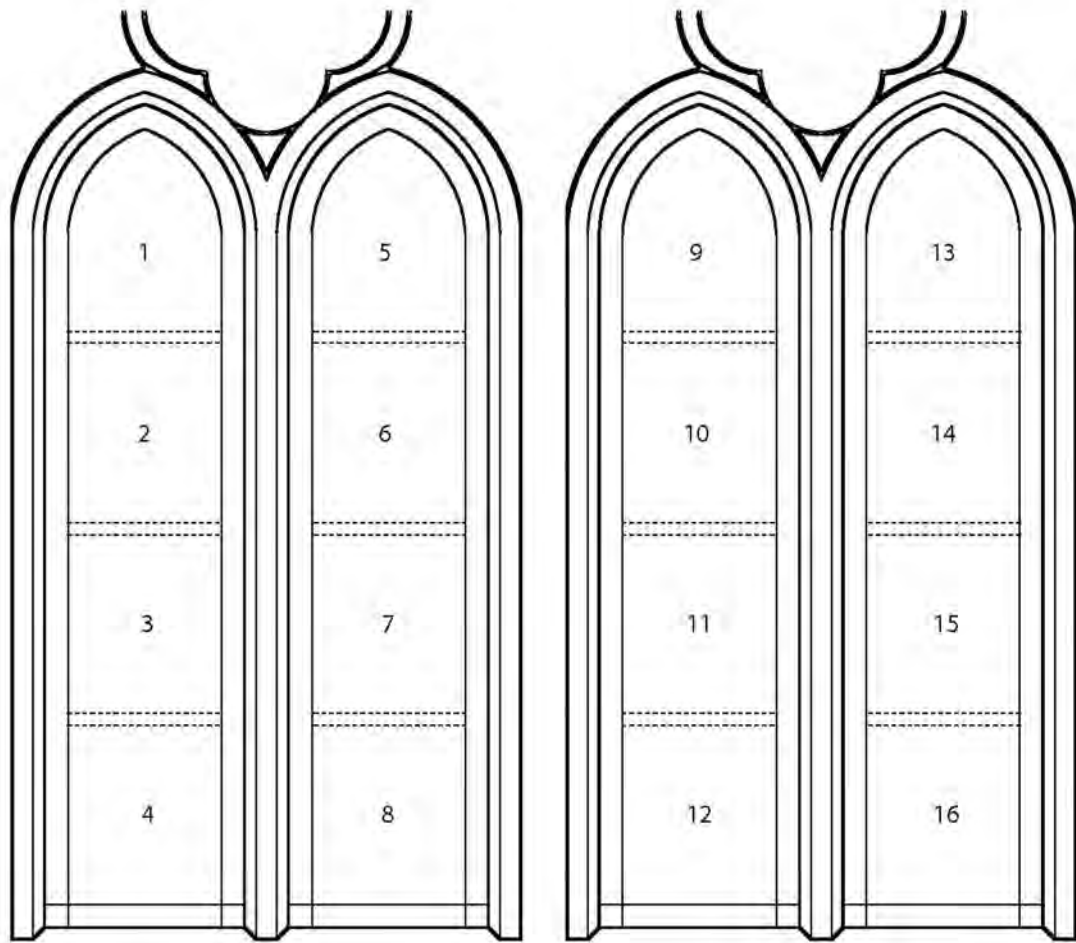
Figure 4.20: *Miriam*, north wall (west), 1307-9, fresco. Magdalen Chapel, Lower Basilica of St. Francis, Assisi.



Figure 4.21: *Martyr*, north wall (east), 1307-9, fresco.
Magdalen Chapel, Lower Basilica of St. Francis, Assisi.



Figure 4.22: *St. Helena*, north wall (east), 1307-9, fresco. Magdalen Chapel, Lower Basilica of St. Francis, Assisi.



