PALPABLE POLITICS AND EMBODIED PASSIONS: TERRACOTTA TABLEAU SCULPTURE IN ITALY, 1450-1530

by

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ABSTRACT

Polychrome terracotta tableau sculpture is one of the most unique genres of 15th-century Italian Renaissance sculpture. In particular, Lamentation tableaux by Niccolò dell’Arca and Guido Mazzoni, with their intense sense of realism and expressive pathos, are among the most potent representatives of the Renaissance fascination with life-like imagery and its use as a powerful means of conveying psychologically and emotionally moving narratives. This dissertation examines the versatility of terracotta within the artistic economy of Italian Renaissance sculpture as well as its distinct mimetic qualities and expressive capacities. It casts new light on the historical conditions surrounding the development of the Lamentation tableau and repositions this particular genre of sculpture as a significant form of figurative sculpture, rather than simply an artifact of popular culture.

In terms of historical context, this dissertation explores overlooked links between the theme of the Lamentation, the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, codes of chivalric honor and piety, and resurgent crusade rhetoric spurred by the fall of Constantinople in 1453. Reconnected to its religious and political history rooted in medieval forms of Sepulchre devotion, the terracotta Lamentation tableau emerges as a key monument that both
reflected and directed the cultural and political tensions surrounding East-West relations in later 15th-century Italy. For the confraternity of Santa Maria della Vita in Bologna, Niccolò dell’Arca’s *Lamentation* represented an opportunity to resurrect the crusade origins of the sodality and establish the group as a major social and political voice within the city. For Guido Mazzoni’s princely patrons, *Lamentation* groups spoke of a devotion to the cause of the Holy Sepulchre and were used to craft aspects of a ruler’s political image that were rooted in traditional chivalric ideals of honor and religious duty. Polychrome terracotta is also discussed as the ideal medium to embody and communicate the immediacy of the piety, the grief, and the political and religious anxieties provoked by events in the East and engage viewers with the call to action at the heart of the *Lamentation* theme. Lastly, this project considers the relationship between *Lamentation* tableaux and the *sacri monti*, with the Sepulchral theme as their conceptual linchpin.
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“Is my strength the strength of stones, or is my flesh bronze?” Job 6:12
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“All things are touched with color.” Job 38:14
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INTRODUCTION

The appearance of large-scale polychrome terracotta tableau sculptures in the mid 15th century marks a unique development in the history of Italian Renaissance sculpture. In their unprecedented level of compelling realism and profoundly moving emotional pathos, these tableaux represent a literal embodiment of Albertian naturalism and the principles of *istoria* and *moto*. Terracotta tableau sculpture also stands as one of the most significant instantiations of the ancient topos of the “living image” – the figure so life-like it lacks only speech – in early Renaissance art. This project considers terracotta tableau sculpture in Italy, focusing mainly on 15th-century polychrome *Lamentation* groups by Niccolò dell’Arca and Guido Mazzoni and the early chapel tableaux at the Sacro Monte di Varallo by Gaudenzio Ferrari. To date there is no comprehensive study of tableau sculpture from this time period, with the exception of the *sacri monti*, which have been discussed mostly in monographic studies. Thus many fundamental questions regarding the origins, development, meanings, readings, and functions of terracotta tableau sculptures, particularly the *Lamentation* groups from the 1400s, have not been fully addressed. This project engages with key questions about the status of terracotta sculpture and its functions, meanings, and audiences in the early Renaissance. It examines the terracotta tableau through the lenses of materiality and medium, and the historiographic underpinnings of the biases that lie at the root of the terracotta tableau’s current marginalized status. It also explores new aspects of the religious and political history surrounding the *Lamentation* tableau’s rise and fall in popularity over the course of the second half of the 15th century.
ISSUES PAST AND PRESENT AND THE STATE OF THE RESEARCH

Thirty years ago in a study of Emilian terracotta tableau sculpture, Kathleen Weil-Garris Brandt posed a series of key questions regarding the broad issues surrounding the place of terracotta as a medium within the economy of sculptural materials, as well as the use of polychrome and the functions of life-like sculpted images in the Renaissance. In the past few years, several important publications have emerged that address those questions from varying perspectives. Bruce Boucher’s essay on the material of terracotta provides an important overview of the wide array of technical possibilities the medium offers and is a practical counterpart to Adalgisa Lugli’s discussion of the rich heritage of metaphorical and cultural associations terracotta carries. The study of wax sculpture and the use of polychrome have also shed light on the way terracotta sculpture functioned in relation to cultural practices of individual commemoration and to the creation of life-like figures. Roberta Panzanelli’s recent essays on polychrome sculpture, particularly for terracotta portrait busts, and the use of wax for ex-voto effigies have done much to help underscore the more anthropological aspects of the function of polychrome terracotta sculpture. Her work also has significant implications for polychrome tableau sculpture the idea of the “living image” as it manifested in 15th-century sculpture.


On the question of the origins of the Lamentation tableau as a genre, little scholarship exists save for William Forsyth’s study of French Entombment groups (mise au tombeau). These groups began to appear in France in the late 14th century and enjoyed wide popularity throughout the 15th century. According to Forsyth, though the concept of the Sepulchre chapel with Entombment groups likely derived from German examples of holy graves (heilige Gräber), which often featured sculpted figures of the dead Christ, the addition of the narrative scene of the Entombment was itself a French development. There is evidence for a relationship between the French Entombment groups and some early 15th-century Italian Entombment groups, as seen in the tableaux from Fribourg Cathedral (c.1432), the Hôtel-Dieu of Tonnerre (c.1454), and Santa Maria della Scala in Moncalieri outside Turin (mid 15th century). However, as this study will show, the choice of Lamentation iconography to accompany the Sepulchre chapel is a distinctly central Italian development that occurred in the second half of the 15th century, one which was rooted in a specific set of contemporary political circumstances and which also drew from select aspects of the accrued political history of the Holy Sepulchre itself.

As for the scholarship on Guido Mazzoni and Niccolò dell’Arca, Adolfo Venturi set the stage early on for pigeonholing Guido Mazzoni as a regional phenomenon.

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4 For the idea of the “living image: see Fredrika H. Jacobs, The Living Image in Renaissance Art, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005). Though Jacobs’s study deals with the concept as it developed in the 16th century, it provides a framework for expanding the concept for the 15th century as well. Panzanelli’s work on the early 16th-century sculptures of the Sacro Monte of Varallo also offers a valuable framework for discussing the medium of polychrome terracotta and its function in orchestrating specific modes of reception of and interaction with images. See Roberta Panzanelli, Pilgrimage in Hyperreality: Images and Imagination in the Early Phase of the ‘New Jerusalem’ at Varallo (1485-1530), (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1999).

Venturi posited Mazzoni as an artist whose work spoke a very specifically Emilian dialect and whose realism was rooted in a quintessentially Emilian earthiness and peasant-like simplicity. This model, however appealingly it may play on the metaphorical associations of earthen terracotta with humility and nostalgic visions of traditional Emilian cultural values, overlooks the fact that Guido Mazzoni’s patrons were on the whole anything but humble folk and his works were certainly not considered objects of visual and technical simplicity in their own time. Furthermore, the idea that Mazzoni’s art was understood and appreciated as a strictly local phenomenon is belied by the fact that commissions for his work came from all over the Italian peninsula, not to mention France and England. In some ways it is perhaps the non-regional scope and international appeal of his work, rather than any specific aspect of regionalism, that has made it difficult to integrate Mazzoni into traditional narratives of Renaissance artistic and stylistic development.

More recently, two key monographs on Guido Mazzoni by Timothy Verdon and Adalgisa Lugli have done much to address aspects of this artist’s style and the iconographic content of his tableau sculptures in a more expansive contextual framework. Verdon’s 1978 study of Mazzoni was the first to discuss his expressive tableaux within an environment of 15th-century religious reform inspired by imaginative practices of the *devotio moderna*. He also dealt with other issues such as the *Lamentation* tableau’s relationship with sacred theatre and aspects of its place in the larger apparatus of courtly

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7 Timothy Verdon, *The Art of Guido Mazzoni*, (New York: Garland, 1978) and Lugli, (as in 2). Though some aspects of Verdon’s study are outdated, particularly with regard to the chronology of Mazzoni’s tableaux, it is still the only monograph on this artist in English.
displays of piety, especially in the cases of the *Lamentation* groups found in Ferrara and Naples. Lugli’s monograph did much to place Mazzoni’s work within a larger framework of trends in Italian realism, naturalism and expressivity, and further enhanced our understanding of the relationship between Mazzoni’s works and wax ex-votos and life castings. She also laid a solid foundation for a reappraisal of the importance of terracotta as a sculptural medium in the 15th century. Though the work of Verdon and Lugli has helped pave the way for a clearer understanding of how Mazzoni’s tableaux fit into the larger picture of the stylistic development and functional uses of Renaissance sculpture, Mazzoni is still largely excluded from conventional surveys of Italian Renaissance art.  

The scholarship of Cesare Gnudi also left a legacy of limited understanding of the works of both Guido Mazzoni and Niccolò dell’Arca. Gnudi’s work largely focused on issues of style and often discussed these two artists in relation to Northern European sculptors such as Claus Sluter and painters such as Jan van Eyck and Rogier van der Weyden, as well as Italian sculptors such as Donatello and Jacopo della Quercia. Given the climate of artist exchange during the 15th century, especially between North and South, Gnudi was not necessarily wrong to suggest the presence of such crosscurrents in the work of Niccolò dell’Arca and Guido Mazzoni. However, he insisted with no concrete evidence that Niccolò had to have travelled and trained in Burgundy in order to

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8 Recently Guido Mazzoni and Antonio Begarelli have become a topic of interest once again for Italian scholars, as evidenced by the exhibition *Emozioni in terracotta: Guido Mazzoni/Antonio Begarelli* (For the catalogue see: Giorgio Bonsanti and Francesca Piccinini, eds., *Emozioni in terracotta: Guido Mazzoni/Antonio Begarelli* (Modena: Franco Cosimo Panini, 2009). The catalogue essays, however, presented very little in the way of new scholarship. Begarelli was also the subject of a monograph in 1992. See: Giorgio Bonsanti, *Antonio Begarelli,* (Modena: Fraco Cosimo Panini, 1992).

have created a work such as his *Lamentation*, thus diminishing the unique nature of his contribution to the development of expressive images in the Italian Renaissance.

Additionally, Gnudi’s analyses often fell prey to biases that place all advances in the arts in the hands of painters with sculpture always following behind. This was perhaps nowhere more obvious than in his treatment of Niccolò dell’Arca’s *Lamentation*, where with regard to its formal innovations and expressive power, Gnudi was unwilling to concede that such advances in sculpture could precede those in painting. Rather, he insisted figures such as Niccolò’s wailing Mary Magdalene could have been created only in the wake of Ercole de Roberti’s fresco of the wailing Magdalene in the Garganelli chapel (1478-1485) in San Petronio.¹⁰ Other aspects of Gnudi’s assessment of Niccolò added to the difficulty of placing him within a standard narrative of Renaissance sculptural development, particularly his treatment of the fact that in his own time Niccolò was known as a rather eccentric character, described as *fantasticus* and *barbarus* by his contemporaries. In a sense, his odd personality opened the door to an obliquely biographical reading of the unconventional formal and expressive qualities found in his *Lamentation*, which in turn made it far too easy to marginalize the piece as a kind of “one off” example of the genre, or even an outright oddity.

¹⁰ Based on his assumptions about the relationship between Niccolò dell’Arca’s tableau and Ercole de Roberti’s Garganelli Chapel frescoes, Gnudi’s 1942 monograph on Niccolò dated the *Lamentation* between 1485 and 1490. Two decades later James Beck published documentary evidence that securely dated Niccolò’s tableau to 1462-1463. James H. Beck, “Niccolò dell’Arca: A Reexamination,” *Art Bulletin* 47 (3), (1965): 335–344. In 1966 Charles Seymour was still promoting the later date for the tableau, though with some reservation. See Charles Seymour, Jr., *Sculpture in Italy 1400-1500*, (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1966), 185-186. Gnudi’s text of 1973 acknowledged Beck’s documentary evidence and conceded that Niccolò did create the *Lamentation* between 1462 and 1463. Yet he insisted that Niccolò must have returned to the tableau at a later date (post-1485) to replace and update the figures of Mary Magdalene and Mary Cleofa (the two most expressive and dynamic figures of the ensemble) after having seen the Garganelli Chapel frescoes. There is, however, no documentary evidence for such an intervention. Gnudi’s proposal is now largely rejected.
Scholarship on Niccolò dell’Arca’s *Lamentation* has benefited greatly from the publication of a collection of conference papers in 1989, which added important information regarding the original church and chapel setting for the tableau and its relationship to the Holy Sepulchre, devotional texts and dramatic sources that informed the *Lamentation*, as well as ways in which the emotional energy of the *Lamentation* related to the devotional practices of Niccolò dell’Arca’s confraternal patrons.\(^\text{11}\) Most recently Randi Klebanoff has made a valuable contribution by underscoring the importance of Niccolò dell’Arca’s *Lamentation* in relation to the charitable practices of the confraternity and the tableau’s role in a hospital context, as well as the gendered aspects of the ritual lament.\(^\text{12}\) Despite these important contributions, however, much like Guido Mazzoni, Niccolò dell’Arca’s work still hovers at the margins in traditional texts on Renaissance art.

The Sacro Monte di Varallo and its successors have, by comparison, received more scholarly attention and have met with greater success in terms of their recent incorporation into the canon of 16\(^{\text{th}}\)-century sculpture.\(^\text{13}\) This is perhaps due to the fact

\(^{\text{11}}\) Grazi Agostini and Luisa Ciammitti, eds., *Niccolò dell’Arca: Seminario di studi. Atti del Convegno, 26-27 maggio 1987*, (Bologna: Nuova Alfa Editoriale, 1989. Mario Fanti’s essay, “Nuove ricerche sulla collocazione del *Compianto* in Santa Maria della Vita” provides a clarification of the location and appearance of the original chapel based on documentary evidence and chronicles the subsequent changes and modifications made to the structure and the arrangement of the *Lamentation* tableau itself. Guido Gentile’s “Testi devoti e iconografia del *Compianto*” deals with Christological devotional texts and Passion plays that informed visual representations of the *Lamentation*. He also alludes to important references regarding the *Lamentation* group’s chapel space as a replica of the Holy Sepulchre and the confraternity’s longstanding devotion to the Sepulchre. Timothy Verdon’s “‘Si tu non piangi quando questo vedi…’: Penitenza e spiritualità laica nel Quattrocento” likens the frenetic emotional state of Niccolò dell’Arca’s *Lamentation* to that conjured by the penitential acts of ritual flagellation practiced by the brothers of the confraternity of Santa Maria della Vita.

that these tableaux, beginning in particular with the work of Gaudenzio Ferrari, fit neatly into the narrative of developments in the visual arts with respect to Reformation and Counter Reformation debates regarding the functions of images. However, though the origins of the Sacro Monte di Varallo date to 1486, the complex is largely discussed in terms of its appearance in the later 16th century rather than its earlier phases of development. Recently, the work of Roberta Panzanelli has done much to shed light on the use of tableau sculpture in the early phases of the Sacro Monte’s development and its role in creating an immersive experience of Holy Land pilgrimage. Yet questions still remain about the relationship between Lamentation tableaux and the tableaux of Varallo. This study attempts to answer these questions by looking to the 15th-century political history surrounding the Holy Sepulchre.

CHAPTER OVERVIEWS

Chapter One sets the stage for an examination of the ways in which terracotta sculpture, and the tableau format in particular, became a powerful means for sculptors to explore the rhetorical and psychological power of realism and to engage with questions of facture and embodiment in man-made creations. It also addresses the place of the

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14 Panzanelli, (as in 4).
material of terracotta within the 15th-century discourse of materials and mimesis, both in
terms of the degree to which it lent itself to verisimilitude as well as metaphorical
readings of the artist’s mastery and manipulation of the material in creating natural
likeness or life-likeness in a sculpted figure. The writings of artists and theorists such as
Ghiberti, Vasari, Varchi, Lomazzo, Gauricus, and others provide examples of the
language, metaphors, and topoi used in relation to terracotta, which in turn shed light on
the material relationship between making and meaning associated with terracotta in the
15th century and its versatile role in the artistic economy of 15th-century Italian sculptural
production. This reconstruction of the contemporary reception of terracotta sculpture and
the critical history of the medium of terracotta itself determine that both style and
material were conscious choices based on meaning and function. This argument diverges
fundamentally from the prevailing negative associations of terracotta based on retrofitted
orthodoxies stemming from aesthetic and theoretical biases spurred by Benedetto
Varchi’s 16th-century paragone debates. I offer a coda to this in an examination of works
by the 16th-century artists Antonio Begarelli, Alfonso Lombardi, and Gaudenzio Ferrari
in terms of their responses to the paragone and the eventual reversal of fortune the
paragone signaled for the terracotta tableau in general.

Additionally, Chapter One considers the specific issues surrounding the
Lamentation tableau in terms of questions regarding its origins in Italy, its iconographical
content, and issues of style. It also opens a discussion on the importance of the
architectural settings for the Lamentation tableaux. These sculptural groups were made to
be part of Sepulchre chapels, which were themselves meant to be understood in relation
to the symbolism of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. Thus the chapel itself glossed a
body of religious and political history onto the sacred narrative of the tableau. What exactly the religious symbolism and political histories were that the chapel-as-Sepulchre brought to the equation forms the basis for Chapter Two.

Chapter Two an excursus examining not only the history of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, but also an examination of the practices of replicating and referencing the Holy Sepulchre that developed in the West, as well as the spiritual and devotional practices and eschatological and political ideologies that became associated with the Sepulchre and its replicas over the ages. As the site of Christ’s resurrection, the tomb itself was the most spiritually charged component of the church of the Holy Sepulchre. This tangible proof of the fundamental Christian theological tenets surrounding death and resurrection became not only the focal point of the devotional practice of Holy Land pilgrimage, but also the lynchpin of eschatological prophecy regarding the apocalypse and the coming of the New Jerusalem. It also formed the core of a body of symbolic forms and metaphors of the altar, tabernacle, and the sacrament that were at the heart of Easter celebrations and rituals and acted as a force behind developments in liturgical spaces and rituals as well as extra-liturgical sacred drama.

However, because of the church of the Holy Sepulchre’s Constantinian origins, it also developed into a politically charged emblem of Western imperial grandeur and hegemony. Thus, with the clashes between the Christian and Muslim religions that began in the 7th century, Jerusalem became the most hotly contested territory in the Levant, with the Sepulchre serving as its representative flagship shrine. With the advent of the Crusades, from the 12th through the 13th century, the quest to take back the Sepulchre effectively became the rallying cry of generations of crusaders bent on recovering the
holiest of shrines and avenging the honor of Christ. By the time we reach the 15th century, Sepulchral architecture, whether in the form of replicas of or references to the Anastasis or replicas of the tomb aedicule, was laden with a host of powerful spiritual and political associations. Overall this chapter underscores the idea that the Holy Sepulchre in its various replicated instantiations in the West was multivalent and polysemous, speaking to some of the most profound mysteries of the Christian faith as well as political concerns regarding rightful ownership and proper protection and veneration of one of Christianity’s holiest sites.

Chapter Three returns to the Lamentation tableau, specifically Niccolò dell’Arca’s group commissioned by the confraternity of Santa Maria della Vita in Bologna, to examine it in relation to the ideas and ideologies associated with the Holy Sepulchre as they manifested in the mid 15th century. The chapter opens with a discussion of the history of the confraternity as a charitable organization that had roots in the flagellant movement of 1260. Full consideration is given to the implications and meanings a Sepulchre chapel and Lamentation tableau had with regard to the confraternity’s charitable hospital operations as well as the prestige and status the monumental shrine brought the confraternity in relation to other Bolognese confraternities and their civic-religious shrines. Most importantly, however, I address an overlooked aspect of this sodality’s history with regard to the ties the flagellant movement itself had to the Crusades. The group’s crusade connection instilled a devotion to the cause of recovering the Sepulchre that was included in Santa Maria della Vita’s statutes from the very moment of their foundation and which found new meaning after the fall of Constantinople in 1453 and the calls for crusade that ensued.
In my analysis of the historical importance and political function of Niccolò dell’Arca’s *Lamentation*, I argue that it is the combination of the politically charged theme of lament and the symbolic power of the Sepulchre shrine that helps to tie the function and meaning of this tableau sculpture to 15th-century reincarnations of crusading ideology and rhetoric, where recapturing the Holy Sepulchre reemerged as a tried and true rhetorical commonplace. A rhetoric of impassioned and at times incendiary lament that focused on the loss of Western Christianity’s last stronghold in the Old Latin Kingdom in the East was employed in sermons and orations, by mendicants and humanists alike, and disseminated strategically throughout the Italian peninsula to stoke the fires of enthusiasm for a crusade. This rhetoric of lament operated on a system of metaphorical transference by which the fall of Constantinople represented the final extension of the West’s long-standing grievances and anxieties about Muslim incursions in the East, which were crystallized and symbolized in the collective psyche of Western Christendom by the loss of Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre over two and a half centuries earlier. Thus, the *Lamentation* cum Sepulchre shrine became a visual and conceptual embodiment of the highly impassioned sense of sorrow, anger, and a desire for vengeance inherent in the rhetoric of lament and a stimulus for initiating concrete actions to avenge the Turks’ offences against Christendom.

Post-1453, the situation in Bologna with regard to crusade politics was one in which various factions and noble families promoted the papal agenda for crusade in the East for a variety of interconnected reasons that ranged from a genuine concern for the status of Eastern Christendom and the Holy Land to hopes for political gain in return for lending their support to the crusade cause. An examination of the web of events, actors,
and motives at work in Bologna over the course of the 1450s and 1460s, shows that there were members of the confraternity that had ample reason to use the sodality and its Sepulchre shrine as a platform to promote crusade politics and revive the historical corporate devotion of the group to the cause of retaking the Sepulchre. The chapter ends with a coda that considers the afterlife of the *Lamentation* tableau in Bologna and the role other forms of tableau sculpture played in commenting upon heavily politicized issues that formed part of Bolognese civic-religious life.

Following the example of Chapter Three, the final chapter looks to the works of Guido Mazzoni in Busseto, Modena, Ferrara, and Naples as well as the work of Agostino de’Fondulis in Milan to explore the ways in which rulers and noble families as well as venerable and prestigious confraternities looked to the powerful visual presence of the polychrome terracotta tableau and the Holy Sepulchre to communicate aspects of their political agenda or personas. While for all the tableaux addressed in this chapter, a truly devout statement of piety remained one of the motivating factors for the commission, that is not to say that a show of piety did not also have its place in the political realm. For example, for the prestigious confraternity of San Giovanni della Buona Morte in the duchy of Modena the tableau provided a way in which the group could associate itself and its charitable acts with the princely power of the D’Este. Nobles such as the Pallavicini in Busseto, for whom the Crusades had become signifier of past chivalric glories, found renewed political currency in a *Lamentation* and Sepulchre chapel in as much as it evoked memories of family history in relation to past triumphs and honors from the Crusades of the Middle Ages. For rulers such as Ercole d’Este of Ferrara, Alfonso II of Naples, and Lodovico Sforza of Milan, Sepulchre monuments were part of
a larger apparatus of dynastic princely display rooted in both the evocation of chivalric
values and concerns related to eschatological prophecy, the status of the Holy
Sepulchre, and the fate of the Holy Land. For these individuals, the Lamentation groups
and Sepulchre chapels served as interpellations into a system of values and rhetoric that
melded piety and politics in the service of a grand policy statement regarding the idea of
a resurgent Western Christian hegemony in which many of the rulers of Italy vested part
of their image as princely sovereigns. Ultimately the triumph of Western Christianity in
the Holy Land, and thus devotion to the cause of the Sepulchre, was seen as a key
element in bringing apocalyptic prophecy to fruition.

The call to crusade that rang through the political rhetoric of the second half of
the 15th century, gave new life to the romanticized ideals of devotion to the cause of the
Sepulchre and the honor of Christ as King of Kings. In each of these cases, Sepulchre
monuments were but one manifestation of communicating a dynastic devotion to the
cause of the Holy Land and the Sepulchre. These values found expression in a new visual
formulation rooted in the ideals of Renaissance naturalism, where the materiality of
terracotta and its mimetic and expressive capacities served as the ideal medium to
visually enliven the emotional immediacy and palpable presence of both political leaders
and their political and religious agendas. The chapter ends with a consideration of the
transition away from Sepulchre monuments invested with notions of chivalric values to
the Sacro Monte of Varallo, which began as an attempt at replication of Holy Land
topography and evolved into a complex of chapels that employed the vivid presence of
life-like figures in terracotta to combine the experience of imaginative Passion-based
devotions with that of Holy Land pilgrimage, which was itself a product of a form of politicized Franciscan religious reform.