1. The Redeemer
2. St. Mary Magdalen
3. St. Mary Cleophas
4. St. Mary Salome
5. The Virgin and Child
6. Mary Magdalen in the Desert
7. Mary Magdalen Receives a Garment
from an Angel
8. The Burial of Mary Magdalen
9. *Noli me tangere*
10. Christ Appears to May Magdalen

11. Christ Defends the Magdalen from
Martha's Reproaches
12. Christ Appears to the Marys *or*
Christ with Mary Magdalen,
Joanna and Susanna
13. The Supper at Bethany
14. The Raising of Lazarus
15. The Meeting at the Gate of Bethany
16. The Supper in the House of the
Pharisee

Figure 4.23: Diagram, Stained Glass, Magdalen Chapel,
Lower Basilica of St. Francis, Assisi
(Courtesy of Robert Rosinski).



Figure 4.24: *Stained Glass*, 1300-1305.
Magdalen Chapel, Lower Basilica of St. Francis, Assisi.



Figure 4.25: *Stained Glass*, right-hand lancets, 1300-1305.
Magdalen Chapel, Lower Basilica of St. Francis, Assisi.

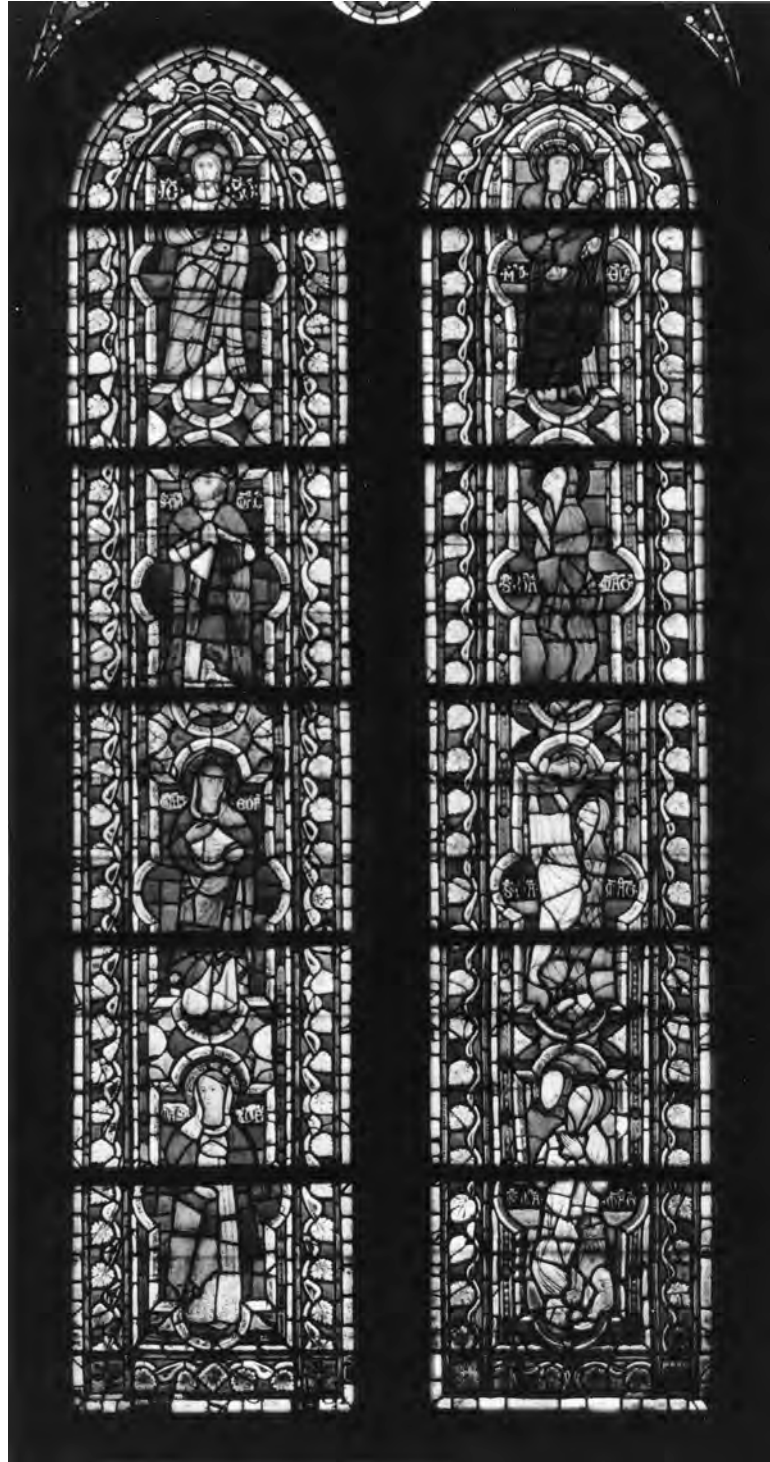
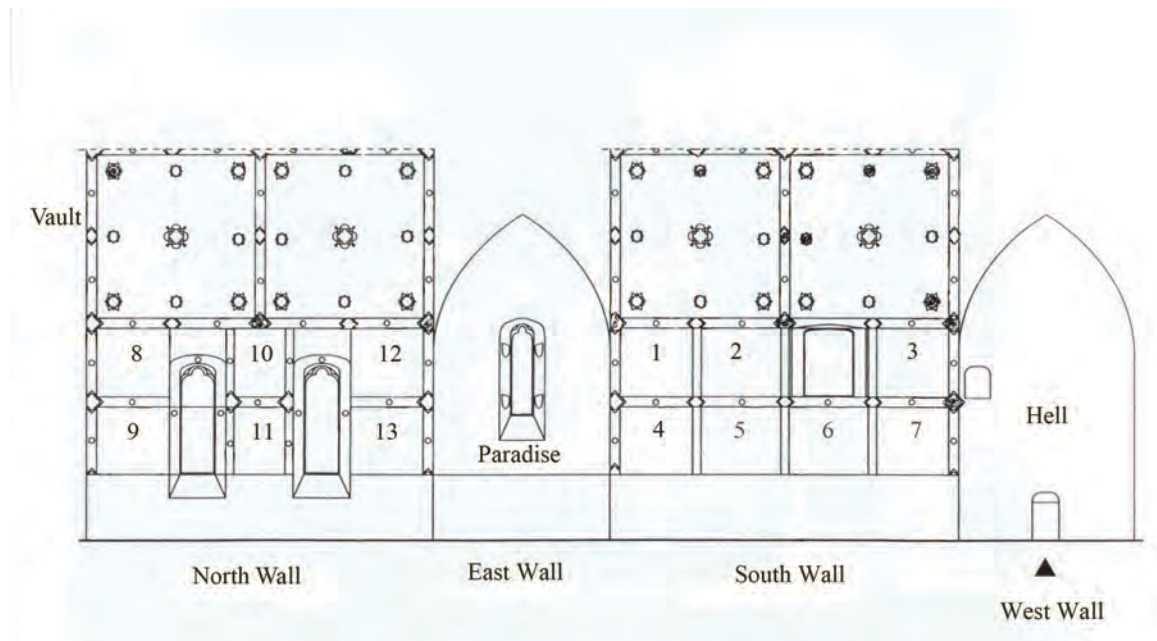