In a larger sense, what this project aims to initiate is not solely a rehabilitation of the medium of terracotta, the genre of the *Lamentation* tableau, and the artistic legacies of some of its most famous proponents. Rather it also seeks to enter into a larger discourse with broader implications for studies in Renaissance art as a whole. Ultimately this project presents the terracotta tableau as a highly embodied mode of sculptural production that operates within a distinct set of conditions and concepts regarding material and facture and that engages with a unique set of viewing practices and levels of emotional, psychological, and even political and ideological involvement. Hopefully, it will further our understanding of the variety and uses of styles and genres of art produced outside the traditional centers of Florence, Rome, and Venice and underscore the intersection of art and politics and the ways in which images both reflected policies and actively molded public opinion in the courtly centers of Renaissance Italy. Ultimately this will lead us to a greater understanding of the relationship between medium and message in the Renaissance, as well as Renaissance beliefs and practices regarding monuments, the construction of memory, and the variety of visual iterations its social and political effects can manifest through time.
In many ways, the status of the literature on the Lamentation groups, which is fragmented in both its focus and approach, is reflective of the many lacunae in the literature on Renaissance sculpture in general. Scholarly interest in Renaissance painting has long overshadowed sculpture and though scholarship produced over the past twenty-five years has begun to redress this situation, there is still considerable work to be done. While the corpus of literature on Italian Renaissance sculpture has been amplified in recent years – monographs, specialized articles concerning individual works or monuments, exhibition catalogues – the major surveys of Italian Renaissance sculpture have incorporated little of this recent work. Traditionally, within the literature on Italian Renaissance sculpture and its methods, terracotta sculpture in all its forms and genres has remained largely at the margins. However, in the past few decades, a small body of scholarship concerning terracotta sculpture has made inroads into the discourse.¹

The Quattrocento was a vibrant and experimental time for sculpture, one which embraced the use of a variety of materials for pursuing technological innovation, new

aesthetic values, and new expressive forms. While there is a dearth of 15\textsuperscript{th}-century textual and theoretical material to help contextualize and categorize the sculptural production of this era, in many ways the diversity of sculptural forms that were produced is itself a testament to the fluidity of ideas and values that existed. The making and meaning of sculpture was judged less by the types of rigid divisions and hierarchies of materials that eventually developed during the course of the 16\textsuperscript{th} century, and more by a dialogue amongst materials where the visual effects that the interplay of various media produced was valued, as well as by the functions sculpted objects served. Terracotta was especially well-suited to rendering expressive and expansive forms and capturing life-like and tactile surface effects, all enhanced by the coloristic effects one could achieve with polychromy. In some cases, terracotta’s chameleon-like ability to mimic other materials constituted a large part of the message built into a work art, while in others terracotta allowed structurally for a range of motion and dynamism that is very difficult to achieve in other sculptural media. With the most ambitious form of terracotta sculpture, namely large-scale polychrome tableaux, it was the medium itself that made these groups the embodiment of impassioned engagement on the part of the viewer, with their visually arresting realism and their emotionally communicative power.

By these standards, within the overall production of polychrome terracotta sculpture in the 15\textsuperscript{th} century the \textit{Lamentation} tableaux by Niccolò dell’Arca and Guido Mazzoni are the jewels in the crown. Yet these tableau groups, along with other types of sculpture in terracotta, still exist in the margins of the standard story of the evolution and development of Renaissance sculpture in Italy. Some of the issues that have kept these sculpture groups marginalized, such as their expressivity, their insistence on
verisimilitude, and their material make-up and polychromy – exactly the qualities that made them so visually compelling and communicatively powerful in their own time – are the very same qualities that would lead to their downfall in later centuries. Other later categorical distinctions and divisions, such as devotional versus aesthetic responses to these veristic and expressive sculptures, vernacular versus classicizing tendencies in style, and monochrome purity versus polychrome ornament of the figures themselves has led to a further fragmentation of our understanding of these works and ultimately their marginalization within the canon of Renaissance sculpture.

To build a greater understanding of the historical circumstances surrounding these tableau sculptures, it is necessary to deconstruct and look beyond the historically determined operations of exclusion that stem from the critical foundations laid by the paragone debates of the 16th century and reinforced in academic circles through the following centuries. Far too often the inadequacy of these anachronistic, 16th-century terms of discourse rob us of the ability to fully engage critically with this unique genre of complex, visually striking, and technically refined sculpture in its own right. On this point, there are certainly lessons to be learned from the critical fortune and historiographic treatment similar genres of European sculpture, be it polychrome wood or terracotta, have received. For example, from the 19th century onward German and French polychrome wood sculpture fared well critically within their own nationalistic spheres and found a comfortable place of acceptance in discussions of the Gothic as a style that represents a certain national ethos or cultural golden age for these geographic regions. However, these kinds of artificial designations rooted in modern nationalism only serve to erase the traces of cultural exchange that give evidence to Italian interests in and
interpretations of Northern European styles and tastes as well as Northern Europe’s uses and interpretations of Italian classicism. These types of historically determined style divisions leave us with a host of Italian sculptors such as Guido Mazzoni, Pietro Torrigiano, Benedetto da Roverzano and Girolamo della Robbia, who, while their mastery of polychrome terracotta sculpture found welcoming patronage from French and English monarchs and aristocrats, have been lost in a kind of historiographic limbo bound by the categorical stylistic strictures of Italian Renaissance and Northern Gothic.²

Ultimately, this binary system of Gothic or Renaissance categories does little justice to the unique and specific terms of engagement inherent in the terracotta tableau, leaving us to question once again the usefulness and validity of such labels. One possible corrective to this that will explored in this chapter is the sense of regionally specific influences, or a microclimate of cultural and historical factors, not unlike the concept of terroir, that was itself celebrated and promoted in relation to artistic manufacture in the 15th century.

Spanish polychrome wood sculpture has also traditionally faced similar difficulties inasmuch as it has been positioned as a vernacular style in relation to classicizing, and therefore presumably more sophisticated, Italianate models.³ Lately,
however, there has been a resurgence of interest in Spanish polychrome statuary that
effectively redresses some of the philosophical and aesthetic biases that have long kept
these works at the margins.  
4 At the root of these historical biases against Spanish
polychrome sculpture, and European polychrome sculpture in general, is their
categorization as rustic “low” or “popular” art, simply because they do not fit the
received narrative of artistic progression that continues to dominate the discourse
surrounding Renaissance sculpture.  
5 Such categories have proven insufficient for both our understanding of the terracotta tableau as a genre and for a working history of
Renaissance sculpture as a whole. Additionally, a certain resistance to anthropological

4 Xavier Bray, *The Sacred Made Real: Spanish Painting and Sculpture 1600-1700*, (London: National
Gallery Company, 2009).

5 The ultimate assignation of polychrome statuary to the realm of low culture has its roots in the writings of
Johan Joachim Winckelmann on the subject of ancient marble statuary. Despite numerous archeological
finds that bore witness to an abundant use of color on ancient Greek statuary, Winckelmann promoted an
idealistic vision of antique statuary where pure form was key and was defined by the unadorned surface of
white marble – color was a secondary factor that only detracted from the essential beauty of the sculpture.
This view stood in stark contrast to that of other antiquarians, such as Antoine-Chrysostome Quattremère
de Quincy, who held that color was an intrinsic part of the design and aesthetic experience of ancient
statuary and architecture. Nonetheless, Winckelmann’s view of antiquity had an impact on Renaissance
sculpture as a form of classical revival inasmuch as much Renaissance sculpture received the same physical
and theoretical whitewashing that the statuary of Winckelmann’s world of antiquity did. Color was
summarily relegated to the lower orders of aesthetic enjoyment in relation to sculpture as it was a
secondary element that appealed to a lower order of aesthetic engagement and therefore less intellectual
and aesthetically informed (read “popular”) viewer. For the debates that formed around a monochrome v.
polychrome vision of antique sculpture in the late 18th and early 19th centuries see the essays in: Vinzenz
Brinkmann and Raimund Wünsche, eds., *Gods in Color: Painted Sculpture in Classical Antiquity*,
(Munich: Stiftung Archäologie, 2007). For a seminal study of the idea of popular culture in the Renaissance
see: Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*, (Brookfield: Ashgate, 1994). For art historical
studies that grapple with and contest the categorizations of high v. low and popular v. elite see: Christiane
Tasks and Themes in the Study of Popular Religion,” *The Pursuit of Holiness in Late Medieval and
Verdon, (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1984), 291-311; and Alessandro Nova, “Popular Art in
Renaissance Italy: Early Response to the Holy Mountain at Varallo,” *Reframing the Renaissance: Visual
Culture in Europe and Latin America, 1450-1650*, ed. C. Farago, (New Haven: Yale University Press,
1995), 113-126. David Freedberg also addresses directly the impact of the operations of exclusion to which
works in polychrome terracotta and wax have fallen victim in *The Power of Images*, (Chicago: University
approaches to the forms and functions of life-like polychrome, especially those that connect life-like polychrome portraits to death mask and practices attached to cults of death and memory, is also at the root of their marginalization. However, recent studies have made inroads into re-evaluating the power and function of sculptures and sculpted objects that blur the boundaries between agent and object for the sake of greater interactivity and engagement on the part of the viewer.  

Overall, recent scholarship has laid a solid foundation for substantial inroads toward integrating polychrome terracotta sculpture into broader discussions of Renaissance sculpture. The following discussion will begin by looking at the place of terracotta within the sculptural economy of the 15th century, the theoretical frameworks that developed around it in the 16th century, the impact this has had on terracotta Lamentation groups as a whole, and what kinds of questions remain to be addressed. Hopefully the result can move us toward a point where we ask not “how we should understand the significance of this art [the terracotta tableau] in the context of Renaissance art as a whole,” but rather how should we begin to reformulate our understanding Renaissance art as a whole in light of what the terracotta tableau and its  

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evolution and the embodied modes of artistic creation and communication it entails tell us about Renaissance sculpture and its functions.\(^7\)

**RENAISSANCE SCULPTURE: MATERIALS AND MATERIALITY**

For as varied as the materials of sculpture were in 15\(^{th}\)-century Italy, there was still a certain hierarchy.\(^8\) However, assessing a material from a practical, pragmatic point of view, seeking to understand what a given material allows an artist to achieve formally, is but a basic starting point. One must also consider the suitability of different materials for specific locations or functions, not only in terms of durability, but also in relation to the status of the material based on factors that could range from the aesthetic, to historical or cultural values, to cost and rarity.\(^9\) Though the Renaissance is often characterized as a period that encouraged innovation and experimentation with materials, traditions relating

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7 This is the question posed by Kathleen Weil-Garris, “‘Were this Clay but Marble’: A Reassessment of Emilian Terra Cotta Group Sculpture,” *Le arti a Bologna e in Emilia dal XVI al XVII secolo* (Bologna: CLUEB, 1982), 63.


9 For carving and casting techniques see: Nicholas Penny, *The Materials of Sculpture*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993). Bronze, marble, and porphyry immediately spring to mind on the basis of their costs, rarity, and the difficulties involved in working with them as well as the culturally ascribed value placed upon them, which in turn had roots in their uses in Roman antiquity. In early *quattrocento* Florence, bronze and marble were the two most prized materials for monumental public sculpture, with bronze costing up to ten times more than marble, weights being equal. The sculptures decorating the niches at Orsanmichele provide an excellent case study in relation to both the financial value and cultural cache of these two materials. Particularly telling is the government edict issued in 1406 in response to the sluggish pace at which the niche were being filled, which gave all guilds that had been designated a niche ten years to fulfill their responsibility to decorate it or forfeit their right to it. Attached to this edict was the stipulation that only major guilds were allowed to use bronze for their statues, while minor guilds were permitted to use only marble or other stone. For the history of Orsanmichele and its sculptures see: Diane F. Zervas, *Orsanmichele a Firenze* – 2 volumes, (Modena: Panini Editore, 1996). Also see Sarah Blake McHam, “Public Sculpture in Renaissance Florence,” *Looking at Italian Renaissance Sculpture*, ed. S.B. McHam, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 149-188. For the uses and meaning of porphyry in the Renaissance see: Suzanne Butters, *The Triumph of Vulcan: Sculptor’s Tools, Porphyry, and the Prince in Ducal Florence* – 2 volumes, (Florence: Leo Olschki, 1996) and Wendy Stedman Sheard, “Verrocchio’s Medici Tomb and the Language of Materials: with a Postscript on his Legacy in Venice,” *Verrocchio and Late Quattrocento Italian Sculpture*, ed. S. Bule, (Florence: Le Lettere, 1992), 63-90.
to forms and functions of certain types of sculptures or sculptural monuments could still
dictate the need to implement a prescribed body of materials. While marble and bronze
maintained primacy of place for large-scale public works of a civic nature, when we look
at the sacred as well as the domestic realm these materials co-existed with relative ease
amongst objects carved or modeled from terracotta, wood, and wax. Certainly the cost of
a given material factors into this situation, but it is important to note as well that the
sacred and domestic realms also offered much more intimate and personalized
possibilities in relation to function, placement, meaning, and ultimately modes of
engagement. Furthermore, with sculptural materials there are also the issues of
associative ideas attached to a material as well as ideas about the actual act of making and
its meaning.

Marble and bronze, in addition to being essentially the most expensive materials
for large-scale figurative sculpture, also were laden with associations from antiquity,
though the survival of so few ancient bronzes created a skewed vision of the sculptural
landscape of that era.\(^{10}\) It was with the creation of Ghiberti’s *St. John the Baptist* for
Orsanmichele that Vasari saw the arrival of the first hints of Roman revival in sculpture,
perhaps not least for the impressive technical feat of casting the larger-than-life figure.\(^{11}\)
The difficulty of the casting process was long recognized and over the decades the


\(^{11}\) Despite the fact that the *St. John the Baptist* shows strong Gothic tendencies in its style, Vasari
describes it as the figure “Onde fu il primo che cominciasse a imitare le cose degli antichi Romani.”
For the history of the statue see: Richard Krautheimer, *Lorenzo Ghiberti*, (Princeton: Princeton University
Press, 1982), 71-85. Stylistically, however, Ghiberti’s *St. Mark* is considered his most classically inspired
monumental bronze figure. See Krautheimer (as above), 86-100. For an overview of the development of
bronze casting techniques in the 15th century see: Richard E. Stone, “Antico and the Development of
supremely difficult task of casting a monumental figure in one piece as Ghiberti had done with his *St. John the Baptist* would, in a sense, become part of the creation metaphor and mythology attached to this material – so much so that it would form the conceit at the heart of Cellini’s dramatic tale of his near-miraculous casting of the *Perseus*. Cellini also uses his masterful knowledge of the life essences of bronze’s constituent materials to play upon themes of the artist as an almost God-like creator, or resurrector, of figures.¹²

From the early 15th century, stone and marble became most closely associated with figurative sculpture and antique statuary, though it was virtually omnipresent in its various uses and forms. The seeds of this development appear at Orsanmichele in the niche decorated by Nanni di Banco for the Stone Carvers’ and Woodworkers’ Guild where the *Four Crowned Martyrs*, styled after Roman figures seen either in ancient reliefs, coins, or portrait busts, appear atop a frieze pairing architectural carvers with a stone carver at work on a statue, making the distinction between the craft of cutting stone and the artistry of carving statuary.¹³ Another important moment for *all’antica* marble statuary arrives near the close of the 15th century with Tullio Lombardo’s *Adam* (c. 1490-1495) for the Vendramin tomb, closely followed by Michelangelo’s *Bacchus* (c. 1496-

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To what degree each of these sculptures drew from any specific example of classical statuary is difficult to say, but what they both share is an aesthetic that revels in carefully studied and rendered human form enhanced by the pure whiteness of the marble itself. Both of these statues mark the arrival of classical rhetorical conventions of whiteness as a radiating force of life paired with the poetic and ekphrastic conceits devised by the likes of Pliny, Philostratus, and Callistratus of living or speaking statues.

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14 For Tullio Lombardo’s Adam see: Adriana Augusti, “The Sculptor in his Cultural Milieu,” Tullio Lombardo and Venetian High Renaissance Sculpture, ed. A. Luchs, (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 2009), 41-55. Augusti stresses Hellenic sculpture as a possible source of the figure of Adam. For Michelangelo’s Bacchus see: Luba Freedman, "Michelangelo's Reflections on Bacchus," Artibus et Historiae 24 (47), (2003):121-135. Freedman underscores how Michelangelo raised the bar with contemporary sculptors competing with the ancients inasmuch as this work was repeatedly referred to as an antiquity. Though the Vendramin tomb holds some of Venice’s first concretely classicizing figures (see: Debra Pincus, “An Antique Fragment as Workshop Model: Classicism in the Andrea Vendramin Tomb,” Burlington Magazine 123 (939), (1981): 342-347), it still bears the mark of polychrome in the form of applied gold leaf. Attitudes toward the use of polychrome in Venetian sculpture are still ambivalent. Though now generally acknowledged as common practice, its presence is still seldom engaged with in a serious way, as if to suggest that the practice is the naïve and artistically backward remnant of a Gothic aesthetic, eventually disposed of in the more classicizing, purist works such as the figure of Adam. In the case of Huse and Wolter, they repeatedly dismiss the practice of polychroming marble as a little more than a strategy for hiding the uneven levels of skills to be found in the various workshop hands employed in the creation of large sculptural monuments. See the section on sculpture in: Norbert Huse and Wolfgang Wolter, The Art of Renaissance Venice: Architecture, Sculpture and Painting 1460-1590 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990).

15 As both Roberto Weiss and Leonard Barkan stress, the correspondence of the discovery of certain classical statues offers anything but a clear trajectory of cause-and-effect relationships with Renaissance statues. See: Roberto Weiss, The Renaissance Recovery of Classical Antiquity, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1969) and Leonard Barkan, Unearthing the Past: Archaeology and Aesthetics in the Making of Renaissance Culture, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999). For both of these figures, the Apollo Belvedere makes a tempting point of comparison as the timing of its recovery coincides with the creation of Adam and Bacchus. However, there is no way to know if Tullio saw this work, though for Michelangelo it may have been a possibility. For the history and legacy of the Apollo Belvedere see: Leonard Barkan, “Apollo Belvedere,” The Classical Tradition, eds. A. Grafton, G.W. Most, and S. Stettis, (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 2010), 55. On the other hand, Wendy Stedman Sheard proposed that it was actually Tullio’s figure of Adam, which she proposed Michelangelo could have seen when he was in Venice in 1494, that served as an inspiration for the Bacchus. See: Wendy Stedman Sheard, The Tomb of Andrea Vendramin in Venice, volume 1, (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1971), 209. More generally for Roman influence in Venetian sculpture see: Wendy Stedman Sheard, “The Vision of Ancient Rome in Venice in the Late Quattrocento: The Case of Tullio Lombardo.” Kolloquium “Roma quanta fuit ipsa ruina docet”, (Rome: Bibliotheca Hertziana, Max-Planck-Institut, 1986), 8-9.

16 For the rhetoric surrounding the significance white marble in ancient statuary see: Fabio Barry, “A Whiter Shade of Pale: Relative and Absolute White in Roman Sculpture and Architecture,” Revival and
Antique textual sources, such as Pliny’s *Natural History* and Lucretius’s *On the Nature of Things*, informed Renaissance understandings of materials while other texts, such as Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* provided poetic devices that glossed the processes of transformation inherent in the working of materials. One such example of the transformation of materials from the *Metamorphoses* that Renaissance artists drew upon is the story of Pygmalion and Galatea.\(^\text{17}\) It is particularly interesting inasmuch as it incorporates the transformative element of desire for the work of art, underscoring the intimate tactile and emotional responses that sculpture can solicit from both maker and viewer alike. Ekphrastic texts dealing with ancient works of art, such as Philostratus’s *Imagines* and Callistratus’ *Descriptions*, employ similar strategies playing on tropes of material affinities and implied transformational potential.\(^\text{18}\) From this grew the basis for the ideas of marble as a material with animate potential to impart to forms embedded in its crystalline matrix and unadorned white marble as the best vehicle to lay bare the principles of pure of *disegno* in sculpture.

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Northern European sculptures in wood also present an intriguing framework for understanding some of the ways in which metaphorical thinking about the materials of sculpture. As Michael Baxandall has shown in his study of Northern limewood sculpture, a deep knowledge of the inherent internal structural properties of the material and the possible forms it could offer or deny becomes a means for understanding the process of carving.\(^\text{19}\) Conversely, this requires on the part of the viewer an understanding and appreciation of the inherent potentialities for both form and surface that the carver has explored and exploited and revealed. This kind of virtuoso handling of wood by Northern sculptors was certainly admired by their Italian counterparts, though the formal style they engendered was not emulated.\(^\text{20}\) A virtual extinction occurs with polychrome wood sculpture in Florence, as this material was rarely employed for sculptural purposes by the close of the Quattrocento, though wood did retain a fair degree of popularity in Northern Italy through the Cinquecento, to say nothing of the popularity it retained in Northern Europe. However, the one genre where the material found a healthy afterlife in Italy was in the production of carved crucifixes, thanks largely to the metaphorical associations

\(^{19}\) Michael Baxandall, *The Limewood Sculptors of Renaissance Germany*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), especially chapter 2. Another complimentary example of this mode of analysis is found in Malcolm Baker, “Limewood, Chiromancy, and Narratives of Making: Writing about the materials and processes of sculpture,” *About Michael Baxandall*, ed. A. Rifkin, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), 38-68. What Baker proposes is essentially the idea of a history of the formal development of this type of sculpture written through the material itself. Additionally, in the case of wood it is often thought of as a quintessentially German material. Though ascribing national or cultural values to a material creates certain artificial boundaries, there are some ways in which nature itself does play a defining part in the development of a culturally specific affinity for a certain material. For Germany, wood was undeniably the most abundant sculptural material and a sculptor’s thorough knowledge and mastery of that material was highly prized. Furthermore, one could point to this idea of wood and the bending and binding of tree branches as part of the “natural” origins of the Gothic style as described by Alberti and Filarete in their architectural treatises.

\(^{20}\) In his discussion of the technique of sculpting in wood, Vasari praises a Northern monochrome limewood figure of San Rocco in the church of the SS. Annunziata by Veit Stoss, both for the delicate paper-like folds of the drapery and for the material beauty of the unpainted limewood. Roberto Panichi, *La tecnica dell’arte negli scritti di Giorgio Vasari*, (Firenze: Alinea, 1991), 81.
attached to wood. These metaphorical associations cast wood essentially as a medium of spiritual significance, with the wood of the cross itself and the image of Christ as the tree of life being the principle sacred touchstones for this reading. Even though the material was rarely used even for crucifixes by the mid Cinquecento, Vasari still acknowledges the traditional spiritual significance of wood for the sculpted crucifix and makes special mention of them in his biography of Baccio da Montelupo, who was well-known for making them.  

On the theme of the sacred nature of wood in sculpture, John Paoletti underscores an important aspect of the rationale behind the choice of materials for different types of sculpted objects. At the close of his investigation of painted wooden sculpture, he considers the rather short-lived fortune of Donatello’s grandiose bronze high altar at the Santo in Padua. Though Donatello’s efforts at exploring the plastic and expressive qualities of cast bronze were formidable as was the costly splendor of the material itself, the monument seems to have fallen flat as a major pilgrimage shrine. John Paoletti suggests that this shortcoming lay in the inability of bronze to evoke the sense of empathetic piety, sacred communion, and tangible holy presence that a humbler, but more inherently veristic material such as polychrome wood could have provided. In this sense, the use of different materials can be linked to the contexts in which works were meant to be seen. In instances such as this, the difference is perhaps not best expressed

21 Panichi, (as in 20), 80. See the life of Baccio da Montelupo and his son Raffaello in: Giorgio Vasari, (as in 11), 679. Following Vasari’s lead, Vittorio Natale, ed., in Tardogotico e rinascimento – cinque maestri, (Torino: Pozzallo Antiquario, 2004), 30 notes that Baccio’s profound personal spirituality and connections to the monastery of San Marco and Savonarola was perhaps at the root of his predilection for making wooden crucifixes and the notoriety he gained for their beauty.

necessarily in accordance with a hierarchy of materials, but rather with a difference in function – simply stated, different means and materials for different ends.