Figure 4.26: *Stained Glass*, left-hand lancets, 1300-1305. Magdalen Chapel, Lower Basilica of St. Francis, Assisi.



Figure 4.27: *Christ Appears to the Marys* or *Christ with Mary Magdalen, Joanna and Susanna*, Stained Glass, right-hand lancets, 1300-1305. Magdalen Chapel, Lower Basilica of St. Francis, Assisi.

CHAPTER 5

**Key:**

1. *Supper in the House of the Pharisee*
2. *Raising of Lazarus*
3. *The Marys at the Tomb*
4. *Noli me tangere*
5. *The Magdalen Receiving the Host from an Angel*
6. *Last Communion of the Magdalen*
7. *The Bishop Maximin Blessing Mary Magdalen and Her Ascension*
8. Lost fresco (Magdalen scene)
9. *Miracle of the Ruler of Marseilles*
10. Lost fresco (unknown, standing figure of a saint?)
11. *San Venzio*
12. *Birth and Naming of the Baptist*
13. *Feast in the House of Herod (Salome)*

Figure 5.1: Elevation Diagram, Magdalen Chapel, Palazzo del Podestà (Bargello), Florence
(After Acidini Lucinat).



Figure 5.2: Magdalen Chapel, Palazzo del Podestà (Bargello), Florence. Overview showing east and south walls



Figure 5.3: *Paradiso*, east wall, ca. 1321, fresco.
Magdalen Chapel, Palazzo del Podestà (Bargello), Florence.



Figure 5.3a: Detail, *Dante. Paradiso*, east wall, ca. 1321, fresco. Magdalen Chapel, Palazzo del Podestà (Bargello), Florence.