THE PLACE OF TERRACOTTA

Much of the early scholarship on terracotta sculpture, while seeking to bring this type of sculptural production in all its forms out of the shadowlands, does so by attempting to insert it into a very traditional framework for understanding early Quattrocento art in general, namely establishing its relationship with classical antiquity and locating it within an entrepreneurial mindset keenly aware of the economic value of technical ingenuity. For example, Ghiberti figures prominently as the first sculptor of the Quattrocento to explore terracotta as a means of mass producing relief sculpture, an innovation linked largely to his experience with terracotta in relation to the production of bronze reliefs.23 Furthermore, Luca della Robbia’s invention of glazed polychrome terracotta was heralded as a both technical and aesthetic innovation; however, today it is largely discussed as simply an inexpensive alternative to marble sculpture.24 Though the work of the Della Robbia has begun to be re-evaluated, especially regarding the issue of polychromy and its appeal, it still tends to be treated within the category of decorative objects rather than sculpture. Notably, it is actually Luca della Robbia who gives us one


of the first life-size narrative terracotta tableau groups with his *Visitation* in San Giovanni Fuoricivitas in Pistoia.\(^\text{25}\)

The major early Renaissance artists discussed in a classicizing vein who worked in terracotta are Ghiberti, Donatello, and Jacopo della Quercia.\(^\text{26}\) Notably Donatello’s involvement with the medium of terracotta is generally framed as a result of both his open approach to sculptural materials and his eclectic adaptations of antique forms.\(^\text{27}\) Within this eclectic antique mix, it is possible that contemporary archeological recoveries of Etruscan sculpture provided visual referents for ancient uses of terracotta.\(^\text{28}\) Etruscans were renowned for their terracotta work – Ghiberti even credits them with being the first to work with terracotta in ancient Italy – and it seems that at least the idea of an Etruscan terracotta tradition, if not actual artifacts, was a source of inspiration as the humanist poet Ugolino Verino lauded “l’etrusco” Donatello.”\(^\text{29}\)

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\(^{25}\) For the history and archival documentation of this work see: Alan Marquand, “The Visitation by Luca della Robbia at Pistoia,” *American Journal of Archaeology* 11 (1), (1907): 36-41. The group was part of a tabernacle the belonged to the Compagnia di Sant’Elizabetta and is first documented in 1445.


\(^{28}\) For the relationship of Renaissance sculpture to antique prototypes see: Bober, (as in 10). It is worth noting that in this compilation the models cited are almost exclusively marble.

\(^{29}\) Lorenzo Ghiberti, *I Commentari*, ed. O, Morisani, (Naples: Riccardo Ricciardi, 1947), 8. Classical texts, especially Pliny’s *Natural History*, served as a source of information for Ghiberti’s ideas about the origins of terracotta sculpture in Italy. Yet as Boucher points out, it is perhaps misleading to think of the revival of terracotta sculpture as a phenomenon predominantly rooted in textual sources. Boucher is inclined to see the rise of terracotta sculpture as phenomenon that developed in tandem with technical innovations in firing and glazing techniques used for pottery and architectural brickwork, as well as its uses in model making for
This also brings up the point of regional histories and influences in relation to the development of terracotta sculpture. While Florence has traditionally been the focal point for the development of terracotta sculpture, other cities, particularly in Emilia Romagna and Lombardy, had a long tradition of working in clay for sculpture, brick construction, and architectural ornamentation, a fact which would make this material a distinct aspect of the artistic terroir of the region. Though now less recognized as centers for terracotta production, Mantua, which like Florence embraced and celebrated its ancient Etruscan heritage, as well as Milan saw a surge in the production of terracotta sculpture in the second half of the 15th century that continued well into the 16th century.30 Most importantly however, in the middle of the 15th century, terracotta sculpture made a giant
goldsmiths and bronze casters. For him the classicizing glosses onto this medium come afterwards. Quite the opposite idea is proposed by Adalgisa Lugli. For what is perhaps the most thorough compilation of ancient texts dealing with terracotta sculpture see: Adalgisa Lugli, Guido Mazzoni e la Rinascita della terracotta nel Quattrocento, (Turin: Umberto Allemandi, 1990), particularly chapter 2. For Ugolino Verino’s praise of Donatello see: Roberto Bartalani, Catalogue entry for the Testa di Porsena (1515-1520) by Andrea Sansovino in Il Giardino di San Marco: maestri e compagni del giovane Michelangelo, ed. P. Barrochi, (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana, 1992), 120-122 (esp. p. 121). Evidence of the appreciation of ancient of Etruscan sculpture appears during the reign of Lorenzo the Magnificent, who was himself celebrated as the Tusciae dominus when the Sienese presented him with what was believed to be the cinerary urn of King Porsena. The resurgence of interest in Etruscan history in Florence has been studied extensively as a literary and political phenomenon, however, the influence Etruscan art and artifacts may have had on the visual arts of the 15th century is still difficult to assess. H.W. Janson notes some of the Etruscan bronzes Donatello may have known in “Donatello and the Antique,” Donatello e il suo tempo: Atti dell’ VIII Convegno internazionale di studi sul Rinascimento, Palazzo Strozzi, (Florence: Istituto nazionale di studi sul Rinascimento, 1966), 77-96 (esp. pp. 90-91). For an overview of Etruscan influence in Renaissance art see: Steven Bule, “Etruscan Echoes in Italian Renaissance Art,” Etruscan Italy: Etruscan Influence on the Civilization of Italy from Antiquity to the Modern Era, ed. J.F. Hall, (Provo: Museum of Art, Brigham Young University, 1996), 307-335. Recently, further inroads have been made into the Renaissance understanding of Etruscan art. See: Caroline S. Hillard, An Alternate Antiquity: The Etruscans in Renaissance Florence and Rome, (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 2009).

30 The sculptural production of these regions has long been undervalued and understudied. A recent exhibition of sculptures from this region was a welcome corrective to this situation, however, there was a disappointing overemphasis, at times decidedly forced, to link the development of sculpture to Andrea Mantegna on the basis of everything from style, to classicizing influences, to subject matter. While the exhibition brought some notable, yet long overlooked sculptures and sculptors back into public view, the analyses of works themselves could have benefited from a markedly different methodological approach. See: Vittorio Sgarbi, ed. La scultura al tempo di Andrea Mantegna: tra classicismo e naturalismo, (Milan: Electa, 2006). In Milan, Agostino de’ Fondulis is a major proponent of terracotta sculpture. See: Sandrina Bandera, Agostino de’ Fondulis e la riscoperta della terracotta nel Rinascimento Lombardo, (Bergamo: Edizioni Bolis, 1997).
leap in Bologna with the appearance of Niccolò dell’Arca’s *Lamentation*, which would be followed by similarly impressive tableau groups by the Modenese sculptor Guido Mazzoni. This tradition was carried forward in these cities by artists such as Alfonso Lombardi and Antonio Begarelli. The pragmatic factor of the scarcity of marble is often posited as the reason for the popularity of terracotta as a medium in the regions, yet the formal advances made with the medium, especially by Niccolò dell’Arca and Guido Mazzoni, belie this simple rationale. Highly expressive, formally dynamic, and compositionally complex, figures such as Niccolò dell’Arca’s wailing Mary Magdalene, caught in the act of rushing toward Christ, or tableau groups such as Antonio Begarelli’s daring *Descent from the Cross* with figures tenuously clinging in mid air to ladders were made possible by the inherent structural, expressive, and aesthetic properties of clay.

Contemporary treatises regarding the technical practices and procedures of sculptural production provide a view into the material significance of terracotta in sculpture. These types of texts range in scope from Alberti’s *De statua* to Pomponius Gauricus’s *De sculptura* and beyond. Beyond the issue of the strictly theoretical and “how to” aspects of these types of such texts, it is necessary to look as well at the extent to which they lay the foundations for reading metaphorical meaning into terracotta. For example, Alberti references a conceit derived from ancient texts of “Nature as artist,” imbuing raw matter with latent form. He also hints obliquely at the sculptor as God-like


creator conceit put forth in the story of the creation of Adam. Pomponius Gauricus, on the other hand, overtly invokes God’s creation of Adam from earth and clay as a metaphor for the creative, generative act of sculpting, or more specifically the act of modeling. While on one hand, this statement posits as a bold and ennobling reading of the act of modeling in clay, its rhetorical force is soon extinguished as Gauricus swiftly launches into a discussion of the usefulness of clay models as a tool for planning larger works in bronze and marble. This is not to say he has an overall disparaging view of terracotta sculpture, for Gauricus is quite positive in his assessment of the works of Guido Mazzoni for example. The myth of Prometheus also offered possibilities for the origins of sculpture, yet it seems to have been largely bypassed in the 15th century; ironically it is a painter, namely Piero di Cosimo, to whom we must look to for an early reference to this myth in the visual arts.33

In some ways it is the immediacy and the protean, primordial quality of terracotta that creates an unstable position for it in relation to other materials. Yet whether it is used as a precursor to something else or as a medium in its own right, it manages to capture and convey the fleeting aspects of movement and expression. Adrian Stokes speaks of these qualities eloquently in his exploration of the difference between modeling and carving when he engages with the physical and metaphysical values invested in materials

33 Though the myth of Prometheus was taken up by Boccaccio, it was viewed more as a story dealing with the foundation of civilization, focusing on the gift of fire to mankind, rather than the creation of man from clay. See: Susana Barsella, “The Myth of Prometheus in Giovanni Boccaccio’s Decameron,” MLN 119 (1), (2004); 120-141. For an overview of the Prometheus story in literature and the visual arts see: Olga Raggio, “The Myth of Prometheus: its survival and metamorphosis up to the Eighteenth century,” Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes 21 (1-2), (1958): 44-62. For the Piero di Cosimo panels of the Prometheus story see: Dennis Geronimus, Piero di Cosimo: Visions Beautiful and Strange, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 116-120.
in the Renaissance. Here he differentiates in a very visceral and tactile way between the processes of modeling and carving. The potentiality of stone is deeply embedded in its very physical matrix. A stone such as marble contains within it suggestions of fixed temporality and physical immediacy as well as a capacity to produce highly finished and brilliantly luminous surfaces as a major component of its tactile appeal, and yet one could also consider the aesthetic of the *non-finito* an index of fleeting temporality. Conversely, he suggests modeling is a mode of sculpting that is more attuned to temporal qualities and spontaneity. In this light, materials such as terracotta or wax become elements where surface takes primacy of place over form, whose expressive value lies in their constitutive capacity to register and index fleeting and superficial signs of temporality.

Thus terracotta, much like wax, presents a somewhat complex material history in the sense that, while it was seen as a legitimate material for making finished sculptures, it also functioned as a subordinate material to marble and bronze, serving as a means to an end in the form of models used in the process of working out a composition for the finished product. Though it was common practice by the mid 15th century for sculptors to use models, in many ways it was Verrocchio’s workshop that gives us the greatest insight into just how useful and valuable these models could be for a large-scale, highly versatile workshop. For example, the small terracotta model for the *Forteguerri*

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36 For a broader view of the interaction of painting and sculpture in the form of both models and finished sculptures, see: John Pope -Hennessy, “The Interaction of Painting and Sculpture in the Fifteenth Century,”
Monument (Pistoia) in the Victoria and Albert Museum of 1476 served the role that a preliminary drawing would have for a painted commission. In looking at the complexity of this monument with its combination of high- and low-relief as well as the dynamic poses of the figures and the interactive, almost narrative, figural composition it becomes apparent just how much more effective a three-dimensional model was in communicating these formal and technical subtleties than a two-dimensional drawing.

Furthermore, the terracotta reliefs of two angels in the Louvre, also produced in Verrocchio’s workshop as preparatory figures for the Forteguerri Monument, show not only how terracotta was used to provide highly sophisticated and detailed working models, but also how those models could in turn be used for broader training purposes in the studio as the subject of sketches and figure studies or even as models for figures that could be incorporated into paintings.

If we incorporate polychromy into this discourse of the surface life of plastic materials, color’s mimetic capacity adds yet another layer (both physical and metaphorical) to the sense of immediacy in our experience of the sculpted object.

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38 For a discussion of this model see: Boucher, (as in 1), 16-17 and *Earth and Fire* catalogue entry no. 12, pages 126-129.

39 Boucher, (as in 1), 16-17, and catalogue entry no. 13, pages 130-131.

Unlike terracotta models, even those used for paintings, for finished sculptures in terracotta, polychromy was the norm. Whether it was a simple coating of white lead (biacca), touches of gold leaf, or a more complex medley of colors meant to heighten the decorative or realistic qualities of the piece, it was rare to see terracotta, especially when used for figurative work, left in its natural state.  

The most literal exchange between arts of painting and sculpture is represented by the chromatic touches and coverings routinely applied to sculpture from this era. This is also one of the most difficult aspects of 15th-century sculpture to assess simply because so many of the various types of surface treatments sculptures received have either been lost to the vicissitudes of time or at the hands of restorers. However, modern conservation techniques and technologies are able to reveal more and more of the shadow presence of polychrome treatments and gilding that adorned statues. In fact, these discoveries paint a picture of sculptural production where polychromy in its various forms seems to have been the norm rather than the exception. Slowly but surely this acknowledgement is working its way into current scholarship. Ultimately, the recovery of this aspect of 15th-century sculptural

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41 For an overview of the different types of techniques and pigments used for polychroming see: Paolo Bensi, “Alla vita della terracotta era necessario il colore’: appunti sulla policromia della statuaria fittile,” La scultura in terracotta – OPD Restauro, ed. M.G. Vaccari, (Florence: Centro Di, 1996), 34-46.


43 A valuable contribution to the issue of polychrome sculpture is Panzanelli, (as in 1), especially the essays by Panzanelli and Collareta.
production forces us to look at polychrome terracotta in terms of how it relates to sculptures in other media and not as simply an isolated genre unto itself. In many ways, it is simply the most fully manifest practice of polychroming sculpture along a broad spectrum of techniques for giving sculpture in a variety of materials touches of color and life.

Perhaps of all genres of sculpture in the 15th century it is the portrait bust where we see the greatest intersection and effect of different media and modes of polychroming.\footnote{For an overview of Renaissance sculpted portrait busts see: Jane Schuyler, Florentine Busts: Sculpted Portraiture in the Fifteenth Century, (New York: Garland, 1976).} In terms of terracotta busts and their marble counterparts, the relationship is often assumed to be one of model to finished product, to wit examples such as the terracotta bust of Filippo Strozzi by Benedetto da Maiano in the Bode Museum and its marble companion in the Louvre (c.1475).\footnote{For these two busts see: Keith Christiansen and Stefan Weppelman, eds., The Renaissance Portrait from Donatello to Bellini, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 129-132. For the most recent monograph on Bendetto da Maiano see: Doris Carl, Benedetto da Maiano. A Florentine Sculptor at the Threshold of the High Renaissance, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006).} However, it is worth noting that there are some slight yet significant differences in the two portraits in as much as the clothing is rendered in a more informal fashion and the head and gaze are turned slightly to the side in the terracotta version. These varying degrees of formality and life-like presence the busts display may have to do with their placement within the domestic realm.\footnote{For the use and display of sculpted objects in the domestic sphere see: John Kent Lydecker, The Domestic Setting of the Arts in Renaissance Florence, (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press), 1987.} It could also relate to how materials were chosen for portraits and the degree to which color heightened the verisimilitude of the effigy, in a sense vivifying the cult of memory. Perhaps the difference in the material, the presence of color, and the degree of formality in the pose have to do with the ideas surrounding the commemoration of a
public persona versus nostalgia for a personalized, living presence. Both marble and polychrome terracotta busts as they developed in Florence ultimately have their roots in the cult of death and remembrance, which encompassed classical practices as well as contemporary ones with regard to effigies of the deceased. \[47\] When it comes to 15\textsuperscript{th}-century marble portrait busts, however, it is difficult to know the extent to which they were subjected to the same kinds of attempts at ridding them of their color that classical statues were over the centuries. The existence of a tiny number of busts with easily discernable traces of polychromy, Francesco Laurana’s \textit{Bust of a Young Woman} (c.1488) in Vienna being perhaps the best example, does raise questions about the varieties of surface treatment these types of portrait bust, particularly those of female subjects, may have received. \[48\] However, terracotta busts were valued in their own right for the mimetic qualities and the high level of verisimilitude, life-likeness, and liveliness they were able to achieve with the aid of color.

This desire to animate the sitter, or re-animate as the case may be, is a prime concern of portrait busts as seen in the trend of extending the bodily presence of the sitter to half-length, further adding a sense of what Adrian Randolph call the “gesture” of the


48 See: Chrysa Damianaki, \textit{The Female Portrait Busts of Francesco Laurana}, (Manziana: Vecchiarelli, 2000). Given the high quality of the luminous white marble, the surface treatment of the bust with its high polish and touches of color may have been intended to elicit the aesthetic qualities of sculptures in ivory.
bust, or its embodied presence as means of engaging the spectator.\textsuperscript{49} Perhaps the earliest and most charming use of this format to enliven the bust is Verrocchio’s \textit{Portrait of a Woman with Flowers} (c. 1475) in the Bargello, though the convention would carry through for male sitters and portraits of a more public nature, such as the terracotta \textit{Portrait of a Bolognese Scholar} (early 16\textsuperscript{th} century) in the Bode Museum.\textsuperscript{50} Furthermore, while many of the marble and terracotta busts owe their sense of verisimilitude to commemorative and funerary practices of making death masks and wax effigies, it is perhaps in the unusual genre of busts of children that we see the most complex attempts at capturing a sense of lively animation and the fleeting emotions and movements from life in sculpture.\textsuperscript{51} Two busts of this sort are Desiderio da Settignano’s \textit{Bust of a Laughing Boy} (c.1453-1460) in Vienna and Guido Mazzoni’s \textit{Laughing Child} (c.1498), which is possibly a portrait of the young Henry VIII, at Windsor Castle.\textsuperscript{52}


\textsuperscript{50} For Verrocchio’s \textit{Portrait of a Woman with Flowers} see: Butterfield, (as in 37), 90-100. Butterfield is inclined to link this new format to a similar development in painted portraits, though he does note its similarity to Roman funerary monuments.

\textsuperscript{51} Sculptors and painters alike took up the challenge of portraying the human face in moments of extreme emotions. Perhaps one of the most intriguing painted pieces is Bramante’s \textit{Democritus and Heraclitus} (c. 1477) in the Brera, which poses the juxtaposition of the laughing Democritus against the crying Heraclitus. See: Christiansen, (as in 45), 60-62; Peter Murray, “Bramante milanese: the paintings and engravings,” \textit{Arte Lombarda} 7 (1962): 25-42; and Germano Mulazzani, “Gli affreschi di Bramante ora a Brera: un riesame,” \textit{Storia dell’Arte} 22 (1974): 219-226. Leonardo da Vinci, as an artists who was keenly interested in the depiction of emotions, supposedly made during his time in Verrocchio’s workshop some terracotta busts of laughing girls which are now lost. See: Vasari, (as in 11), 558. If true, it is likely that these sculpted busts served as models for paintings such as the \textit{Benois Madonna} (c.1478) in the Hermitage. Though severely damaged during a poorly executed restoration attempt, one can still sense the charming laughter and amusement of the young Madonna. For Leonardo on expression of emotions see: Martin Clayton, \textit{Leonardo da Vinci: The Divine and the Grotesque}, (London: Royal Collection Enterprises, 2002), 115-117. For Leonardo as a sculptor see: Gary M. Radke, ed., \textit{Leonardo da Vinci and the Art of Sculpture}, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009).

\textsuperscript{52} For expressivity, vivacity, and physical presence in polychrome terracotta sculptures see: Giancarlo Gentilini, “La terracotta: volti e passione,” \textit{La scultura al tempo di Andrea Mantegna: tra classicismo e naturalismo}, ed. V. Sgarbi, (Milan: Electa, 2006), 47-51 and Giorgio Bonsanti, “Figure di terra fra passione
the early date, Desiderio’s marble bust is exceptional in terms of comparable explorations of the face caught in a moment of laughter. Again it is difficult to know if the bust ever bore traces of polychrome, for in a sense, compared to the polychrome bust by Guido Mazzoni, the indeterminate aspects of the face call upon the viewer to project certain details. This is particularly noticeable for the eyes. On the other hand, Mazzoni’s child, with his flush cheeks and distinct sideways glance creates a decidedly interactive figure, drawing our attention with his gaze to the object of his amusement, which exists beyond him in the spatial world of the viewer.

Though portraiture is a genre where marble and terracotta intersect, wax and plaster are the materials at the root of them both inasmuch as these are the materials of death masks and effigies. Perhaps the most overt instance of the use of a death mask in the creation of a terracotta portrait bust is Donatello’s Niccolò da Uzzano (1440s), where the death mask is altered to make the subject appear alive, much the same way Pietro Torrigiano did for his terracotta bust of Henry VII.\(^{53}\) There is also the case of the death mask of Lorenzo de’Medici, which possibly served as the basis for the terracotta portrait

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\(^{53}\) Though there is still no definitive consensus, Panzanelli is inclined toward recognizing the use of a death mask for the creation of the Niccolò da Uzzano bust. See: Panzanelli, (as in 47), 21-23. Most recently this bust has been challenged as a work of Donatello and attributed instead to the workshop of Desiderio da Settignano and dated to 1450-1455. See: Christiansen, (as in 45), 126-128. For Henry VII’s bust see: Philip Lindley and Carol Galvin, “Pietro Torrigiano's Portrait Bust of King Henry VII,” \textit{Burlington Magazine} 130 (1029), (1988): 892-902.
bust now found in the National Gallery in Washington, D.C.⁵⁴ The bust of his brother, Giuliano who was killed in the Pazzi conspiracy of 1478, presents another possible use of a death mask as a model, as does Sandro Botticelli’s portrait of Giuliano (both in the National Gallery in Washington). Thus, not only were death masks important in their own right, the terracotta sculptures they spawned were also key to perpetuating the likeness of the deceased in different media across generations as is evidenced by Bronzino’s portraits of Lorenzo and Giuliano from the 1550s now in the Uffizi.

Though in some ways, castings from death masks and wax effigies blur the boundaries between art objects and artifacts, relying heavily on sociological and anthropological interpretive frameworks, they are also one of the best windows into the power of the rhetoric of extreme realism in sculpture at work in both polychrome terracotta portrait busts and large-scale Lamentation groups. Sadly, however, wax has a difficult history to trace concretely as the figurative works carried out in this material during the Renaissance are lost to us.⁵⁵ For example with regard to boti, or life-sized, veristic votive figures made from wax and finished with real clothing and hair, what we know of them stems from written records or similar wax object from later centuries or

⁵⁴ The afterlife of Lorenzo’s death mask presents an unusual case inasmuch as it was altered at some point in the 16th century by being encased in a plaster frame, gilded, and decorated with a wire armature that was likely the support for a crown of laurels, as well as a laudatory inscription. The effect is not unlike the housing for and adornment of a relic. For the death mask and its related portraits, as well as the bust and portrait of his brother Giuliano see: Christiansen, (as in 45), 182-185.

figures made from other materials such as papier mâché. We also know that the clientele for these kinds of votive figures ran the gamut of the social hierarchy and that social elites were among those who put the highest quality images to ostentatious political use in distributing their civic presence where such images could serve as diplomatic tools and a physical manifestation and projection of political alliances and good will. For example, the Santissima Annunziata in Florence was home to boti of princes and dukes, popes, cardinals, condottiere, and even a Turkish pasha. One particularly noteworthy example of the powerful political overtones an ex-voto figure could assume is Lorenzo the Magnificent’s use of three different boti to amplify his presence in the city in the wake of the Pazzi conspiracy. The figure of Lorenzo that was placed in front of the miraculous crucifix in the convent of the Chiarito was dressed in the bloodied clothes he wore during the attack. This display made for a powerfully present, yet immutable image of the city’s de facto ruler who, sporting the material evidence of

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57 Panzanelli, (as in 47), 15.

his narrow escape from death, boldly proclaimed his invincibility thanks to divine protection.

This connection between wax ex-votos and funeral effigies is of prime importance in relation to funerary ceremonies and monuments of French and English sovereigns inasmuch as an interest in a greater sense of realism in the effigy is noticeable from the 1460s onward.\textsuperscript{59} This is perhaps one of the reasons Italian sculptors such as Guido Mazzoni and Pietro Torrigiano, known for the realism of their portraits and figurative work in polychrome terracotta, were eagerly sought by the royal courts of Henry VII in England and Charles VIII in France for their tomb monuments.\textsuperscript{60} Though the fundamental ideological uses of portrait figures in terracotta Lamentation groups differs from those of royal funerary monuments on several levels, the correlation between \textit{boti} and these terracotta portrait figures is of notable importance and will be discussed further on. In both cases, however, the power of the monumental and permanent sense of real

\textsuperscript{59} For the political and theological implications of dynastic funerary practices see: Ernst H. Kantorowicz, \textit{The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology}, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997). For increased realism in funeral effigies in the mid 15\textsuperscript{th} century see: Ralph E. Giesey, “The Two Bodies of the French King,” \textit{Rulership in France, 15\textsuperscript{th}-17\textsuperscript{th} Centuries: Ralph E. Giesey}, (Burlington: Ashgate, 2004), 301-316. Additionally, Philip Lindley has produced a sizable body of scholarship on the use of effigies in English royal tombs and funerary ceremonies.

presence the polychrome terracotta effigy creates gives these images a uniquely potent political voice in relation to other genres of public sculpture.