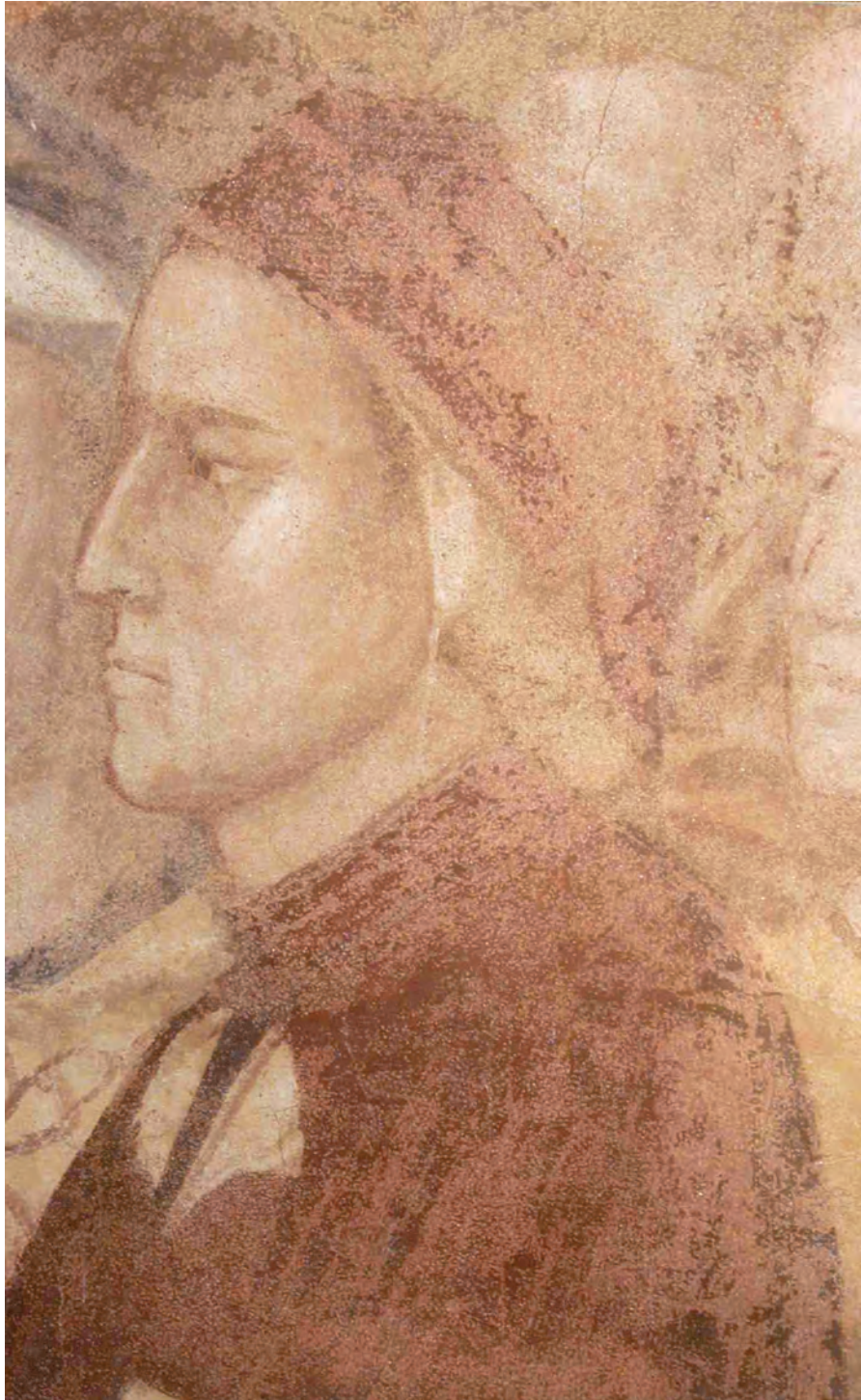


Figure 5.3b: Detail, *Dante* (post 2000s restoration). *Paradiso*, east wall, ca. 1321, fresco. Magdalen Chapel, Palazzo del Podestà (Bargello), Florence.



Figure 5.3c: Detail, Ruler figure at right. *Paradiso*, east wall, ca. 1321, fresco. Magdalen Chapel, Palazzo del Podestà (Bargello), Florence.



Figure 5.3d: Detail, Ruler figure at right. *Paradiso*, east wall, ca. 1321, fresco. Magdalen Chapel, Palazzo del Podestà (Bargello), Florence.



Figure 5.3e: Detail, Ruler figure at left. *Paradiso*, east wall, ca. 1321, fresco. Magdalen Chapel, Palazzo del Podestà (Bargello), Florence.



Figure 5.3f: Detail, Ruler figure at left. *Paradiso*, east wall, ca. 1321, fresco. Magdalen Chapel, Palazzo del Podestà (Bargello), Florence.



Figure 5.4: *Inferno*, west wall, Magdalen Chapel, ca. 1321, fresco.
Palazzo del Podestà (Bargello), Florence.



Figure 5.5: *Supper in the House of the Pharisee*, south wall, ca. 1321, fresco.
Magdalen Chapel, Palazzo del Podestà (Bargello), Florence.



Figure 5.6: *Raising of Lazarus*, south wall, ca. 1321, fresco. Magdalen Chapel, Palazzo del Podestà (Bargello), Florence.



Figure 5.7: *The Marys at the Tomb*, south wall, ca. 1321, fresco.
Magdalen Chapel, Palazzo del Podestà (Bargello), Florence.



Figure 5.8: *Noli me tangere*, south wall, ca. 1321, fresco.
Magdalen Chapel, Palazzo del Podestà (Bargello), Florence.