THE PARAGONE, VISUAL AND WRITTEN, AND EMBODIED FORMS

The powerfully veristic presence of polychrome terracotta portrait busts and the full-body figures of Lamentation tableaux represent the culmination of a rich legacy of exchange between painting and sculpture that only began to be parsed and separated in the 16th century. Before the paragone question of the superiority of painting or sculpture took formalized shape in prose debates, a sense of competition between painting and sculpture existed in the form of what Anton Legner calls a “silent paragone,” in which painting tested its mimetic limits against sculpture.61 Giotto’s paintings of allegorical figures in the lowest register of the Arena Chapel are usually identified as one of the earliest instances of painted fictive monochrome sculpture, however one can also point to later Trecento fresco cycles, such as the high altar chapel of Santa Croce by Agnolo Gaddi, where the challenge moves beyond simply monochrome figures. Here the narrative fresco panels are bounded by a series of what appear to be polychrome statues of saints, all of whom stand upon plinths much like polychrome wood statues or carved stone door jamb figures. While the Italians certainly took a lively interest in these visual paragone demonstrations, the exploration of paintings mimetic powers in relation to sculpture culminate in the grisaille paintings of Jan van Eyck, Robet Campin, and Rogier

van der Weyden depicting monochrome sculptures on the outside of altarpiece wings. It is van Eyck, however, who in his overall oeuvre most fully embraced the material, historical, and technical challenges of exploiting to the fullest painting’s illusionistic capabilities and its power to subsume the world in all its forms, natural and manmade, into its realm of existence. While smaller paintings by Northern artists were known in Florence and admired for their qualities of verisimilitude, Florentines would not see their first large-scale illusionistic grisaille painting until the arrival of the Portinari Altarpiece in 1483. Still, one need only look to the paintings of Andrea del Castagno, particularly his frescoed *Equestrian Monument of Niccolò da Tolentino* or even his *Last Supper*, as well as Paolo Uccello’s frescoed *Equestrian Monument of Sir John Hawkwood*, to understand their interest in the mimetic powers of painting in relation to sculpture.

Along with this sense of visual competition, there is also a liberal sense of interplay between painting and sculpture. One could even go so far as to speak of the idea of sculptural painters and painterly sculptors in the early 15th century when looking at artists like Donatello and Masaccio. These artists seem to have had a symbiotic relationship in terms of each incorporating a unique mix of painterly and sculptural aspects in their respective media, with Masaccio deriving a sense of plasticity and three-dimensionality while Donatello derived a sense of dynamism and movement. This reciprocity between sculpture and painting is reinforced by Alberti when he correlates *chiaroscuro* shading in painting with the light and shadow effects achieved by relief carving. Though there was the sense in the early decades of the *Quattrocento* that

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painting had much to learn from sculpture, particularly antique statuary, as the decades passed the limits and terms of that relationship became more sharply defined and divided, reaching a turning point in the last quarter of the 15th century.

An illuminating case in point is Mantegna, who as an antiquarian possessed a wealth of knowledge of the physical remains of antiquity, both architectural and sculptural, as seen in his St. Sebastian of 1459 as well as the later canvases of the Triumphs of Caesar. Vasari played upon Mantegna’s interest in antique statuary when in his biography he has his master, Squarcione, criticize him because his figures look like marble statues, saying.

“…aveva nel farle imitato le cose di marmo antiche, dale quali non si può imparare la pittura perfettamente, perciò che i sassi hanno sempre la durezza con esso loro e non mai quella tenera dolcezza che hanno le carni…”

(…he had imitated the ancient works in marble, from which it is not possible to learn painting perfectly, for the reason that stone is ever from its very essence hard, and never has that tender softness that is found in flesh…)

Effectively the criticism rests in Mantegna’s cultivation of a lapidary style that too fully assimilated the hard, cold nature of stone, suggesting there is a limit to what painters can


64 Vasari, (as in 11). 509. He ends his discussion of Mantegna’s study of antique sculptures by confirming his master’s criticism. He also concludes that his style was rather hard-edged and that his figures suggested “più alle pietra che a la carne viva” (more like stone than living flesh), (page 510). Roger Jones in “Mantegna and Materials,” I Tatti Studies: Essays in the Renaissance 2 (1987): 71-90 offers an illuminating qualification of Mantegna’s relationship to marble, antique stones, and materials in general. While he concedes Mantegna was largely interested in hard surfaces, he demonstrates his keen discernment of and attention to the quality of many different materials and textures in his paintings. He also discusses Mantegna’s fascination with the colored exotic marbles used in antiquity and the idea that these marbles were reflective of Nature herself as an artist.
learn from sculptors and as well as the sculptural qualities they should imitate. However, whether this sense of hardness in classical statuary was a result of the inherent nature of the material or a technical shortcoming on the part of ancient sculptors becomes a point of debate, for as we will see with Michelangelo, Vasari is more than willing to concede his prodigious ability to create a sense of living flesh in stone.

There is evidence, however, that Mantegna was aware of more in the world of sculpture than solely antique models. A case in point is Mantegna’s *Dead Christ*, which seems to draw its inspiration not from antique sculpture but from contemporary polychrome terracotta *Lamentation* tableaux. Stylistically, given that the point of focus in this image is a dead rather than living body, the hardness of Mantegna’s style perhaps lends itself to communicating the sense of a body drained of life. However, the point of challenge between this painting and its corollary sculpture groups seems to have less to do with rivaling the fleshy, life-likeness of painted terracotta figures and more to do with creating a maximum sense of engagement with the subject and immersion in the scene itself. On a conceptual level, the painting attempts to surpass the power of the dramatic fiction created by the life-sized, life-like figures with the fictive space created by a perspectival illusion in which the point of view places the viewer within the scene and in close proximity to Christ, as if playing the role of Nicodemus or Joseph of Arimathea. From a purely devotional standpoint, Mantegna trumps his sculptor counterparts in that he overcomes the inevitable “outside-looking-in” relationship the viewer has with the tableau and immerses him directly in a participatory way into the devotional and

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emotional narrative. It is a brilliant painted response to the visual and tactile draw of life-like statuary and its ability to speak to the emotions of the viewer and make him feel like a living participant, temporally unbound, by the life-like historical presences before him.

It is in the writings of Leonardo da Vinci that the paragone debate begins to take on formal voice and a host of what would become standard measures of contrast between painting and sculpture.\(^6\) Though the bulk of the contest is dedicated to differentiating the relative merits of painting and sculpture, it is important to note that the debate also expanded to contend with the relative merits of various materials within sculpture itself. One way this medium-specific internal paragone debate affected approaches and considerations of sculptural materials was in regards to mimesis, both in terms of the artist’s mastery and manipulation of a given material and his ability capture natural likeness, as well as the degree to which certain materials lent themselves to verisimilitude. As this discourse advanced in favor of formal invention and concept over mimesis and verisimilitude, misgivings toward polychrome treatments, particularly in relation to marble, increased. This shift is generally attributed to the development of a

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greater antiquarian sensibility among patrons and a concomitant aesthetic preference for
statuary that highlighted the pure whiteness of marble. As for artists who championed the
aesthetic of unadorned white marble, Michelangelo is traditionally posited as the artist at
the vanguard of this shift toward a celebration of greater purity of the sculptural material
itself. Much of this celebration of Michelangelo as the leader of this trend derives from
Vasari; however, the anecdote Vasari weaves around Michelangelo’s Pietà places him in
direct competition with contemporary Lombard sculptors and reveals that there were
already very successful sculptors working in this classically inspired mode. Nonetheless, from the discourse Vasari builds around Michelangelo’s mastery of marble, he also raised the stakes for the sculptor’s demonstration of skill, or more specifically his
ability to make cold, dead marble radiate a sense of life from within. Vasari’s
descriptions of Michelangelo’s white marble sculptures often include passages that speak
of how the nerves and veins under the figures’ skin seem to twitch and pulse with life,
suggesting that one can see beneath the surface to the vital essence of the figure. By
setting the standard for the expression of life-likeness as an essence that radiated and
vibrated from within the material that only the most skilled of hands could coax out, he
effectively discredited the surface descriptor of applied pigments intended to mimic the
color and vitality of flesh. This shift in primacy from applied, painted surface articulation
to the revealed inner vitality of the sculpted material itself as the metric for judging the

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67 Vasari, (as in 11), 1207-1208. Vasari singles out Cristoforo Solari, identified as “Il Gobbo nostro da
Milano” in the anecdote, though other sculptors such as Giovanni Antonio Omodeo, Andrea Bregno, and
Tullio Lombardo are a point of comparison as well.
life-likeness of a sculpture ultimately cast applied color in the role of a palliative that did little more than masked internal defects in a sculpture.\textsuperscript{68}

As a result, some sculptural materials and techniques for finishing them in color that had been deemed perfectly acceptable in the range of 15\textsuperscript{th}-century sculptural production slowly faded from use over the course of the 16\textsuperscript{th} century, as there was little room for their presence in the dominant discourse of art theory and the tastes it conditioned. Della Robbia glazed terracotta figures and reliefs are a prime example of a type of polychrome sculpture that passed from fashion during the course of the cinquecento, despite the fact that this method of finishing terracotta was hailed from its inception in the 15\textsuperscript{th} century as a new and praiseworthy technical and aesthetic invention. Vasari attributes its passing not only to a lack of interest in this medium on the part of patrons, but also a marked decline in the quality of such work after the death of Andrea della Robbia.

Other genres of polychrome terracotta suffered as well, chief among them large-scale narrative tableaux, as we will see. Portrait busts, however, retained a relative level of popularity. Nonetheless, even their task of perpetuating the living memory of the deceased was displaced by an increasing emphasis on concept and conceit over verisimilitude. This is underscored by the gloss Vasari provides for Michelangelo’s

\textsuperscript{68} Borghini is among the first to give formal critical voice to the idea that polychrome merely masks formal flaws in sculpture. Vincenzo Borghini, “Selva di notizia,” Scritti d’arte del Cinquecento, volume 3, ed. P. Barocchi, (Milan: R. Ricciardi, 1973), 644. For a summary of this idea as it echoed through critical, aesthetic, and theoretical debates well into the 19\textsuperscript{th} century see: James Hall, The World as Sculpture: The Changing Status of Sculpture from the Renaissance to the Present Day, (London: Pimlico, 2000), especially the chapter “Sculpture and Color.” The modern roots of the bias against polychrome sculpture are found in the Kantian aesthetics that inform Winckelmann’s assessment of sculpture in the ancient world, which resulted in a virtual white-washing of ancient sculpture, and by extension of Renaissance sculpture as well. The challenge to this view put forth by Quatremère had little corrective effect. For 19\textsuperscript{th} century countercurrents see: Andreas Blühm, “In Living Colour: A Short History of Colour in Sculptures in the Nineteenth Century,” The Colour of Sculpture, 1840-1910, ed. A. Blühm, (Zwolle: Waanders, 1996), 11-60.
eschewal of the traditional aims of portraiture in his marble figures of the Medici Dukes, Giuliano and Lorenzo, in the New Sacristy (in a thousand years, who would care what the dukes looked like), essentially dismissing the need to transmit a historical physical likeness in favor of the visual poetic construction of an eternal character portrait.\(^{69}\) Yet at the same time Michelangelo was pushing the traditional boundaries of formal portraiture, just a short distance away from the marble pseudo-portraits of the Dukes at San Lorenzo one could see highly veristic, life-size wax *boti* of both Leo X (Giovanni de’ Medici) and Clement VII (Giulio de’ Medici) at the shrine of the miraculous Madonna at the Santissima Annunziata (*boti* of the earlier generation of Medici were destroyed in the anti-Medicean uprising of 1494).\(^{70}\) Though Borghini abhorred the spectacle of these waxworks, the fact that sculptures of this type were commissioned by patrons as sophisticated as the Medici underscores not only the appropriateness, but more importantly the power of certain media in relation to specific environments and the psychological and political tasks the works were meant to achieve in them.

Here one could ask what happens when terracotta is used to imitate, not the quality of living flesh, but the appearance of another sculptural material deemed to be of higher value? This question brings to mind the sculptor Antonio Begarelli.\(^{71}\) As noted by

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\(^{69}\) For thoughts on varying definitions of likeness in portraiture see: Jeanette Kohl and Martin Gaier, eds., *Similitudo: Konzepte der Ähnlichkeit in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, (Paderborn: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2012).

\(^{70}\) See Lowe, (as in 58), 29-33 and van der Velden (as in 58), 135 for the history of the Medici *boti*. The polychrome terracotta bust of Cardinal Giuliano de’ Medici (c. 1512) attributed to Antonio d’Orsino Benintendi is possibly connected to his ex-voto in the Santissima Annunziata. See Panzanelli’s catalogue entry in *The Color of Life* (as in 1), 100-101.

\(^{71}\) Giorgio Bonsanti, *Antonio Begarelli*, (Modena: Panini Editore, 1992), 19-20. Bonsanti notes that it is unlikely that Michelangelo himself ever saw Begarelli’s works in Modena and that it is most likely we are receiving Vasari’s own gloss on the proper status of terracotta in relation to marble. For the most recent publication on Begarelli see: Giorgio Bonsanti, *Emozioni in terracotta: Guido Mazzoni/Antonio Begarelli – sculture del Rinascimento emiliano*, (Modena: Panini Editore, 2009).
Vasari, the most striking and original effect of Begarelli’s coloristic treatment of his terracotta figures was that they were given a monochrome treatment meant to imitate the visual appearance of marble. Here it is well worth noting the remarks of Michelangelo, master of both marble carving and the backhanded compliment, regarding Antonio Begarelli’s terracotta works: “Were this clay to become marble, woe to ancient sculpture.” With this comment Michelangelo invokes the internal *paragone* debate relating to sculptural materials and methods, and posits the process and material of his art in marble as superior to that of any other. The distinction between additive and subtractive methods posited by Alberti in *On Sculpture* are taken to new polemic heights in the rhetoric built around the trope of the “forza di levare” versus the “via di porre.” Ultimately, within the purist discourse formed by Michelangelo’s carefully crafted myth of marble, the futility of one sculptural material trying to assume the nature and function of another is underscored by Michelangelo in a 1549 letter to Benedetto Varchi. This theme of lifting away or “flaying” of the stone become a highly developed, self-conscious motif for Michelangelo, whose poetry runs rife with metaphors of carved surfaces as skin. Such evocations of the physicality of sculpture and its life-like forms and surfaces pulls us even further into the matter of materials by posing the question of how certain

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72 This passage from Vasari is quoted in Kathleen Weil-Garris’s eponymous essay, (as in 7), 61-79. Though Michelangelo’s purported assessment of Begarelli’s art in relation to materials is rather dismissive, as Weil-Garris points out, Begarelli’s monumental group sculptures, along with those of Alfonso Lombardi, contributed greatly to the formation of Baroque sculpture, particularly the works of Algardi.

73 The body of literature dealing with Michelangelo’s modes of self-authoring is sizeable. For an elaboration of the theme of carving as flaying see: Fredrika Jacobs, “(Dis)assembling Marsyas, Michelangelo and the Accademia del Disegno,” *Art Bulletin* 84 (2002): 426-448. Though the article focuses largely on the importance of anatomy in the formulation of academic art training and theory, it provides a provocative discussion of the ways in which the antique fragment known as the “Red Marsyas” owned by the Medici served not only as a touchstone for artists and their study of anatomy and their relationship to the antique, but also references the rather grisly metaphors it provided for the process of working of marble.
materials inherently act upon the senses and act to determine our modes of engagement with the sculpted object. Such an approach would allow us to construct a history of Renaissance sculpture that captures and reflects Alberti’s idea of a “più grassa Minerva” – “a more sensate wisdom”.  

All of this leads us to the question of how Renaissance ideas regarding materiality relate to issues of embodiment and to questions regarding form and content when talking about this type of sculpture, or Renaissance sculpture in general. One place to look for the basis of a more embodied reading of Renaissance sculpture is in the rhetoric of the life-like or “living image.” The trope of the living image, which has its roots in classical rhetoric and ekphrastic practices, is a familiar Renaissance device found from the 14th century in the writings of Petrarch all the way to the art criticism of Vasari. One of the intriguing aspects of Vasari’s criticism of sculpture is how the metaphorical language of the living image (an image that appears to be alive, lacks only breath or speech, looks as soft as living flesh, or has nerves that seem to twitch, veins to pulse) that he uses for many works of what we typically think of as the “high art” of the High Renaissance reflects the type of terminology and language we usually reserve for the critically suspect

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simulacrum. Yet there can be no doubt that this is a crucial part of the operative critical language of glowing praise for both 15th- and 16th-century painting and sculpture. While there is a growing body of literature on the trope of the living image in 16th-century art criticism, little exists for the 15th century, particularly in relation to sculpture. As the very existence of the terracotta tableaux themselves demonstrate, however, an appreciation of this mode of representation was already in place and thriving.

**TERRACOTTA LAMENTATION TABLEAUX**

With this overview of the place of terracotta within the economy of sculptural production in the 15th century as well as the variety of forms terracotta sculpture took, the next subject to turn is to terracotta tableaux, specifically the *Lamentation* groups that appear in the later half of the 15th century. With regard to large-scale narrative tableau sculpture, there has been increased interest in this genre, though the scope of research and study has been rather disparate. There are several monographs on particular artists whose *oeuvres* focus on the production of large-scale narrative groups in terracotta as well as a handful of articles on these groups that deal generally with a single sculpture group and are limited in great part to specific themes. Narrative terracotta tableau sculpture as a

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76 In reference to the Red Marsyas (see note 73), Vasari, in his *Life of Michelangelo*, also transfers this rhetoric of exposed life lurking under the skin that was built around this unusual classical work to Michelangelo’s sculptures, repeatedly revisiting the motif of nerves and veins that seem to twitch and pulse with life, almost as if in reference to blows of the hammer and sparks of the chisel. In this way, Michelangelo could be seen as imbuing his figures with life and a sense of movement through the physical process of carving, that is, Michelangelo’s own movement and life force invested in the material.


78 Guido Mazzoni, Antonio Begarelli, Agnolo di Polo, Agostino de’Fondulis, Alfonso Lombardi, Gaudenzio Ferrari all have been the focus of monographs in the past several decades. See: Verdon (as in 60); Lugli, (as in 29); Giorgio Bonsanti, (as in 71); Lorenzo Lorenzi, *Agnolo di Polo: scultura in terracotta*
genre in its own right has yet to be studied at length, even though it is a distinct sculptural product of the Renaissance that marks some of its highest achievements in figuration and corporeal embodiment in three dimensional form. Within the foundational structure of the prevailing discourses surrounding Italian sculpture, these terracotta groups as they appear in the mid 15th century, with their highly charged emotional tenors seem to appear from nowhere in the fabric of Renaissance sculptural production. In this sense the works of Niccolò dell’Arca and Guido Mazzoni with their emphasis on highly descriptive, unmediated corporeal reality represent a thorough anomaly to the whole standardized notion of progress in Renaissance sculptural styles based on relationships to canonical classical models and principles.

Many basic questions surrounding the terracotta tableau in 15th-century Italy are still not fully resolved. One fundamental question regards the origin of life-size tableau sculptures, the earliest examples of which are predominantly Lamentation groups. While one can trace a relatively well developed tradition for similar Entombment groups in France, a comprehensive explanation of the appearance of the Lamentation group in Italy has yet to be posited.\footnote{For French Entombment sculptures see: William H. Forsyth, \textit{The Entombment of Christ: French Sculptures of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries}, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970).} The relationship between French Entombments and Italian
"Lamentations" is assumed in all the literature regarding Niccolò dell’Arca’s "Lamentation," but the connection between the two genres is not fully demonstrated, nor are the dynamics of this cross-cultural transmission fully explained. While it is true that there are examples of "Entombment" groups (though not often in terracotta) from the late 14th and early 15th centuries in Northern Europe, they are vastly different in form and emotional tone. A search for possible sources on the Italian peninsula also yields answers that are helpful, but still not definitive if only because of the very small number of known examples that are dated pre-1460. Even though there had been a strong tradition of narrative sculptural groups in wood in the late Middle Ages in Italy, the "Lamentation" proper generally does not appear to have been part of the corpus of common subject matter; rather "Crucifixion" tableaux with mourning figures of the Virgin Mary and St. John the Evangelist prevail. Furthermore, by the early 15th century, narrative sculpture was found almost exclusively in the form of relief carving for altarpieces and their

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80 Though there have been a number of books and catalogues published of late dealing with Renaissance sculpture from Lombardy, the Piemonte, and Liguria, they have yielded very few examples that can help trace a definitive history of sculpture groups of the "Lamentation" leading up to Niccolò dell’Arca’s. Enrica Pagella, ed., *Tra Gotico e Rinascimento: scultura in Piemonte,* (Turin: Città di Torino, 2001) shows one fragmentary Entombment group from the 1420s that greatly resembles French examples, as does the recent catalogue by Giovanni Romano and Claudio Salsi, eds., *Maestri della scultura in legno nel ducato degli Sforza,* (Milan: Silvano Editoriale, 2005). The same can be said of other recent books on wood sculpture from this region, such as: Paolo Venturi, *Studi sulle Sculture Lignea Lombarda tra Quattro e Cinquecento,* (Turin: Umberto Allemandi, 2005); Giuseppe Fusari and Massimo Rossi, eds., *Sulle trace di Mantegna: Zebellana, Gioiello e gli altri – sculture ligna tra Lombardia e Veneto 1450-1550,* (Calcinate: Gruppo di San Luca, 2004); Franco Boggero and Piero Donati, eds., *La sacra selva: scultura lignea in Liguria tra XII e XVI secolo,* (Milan: Skira, 2004); Raffaele Casciaro, *La scultura lignea Lombarda del Rinascimento,* (Milan: Skira, 2000); Angela Gugliemetti, ed., *Scultura ligna nella diocese di Novara tra ‘400 e ‘500,* (Novara: Provincia di Novara, 2000); and Giuseppina Perusini, ed., *La scultura ligna nell’arco alpino: storia, stile, e tecniche 1450-1550,* (Udine: Forum, 1999). Verdon cites only one specific example of an early 15th-century "Lamentation" from Verona in Timothy Verdon, (as in 60), 172. Other terracotta "Lamentation" groups that appear in these regions are dealt with only tangentially in monographs, such as the ones on Guido Mazzoni by Lugli (as in 29) and Agostino de Fondulis by Bandera, (as in 30).

81 A well known example of this type of sculptural groups is the *Deposition* from Volterra Cathedral. For others see: Mariagiulia Burresi, ed., *Sacre Passioni: scultura ligna a Pisa dal XII al XV secolo,* (Milan: Federico Motta, 2000) and Giovanni Sapori and Bruno Toscano, eds., *La deposizione ligna in Europa: L’imagine, il culto, la forma,* (Città di Castello: Electa Editori Umbri Associati, 2004).
predella panels, pulpit panels or choir lofts, and thematic programs on church doors and facades, rather than figures in the round. While there can be no doubt that Niccolò dell’Arca’s *Lamentation* marks an important moment in the resurgence of large-scale narrative sculpture in Italy, currently we are left without a sense of where such terracotta groups fit within the larger history of late Medieval and early Renaissance tableau sculpture both north and south of the Alps. All this serves to underscore the gaps in our knowledge of the predecessors and precedents for the works of artists such as Niccolò dell’Arca and Guido Mazzoni and perhaps accounts on some levels for the ease with which they have been traditionally viewed as an isolated phenomenon, inasmuch as their prehistory is part of a larger “missing history” of Renaissance art.

Another problematic issue is the question of the extent to which style factors into an understanding of these sculptural groups, especially in relation to the portrayal of emotion. Early Italian scholarship, particularly Adolfo Venturi’s work on Guido Mazzoni, tends to discuss tableau sculptors in terms of regional and local tendencies, effectively isolating them from larger discussions of trends in 15th-century sculpture in Italy and casting tableau sculptors as little more than protagonists of a minor, provincial style. There is also the tendency to cast Niccolò dell’Arca in particular as a Gothic Italian artist under the sway of foreign influence and, therefore, *retardataire* or overly enthralled with raw Northern realism and out of the perceived mainstream of classicizing trends in the art of the 15th century. The works of Guido Mazzoni on the other hand have been more successfully, albeit slowly, linked to certain visual and artistic principles more in line with traditionally received notions of Renaissance aesthetic priorities regarding realism and naturalism in the depiction of the human figure. Verdon describes Guido
Mazzoni’s style as “the ‘other,’ darker side of Renaissance renewal,” an assessment that stands as a corrective to Charles Seymour’s view of this type of sculpture as a Gothic aberration within the world of the secular Humanist Renaissance. In this sense Verdon rather successfully posits Mazzoni’s work in relation to a devotional renaissance rather than a secular one. Adalgisa Lugli is more adamant in characterizing Mazzoni’s veristic style as directly participating in the culture of classical revival, summoning forth an impressive array of material relating to terracotta and its use in sculpture in the ancient world.

Both the high degree of realism and expressivity in the works of both Niccolò dell’Arca and Guido Mazzoni were greatly admired by their contemporaries. Though Niccolò seems to have been a bit of an odd personality, his ability to realistically translate dynamic human form and deep emotion into his works was well noted and appreciated. For example, Girolamo Borselli described Niccolò as “fantasticus” and “barbarus,” also noting that he had no interest in training students, while Fileno della Tuata tells that he was fond of carving “mosche che pareano vive,” making a clever play on the familiar Plinian trope traditionally used to praise painters for their ability to imitate nature. As for Guido Mazzoni, he was praised by Vasari for the realism and passion of his Lamentation group in Naples, noting the “vivacità” of the figures and that they appeared

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82 Verdon, (as in 60), 17.