Figure 5.9: *The Magdalen in Her Cave with an Angel*, south wall, ca. 1321, fresco. Magdalen Chapel, Palazzo del Podestà (Bargello), Florence.



Figure 5.10: *Last Communion of the Magdalen*, south wall, ca. 1321, fresco.
Magdalen Chapel, Palazzo del Podestà (Bargello), Florence.



Figure 5.11: *The Bishop Maximin Blessing Mary Magdalen and Her Ascension*, south wall, ca. 1321, fresco.
Magdalen Chapel, Palazzo del Podestà (Bargello), Florence.



Figure 5.12: *Miracle of the Ruler of Marseilles*, north wall,
ca. 1321 or 1337, fresco.
Magdalen Chapel, Palazzo del Podestà (Bargello), Florence.



Figure 5.13: *Birth and Naming of the Baptist*, John the Baptist cycle, north wall, ca. 1321 or 1337, fresco.
Magdalen Chapel, Palazzo del Podestà (Bargello), Florence.



Figure 5.14: *Feast in the House of Herod (Salome)*, John the Baptist cycle, north wall, ca. 1321 or 1337, fresco.

Magdalen Chapel, Palazzo del Podestà (Bargello), Florence.



Figure 5.15: *S. Venanzio*, north wall, 1337, fresco.
Magdalen Chapel, Palazzo del Podestà (Bargello), Florence.



Figure 5.15a: Inscription under *S. Venanzio*, north wall, 1337, fresco.
Magdalen Chapel, Palazzo del Podestà (Bargello), Florence.



Figure 5.15b: Inscription under *S. Venanzio*, north wall, 1337, fresco.
Magdalen Chapel, Palazzo del Podestà (Bargello), Florence.



Figure 5.15c: Detail, *S. Venanzio*, north wall, 1337, fresco. Magdalen Chapel, Palazzo del Podestà (Bargello), Florence.

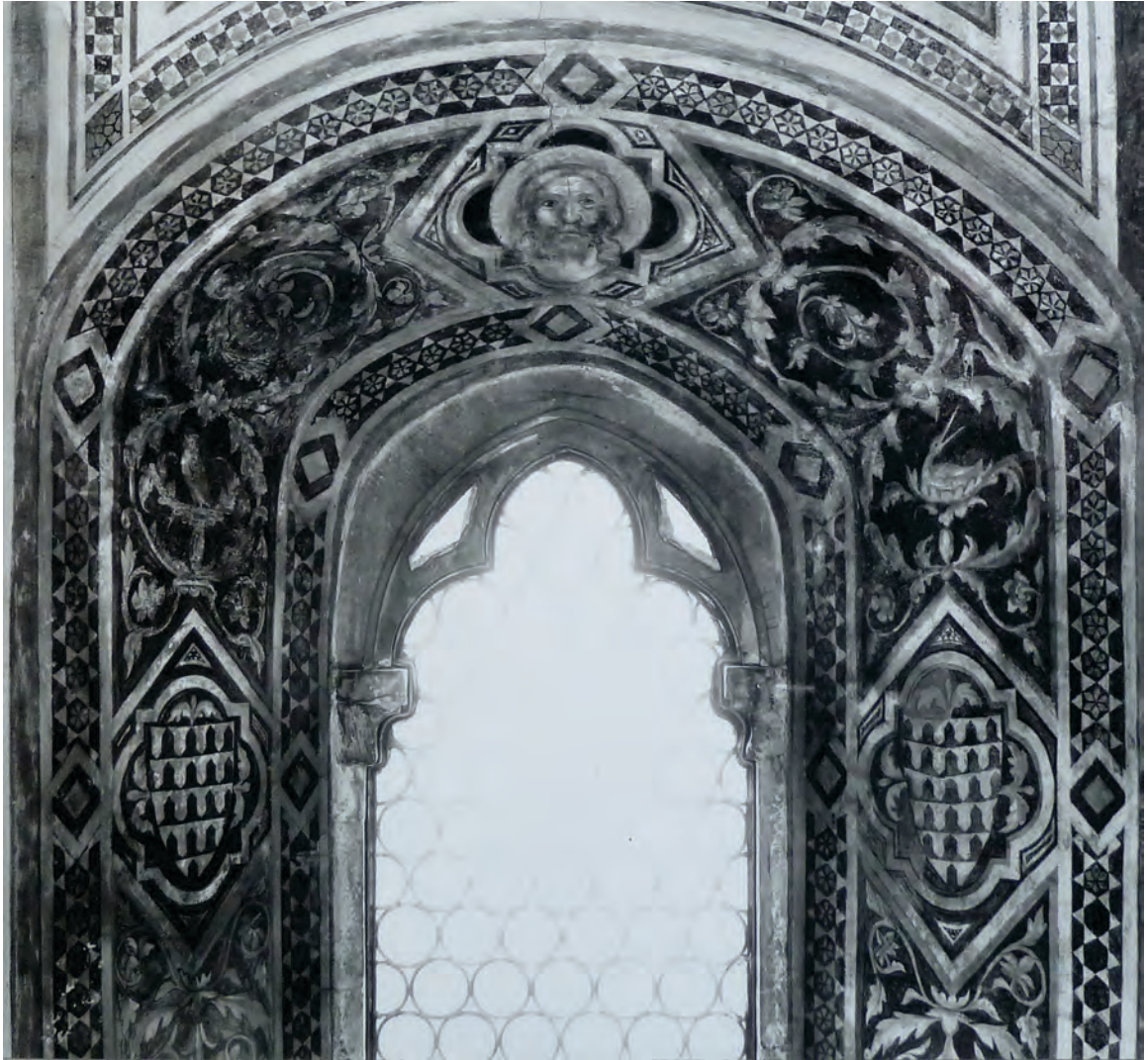


Figure 5.16: Stemmi of Fidesmino da Varano, east wall, 1337, fresco.
Magdalen Chapel, Palazzo del Podestà (Bargello), Florence.