83 Lugli, (as in 29), chapter 2.

“più che viva.” Furthermore, the fact that as his career progressed his patrons continued to increase in status, from the Duke of Ferrara to the King of Naples and onto the Kings of France and England, speaks for how well-respected and admired his work was.

As for the growth in popularity of the subject of the *Lamentation* in mid 15th-century Italy, it is often linked to a growing interest overall in Passion-related imagery, though this tends to generalize their history and context, rather than further our understanding of their uniqueness. Additionally, though paintings of the *Lamentation* were fairly prominent in the early Trecento, by the mid Quattrocento it was relatively rare, leaving the tableau groups fairly removed chronologically from the earlier late Medieval examples. One of the most frequently cited painted examples of a *Lamentation*-related painting that could have served as model for sculpted *Lamentation* groups is the now-lost *Deposition* of Belfiore made by Rogier van der Weyden for the d’Este of Ferrara. This painting, noted by Cyriacus of Ancona and Bartolomeo Fazio, is generally believed to be similar to his *Deposition* of 1435, now in the Prado Museum. It is conceivable that Niccolò may have had access to Northern paintings and smaller decorative works popular at the court of Ferrara or larger-scale Italian paintings that reflected the Ferrarese penchant for Northern European subjects and styles. As for sculptural models that may have informed Niccolò dell’Arca’s *Lamentation*, Burgundian sculpture, more specifically the work of Claus Sluter, is often posited, especially in relation to his work on the *Arca di San Domenico*. There is, however, no evidence that Niccolò ever had any direct exposure to either the works of the Claus Sluter and other Burgundian sculptors, or 14th- and 15th-century French Entombment groups.

85 Vasari, (as in 11), 375. This mention of Mazzoni is found in the life of Giuliano da Maiano.
As for theatrical sources for the subject of the *Lamentation*, numerous texts exist of liturgical and sacred dramas from the late Middle Ages. However, while these types of dramas saw a resurgence in popularity in 15th-century Italy, there is no direct evidence that the earliest of these tableaux have connections to these types of public pageants and displays. Even if one were to consider these sculptural groups as participating in a representational tradition with strong ties to sacred theater, the mode in which these sculptural groups engage with the sacred narrative seems to have changed considerably from some of their wooden medieval predecessors. No longer are they active participants in a world where sculptures and actors intermingled to reenact a sacred drama (here one thinks of moveable wooden crucifixes and *Deposition* groups), rather they become permanent installations of self-contained and physically isolated narrative worlds. While these terracotta groups are more physically distanced due to their enclosed chapel display and fixed staging, the stark and tactile realism with which the figures are rendered imbibes them with a palpable physicality that reinforces the viewer’s understanding and perception of the figures as a living sacred presence, thus blurring the boundaries between reality and imagination. Here we have a window into why the visual properties and technical possibilities of polychrome terracotta made it ideally suited to this genre for sculpture.

Further aiding this melding of the sacred and profane realms, is the fact that several of Guido Mazzoni’s *Lamentation* tableaux contain portrait figures that are in many ways quite reminiscent of the descriptions of highly realistic portrait *boti*. For example, Guido Mazzoni’s *Lamentation* in Ferrara contains securely recognizable portraits of Ercole d’Este as Nicodemus and his wife Eleonora of Aragon as Mary Cleofa,
while the one in Naples features Alfonso II of Aragon as Joseph of Arimathea and possibly his father, Ferrante, as Nicodemus. Tradition holds that the group in Busseto contains portraits of the brothers Pallavicino and Gianludovico Pallavicini in the guise of Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus, while his Lamentation in Modena is purported to contain portraits of the confraternity guardiani in the same roles.\textsuperscript{86} On one hand these portrait figures use the same visual strategies of creating a sense of both real presence and devotional presence in perpetuam that we find in the use of ex-voto figures in wax.\textsuperscript{87} However, the portrait figures in the Lamentation groups take the purpose and tradition of ex-voto figures one step further in that they are not separate from the sacred narrative within a chapel, but rather become actors immersed in it. Thus, the immediacy of the simulacrum and the way in which it works to erode temporal boundaries and establish an immutable devotional presence becomes a powerful rhetorical display of piety and devotion as well as a political tool of state.\textsuperscript{88} As I hope to demonstrate in the subsequent chapters of this study, the power of verism and the simulacrum at work in terracotta Lamentation groups can take on many different political voices and causes, some of which may very well account for their emergence at mid-century as well.

\textsuperscript{86} For the issue of portraits in the groups in Bussetto, Modena, Ferrara, and Naples see: Lugli, (as in 29), 319-320, 320-322, 325-326, and 328-329.

\textsuperscript{87} Painting also participated in this tradition of votive figures and perpetual presence. The kneeling donors in Masaccio’s \textit{Trinity} (Santa Maria Novella, Florence, c.1428), presumably Domenico Lenzi and his wife, as well as the kneeling figures of Francesco Sassetti and his wife in the Sassetti chapel (Santa Trinita, Florence, c.1483-1485) bear witness to this. Geraldine Johnson at the very end of “Activating the Effigy: Donatello’s Pecci Tomb in Siena Cathedral,” \textit{Art Bulletin} 77 (3), (1995): 445-459 offers an intriguing parallel for a sculpted kneeling votive effigy integrated into a burial chapel in her brief discussion of the Andrea Pellegrini portrait effigy that forms part of the elaborate chapel decoration, which consists of a series of twenty-four narrative panels of the \textit{Life of Christ} executed in terracotta relief by Michele da Firenze (Sant’Anastasia, Verona, c.1435-36).

With regard to the issue of emotional expression, here one is tempted to look for links to the imaginative devotional practices of the *devotio moderna* that gained currency throughout Europe during the course of the 14\(^{th}\) and 15\(^{th}\) centuries.\(^{89}\) Verdon points to the devotional manifestation of this concern with a “felt” rather than “intellectual” religious experience at the heart of the reform movements that took hold in 15\(^{th}\) century Italy as a way to understand the aims of the emotive qualities of the *Lamentations* by artists such as Niccolo dell’Arca and Guido Mazzoni.\(^{90}\) While linking the terracotta tableau to these types of 15\(^{th}\)-century devotional texts and practices is not unfounded, to see these sculptures, both in their subject and style, as simply an externalization of the somatic symptoms of the spiritual fervor promoted by the *devotio moderna* is only one aspect of the social and historical circumstances surrounding the modes of visual representation and visual and emotional engagement in which these tableaux participate.\(^{91}\) While such concerns about emotions and expression certainly have their place in the context of devotional practices, they also speak to general artistic and aesthetic concerns of the time.\(^{92}\) The Renaissance interest in emotion (or motions of the mind) in the realm of

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\(^{90}\) Verdon, (as in 60), 17.

\(^{91}\) For representations of the emotions in relation to passion imagery and confraternal piety see: Timothy Verdon, “‘Si tu non piangi quando questo vedi…’: Penitenza laica e spiritualita nel Quattrocento,” *Niccolò dell’Arca: Seminario di Studi*, eds. G. Agostini and L. Ciammitti, (Bologna: Nuova Alfa Editoriale, 1989), 151-166.

\(^{92}\) For the depiction of emotion as an aesthetic and rhetorical priority in late *quattrocento* painting see: Timothy Verdon, “Emozione e carattere: commozione religiosa come soggetto in Guido Mazzoni,
representation is perhaps expressed most clearly in Alberti’s *Della Pittura* where he expressly states that the purpose of a narrative is to excite and elicit emotion in the viewer with their moral edification as the ultimate goal. His attitudes toward narrative and affect follow classical thinkers in relating the edifying effect of affective narration to one’s moral development.  

93 Fundamentally, for Alberti the process was a mimetic one following the idea that like produces like in the viewer: “We weep with the weeping, laugh with the laughing, and grieve with the grieving.”

This understanding of emotional response in the face of emotionally charged images, however, runs the risk of oversimplification, for emotional response is anything but uniform and there are the questions and problems not only of modes in which emotion is represented in the work of art, but also the different types of emotional

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94 This concept is at work in Giovanni Bellini’s *Pietà* in the Brera, where a *cartellino* at the bottom of the painting bears the Latin inscription which reads HAEC FERE QUUM GEMITUS TURGENTIA LUMINA PROMANT BELLINI POTERAT IONNIS OPUS, thus confirming the reciprocal cause-and-effect relationship between the power of the life-like yet fictive tears of the painting and the shedding of actual tears on the part of the viewer. The phrase is derived from the *Elegies* of Sextus Propertius. Oskar Batschman in *Giovanni Bellini*, (London: Reaktion Books, 2008), 97-98 offers the translation: “Every time the swollen eyes elicit lamentations from [the beholder], this work of Giovanni Bellini could [and can] weep.” Keith Christianson in “Giovanni Bellini and the Practice of Devotional Painting,” *Giovanni and the Art of Devotion*, ed. R. Kasl, (Indianapolis: Indianapolis Museum of Art, 2004), 36 translates the text as: “When these swelling eyes bring forth groans, this work of Giovanni Bellini will be able to shed tears.” For more on the representation of tears and emotions see: Federica Veratelli, “Lacrime dipinte, lacrime reali. Rappresentare il dolore nel Quattrocento: modello fiambino, ricezione italiana,” *Storia dell’Arte* 113/114 (2006): 5-34 and Moshe Barasch, “The Crying Face,” *Artibus et Historiae* 15 (8), (1987): 21-36.
communities these works addressed.\footnote{For the idea of emotional communities see: Barbara Rosenwein, \textit{Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages}, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006) and “Worrying About Emotions in History,” \textit{The American Historical Review} 107 (3), (June 2002): 821-845.} For different groups of viewers, the emotional experiences produced by the different representational strategies and modes of affective display presented in these tableaux were certainly moving ones, but one must wonder how exactly those emotional responses manifested themselves. It is widely noted how closely the gestures of lament enacted by the sculpted figures mirror those described in contemporary mourning practices, thus adding to the directness and palpable power of the emotional cues embedded in these tableaux. While it may very well be true that the representation of highly charged and demonstrative gestures of mourning presented by the tableau figures has its basis in the actual public mourning rituals of the \textit{mortorio}, it seems unlikely that this is the kind of actual emotional and behavioral reaction the sculptures were meant to provoke when one considers how highly proscribed the cultural prohibitions against such public outbursts were.\footnote{Klebanoff, (as in 78), 155 cites many instances of such prohibitions, though they are largely from documents of the 14th century.} Understanding exactly how the emotional empathy these groups solicited and the chain of emotions they provoked was meant to be experienced and directed is of prime importance.

For the \textit{Lamentations} that were produced for confraternities and hospitals, such as the tableaux found in Bologna and Modena, the wrought emotions enacted by the figures have been interpreted as reflections of either the emotionally frenzied state brought on by the ritual of flagellation carried out in the Passion-based mode of the \textit{Imitatio Christi} or the compassion-based mode of tears of compunction.\footnote{See Verdon, (as in 91) and Klebanoff, (as in 78).} Other tableaux produced for the
nobility, such as those found in Busseto, Ferrara, and Naples, have been discussed as part of the pageantry of devout and pious display in court cities that played a crucial role in crafting the public persona of princes. While these are all on their face value perfectly valid interpretations of the meaning and function of these terracotta tableaux, as I hope to show in my discussion of lament in Chapter Three, there is more to the act of lamenting than meets the eye. Not only does the performance of lament produce a lengthy emotional script where the reaction of sorrow and grief is but the beginning, it is also an act that is profoundly laden with historically conditioned political meanings.  

The recovery of these meanings will hopefully shed light on new readings of the socio-political significance of these landmark terracotta Lamentation tableaux and aid in explaining why they appear when they do in the 15th century, only to fade from view half a century later.

One last aspect to consider with these Lamentation groups is their settings in Sepulchre chapels. Almost uniformly, discussions of terracotta Lamentation groups focus on the figures alone and give cursory attention at best to the meanings that their chapel settings bring to them. To the extent that we focus on the figural groups alone and ignore the ways in which they functioned as part of a larger iconographic program where the chapel space itself carried meaning, we lose critical insight into the way these works were viewed and understood by early modern audiences. Sepulchre chapels were meant to


99 References to these tableaux as Lamentation groups or Bewailing groups begin to appear largely in the early 19th century. In all 15th- and 16th-century references, however, the groups are called Sepulchres. For
evoke symbolic and ideological relationships to the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem and as such carried with them memories of traditions that developed well before the advent of the sculpted tableaux they came to house in the 15th century. To sever these sculpture groups from the history and traditions inherent in this monument and the replicas and chapels it inspired – an approach that pervades much of the scholarship on these groups today – is to lose a vital element of their meaning and significance. The accretions of historic events and symbolism associated with the tomb of Christ made it fertile ground for the Christian imagination and both a ritual focal point and point of departure for crafting Christian history and ideology. Even in their most abbreviated and truncated form, Sepulchre replicas and chapels carry with them the full range and depth of the history and meaning associated with their prototype, the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. Therefore, Chapter Two of this study is dedicated to history of the symbolism and the ideology embedded in the Holy Sepulchre, as well as its place in the Western imagination, that is necessary for building a discursive framework that reconnects the Lamentation tableau with the significance of its setting. Overall, the following chapters will show how the terracotta Lamentation groups by Niccolò dell’Arca and Guido Mazzoni, viewed through a lens that gives renewed importance to their Sepulchre settings and the full scope of the implications of public lamentation, lent themselves to many different readings, from the devotional to the political, in different contexts and with different implications for different audiences.

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example, Niccolò dell’Arca’s Lamentation is explicitly referred to as a Sepulchre in the statues of the confraternity that commissioned it. For a transcription of the indulgence see: Beck, (as in 84), 343-344.
CHAPTER 2: The Holy Sepulchre and Its Replicas: Symbolism and Ideology in the
Western Imagination and its Implications for Sepulchre Chapels of the 15th Century

The Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem is a touchstone of the Christian faith,
representing at its most fundamental level tangible proof of the promise of resurrection
and salvation. Over the ages the Holy Sepulchre accrued a host of religious, cultural, and
political connotations and meanings that will be discussed in this chapter. Pilgrimage and
the collection of relics and mementos from Jerusalem as an expression of a desire to
commemorate the profound spiritual transformation the journey implied became part and
parcel of the experience of visiting the Sepulchre and the Holy Land. Relics became a
popular way of possessing and transporting the Holy Land. As this chapter details,
replicas of the Holy Sepulchre became another means, in many ways on par with actual
Holy Land relics, of commemorating and perpetuating devotion to the holiest of Holy
Land shrines. These replicas in their different formal instantiations also became, in a
sense, ways of possessing the Holy Sepulchre. Though Sepulchre replicas had specific
liturgical functions and became a force behind liturgical developments and the evolution
of extra-liturgical sacred drama, they could also carry with them profound political
statements regarding the power and expanse of Christendom as an empire.

After Jerusalem and Palestine fell under Muslim rule in the 7th century, the Holy
Sepulchre became the supreme emblem of an aspect of both Christian history and a
Christian empire to be reclaimed and recovered, thus representing the West’s claim to a
divinely ordained position of ecclesiastical and imperial hegemony. The Crusades of the
Middle Ages only served to intensify the political and ideological jockeying between East
and West, Christian and Muslim, for possession of this potent symbol of earthly sanctity and authority in Palestine. Crusade ideology positioned the Holy Sepulchre as touchstone and rallying point for Christian victory and triumph, one which many individuals and families linked to aspects of their renown and status. With the re-emergence of the prospect of a crusade after the fall of Constantinople in 1453, many of these ideological issues surrounding the Holy Land, the Holy Sepulchre, and the state Christendom in the East surged to the forefront once again. For Sepulchre replicas and chapels, the political aspects of the Holy Sepulchre’s history were never more than a heartbeat away. The possibilities for political expression that the combination of Sepulchre replicas and Passion imagery created is of particular importance in relation to 15th-century Sepulchre chapels and Lamentation groups as they developed in Italy. The political subtext of the theme of lament as it related to Niccolò dell’Arca’s Lamentation and Sepulchre chapel will be taken up at length in the next chapter. First, however, it is crucial to trace the full arc of the development of Anastasis and tomb aedicule replicas in relation to both theological concepts and statements of political ideology that came to be associated with them.

**THE HOLY SEPULCHRE AND ITS CONSTANTINIAN ORIGINS**

Construction of the church of the Holy Sepulchre began under Emperor Constantine in 325 when what was believed to be the tomb of Christ was discovered. The impetus behind the project was his desire to celebrate and enshrine the sanctity of this and other holy spots while also leaving his imperial mark on the city of Jerusalem.¹

When the church complex was consecrated in 335 it consisted of a traditional basilican church built over the spot where Helena, Constantine’s mother, is said to have found the wood of the True Cross and, just to the west of this structure, the Anastasis Rotunda, which was constructed around what was believed to be Jesus’s tomb niche carved in an outcrop of rock. The two churches were connected by a courtyard atrium.

What we know of the appearance of the Anastasis Rotunda in its earliest phase of existence derives from written descriptions as well as a handful of representations in mosaic, carved stone, or on painted panel, as well as schematic representations, particularly of the aedicule, on pilgrim badges and other small portable objects. From these we know it was a round centrally-planned structure approximately 130 feet in diameter topped with a drum and a dome with an oculus, which at some point was capped with a lantern and cupola.² The interior featured a colonnade ring topped by a smaller

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open arcade level, from which sprang a conical dome. In the center was the rock-cut tomb housed in a small temple-like aedicule topped with a small lantern. Both the Anastasis and the basilica attached to it were lavishly decorated with marble cladding, inside and out, monolithic columns, and gilded ceilings.3

Though there is evidence that several holy sites in and around Jerusalem were already attracting attention from Christian pilgrims as early as the 2nd century, Constantine’s interventions ushered in a new age of prominence and importance for this city and the Holy Sepulchre in particular.4 Enthusiasm for replicating and transporting to the West both the spiritual experience and as well as the physical and numinous presence of Jerusalem’s newly enshrined holy sites developed quickly on the heels of the Constantinian interventions, with the key sites relating to Christ’s death and resurrection, that is Golgotha and the tomb, taking pride of place in the pilgrim’s itinerary. From the beginning, this desire to return with a tangible memento of the pilgrimage experience was made manifest largely in the form of trafficking in and transporting relics from East to West.5 Among the most prized relics related to Christ and these memorial sites were

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3 See Eusebius, (as in 1) and J.G. Davies, “Eusebius’ Description of the Martyrium at Jerusalem,” American Journal of Archaeology 61 (1957): 171-173.

4 The places that attracted the most attention from these early pilgrims were a cave near Bethlehem reputed to be the site of the Nativity, and in Jerusalem the Mount of Olives, the hill of Golgotha, and an area around Hadrian’s temple dedicated to Venus that had long been rumored to cover the location of the tomb of Christ. E.D. Hunt, Holy Land Pilgrimage in the Later Roman Empire AD 312-460, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), 1-5. William Telfer argues that Constantine’s interventions in Jerusalem were central to his program of imperial religious politics and effectively designated Jerusalem the center of the Christian world. William Telfer, “Constantine’s Holy Land Plan,” Studia Patristica (volume 1, part 1), eds. K. Aland and F.L. Cross, (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1957), 696-700.

5 For pilgrimage in the post-Constantinian era and the growth of the trade in relics see chapters 4 and 6 in Hunt, (as in 4), which deal with the early Constantinian shrines as pilgrim churches and the development of commerce and trade in pilgrimage relics and mementos, or eulogiae. Also see: Morris, (as in 1), 67-85.
those of the True Cross, fragments of which carried a particularly potent aura of sanctity and power in the economy of relics. As for the Holy Sepulchre, souvenirs and contact relics such as pilgrim badges and ampullae for oil, water, or earth that had been in physical contact with the Sepulchre, or even small fragments of the tomb itself, bear witness to its central importance in the experience of Jerusalem and its holy sites.

A robust interest in pilgrimage to Palestine held steady through the following centuries and Jerusalem, with the Holy Sepulchre at its center, became ever more firmly ensconced as a prime locus within the sacred topography of the Christian empire.

Imperial interest in Jerusalem as a Christian capital endured as well and is best represented by Justinian who added the Nea Ekklesia, a complex structure of unprecedented scale and opulence, to the monumental fabric of Jerusalem, thereby

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6 Helena’s journey to Jerusalem and her acts of devotion established an expression of piety for the Christian empire. Her journey rapidly took on mythic qualities, casting her in the role of “proto-pilgrim,” while the legend of the Invention of the True Cross fuelled the desire for relics of the wood of the Cross. Hunt, (as in 4), 28-49. For the religious and political power that grew around the gifting of fragments of the True Cross see: Annabel Jane Wharton, Selling Jerusalem: Relics, Replica, Theme Parks, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 27-38.


8 John Wilkinson, Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades, (Warminster: Aris and Philips, 2002) and Morris, (as in 1), 41-55.
leaving his own distinct imperial mark upon the Christianized sacred topography of the
city. The year 614, however, marked a distinct turning point for Christian Jerusalem
when it fell from Byzantine rule under the emperor Heraclius into the hands of the
Persian king, Chosroes. The siege not only inflicted great damage to the churches and
shrines of the city, the Holy Sepulchre included, but resulted in the relic of the wood of
the True Cross, the greatest of imperial relics, being removed from the church of the Holy
Sepulchre and taken to Persia. Though Chosroes did permit the Holy Sepulchre to be
rebuilt under the direction of Modestus, who would eventually become patriarch, it was
not until the 628 that Heraclius was able to retake Jerusalem. Shortly thereafter, in 630,
he restored the relic of the True Cross to the church of the Holy Sepulchre with great
pomp and circumstance, recalling the victorious legacy of Constantine and the True
Cross and infusing the pageantry with a distinct air of imperial militarism. The victory
was short lived, however, as Jerusalem fell to the Arab Caliphate in 638. From that point
forward Jerusalem, though it retained currency as the symbolic capital of the Christian
empire, entered into a period of neglect and ecclesiastical ties to it were substantially

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9 For more on Justinian’s imperial policy in Palestine and his image as a Christian emperor see: Susan
Graham, “Justinian and the Politics of Space,” Constructions of Space II: The Biblical City and Other
For Justinian’s Nea Ekklesia as an architectural challenge to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre see: Hagi
Amitzur, “Justinian’s Solomon’s Temple in Jerusalem,” The Centrality of Jerusalem: Historical
Perspectives, eds. M. Poorthius and C. Safrai, (Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1996), 160-175.

10 For more on Heraclius’s rule see: Walter Emil Kaegi, Heraclius: Emperor of Byzantium, (Cambridge:

11 For Heraclius’s political maneuvering and showmanship with respect to the imperial symbolism attached
to the relics of the True Cross see: Jan Willem Drijvers, “Heraclius and the Restitutio Crucis: Notes on
Symbolism and Ideology,” The Reign of Heraclius (610-641): Crisis and Confrontation, eds. G. J. Reinink
the Cross at Jerusalem,” The English Historical Review 27 (106), (1912): 287–299.
weakened. Cut off from imperial support and patronage, the city’s churches and shrines fell steadily into a state of decay over the course of the next century and a half.\textsuperscript{12}

\textbf{CHARLEMAGNE AND THE EAST}

With the rise of Charlemagne and his imperial ambitions, however, Jerusalem returned to the political forefront, and with it a renewed interest in the Holy Sepulchre and its spiritual and political legacy. Though Charlemagne’s interest in the legacy of the early church and his desire to cast himself in the role of a Western emperor in the mode of an \textit{alter-Constantine} manifested itself in a cultural, religious, and political revival and refashioning that borrowed greatly from Constantine’s stamp on Early Christian Rome, the role Jerusalem’s symbolic authority and Constantine’s imperial legacy at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre played in the grand \textit{renovatio} should not be underestimated.\textsuperscript{13} To the extent that Jerusalem still represented the idea of a Christian empire, in concept if not in political reality, creating a political relationship with the city provided a means for Charlemagne to cast him as a legitimate, even divinely ordained, imperial defender of the Christian faith. Operating on a tacit recognition that he would be unable to outright usurp

\textsuperscript{12} While it is true that the Christian urban fabric of Jerusalem and its most important monuments suffered decay under Muslim rule, Gil notes that the neglect had begun as early as the reign of the Byzantine emperor Justin II, which was defined largely by chaos, poverty, and pestilence. Moshe Gil: \textit{A History of Palestine, 634-1099}, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 4. In terms of how the key imperial monuments fared under the Arab Caliphas, Justinian’s Nea Ekklesia was definitively destroyed in the earthquake of 746, never to be rebuilt, while structural damage was inflicted on the dome of the Anastasis. Remarkably, it managed to stand until it was razed by Al-Hakim in 1009.

\textsuperscript{13} See Telfer (as in 4), passim. The literature on Charlemagne’s rule in the West is vast, however, for an incisive examination of his imperial ideology and idea of kingship see: Janet L. Nelson, “Kingship and Empire in the Carolingian World,” \textit{Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation}, ed. R. McKitterick, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 52-87. Though Nelson is largely concerned with Charlemagne’s political and cultural strategies for constructing his kingship in the West in terms of both political policy and image, she provides insight into the kinds of sources of authority and legitimacy in the East that were of interest to Charlemagne in crafting an image of himself as a divinely ordained ruler.
Byzantine imperial power and that strategically Jerusalem and the Holy Land were unattainable through military means, Charlemagne’s “pro-Jerusalem” policies and diplomatic missions aimed to challenge Byzantine political power and influence and to forge a symbolic sacred relationship with the holy city.