Figure 5.17: Lintel (replica) above entrance on Via della Vigna Vecchia, Palazzo del Podestà (Bargello), Florence.



Figure 5.18: Window with Angevin stemma on Via della Vigna Vecchia, Palazzo del Podestà (Bargello), Florence.



Figure 5.19: *Tomb Portrait of Emperor Henry VII*, Tino da Camaino, 1315, marble. Camposanto, Pisa.



Figure 5.20: King Robert of Anjou. London, British Library, MS Royal 6 E. ix, f. 10v-11. Tuscan, ca. 1335.

CONCLUSION



Figure 6.1: Overall View of South Wall, Guidalotti-Rinuccini Chapel, 1360-70, Santa Croce, Florence.



Figure 6.2: *Supper in the House of the Pharisee/Anointing in Bethany*, Andrea di Giovanni, ca. 1400, fresco.
Oratory of the Magdalen, Hermitage of Belverde, Cetona.



Figure 6.3: *Arrival at Marseilles*, Andrea di Giovanni, ca. 1400, fresco.
Oratory of the Magdalen, Hermitage of Belverde, Cetona.

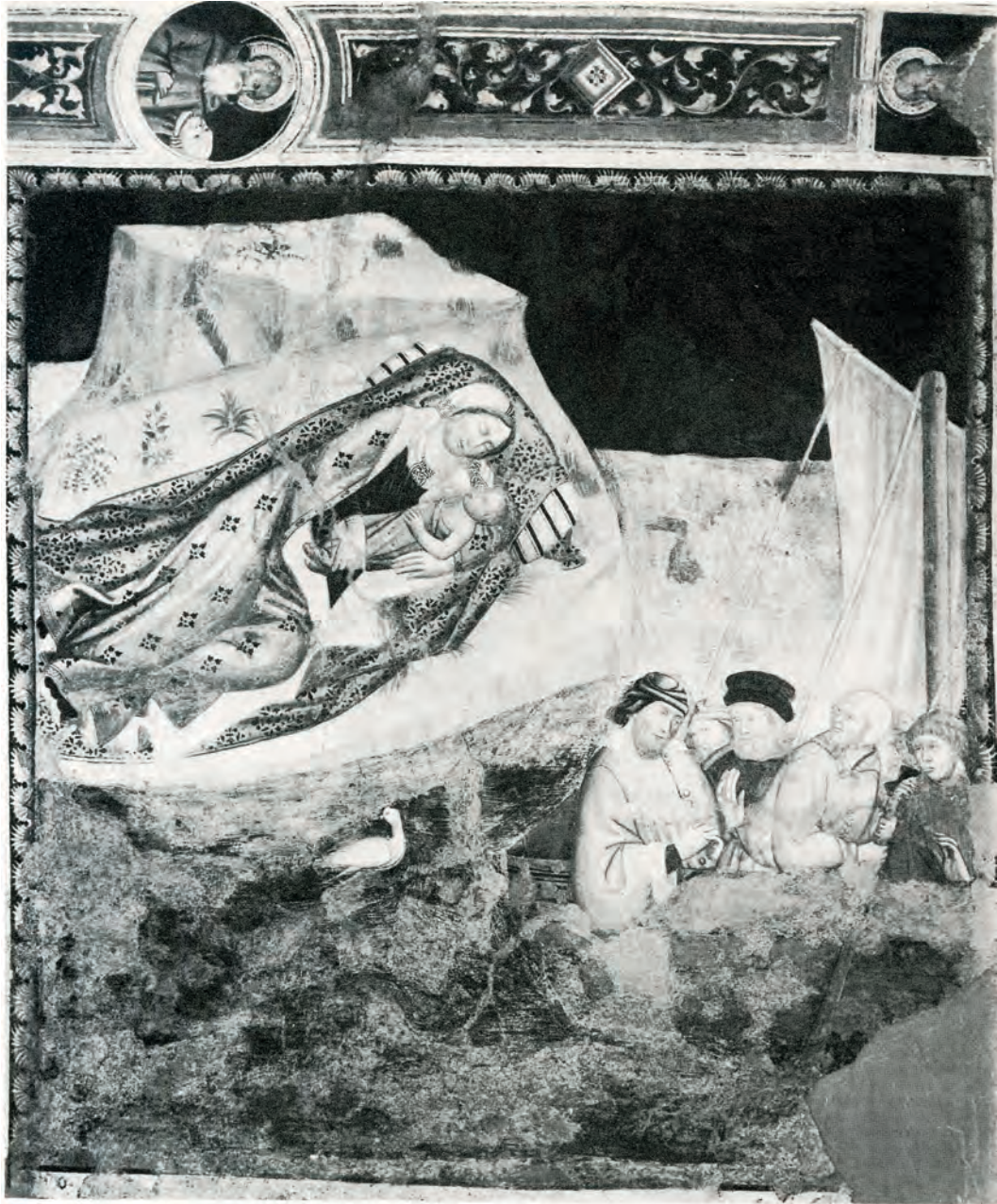


Figure 6.4: *Death of the Ruler's Wife (Miracle of Marseilles)*, Andrea di Giovanni, ca. 1400, fresco.

Oratory of the Magdalen, Hermitage of Belverde, Cetona.



Figure 6.5: *Miracle of Marseilles*, Andrea di Giovanni,
ca. 1400, fresco.
Oratory of the Magdalen, Hermitage of Belverde, Cetona.



Figure 6.6: *The Magdalen in Her Cave*, Andrea di Giovanni, ca. 1400, fresco.
Oratory of the Magdalen, Hermitage of Belverde, Cetona.



Figure 6.7: *The Magdalen in Colloquy with the Angels*, Andrea di Giovanni, ca. 1400, fresco.
Oratory of the Magdalen, Hermitage of Belverde, Cetona.



Figure 6.8: *Crucifixion*, ca. 1400, fresco.
Magdalen Chapel, San Domenico, Spoleto.