When Charlemagne began sending diplomatic missions to the East in the late 790s it was ostensibly to engage with Calif Harun al-Rashid and the Patriarch with the hopes of negotiating an improvement of the situation and conditions of Christians in Palestine under Muslim rule. Though some concrete political gains were made for Christians living in the East over the course of several diplomatic missions, the city of Jerusalem remained firmly under Muslim rule and its Christian shrines under the increasingly weak protection of the Byzantine church as well as diminished patronage from a weakened emperor. Nonetheless, Charlemagne did manage to make his mark on the Christian quarters of Jerusalem through lavish gifts and donations to a host of shrines, churches, and monastic complexes in and around the city, with a lavish cache of gifts going to the Holy Sepulchre in particular. Such gifts were not devoid of political implications and helped establish the perception that he was a far greater financial and spiritual caretaker of Christian Jerusalem than either the Byzantine emperor or the

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patriarch. Additionally, through his diplomatic dealings with the Patriarch, he was able to augment the presence of Frankish monastics at the Holy Sepulchre.

Of all Charlemagne’s political accomplishments in the East and attempts to create his own legacy at the Holy Sepulchre, one stemming from a diplomatic mission spanning the years 799-800 stands out for its long-term consequences. In the year 800, in return for a cache of opulent gifts he bestowed upon the shrine’s treasury, the Byzantine Patriarch presented Charlemagne with a series of gifts, which included the keys to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. This honorary gesture recognizing his patronage and largess carried very potent symbolism in that the keys provided the tangible sign and link to Constantine’s legacy that Charlemagne so eagerly sought. What the keys did not do, however, was confer right of possession of the Holy Sepulchre or right to rule in Jerusalem, as ceding power of ownership, protection, and rule was not within the purview of the Patriarch, but rather the Caliph. That the gift was understood as a symbolic honor is borne out in the treatment of the event in the Royal Frankish Annals where it was

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16 Charlemagne’s endowments were carefully listed in the Royal Annals and court records generally bear out the reality of the Eastern Patriarch’s dire financial straits. The agendas of many of the Patriarch’s diplomatic envoys are described in the chronicles as predominantly geared toward soliciting alms and donations. Joranson, (as in 15), 260 and Runciman, (as in 14), 612.

17 Joranson, (as in 15), 254, 260. Joranson claims that by 808 there were seventeen clerics from the court of Charlemagne listed among the international clergy officiating at the Holy Sepulchre. Even still, this would have constituted a relatively small presence within the community of well over one hundred and fifty clerics overall who tended the shrine. Runciman notes, however, that the group Joranson claimed was comprised of seventeen clerics was, in fact, a group of nuns. Runciman, (as in 14), 612.

18 Both Joranson and Runciman (as in 15 and 14) emphasize this in countering Bréhier’s initially influential assertion that the gift of the keys to the Holy Sepulchre meant that the Patriarch gave Charlemagne actual right of possession over the Sepulchre, effectively making it a protectorate of the Latin Empire. See: Louis Bréhier, “Les Origines des Rapports entre le France et la Syrie: le Protectorat de Charlemagne,” Chambre de Comerce de Marsailles: Congrès Français de la Syrie (3,4,et 5 janvier 1919). Séance et Travaux, fascicule II, Section d’“Achéologie, Histoire, Géograpaphie, Ethnographie, (Pairs et Marsailles: H. Champion, 1919), 15-38. If the Patriarch’s gift is to be read as a true act of political calculation, at best it indicates an overture for a possible alliance should tensions between the Arab caliphate and the Byzantine emperor escalate into a full military conflict.
recorded with no particular fanfare or insinuation of political triumph of the type one might expect had the gift actually conferred actionable political power in the region.\textsuperscript{19}

Yet it is precisely this concept that slowly infiltrates the writing and rewriting of the history of the Carolingian dynasty. Stemming from a series of factual errors, vagaries, and embellishments woven around Charlemagne and the Holy Sepulchre, from Einhart’s \textit{Vita Karoli} to Notker’s \textit{Gesta Karoli Magni}, the gift of the keys was over the course of just a few generations mythologized into an explicit confirmation of his ownership of the Holy Sepulchre and even an endorsement of his right to rule Jerusalem.\textsuperscript{20}

\textsuperscript{19} The Royal Frankish Annals, which exist in two versions, give differing accounts of the gifts. The \textit{Annals of Lorsch} simply state that the Byzantine Patriarch sent his blessing along with the keys to the Holy Sepulchre and Calvary, the keys to the city and the mountain (Mount Sion), and a banner. The second version known as the \textit{Annales qui dicuntur Einhardi}, which is a revision of the \textit{Annals of Lorsch} made before 817, cites the same gifts, but makes no mention of the keys to the city and Mount Sion. Runciman, (as in 14), 610.

\textsuperscript{20} Though Einhard’s \textit{Vita Karoli} presents its own mode of embellishing history inasmuch as it employs well-established antique rhetorical models for the celebration of great potentates, the gifting of the keys is relayed with the same lack of fanfare found in the Royal Annals. Notably, however, Einhard mentions only the keys to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the banner. For Einhard’s use of classical rhetorical models see: David Ganz, “Einhard’s Charlemagne: The Characterization of Greatness,” \textit{Charlemagne: Empire and Society}, ed. J. Story, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), 38-51. Yet later in the \textit{Vita} Einhard describes rather vaguely another diplomatic mission in 802 wherein in exchange for gifts to the Holy Sepulchre the Caliph granted Charlemagne’s request and ordered “that sacred place’” to be placed under Charlemagne’s rule. Both the exact request and the exact sacred place are left conspicuously unspecified, but could from the context be construed as Charlemagne requesting and receiving ownership and jurisdiction over the Holy Sepulchre. However, according to Runciman, (as in 14), 612-613, this appears to be a conflation and embellishing of events related to negotiations that took place from the years 802-806 between the Patriarch, the Caliph and Charlemagne for the Latin rite to be performed in a small Marian church founded by Charlemagne and located very near the Holy Sepulchre. The church appears in later records as Santa Maria Latina. Einhard seems to have taken the liberty of including the Holy Sepulchre in with Santa Maria Latina as part of the ecclesiastic properties under negotiation. Gil, (as in 12), 285, however, notes that a monk named Bernard travelling in the mid 9th century mentions Santa Maria Latina as well as its library, adjoining monastery, and hostel as places established by Charlemagne, so his legacy at this site seems to have been quite clearly understood by those traveling in Jerusalem. A few generations later, however, when it comes to the relationship and negotiations between the Caliph and Charlemagne as described in Notker’s \textit{Gesta Karoli}, the negotiations transform into a fable woven of anecdotes and outright fabrications in which the Caliph, as a gesture of brotherly accord and respect, recognizes Charlemagne’s rightful ownership of the Holy Sepulchre and all of Palestine, lamenting, however, that the center of Charlemagne’s empire was so far away that he would never be able to properly protect it. All the same the Caliph goes on to cede rulership to Charlemagne and offers to simply stand as his administrator of Palestine and that this arrangement stood through the reign of his son and successor, Louis the Pious. While it is tempting to see Notker’s rendition of this story as a fantastically naïve and highly unreliable history of events during Charlemagne’s rule, MacLean argues that the types of liberties

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became a dynastic touchstone that was propagated and developed through the Carolingian and Ottonian eras, finding its way into tales and chronicles well into the 11th and 12th centuries. Ultimately, the embellishments to the story of the gift of the keys to the Church of the Sepulchre created a legacy with a slow fuse that would later be used by Frankish crusaders in an attempt to justify the West’s appropriation and ownership of not just this shrine and its ancient imperial heritage, but all of Jerusalem and the Holy Land in later centuries.

In a larger sense, Charlemagne’s diplomatic endeavors in the East in the midst of this period of intense contestation of political and spiritual primacy in Palestine helped lay the foundation for a new phase in the history of both Europe’s relationship to and vision of Jerusalem, and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Jerusalem became the jewel

Notker takes with the events drawn from Einhard’s chronicle and Vita served not only to entertain the court, but also to provide moralizing glosses for the political edification of the Frankish kings and reinforce imperial claims. Simon MacLean, Kingship and Politics in the Late Ninth Century: Charles the Fat and the End of the Carolingian Empire, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), especially chapter 7. For Carolingian practices in history writing see: Matthew Innes and Rosamond McKitterick, “The Writing of History,” Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation, ed. R. McKitterick, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 193-220. Though not directly related to the gift of the keys, Leslie Brubaker provides great insight into not only the status and political currency, but also statements of political and cultural superiority such gifts could express in the hands of their recipients. Leslie Brubaker, “The Elephant and the Ark: Cultural and Material Interchange across the Mediterranean in the Eight and Ninth Centuries,” Dumbarton Oaks Papers 58 (2004): 175-195.

21 More of the political mythologizing spirit is at work in the tale Le Pèlerinage de Charlemagne as relayed in the late 11th century by the monk Benedictus. In this tale, Charlemagne goes on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and visits the Holy Sepulchre with the Caliph. He proceeds to bedeck the shrines of Jerusalem with gold and in return the Caliph gives the city to Charlemagne, inscribing his name on every shrine he touched resulting in peace and good between the Franks and Arabs. During the return voyage, Charlemagne then stops in Constantinople where he enters into a contest with the Byzantine Emperor Hugo for true imperial supremacy. Charlemagne emerges victorious and Hugo subsequently places himself in vassalage to him. Gil, (as in 12), 286-287. A slightly different approach to mythologizing Charlemagne occurs in the Chanson de Roland. Here Charlemagne is presented as an early crusader, though his battles are fought in Spain, rather than Palestine. Julia Bolton Holloway, Jerusalem: Essays on Pilgrimage and Literature, (New York: AMS Press, 1998), 67-100.

22 Matthew Gabriele and Jace Stuckey, eds., The Legend of Charlemagne in the Middle Ages: Power, Faith, and Crusade, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), especially the essays by Noble, Callahan, Rubenstein, and Stuckey.
in the crown of Christian holy sites, and both the city and the Holy Sepulchre found a renewed place in both Western imperial history and Christian eschatology. It is also in the midst of this conflict that the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, or more specifically the Anastasis, became definitively emblematic of the city of Jerusalem and all its sacred topography inasmuch as it represented and encapsulated the Western Christianity’s spiritual and imperial legacy there.23 While expropriating Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre was never really a possibility for Charlemagne, he was still keenly interested in appropriating and assimilating, if only symbolically, the sacred authority and power they represented. Jerusalem as the dominion of an ideal Christian king and the spiritual authority the Holy Sepulchre denoted were key symbolic aspects in formulating his imperial identity. Thus, in addition to building a stronger Western presence in Jerusalem he used the symbolic ties to the Holy Sepulchre he cultivated as the springboard for a domestic cultural politic that underscored the spiritual authority of Jerusalem represented by the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and effectively brought the Holy Land to himself in

23Anastasia Keshman, “An Emblem of Sacred Space: The Representation of Jerusalem in the Form of the Holy Sepulchre,” New Jerusalems: Hierotopy and Iconography of Sacred Spaces, ed. A. Lidov, (Moscow: Indrik, 2009), 256-268. Keshnam points out that the seeds for this mode of conceptualizing Jerusalem lay in the writings of Eusebius. For Eusebius’s concept of the church of the Holy Sepulchre as a microcosm of a sacred city or the New Jerusalem see: Eusebius, (as in 1), 529, book 3 of the Life of Constantine, chapter 33, “How the Church of our Savior, the New Jerusalem prophesied of in Scripture, was built.” It is important to note the larger theological implications at work in Constantine’s intervention at Sepulchre inasmuch as it marked a decisive orienting of attention away from the Jerusalem of the Old Testament, which at this point was embodied by the ruins of the Temple destroyed by Emperor Titus in 73 AD, toward that of the New Testament and sites that focused on the life, death and resurrection of Christ. The theology at the base of this shift derives from Hebrews where Jesus is proclaimed to be both the High Priest and the Sacrifice and his body the Temple. In this sense, the church of the Holy Sepulchre became the built earthly manifestation of the New Temple. For more on the theme of the New Temple and the New Jerusalem see: Guy G. Stroumsa, “Mystical Jerusalems,” Jerusalem and its Sanctity and Centrality to Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, ed. L.I. Levine, (New York: Continuum Publishing, 1999), 349-370 (especially 351); Ora Limor, “The Place of the End of Days: Eschatological Geography in Jerusalem,” Jewish Art: The Real and Ideal Jerusalem in Jewish, Christian and Islamic Art, ed. B. Künnel, vol. 23-24, (Jerusalem: Journal for the Center for Jewish Art, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1997-1998), 13-22 and Bianca Künnel, From the Earthly to the Heavenly Jerusalem: Representations of the Holy City in Christian Art of the First Millennium, (Rome: Herder, 1987).
the form of a replica of Constantine’s Anastasis. Thus, the elusiveness of the physical, geographical Jerusalem was replaced with the ideology of the spiritual attainability of the celestial New Jerusalem as a translatable sacred space.

THE PALATINE CHAPEL AT AACHEN AS SEPULCHRE REPLICA

This new focus on appropriating and translating the spiritual power and authority of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is a prime motivator of the practice of replicating the Anastasis as it develops in the 9th century.24 Where we see the first step toward the practice of translating and replicating the Anastasis under Charlemagne is the Palatine Chapel at Aachen. For Charlemagne, the Palatine Chapel was an intensely personal, pious, and political re-presentation of the Anastasis that melded eastern and west imperial and spiritual history. Richard Krautheimer explains that early architectural imitations of the Anastasis often bore little more than a passing outward similarity to the structure in

Jerusalem; rather these copies focused on the “content of the architecture” or the overall symbolic significance of a plan or part of a structure.  

The structure was viewed not as an ersatz fabrication, but as a valid substitute for the original that invoked and participated in the history and significance of the prototype.  

Formal criteria usually consisted of select numerical features, such as numbers of columns, pillars, or specific measurements and dimensions of certain aspects of the structure, which was often the case with measurements of the tomb itself. Thus the replica is read as a substitute that functions like a relic in that it participated in the sanctity of its prototype, much like the explanations given for the relationship between painted icons and their prototypes.

Charlemagne’s approach to replicating or copying the Anastasis was one which focused on the key symbolic elements that evoked both the structure’s history and presence, the most fundamental and readily recognizable features of which were its centralized plan, rounded shape, and monumental dome, which Aachen replicates with slight variations in an octagonal plan. Layered upon this basic structural synonym for the Anastasis was an amalgam of references that spoke of both Western and Eastern imperial history, modes of


26 Alexander Nagel and Christopher S. Wood in *Anachronic Renaissance*, (New York: Zone Books, 2010), 51-70 discuss this sacred transference as a principle of substitution that connects objects, relics, or in this case structures, across time. Their substitutional theory attempts to reconcile the paradox of simultaneity, or the way in which an object can belong to more than one moment in time simultaneously, or in the case of the Holy Sepulchre, how two monuments can be stitched together across time and place. They further parse the idea of the commemoration versus the translation of holy sites and monuments and the types of meanings a replica had in relation to its prototype. Also see Wharton, (as in 6), 50-51 for the relationship between replicas and relics.
piety and patronage, and visions of sanctified kingship. As part of Charlemagne’s strategy of creating the perception of an imperial relationship, not only with the Christian emperor Constantine, but with Christ himself, the Palatine Chapel was to be understood as a true *loca sancta* that resonated in form and meaning with its prototype, not only evoking its physical presence and its decorative grandeur, but participating in its numinous power as well.

In addition serving as an architectural showpiece that reflected Charlemagne’s self-styled image as a Christian emperor, the Palatine Chapel was used for private liturgical functions and served as a treasury and repository for relics, as well as a burial space for Charlemagne and his descendants. It also served to give concrete form to the idea of a special link between Charlemagne and Constantine’s legacy as a patron and protector of the Holy Land by evoking his greatest architectural legacy in Jerusalem, the Anastasis. While Rome and Constantinople represented the two political capitals of Constantine’s Christian empire, Jerusalem represented the empire’s spiritual capital, the heart of which was the Anastasis and the Sepulchre. Translating the sacred space of the Anastasis in the form of a replica added another dimension to the symbolic power of the gift of the keys to the Jerusalem prototype. That the chapel was clearly meant to be understood typologically and symbolically in relation to the Anastasis was not lost on Charlemagne’s contemporaries as evidenced by the court poets who referred to the Palatine Chapel as a New Jerusalem. The concept of the New Jerusalem was further

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reinforced by the iconographic program of the dome mosaic, which featured the Apocalyptic theme of Christ enthroned surrounded by the twenty four elders of the Apocalypse bearing gold crowns. Additionally, the throne itself was made from stones brought from the Holy Land signaling Jerusalem as the underlying legitimizing source of Charlemagne’s divinely sanctioned rule. Furthermore, the force of the symbolic reference to the Anastasis and the Holy Sepulchre was redoubled by the burial function of the chapel and the theme of resurrection associated with the New Jerusalem. This dimension of the symbolic importance of the chapel continued to be propagated by successive generations of Frankish kings, as evidenced by the Ottonian legend of the “invention” of Charlemagne’s tomb in the year 1000, which likened the rediscovery of Charlemagne’s tomb to that of Christ’s. The fusion of these facets of imperial and Christological symbolism worked together to evoke the concept of Charlemagne as a

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29 The original mosaic was reconstructed in the 19th century based on 17th- and 18th-century drawings; however, Schnitzler contends that the center presented the Lamb of God rather than Christ in Majesty. Hermann Schnitzler, “Das Kuppelmosaik der Aachener Pfalzkapelle,” Aachener Kunstblätter 29 (1964): 17-44.

30 For the throne of the Palatine Chapel see Grimme, (as in 28), 52-55.

31 The story of the search for Charlemagne’s tomb parallels that of the search for the Christ’s tomb and the Invention of the True Cross. When the vault of Charlemagne’s tomb was opened, he was reportedly in a miraculous state of preservation, enthroned majestically with crown and scepter, drawing an uncanny parallel to the image of Christ in majesty depicted in the dome mosaic. For the political and dynastic implications of this story see: Stephen G. Nichols, Romanesque Signs: Early Medieval Narrative and Iconography, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), 66-82 (see pages 70 and 75 for the overt allusions to the Holy Sepulchre).
“Christ-like king” – pious beyond reproach and divinely chosen and inspired to usher in a new age of Christian greatness symbolized by the New Jerusalem he made manifest in the form of the palace chapel at Aachen.  

As for the architectural relationship between the Anastasis and the Palatine Chapel, the links are indirect. Whether Charlemagne’s architect, Odo of Metz, had first-hand knowledge of the Anastasis is unknown, though there were certainly texts such as De Locis Sanctis that would have provided useful information about its appearance and structure. What these sources would have described, however, was a structure that retained the fundamental shape and plan of Constantine’s monument, but which certainly reflected stylistic aspects of the Byzantine rebuild of 628. The imperial building closest to

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33 Well-known written sources for information about the church of the Holy Sepulchre and the Anastasis were the late 7th- and early 8th-century versions of De Locis Sanctis by Adomnán and Bede. Adomnán’s De Locis Sanctis was based on information and descriptions given to him by a Frankish bishop, Arculf (also known as Arnulf), who had made pilgrimages to many key Christian sites in both the East and the West. This text contained a diagram of the Anastasis as well as some basic descriptive details. O’Laughlin points out, however, that Arculf’s descriptions are less concerned with the appearance of monuments and more interested in conveying their significance, treating them as more “iconic” in nature. Bede’s De Locis Sanctis, which drew from Adomnán’s text, made the plans and descriptions of the Holy Sepulchre better known as his work circulated more widely. For Arculf’s journeys see: Wilkinson, (as in 8), 79-91. For Adomnán’s travels and sources see: Michael M. Gorman, “Adomnán’s De Locis Sanctis: the Diagrams and the Sources,” Revue Bénédictine 116 (1), (2006): 1-41 and Wilkinson, (as in 8), 167-215. For Adomnán’s approach to discussing the holy sites of Jerusalem see: Thomas O’Loughlin, “Perceiving Palestine in Early Christian Ireland: Martyrium, Exegetical Key, Relic and Liturgical Space,” Ériu 54 (2004): 125-137 and “The exegetical purpose of Adomnán’s De Locis Sanctis,” Cambridge Celtic Studies 24 (1992): 37-53. For Bede’s travels and the dissemination of his descriptions of the Holy Land see: Thomas O’Loughlin, “The Diffusion of Adomnán’s De Locis Sanctis in the Medieval Period,” Ériu 51 (2000): 93-106 and Wilkinson, (as in 8), 216-230. Additionally, first-hand information about the appearance of the Anastasis could have come from court officials that Charlemagne’s father, Pippin, had sent on a diplomatic mission to Baghdad in 765. Those envoys remained at the Caliph’s court for three years, during which time it is possible they journeyed to Jerusalem as well. Michael McCormick, “Pippin III, the Embassy of Caliph Al-Mansur, and the Mediterranean World,” Die Dynastiewechsel von 751. Vorgeschichte, Legitimationsstrategien und Erinnerung, eds. M. Becher and J. Jarnut, (Münster: Scriptorium, 2004), 221-242.
Aachen that embodied both the form and ornamental style of the Holy Sepulchre as it appeared at this point in time was San Vitale in Ravenna. Unlike the Anastasis, this was a structure Charlemagne himself knew directly and well as he had travelled to Ravenna several times. On a purely pragmatic level, San Vitale was the architectural exemplar of convenience in terms of models for replicating the Anastasis, though it is worth noting that there are significant design differences between the two, most notably in the construction of the dome. What was most important, however, in terms of a model for the Palatine Chapel was that the fact that San Vitale was a formal descendant of the Anastasis, and thus able to formally translate and transmit the spiritual authority of the Anastasis, albeit indirectly. Its central plan evinces its function as a martyrrial church, like the Anastasis, while the mosaic program in the apse featuring Justinian and his court showed that the church had distinct imperial connotations as well.

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34 San Vitale was clearly understood as a structure that reflected a Byzantine building tradition and was described by the cleric, Agnellus of Ravenna, in his Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis of c. 830, as being in its form and method of building like nothing else in Italy (“nula in Italia ecclesia similis est in aedificiis et in mechanicis operibus”). Matthias Untermann, Der Zentralbau im Mittelalter: Form, Funktion, Verbreitung, (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1989), 107.


36 Wayne Dynes, however, suggests San Vitale is derived from another Constantinian building, the palace chapel known as the Domus Aurea, also known as the Great Church or the “Golden Octagon” in Antioch, begun in 327. This structure was destroyed in an earthquake in 588 and never rebuilt. Wayne Dynes, “The First Christian Palace Church Type,” Marsyas 11 (1962-1964): 1-9. For the relationship between the Domus Aurea and the Holy Sepulchre see Kleinbauer, (as in 2), 144-146. The Anastasis is often considered a formal prototype for the Domus Aurea, although Kleinbauer suggests that the opposite relationship exists. His suggestion, however, is not widely followed. Earlier he had also suggested Justinian I’s Chrystoklinos (570s) in Constantinople as a possible model, which is, however, closely related to San Vitale. Eugene Kleinbauer, “Charlemagne’s Palace Chapel at Aachen and Its Copies,” Gesta 4 (Spring 1965): 2-11 (esp. pp. 2-3).

37 San Vitale is often described erroneously as a palace chapel because of its proximity to a palace, but archaeological evidence has shown the palace was connected with the nearby church of Santa Croce rather than San Vitale. Giuseppe Cortesi, “La chiesa di Santa Croce di Ravenna alla luce degli ultimi scavi e ricerche,” Corso di cultura sull’arte Ravennate e Bizantina 25 (1978): 47–76.
That San Vitale was arguably the grandest extant example of imperial Byzantine architecture in the West and that Ravenna itself was the last Roman capital in the West also added to its appeal as a choice of models for Charlemagne’s palace chapel. In the same way that Charlemagne aimed to usurp Byzantine power and influence in the East, he also appropriated in an overtly political way the material trappings, visual language, patterns of patronage and expressions of power used by the Byzantine emperors to reinforce and propagate their standing as heirs to the ancient Roman empire. The richness of San Vitale’s materials and its sophisticated ornamentation reflected exactly the kind of imperial grandeur Charlemagne was keen to imitate, evidenced by the actual spoliated columns and marble panels brought from Ravenna that were incorporated into the Palatine Chapel. In this light, Charlemagne’s appropriation and replication of the form of Constantine’s most important imperial shrine that was then ornamented in a majestic and distinctly Eastern imperial idiom posed a challenge to the status of the Byzantine emperor as a patron of the church and protector of the faith at a moment in

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time when Eastern power was at a low point. Using a contemporary display of Eastern royal magnificence to adorn a form employed by the West’s first Christian emperor to honor the eternal spiritual authority of the King of Kings, he created a monument that embodied a new political and spiritual relationship for the West to the holiest Christian shrine in the East.

**THE WIDER INFLUENCE OF JERUSALEM AND THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE ON CAROLINGIAN ARCHITECTURE**

In a broad sense, the image of the Holy Land, in particular Jerusalem and its monuments and the ritual practices associated with them, lay at the heart of Carolingian and Ottonian spirituality, worship, and ritual practices. Charlemagne’s referencing the Holy Sepulchre in the Palace Chapel at Aachen made for a highly politicized and personalized example of the practice of Sepulchre replication that found resonance in other architectural projects undertaken during his reign. The most conspicuous example is the Abbey of Saint-Riquier, which reflected both Charlemagne’s political interest in and spiritual devotion to Jerusalem translated into the monastic sphere. This monastery

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41 A few generations later when the Byzantine empire was on stronger footing, Basil the Macedonian (867-866) revived the tradition of harnessing the history of sacred traditions and places as demonstrations of political power. Basil, like Charlemagne, was attuned to the importance of reclaiming the imperial heritage and modes of patronage that had defined imperial presence in Jerusalem. One of his most noteworthy additions to the constellation of imperial monuments in the city of Constantinople was the Nea Ekklesia (876-880), built as a response across the centuries to Justinian’s Hagia Sophia. Most importantly, however, it was also a response to the lost Nea Ekklesia in Jerusalem, its very namesake. It, too, became a symbol of the city as a New Jerusalem and a repository for a vast cache of relics from the Holy Land. Both Charlemagne and Basil, being unable to reclaim the physical, historical Jerusalem, effectively brought Jerusalem’s spiritual and imperial legacies to themselves. For Justinian’s Nea Ekklesia as an architectural challenge to the Holy Sepulchre see: Graham, (as in 9), passim and Amitzur, (as in 9), passim. For more on Basil’s Nea Ekklesia and the politics surrounding it see: Paul Magdalino, “Observations on the Nea Ekklesia of Basil I,” *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinisk* 37 (1987): 51-64 and Holger A. Klein, “Sacred Relics and Imperial Ceremonies at the Great Palace at Constantinople,” *BYZAS* 5 (2006): 79-99.

42 Heitz, (as in 32), 101. “Jérusalem est à la base de tout, même Rome en nourrit abondamment sa liturgie.”
became a unique site of royal favor and patronage and was rebuilt in the 790s with generous funding from Charlemagne under the direction of the court luminary, Angilbert.\(^{43}\) The church shared a dedication to the Savior with the Palatine Chapel and consisted of a mix of Roman and Byzantine forms and ornament. The structure followed an unusual double-ended plan that consisted of a long basilica, dedicated to the Holy Cross, capped at each end with two-tiered octagonal towers.\(^{44}\) The west tower, dedicated to the Savior, formed a westwork complex together with a porch façade that carried a decorative program dedicated to the Nativity. The east tower, which housed the monks’ choir, was dedicated to Saint-Riquier and featured areas around it dedicated to the Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension, each decorated with stucco reliefs reflecting these themes.

The overall richness of the interior ornamentation, particularly that of the Chapel of the Savior, reflected the same sense of imperial Byzantine grandeur found at San Vitale.\(^{45}\) In essence, the westwork structure was a formal and conceptual replica of the Palatine Chapel, as it included an adjoining tribune and throne room (now destroyed), as well as a cache of Christological relics.\(^{46}\) And just as the Palatine Chapel references the


\(^{45}\) See Conant, (as in 43), 46 for the formal and decorative relationship between San Riquier and churches in Ravenna, particularly San Vitale. In terms of imported spolia, however, the marbles used at San Riquier came from Rome. The late 11th-century *Chronicle of the Abbey of Saint-Riquier* by Hariulf tells of four wagonloads of marble and columns being brought from Rome at the behest of Angilbert. Cord Meckseper, “Antike Spolien in der ottonischen Architektur,” *Antike Spolien in der Architektur des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, ed. J. Poeschke, (Munich: Hirmer Verlag, 1996, 179-204 (esp. p. 190).
Anastasis through San Vitale in both form and ornament, so did the westwork tower of Saint-Riquier. As a veritable twin to the Palatine Chapel, it represented an unmistakable extension of the imperial cult of Christ as King and Savior embodied in the Carolingian appropriation of the Anastasis as a symbol of Frankish royal power and sanctity.\(^{47}\)

The Carolingian penchant for evoking of the theme of Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre did not end with the Chapel of the Savior, however. As Heitz demonstrates, the plan of Saint-Riquier was meant to evoke the overall plan of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, with the Anastasis at one end and the rounded apse of the basilica, or Martyrion, at the other with the courtyard of the Crucifixion in the center joining them.\(^{48}\) Furthermore, the disposition of the areas within Saint-Riquier dedicated to the Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension followed the layout of smaller altars and shrines within the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Translating and overlaying one sacred topography onto another was, on one hand, a broader statement of imperial ownership of and rule over sacred space, and on the other it spoke to the Carolingian conception of the ideal monastic community itself as a kind of New Jerusalem.\(^{49}\)


\(^{48}\) Heitz, (as in 32), 106-183.

\(^{49}\) Saint-Riquier is not alone in this idealized approach to church planning, as evidenced by the layout of Fulda and even later churches such as St. Michael’s at Hildesheim. Additionally, plan of Saint-Gall shows not only the same approach to the layout of the church seen at Saint-Riquier, but the scheme for the organization of the entire monastic complex evinces an all-pervasive utopian mindset as well. Heitz, (as in
LITURGY

However, the most significant aspect of the church as an architectural New Jerusalem stems from the way in which it functioned hand-in-hand with developments in liturgical practices, especially those for Holy Week, which was the most important celebration in the Carolingian liturgical calendar. Saint-Riquier is a prime example of a new and distinctly Carolingian mode of envisioning a monastic church according to spatial correspondences between key locations within it and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in order to accommodate a particular stational mode of performing the Easter liturgy. As with Early Christian churches and shrines, Charlemagne also had a keen interest in the liturgical traditions of the Early Christian church, which were at the root of many of the liturgical reforms enacted during his reign. However, for as much as has been made of Charlemagne’s insistence on the solemn and staid “Romanization” of the liturgy, there remained an undercurrent of traditionally more florid Gallican practices; and nowhere are remnants of the Gallican tradition more evident than in the Carolingian liturgy for Holy Week.

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51 Heitz, (as in 32), 82-92 and Heitz, (as in 28), 61-62, in particular page 59 for a diagram of the routes for liturgical processions within the church.

The Gallican Easter liturgy drew heavily from the Jerusalem liturgy, which remained quite faithful to the Early Christian practices that developed in Jerusalem, maintaining the dramatized, processional mass as it was performed at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre for Holy Week. In Jerusalem the Holy Week processions followed the sacred topography of the city, moving through a nexus of monuments and shrines that effectively narrated the major events of the Passion, where the culminating site of this ritual liturgical pilgrimage was the Holy Sepulchre. In the similarly stational and processional Gallican liturgy, the key events of Christ’s last weeks as they unfolded in Jerusalem were condensed into a series of processions and rituals that unfolded at a network of altars within the church. By translating and overlaying the Jerusalem processional routes onto the plan of Saint-Riquier, it effectively became a microcosm of the sacred topography of the holy city in which, as Colin Morris describes quite succinctly, the processions and key liturgical performances focused on Christ’s “solemn entry, passion, and resurrection.”

Throughout the Carolingian and Ottonian eras the Easter liturgy continued to evolve in complexity. Gaining in popularity, it played an increasingly important part in

53 For the Gallican liturgy see: Doig, (as in 50), 85-108. For a concise history of the origins and description of the Jerusalem liturgy under the bishopric of Cyril of Jerusalem see: Jan Willem Drijvers, Cyril of Jerusalem: Bishop and City, (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 72-85. Though there is some debate whether this liturgy began with Cyril, he was responsible for the incorporation of a number of key holy sites and monuments in Jerusalem into the processions. The liturgy was well-developed and codified by the time of his death in 387. For more on the evolution of stational liturgy see: John Baldorin, “The Urban Character of Christian Worship: The Origins, Development, and Meaning of Stational Liturgy,” Orientalia Christiana Analecta 228 (1987): 45-104.

54 For the Gallican aspects of the Easter liturgy performed at Saint-Riquier see Heitz, (as in 28), 92-102 and 121-128. Morris, (as in 1), 119. Notably, upon its completion in 800, Charlemagne travelled to Saint-Riquier to attend the Easter celebrations performed according to this new liturgical configuration. For court politics and social hierarchy as they relate to the liturgy and layout of Saint-Riquier see: Friedrich Möbius, “Die ‘Ecclesia maior’ von Centula (790-799) – Wanderliturgie in Hofschen Kontext,” Kritische Berichte 11 (1983): 42-58
Holy Week celebrations, not only in Frankish territories but throughout Western Europe. Part of its evolving complexity included enrichments and embellishments such as the *Quem Queritis*, the *Visitatio Sepulchri*, and the *Elevatio Depositio*, all of which place dramatic emphasis on the events that took place at Christ’s tomb.\(^55\) Thus within this liturgical context, replicas and representations of the Sepulchre in the form of westwork structures began to serve as noble dramatic backdrops for the culminating liturgical rituals and celebrations between Good Friday and Easter Sunday.\(^56\)

**WESTWORKS AND SEPULCHRE REPLICAS**

As a result of this symbiotic relationship between Holy Week liturgy and architectural spaces that emphasized the symbolism and form of the Holy Sepulchre, the westwork proved to be perhaps the most unique and significant architectural form developed during the Carolingian era. Though some of the most elaborate examples of westworks, such as that at Saint-Riquier, carried inescapable statements of royal power and presence behind their sacred function, others were far simpler and carried much more


\(^{56}\) Dunbar H. Ogden, *The Staging of Drama in the Medieval Church*, (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2002), 39-99. Ogden discusses the staging of these liturgical processions, especially the *Visitatio Sepulchri*, in relation to Sepulchre replicas and chapels, though many of his examples are a chronological hodgepodge of pairings between the dates of liturgies and the dates of the structures in which they were performed. This points to some of the extensive gaps in our knowledge of how the liturgy and Sepulchre structures co-evolved over time. Significantly, Ogden also notes that while many Sepulchre replicas that were not attached to churches were used as liturgical settings for the *Visitatio Sepulchri*, not all were. Additionally, with many Sepulchre chapels we simply lack evidence for how they were used.
straightforward sacramental and liturgical functions. By the late 10th century, however, the westwork as a politically charged structure began to wane in popularity and many were demolished to make way for expansion and enlargements of the church nave; those westworks that were built were of a highly simplified design. This shift in the design and conceptualization of the westwork as a tower porch cum Sepulchre replica paved the way for distinct external structural changes that resulted in the development of the twin-tower façade. Internally the Sepulchral aspect of the westwork structure became a separate entity, usually displaced somewhere near the western end of the nave and attached to an altar. This resulted in a bifurcated path in the development of Sepulchre replication. One path led to the structural separation and scaling down of architectural copies of the Anastasis and interior tomb aedicule, while the other led to an even further abbreviated form that replicated the tomb aedicule and the actual rock-cut tomb itself in the form of a Sepulchre chapel, or *Sepulchrum domini*, built within the larger fabric of the church.

57 Authors such as Friedrich Möbius, *Westwerk Studien*, (Jena: Friedrich-Schiller-Universität, 1968); Günter Bandmann, *Early Medieval Architecture as Bearer of Meaning*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005); and Earl Baldwin Smith, *Architectural Symbolism of Imperial Rome and the Middle Ages*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956) have focused on the westwork as a political statement, while others such as Hietz, (as in 28 and 32), have argued for the primacy of its liturgical and spiritual function.

58 Roger Stalley, *Early Medieval Architecture*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 49. Stalley notes Rhiems cathedral as an example of a westwork structure destroyed as early as the 970s and the 10th-century churches of St. Saviour in Werden and St. Pantaleon in Cologne as examples reflecting newly simplified designs.


An early example of this new configuration for a Sepulchre replica that references both the Anastasis and the tomb aedicule is found at the Cathedral of Aquileia (c.1031). Though the Anastasis chapel was far from the imperial standards set by its prototype in terms of rich ornamentation, the ritual life of the structure was orchestrated for a maximum sense of realism during Holy Week services. The central tomb aedicule was fitted with hooks for hanging lamps as well as a grave structure in the form of an *arcosolium*. During the Good Friday ritual of the *depositio*, the cross was shrouded in a linen cloth and placed in the inner sanctuary of the tomb aedicule. The Sepulchre was then closed off with a stone and sealed until Easter Sunday.61

As impressive and dramatic as such architectural settings were for Easter rituals, they did present many practical disadvantages in that they did not permit particularly good visual, and in some cases even auditory, accesses for large groups to the key

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61 The church along with its replica of the Anastasis and tomb aedicule were constructed in approximately 1031, though the first documented reference to the Sepulchre there dates from 1071. The original appearance of the octagonal rotunda was altered in 1348 when a severe earthquake caused the conical wooden roof to collapse. Paolo Lino Zovatto, *Il Santo Sepolcro di Aquileia e il dramma liturgico medievale*, (Udine: Accademia di scienze, lettere e arti di Udine, 1956), especially pages 18-19 for the Good Friday rituals. Ogden provides evidence for a rich dramatic heritage related to this Sepulchre replica in the form of several extant texts of the *Visitatio Sepulchri*, the earliest of which dates from approximately 1100, while others date from the 13th century. Ogden, (as in 56), 54-55.
dramatic narrative elements of the liturgy – that is the *depositio*, *elevatio*, and *visitatio*. This structural hurdle to liturgical clarity and accessibility was a motivating factor behind the development of Sepulchre chapels that were more architecturally condensed, focusing on the tomb over the Anastasis. These took the form of open chapel or tabernacle-like structures that suggested the form of the aedicule and had the tomb as their focal point.

Still, it is important to bear in mind that this change had more to do with accommodating liturgical necessities that stemmed from a greater concentration on narrative than an outright disinterest in the formal commemoration of the Jerusalem prototype. In fact, in many ways the abbreviated forms of Sepulchre chapels that evolved as a result of this change did not suffer diminished standing in terms of their associations with the Jerusalem prototype, rather they focused and condensed that sacred connection to the extent that they conceptualized the tomb replica as a type of relic or reliquary shrine in its own right. Additionally, vestiges of the practice of architectural imitation did persist in that some of these Sepulchre chapels and Holy Graves were built to replicate the dimensions of the tomb aedicule of the Holy Sepulchre, using descriptions and measurements found in pilgrim guides to the Holy Land.

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62 Sheingorn, “The Sepulchrum Domini...” (as in 60), 38 notes some of the difficulties of staging these liturgical performance in relation to Sepulchre replicas. For more on the *depositio* and *elevatio* in the liturgy see: Brooks, (as in 60), 168-190 and Kroesen, (as in 60), 153-174.

63 For an overview of the typologies and forms as well as the iconography associated with them see: Kroesen, (as in 60), 53-108 and Brooks, (as in 60), 197-208. Both note an increasing emphasis on sacramental themes. Notably, almost all examples both authors offer are Northern European.

64 Sheingorn, “The Sepulchrum Domini...” (as in 60), 38.

Additionally, the concurrent rise in popularity of Passion-related devotions added another dimension to the transformation of Sepulchre chapels by way of an increased presence of iconographic glosses and additions. These took the form of painted or sculpted elements that gave permanent figural form to the ephemeral performances enacted liturgically. Thus, key narrative elements of the Easter liturgy such as the depositio and the elevatio transformed into scenes of the Entombment and the Resurrection that formed part of a Sepulchre chapel’s iconographic program. But, much like the fluidity of form one finds in architectural replicas of the Holy Sepulchre, the iconographic and decorative traditions associated with Sepulchral chapels evolved into a variety of themes and iconographic formulae. Some of these focused on sacramental and eucharistic elements, thus hewing closely to liturgical ritual while other Passion related themes drew from para-liturgical and other textual sources.

These programmatic developments paved the way for the transformation of the Sepulchre chapel or Holy Grave from a structure of temporary functional and liturgical purpose to a more permanent conceptual Andachtsbild. Especially in the case of those Sepulchre chapels and Holy Graves that had taken on the quality of a year-round Andachtsbild, the fluidity of Passion imagery often associated with the tomb could be put

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68 This is largely a development of the 14th century. Sheingorn, “The Sepulchrum Domini...” (as in 60), 51-52 and Kroesen, (as in 60), 175-180.
to different uses, political as well as religious. For example, through the late Middle Ages, Sepulchre chapels frequently provided an avenue for expressions of piety based on local traditions, relics, and rituals or they could institutionalize and perpetuate local hostilities, which while often directed against local Jewish communities, were but one of many ways to enlist sacred themes in the service of civic-political aims. Thus, despite their formal changes and liturgical emphases, seeds of the religious and political heritage of the Anastasis and the tomb that formed part of Western Christianity’s collective memory remained at the heart of these Sepulchre replicas.

FULDA AND CONSTANCE

In the Carolingian era, the appeal of Jerusalem and the church of the Holy Sepulchre as a symbolic architectural form continued to expand and the Anastasis became the wellspring for a host of symbolic architectural forms in monastic establishments of both great and small imperial stature. Two of the most important early structures from the Carolingian and Ottonian eras that made a direct and clearly discernable reference to the Anastasis are found at Fulda and Constance. Fulda was a site of royal favor and the chapel of St. Michael, consecrated in 822, reflects many of the same spiritual functions that the Palatine Chapel did, but without the imperial connotations. Though the original structure has been modified over the centuries, the crypt and plan of the ground floor remain from the 9th century, delineating the outlines of the Anastasis. From Rabanus Maurus we also have a description of a conical tumulus in

69 Morris, (as in 1), 331-332.
the center of the chapel that served as a copy of Christ’s Tomb.\textsuperscript{70} As a Sepulchre replica the chapel effectively served a dual function as a funerary space and a repository for relics from the Holy Land. The chapel was built directly over the crypt that served as an ossuarium for the monastery and held a relic of dirt from the hill of Golgotha, as well as relics from Bethlehem and Sinai.\textsuperscript{71} Once again, the Sepulchre replica reflected beliefs about the translation of sacred space and participation in the transfer of relic-like thaumaturgic power from the prototype to the copy in furthering the monks’ hope for salvation.\textsuperscript{72}

The chapel of St. Maurice in Constance, built sometime between 934 and 976, served similar purposes in that it was not only built over a cemetery crypt, but was also intended to commemorate and evoke the pilgrim’s experience of the original in Jerusalem, as well as house relics from the Holy Land.\textsuperscript{73} The form of the chapel differs from the prototype in that its plan was circular but lacking an ambulatory; however, like the St. Michael chapel it also featured a replica of the tomb aedicule.\textsuperscript{74} The chapel was


\textsuperscript{71} Oswald, (as in 70), 87-89; Kroesen, (as in 60), 16; and Dalman, (as in 60), 26-30. Otfried Elleger questions whether Sepulchre replication was the original impetus and concept behind this chapel. He claims it was designated a Sepulchre chapel only after an early 11\textsuperscript{th}-century rebuilding. Though it contained a relic of dirt from Golgotha from its inception, he claims this was more related to the funerary function, rather than the Holy Sepulchre per se. Otfried Elleger, \textit{Die Michaelskirche zu Fulda als Zeugnis der Totensorge: Zur Konzeption einer Friedhofs- und Grabkirche im karolingerischen Kloster}, (Fulda: Parzeller, 1989). There seems no reason, however, why the Sepulchre and the dirt from Golgotha should be considered mutually exclusive, rather than synergistic. Additionally, Krautheimer, (as in 25), 3-4 notes that the dedication of the altar in the chapel indicated that from its inception the structure was associated with the Holy Sepulchre.

\textsuperscript{72} Dalman, (as in 60), 30.

\textsuperscript{73} Kroesen, (as in 60), 16-18 and Ousterhout, (as in 24), 110-111.

\textsuperscript{74} The original tomb aedicule was replaced with a Gothic structure in 1280. Liturgical texts of the \textit{Elevatio} and the \textit{Quem Queritis} provide evidence that this Sepulchre replica and the tomb aedicule played a part in Easter celebrations in Constance. Ogden, (as in 56), 60-63.
likely commissioned by Bishop Conrad upon his return to Constance from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. In addition to its association with the cathedral cemetery the chapel housed the relics of St. Maurice, which Conrad himself brought back from Palestine, in its altar.\textsuperscript{75} The fact that Conrad is believed to have made three pilgrimages to the Holy Land during his lifetime is a testament on one hand to his personal devotion to the sacred history and sites of Palestine and on the other a larger reflection of the rapidly growing popularity and frequency of Holy Land pilgrimage and the acquisition of relics.\textsuperscript{76}

**PILGRIMAGE AND THE NEW JERUSALEM**

The economic and diplomatic ties with the East that were cultivated under the Carolingian and Ottonian kings in some practical respects helped to pave the way for the increased frequency of pilgrimages to the Holy Land. By the later 10\textsuperscript{th} century, pilgrimage to Jerusalem had greatly increased among the upper classes, monastic and secular alike, and even among the less wealthy.\textsuperscript{77} Inasmuch as it represented the promise of resurrection for all, the Holy Sepulchre took primacy of place in the shrines a pilgrim could visit. For some, the increasing sway of millennial reform movements was a motivating factor in undertaking the difficult journey east. The apocalyptic preaching and rhetoric of these movements made frequent references to the eschatological concept of the New Jerusalem, and framed the Holy Sepulchre as not just a place of sacred history

\textsuperscript{75} Oswald, (as in 70), 158-160 and Schwarzweber, (as in 60), 2-3.

\textsuperscript{76} Ousterhout, (as in 24), 117.

\textsuperscript{77} This phenomenon and the millennial mentality are best represented in *The Five Books of the Histories* (Historiarum libri quinque ab anno incarnationis DCCCC usque ad annum MXLIV) by the monk Rodulfus Glaber. For the relevant excerpts from Glaber’s chronicle see: Brett Edward Whalen, *Pilgrimage in the Middle Ages: A Reader*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), 169-172.
past, but of sacred apocalyptic history to come. Therefore, a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and the Holy Sepulchre in particular, was a means to both express devotion and perform necessary penance in the face of the coming end of days.

In many ways, the desire to make this kind of contact with sacred history a less fleeting affair fuelled both the frenzied desire to gather and bring back relics from Jerusalem as well as translate the sacred space of holy shrines such as the Holy Sepulchre. In cities where the spirituality and rhetoric of these millennial movements took hold, groups and individuals employed the concept of the city as a manifestation of the New Jerusalem on earth to craft a sense of civic piety and spiritual renewal and restoration. The clearest way to express this spiritual allegiance with both the earthly and the heavenly Jerusalem was through the construction of a Sepulchre replica, thus translating and invoking the spiritual power and presence of the prototype.

In these instances, a Sepulchre replica became not simply a splendid backdrop for once-a-year displays of piety during Holy Week, but an emblem of a collective spirituality, devotion, and piety that formed the basis of civic identity, one which became emblematic

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79 For a useful overview of questions surrounding the year 1000 and apocalyptic expectations see: Richard Landes, “Fear of the Apocalyptic Year 1000: Augustinian Historiography, Medieval and Modern,” *Speculum* 75 (1), (2000): 97-145. For an overview of motivating factors for increased pilgrimage travel to Jerusalem in the 10th century see: Morris, (as in 1), 139-153.


81 Stroumsa, (as in 23), 353-354.
of the city itself as, if not wholly divine, at least a divinely inspired instantiation of the New Jerusalem.\footnote{Wharton, (as in 6), 51 discusses the construction of Sepulchre replicas as a representation of the New Jerusalem as a statement of civic identity rooted in moral and spiritual authority as well as an expression of spiritual zeal. See Stroumsa, (as in 23), 358-363 for the utopian idea of the \textit{comune} or city as a New Jerusalem.} A localized, vernacular iteration of the spiritual presence of the Holy Sepulchre stood as a mark of civic identity rooted in a communal relationship with the holy city of Jerusalem and professed a unique and personalized relationship with its most sacred shrine. Such a built testament to a communal worldly authority rooted in piety, which in turn helped cultivate a sense of the citizenry as a chosen people, was a notion which could be used to mobilize civic will toward specific spiritual and political aims.\footnote{A broad range of these types of responses to the sacred and rituals that sought to harness the power of the sacred for the civic good are discussed by Augustine Thompson in \textit{Cities of God: The Religion of the Italian Comunes 1125-1325}, (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005).}

\textbf{1009-1099 AND THE FIRST CRUSADE}

In the midst of this blossoming enthusiasm for Holy Land pilgrimage and millennial and eschatological preoccupations with the New Jerusalem, the year 1009 marked a turning point in the West’s relationship and fascination with the Holy Sepulchre. That was the year Caliph al-Hakim of Egypt ordered the destruction of the entire church of the Holy Sepulchre. The great basilica attached to the Anastasis was destroyed in total and the rotunda and tomb aedicule were heavily damaged. Though it appears that repairs were undertaken on the rotunda and tomb almost immediately, it was not until roughly 1039 that any serious efforts at rebuilding were undertaken; even then, the scope of the rebuilding was hampered by limited funds with repair efforts focused
almost exclusively on the Anastasis and tomb aedicule.\textsuperscript{84} Thus for the better part of the 11\textsuperscript{th} century the Church of the Holy Sepulchre remained partly in a state of ruin.