Figure 6.9: *Christ in Benediction*, ca. 1400, fresco.
Magdalen Chapel, San Domenico, Spoleto.



Figure 6.10: Entrance Wall with *Dominican Saints* and *The Supper in the House of the Pharisee*,
ca. 1400, fresco.
Magdalen Chapel, San Domenico, Spoleto.



Figure 6.11: *The Raising of Lazarus*, ca. 1400, fresco.
Magdalen Chapel, San Domenico, Spoleto.



Figure 6.12: *Noli me tangere*, ca. 1400, fresco.
Magdalen Chapel, San Domenico, Spoleto.



Figure 6.13: *Departure for Marseilles or Arrival at Marseilles*, ca. 1400, fresco.
Magdalen Chapel, San Domenico, Spoleto.



Figure 6.14: *The Magdalen Preaching*, ca. 1400, fresco.
Magdalen Chapel, San Domenico, Spoleto.



Figure 6.15: *Death of the Ruler's Wife*, ca. 1400, fresco.
Magdalen Chapel, San Domenico, Spoleto.



Figure 6.16: *The Ruler Greeted in Rome by Peter*, ca. 1400, fresco.
Magdalen Chapel, San Domenico, Spoleto.



Figure 6.17: *The Marseilles Miracle*, ca. 1400, fresco.
Magdalen Chapel, San Domenico, Spoleto.



Figure 6.18: *The Ruler and His Wife Receive Baptism from S. Maximin
Assisted by Mary and Martha*, ca. 1400, fresco.
Magdalen Chapel, San Domenico, Spoleto.



Figure 6.19: *Magdalen in Colloquy with the Angels*,
ca. 1400, fresco.
Magdalen Chapel, San Domenico, Spoleto.



Figure 6.20: Detail of *The Last Communion, Death and Ascension of the Magdalen*,
ca. 1400, fresco.
Magdalen Chapel, San Domenico, Spoleto.



Figure 6.20a: Detail of *The Last Communion, Death and Ascension of the Magdalen*,
ca. 1400, fresco.
Magdalen Chapel, San Domenico, Spoleto.