All the same, neither the semi-ruined state of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre nor al-Hakim’s hostility toward the influx of pilgrims to Jerusalem during his reign did much to abate the flow of pilgrims eastward.\textsuperscript{85} Most importantly, the Holy Sepulchre retained its power to draw pilgrims in relatively large numbers and the desire for relics from the Holy Land only intensified. In fact, the accumulation and transport of relics back to the West became so popular over the course of the 11\textsuperscript{th} century that Europe was fully awash with such relics.\textsuperscript{86} Furthermore, replicas of the Holy Sepulchre became ever more popular in the West, as did filling them and other chapels and churches with stores

\textsuperscript{84} Though the dome was destroyed, the massive pillars that supported it remained largely intact. For accounts of the destruction see: Morris, (as in 1), 134-135 and Ousterhout, (as in 2), 68-70.


\textsuperscript{86} For this enthusiasm for bringing back relics of the Holy Land in the 11\textsuperscript{th} century see: Adriaan Hendrik Bredero, Christendom and Christianity in the Middle Ages, (Grand Rapids: W.B. Erdmans, 1994), 91-95. Morris gives select accounts of pilgrims (clerics in particular) returning from pilgrimages to the Holy Land weighed down with stores of relics. Passion relics and even pieces of the Sepulchre itself were highly sought after with the wood of the True Cross remaining a perennial favorite as well. Rather than pure brazen opportunism, this mania for gathering relics likely had an element of protective concern behind it in the sense of transporting sacred objects to safety in the West, as well as a firm belief in the efficacy of a sacred translation of biblical history from one place to another. Morris, (as in 1), 139-165. With specific regard to relics of the Holy Sepulchre, Geneviève Bresc-Bautier in “Les mitation du Saint-Sépulcre de Jérusalem (IXe – X Ve siècles) – Archéologie d’une dévotion,” Revue d’histoire de la spiritualité 50 (1974): 319-342 (esp. p. 323), notes that even before the damage inflicted on the tomb aedicule in 1009, pieces of the tomb itself were easily procured by pilgrims, who replaced missing pieces of the tomb with pieces of the aedicule revetment.
of relics brought back from pilgrimages. Many Sepulchre replicas from this era have been destroyed over the centuries, but those that remain reveal an eclectic mix of fidelity to the prototype with vernacular architectural styles, such as the Sepulchre replica at Aquileia (1031) or San Lorenzo in Mantua (1083). Other examples from Northern Europe include the Sepulchre church at Quimperlé (1038), the church of Neuvy-St-Sépulchre in central France (1045), as well as the church of St. Foy in Sélestat (1087).

In many ways, the destruction of the Holy Sepulchre in 1009 served to intensify the West’s devotion to the Holy Land and the idea of the New Jerusalem and its transportability. The repercussions of this event also slowly but radically altered the concept and purpose of pilgrimage and hurtled the tomb of Christ to new-found heights of symbolic and spiritual importance. As a result, a true golden age of Sepulchre devotion and replication occurred with the advent of a new type of armed pilgrim, namely the crusaders, at the end of the 11th century. Much early literature on the origins of the

87 Zovatto, (as in 61), 16, characterizes the era’s interest in replicating the Holy Sepulchre as a veritable “mania.”

88 For an overview of 11th-century Sepulchre replicas in Italy see Damiano Neri, Il S. Sepolcro riprodotto in Occidente, (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1971), 60-67 and Franco Cardini, “La devozione al Santo Sepolcro, le sue riproduzioni occidentali e il complesso stefaniano. Alcuni casi italici,” 7 Colomne e 7 Chiese, ed. G. Fasani, (Bologna: Grafis Edizioni, 1987), 18-49 (esp. pp. 40-42). Other 11th-century examples were destroyed in the process of rebuilding, such as the church and hospital at Piacenza (c.1000-1050), which disappeared in a complete rebuilding campaign in the early 16th century. Monasteries with hospices named after the Holy Sepulchre, but not necessarily replete with Sepulchre replicas, were also common along major Italian pilgrimage routes, especially in Italy. A few examples are Ternate (1024) near Varese and Pavia (1090). Sylvia Schein, Gateway to the Heavenly City: Crusader Jerusalem and the Catholic West (1099-1187), (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing, 2005), 63.

89 The Sepulchre replica at St. Foy originally consisted of a copy of both the Anastasis and the tomb, though now only the tomb remains. For an overview of 11th-century Northern examples see: Kroesen, (as in 60), 18-21. For Neuvy-St-Sépulchre see: Nora Laos, “The Architecture and Iconographical Sources of the Church of Neuvy-St-Sépulchre,” Art and Architecture of Late Medieval Pilgrimage in Northern Europe and the British Isles, vol. 1, eds. S. Blick and R. Tekippe, (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 315-336. As in Italy, many Northern European examples from this period, such as the Sepulchres at Busdorf outside Paderborn (1030s) and Cambrai (1064) have been destroyed. For Paderborn see: Hans Jürgen Brandt, “Die Jerusalemkirche des Bischofs Meinwerk von 1036: zur Bedeutung des Heilig-Grab-Kultes im Mittelalter,” Die Busdorfkirche St. Petrus und Andreas in Paderborn, 1036-1986, eds. H.J. Brandt and K. Hengst, (Paderborn: Verlag Bonifatius-Druckerei, 1986), 173-195.
crusades is disinclined to see retaking the Holy Sepulchre as a legitimate force behind the Crusades, focusing more on military concerns for the safety of Constantinople in the face of growing Turkish expansionism of the 1070s. In some cases, the cause of liberating Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre from Muslim rule was presented as little more than rhetoric implemented as a “recruiting device.” Successive generations of scholars, however, have been far more open to the idea that a legitimate spiritual concern for the status of Christendom’s holiest shrine was a motivating force.

Still, the boundaries between politics and piety in crusader ideology were anything but clear cut and the themes of duty and devotion were closely interwoven by those who promoted the call to war. Engaging in the crusade effort was couched in the language of pilgrimage, where taking up arms was conflating with taking up the cross.

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90 This is the principal causative thread that runs through most of Runciman’s tome. Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades, volume I: The First Crusade and the Foundation of the Latin Kingdom*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954).


and the armed journey to Jerusalem was framed within the idea of the devotional *iter sancti Sepulchri.* In the sermons and other sources that speak to the promotion of the first Crusades, Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre in particular became politicized in ways they never had before in the previous centuries in which Palestine was under Arab control. Even before Urban II’s official call to crusade in 1095, figures such as Peter the Hermit disseminated the image of Jerusalem and the Sepulchre defiled by the Muslims and stoked the flames for the desire in the popular imagination to take back the tomb. In Urban II’s call for crusade in 1095, liberating the Eastern Church in Jerusalem was the clearly desired ends and references to the holy city, both real and ideal, permeated crusade thought and propaganda. In fact, Urban’s letter to the Bolognese of 1096 specifically states that “liberating the Church in Jerusalem,” though out of pure devotion rather than a drive for worldly gain, was the main objective. As Cowdrey notes,

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93 McGinn, (as in 92), 47-50 stresses that along with the idea of absolution from sin for taking up the cross, the warlike nature of the pious endeavor of crusading also introduced the theme of martyrdom. More generally for the theme of taking up the cross see: William J. Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality in the Holy Land and Iberia, c.1095-1187,* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2008), 30-58. For the rhetorical emphasis placed on the Sepulchre see: Schein, (as in 88), 9-20.

94 The Holy Sepulchre looms large in the mythos of Peter the Hermit. During a pilgrimage to Jerusalem (before 1096) Jesus appeared to Peter in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and commanded him to return home and preach for a crusade to take back the Holy Sepulchre and purge the holy shrines of Jerusalem of Muslim presence. His influence on Urban II’s call for a crusade is widely debated, though Morris believes there is evidence that his message did make it to Urban, if indirectly. Peter’s own attempt to lead a crusade to take back the Sepulchre, the so-called People’s Crusade, ended in abject disaster and slaughter at the hands of the Turks. E.O. Blake and Colin Morris, “A Hermit Goes to War: Peter and the Origins of the First Crusade,” *Studies in Church History* 22, ed. W.J. Shiels, (Oxford: Boydell, 1985), 79-108 and Colin Morris, “Peter the Hermit and the Chroniclers,” *The First Crusade: Origins and Impact,* ed. J. Phillips, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 21-34.


96 Cowdrey, (as in 95), 187. Cowdrey also notes that the clerics and monks of Bologna received the idea of the Crusade so eagerly that Urban had to send word reminding them that they were forbidden to undertake the journey to Jerusalem without first obtaining the permission of their bishop. Cardini points out that cities
however, crusaders were quick to take Urban’s words to mean taking back the Church of
the Holy Sepulchre in particular.97 This focused intent of taking back the Sepulchre runs
through the declarations, charters, and chronicles of those who set off for Jerusalem, such
as Godfrey, Baldric, Robert the Monk, Raimond of St. Gilles, and Robert II of Flanders,
as they swore to serve “God and the Holy Sepulchre.”98 These leaders were vehement in
their desire to not only retake the tomb, but to rid the city of Jerusalem of the Muslim
presence that “polluted” the Holy Sepulchre of Christ.99 For these first crusaders the Holy
Sepulchre had become an emotional, motivating touchstone and the desire to posses and
purify the embodiment of the New Temple was posited as the highest possible spiritual
goal.100

Once Jerusalem had been conquered in 1099, the rhetoric surrounding the
Sepulchre and the place it occupied in the crusader imagination shifted from desire to
ownership. The Sepulchre also took on an even more numinous aura as a hegemonic

such as Bologna that were home to a large contingent of church reformers embraced the Crusades with
“The Reform Papacy and the Origin of the Crusades,” Le Concile de Cleremont de 1095 et l’appel à la

97 Cowdrey, (as in 95), 179 and Schein, (as in 88), 10-11. Schein further explores liberating the Sepulchre
as the primary objective of the crusaders and how the Holy Sepulchre came to stand for the entirety of
Jerusalem in the minds of the first crusaders in: “Jérusalem: Objectif original de la première croisade?,”
Autour de la première croisade: actes du Colloque de la Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin

98 See Schein, (as in 88), 9-20 and Morris, (as in 1), 173-179 for excerpts from these documents that
underscore the place of the Sepulchre in the commitment to crusading.

99 Penny J. Cole explores the larger use of the rhetoric of defilement of the tomb of Christ in crusade
preaching and rhetoric in: “O God, the heathen have come into your inheritance” (Ps 78:1). The Theme of
Religious Pollution in Crusade Documents, 1095-1188,” Crusaders and Muslims in Twelfth-Century Syria,

100 Riley-Smith, The First Crusaders... (as in 92), 76-77.
emblem of a belief in the God-ordained triumph of Latin Christianity.\textsuperscript{101} As liberating the earthly Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre had been posed as a necessary precursor and eschatological imperative to making the New Jerusalem manifest, once the Sepulchre was solidly in Western Christian hands it became the centerpiece of an ideology grounded in what was seen as the teleological fulfillment of the prophecy of the New Jerusalem on earth.\textsuperscript{102} Whereas the Holy Sepulchre had traditionally represented and encapsulated the fundamental Christian belief in the Resurrection and the promise of the triumph of the soul over death, its rebuilding heralded a new era in which it became infused and charged with a decidedly worldly symbolism reflecting a new triumphalist Christian militancy and desire for territorial dominion in a battle of religious ideology.\textsuperscript{103}

After 1099 a subtle shift in the social and political landscape of European nobility took place with the proliferation of principalities in the Latin Kingdom placed under the rule of families of greater and lesser noble distinction. Particularly for the Frankish nobility this culture of ownership and protection had particularly strong significance due to the historical legacy of Charlemagne’s diplomatic affairs in the East in relation to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.\textsuperscript{104} For minor nobles, their involvement with the crusades

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item[\textsuperscript{101}] Purkis, (as in 93), 67-75.
\item[\textsuperscript{102}] Housley, (as in 92), 36-38.
\item[\textsuperscript{103}] Marcus Bull, \textit{Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade. The Limousin and Gascony c.970-c.1130}, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 205-217. Phillips notes that preachers such as Bernard of Clairvaux relied heavily on the theme of the cross in their crusade sermons, but were also swift to point out the need for vigilance against the Muslims regaining the holiest of holy sites, the Sepulchre of Christ. Jonathan Phillips, \textit{The Second Crusades: Extending the Frontiers of Christendom}, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 61-79, especially page 70 for his invocation of the Sepulchre.
\item[\textsuperscript{104}] By the 12\textsuperscript{th} century this legacy had been mythologized into a quasi-prophecy of the destiny of the Frankish kings to lay claim to rightful ownership of the most sacred shrine in Christendom. See notes 20 and 21 for this mythologizing in the \textit{Vita Karoli}, the \textit{Gesta Karoli}, and the \textit{Pilgrimage of Charlemagne}. The internalization of this ethos is best embodied by Louis IX. See: M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, \textit{The Making of
\end{itemize}
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presented new and significant opportunities to further promote the family images and forge new relationships with nobles of higher rank, as well as highly prosperous merchants, local governmental officials, and the papacy. For all of them, devotion to the Holy Land and the Holy Sepulchre was held up as the preeminent unifying emblem that enshrined a set of values and symbols that were at the heart of crusader culture. The tone was set in terms of attitudes toward the Sepulchre as an emblem of Christian triumph in the Holy Land when Pope Paschal II bestowed the title of Advocatus Sancti Sepulchri upon Godfrey of Bouillon, duke of Lorraine, when he became the first ruler of

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the newly established Latin Kingdom. The founders of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem rallied around the image of the Sepulchre inasmuch as it crystallized their spiritual and political ambitions and served as a repository for the sense of political and spiritual hegemony that grew from their seemingly miraculous victory in Jerusalem.

New institutions and organizations that developed in concert with the growth of the Latin Kingdom were also of particular importance for propagating the cult of the Holy Sepulchre. Knightly military orders such as the Hospitallers of St. John, and the Templars were crucial in maintaining safe travel infrastructure for pilgrims and the shrines they sought out in droves with the Holy Sepulchre as their main objective. In addition, the Templars were uniquely charged with the defense of those sacred sites against the infidel threat, thus their relationship with the Sepulchre was particularly politically laden. Furthermore in 1119 they were given the al-Aqsa mosque on the

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109 The Templars were founded in 1119 by two French knights and were officially recognized by the papacy as a military order in 1129. In addition to protecting Holy Land pilgrims and defending the shrines of Jerusalem dedicated to the life, death and resurrection of Christ, they were also major suppliers of goods, materiel, and manpower to the Latin Kingdom. This allowed them to amass considerable financial power and influence, which would ultimately prove to be part of their undoing with the French monarchy. They were disbanded in 1312 and their wealth and properties given over to the Hospitallers. For the most
Temple Mount, the site of the old Temple of Solomon, as their base in Jerusalem. The
Mosque itself was renamed the Palace of Solomon while the Dome of the Rock was
renamed the Templum Domini in recognition of the site’s historical tie to the Temple of
Solomon. Thus, the Templars effectively stitched themselves into the history of the
Holy Sepulchre as the instantiation of the New Temple while also making a bold
statement of conquest over Islam by Christianizing the current monument on the site of
the Solomonic Temple of the Old Testament, namely the Dome of the Rock.

relevant recent publications on the Templars see: Norman Housley, ed., Knighthoods of Christ: Essays on
the History of the Crusades and the Knights Templar, presented to Malcolm Baber, (Aldershot: Ashgate,
Press, 1995); Malcolm Barber and Keith Bate, eds., The Templars: Selected Sources, (Manchester:
Manchester University Press, 2002); Malcolm Barber, “The Origins of the Order of the Temple,” Studia
actes du Colloque de la Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East (Clermont-Ferrand, 22-25
Proceedings of the Second Conference of the Society of the Crusades and the Latin East, Jerusalem, and
Haifa, ed. B.Z. Kedar, (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-žvi, Israel Exploration Society, 1992), 314-326; Sophia
21; Jochef Burgtort, Paul Crawford, and Helen Nicholson, The Debate on the Trial of the Templars, 1307-
1314, (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010); Malcolm Barber, The Trial of the Templars, (Cambridge: Cambridge
University Press, 2006).

Aryo Grabois, “La fondation de l’abbaye du Templum Domini et la légende du Temple de Jérusalem au
XIIe siècle,” Autour de la première croisade: actes du Colloque de la Society for the Study of the Crusades
and the Latin East (Clermont-Ferrand, 22-25 juin 1995), eds. M. Balard and J. Riley-Smith, (Paris:
Publications de la Sorbonne, 1996), 231-238.

argues that when the crusaders began rebuilding the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in 1114 they were very
conscious of the eschatological relationship between the Sepulchre and the Temple Mount. In terms of
architectural iconography, this is reflected in the double dome of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which
creates a “two-stage dialogue” (page 115) between the two sites. The thematic relationship between the
Temple Mount and the Holy Sepulchre vis-à-vis the Old and New Temple is elaborated by Sylvia Schein,
“Between Mount Moriah and the Holy Sepulchre: The Changing Traditions of the Temple Mount in the
Later Middle Ages,” Traditio 40 (1984): 175-195 and Robert Ousterhout, “The Temple, the Sepulchre, and
the Martyrion of the Savior,” Gesta 29 (1990): 44-53. Also see Amitzur, (as in 9), passim. Furthermore,
Robert Ousterhout in “Architecture as Relic and the Construction of Sanctity: The Stones of the Holy
Sepulchre,” Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 62 (1), (March 2003): 4-23 discusses the
crusader rebuilding of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (completed in 1161) with special attention to the
way in which the rubble that remained from the destruction of 1009 was itself treated with a relic-like
veneration in the crusaders’ desire to recover some sense of the authentic presence of the Anastasis and the
tomb aedicule. For the al-Aqsa Mosque see: Haithem F. Rattrout, The Architectural Development of the Al-
The Templars themselves promoted this emblematic relationship between the Templum Domini and the Holy Sepulchre, particularly in their architectural production in the West. Many of the major Templar commanderies in Europe were accompanied by Sepulchre replica chapels and churches. Some of the major examples of these Templar Sepulchre structures are the Temple Church in London, England (1185), the Round Church (Villeneuve du Temple) in Paris (c. 1140s), the Templar chapel in Metz (1133), the Templar chapel in Laon (1130s) in France, the Vera Cruz church in Segovia (1208), the Holy Sepulchre church in Torres del Rio (late 12th century), and the Church of the Covenant of Christ in Tomar, Portugal (c. 1160): in other cases, Sepulchre replicas built before 1099, such the churches of the Santo Sepolcro in Pisa and Brindisi in Italy, were taken over by the Templars in the 1120s.  

While the Templars had a distinct political interest in propagating the image and presence of the Holy Sepulchre in the West, they certainly were not the only group to adopt the Sepulchre as an emblem reflective of their identity and purpose. In fact, some

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of the most unique, complex, and extensive replicas of the Holy Sepulchre that include other aspects of the sacred topography of Jerusalem are found in the communal context of a handful of prosperous central Italy cities. The cities of Florence, Pisa, and Bologna gave birth to some of the most grandiose architectural statements of identification with the Holy Sepulchre and the triumphant instantiation of the New Jerusalem in the heyday of the crusading era. Their Sepulchre monuments are illustrative of the broad and profound appeal of the Holy Sepulchre during this short span of the 12th century when Western Christendom called Jerusalem its own. Swept up in the euphoria of a shining, if fleeting, period of victory for Western Christendom in the Holy Land, individuals, families, and groups within these cities grafted aspects of the Holy Sepulchre onto their own identities and histories as a means of both commemorating events, participating in sacred traditions, and crafting personal and civic legends.

BAPTISTERIES, SEPULCHRE REPLICAS, AND CIVIC PRIDE – FLORENCE AND PISA

In the case of Florence and Pisa, it is their baptisteries that took the form of a Sepulchre replica. At a fundamental level, baptisteries represented the ritual introduction into the Christian community as well as the adoption of civic identity. The baptisteries of Florence (1059-1128) and Pisa (begun 1153) both assumed pride of place in terms of each city’s defining monuments and were modeled on or refashioned after the Anastasis with an unprecedented level of monumentality. In many ways baptisteries are an alpha

113 Italy in particular boasts a long and venerable tradition of modeling baptisteries on the Anastasis. Constantine’s baptistery at the Lateran is the earliest example in the West of a monumental baptistery modeled after or in concert with the rotunda of the Holy Sepulchre. For Constantine’s baptistery at the
and omega summation of themes embodied by the Holy Sepulchre, thus it is not surprising to find close typological similarities between them and the Anastasis. On a spiritual level these structures were also intended to resonate with the idea of the New Jerusalem, an idea that took on added political significance in the wake of the conquest of Jerusalem as these cities looked for explicit ways to strengthen their ties to the holy city and the history and traditions associated with the Holy Sepulchre.

Florence of the 11th century was not unusual in its devotion to the Holy Land and there is evidence that Florentines keenly boasted many relics brought back from Palestine in churches throughout the city. However, the Florentines were among the first in Italy at this time to take the approach of refashioning and enlarging their baptistery as a sacred

Lateran see: Olaf Brandt, “Il battistero lateranense da Costantino a Ilaro,” *Opuscula Romana* 22-23, (1997-98): 7-66. Still, it is St. Ambrose who is credited with promoting the symbolic significance of the octagonal centrally planned baptistery, with the idea that eight symbolized the day of the resurrection. He was responsible for the construction of the octagonally planned San Giovanni alle Fonti in Milan (c. 350), now destroyed. The foundations of the structure and the early cathedral of Santa Thecla have been discovered underneath the current cathedral and piazza. For more on San Giovanni alle Fonti see: Mario Mirabella Roberti and Angelo Paredi, *Il battistero ambrosiano di San Giovanni alle Fonti* (Milan: Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo, 1974) and Guglielmo de Angelis d’Ossat, “Origini e fortuna dei battisteri ambrosiani,” *Arte lombarda* 14 (1969): 1-20.


115 Neri, (as in 88), 74 gives examples of some of these Holy Land relics.
translation of the Anastasis and drawing upon its sacred history to fashion the city as a New Jerusalem in a show of piety and civic pride. Florence’s concept of the baptistery as an emblem of the New Jerusalem predated the Crusades (rebuilding the baptistery of San Giovanni began in 1059) and this idea remained a deeply embedded spiritual tradition for them. However, after the First Crusade the Florentine’s relationship with the Holy Sepulchre and the image of the baptistery took on a new dimension thanks to a new annual civic-religious ritual introduced by returning crusaders. This new ritual involved several stones from the Holy Sepulchre itself that came into Florence’s possession after the Latin conquest of 1099, which were used in an Easter flame lighting ceremony that drew from the ceremony of the Holy Fire that appeared every Easter in Florence.

116 As for the building history of the baptistery, excavations have shown that Florence had a baptistery on its present day site that dates from roughly the first quarter of the 6th century. From its inception it was octagonal in shape, though smaller in scale compared to its current form, which is the product of substantial rebuilding and renovation campaigns in the 11th and 12th centuries. Franklin Toker, “A Baptistry below the Baptistery of Florence,” Art Bulletin 58 (2), (June 1976): 157-167. For more recent excavations see: Mauro Dalzocchino and Leonardo Pedini, “Nuove acquisizioni sulla Fabbrica del Battistero di San Giovanni in Firenze,” Bollettino degli Architetti (March-April 1986): 1-17. As for its 11th-century rebuilding, McLean characterizes the rich polychrome revetment of Florence’s baptistery as a particularly Tuscan symbolic expression of the Celestial Jerusalem. He cites other coeval structures in Pistoia, Pisa, Lucca, and Empoli as well. Alick McLean, “Romanesque Architecture in Italy,” Romanesque: Architecture, Sculpture, Painting, eds. R. Toman, E.B. Beyer, A. Gundermann, (Köln: Könemann, 1997), 74-117 (esp. p. 97).

117 Saundra Weddle, “Saints in the City and Poets at the Gate: The Codex Rustici as a Devotional and Civic Chronicle,” Florence and Beyond: Culture, Society and Politics in Renaissance Italy, ed. D.E. Bornstein, (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2008), 179-194 (esp. pp. 181-185 for the relationship between the baptistery and the rotunda of the Holy Sepulchre). Though the Codex Rustici (also known as La dimostrazione dell’Andata del Santo Sepolcro) is a mid 15th-century text, Weddle shows how it reflects the Florentine’s longstanding vision of their city as an ideal New Jerusalem with the baptistery as the Holy Sepulchre at its spiritual heart.

118 For Florence’s involvement in the First Crusade and the repercussions of the crusades in Medieval Florence see: Franco Cardini, “L’inizio del movimento crociato in Toscana,” Studi di Storia Medievale e Moderna per Ernesto Sestan, eds. M.S. Muzzi and S. Ravelli, (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Ed., 1980), 135-157; “Crusade and the ‘Presence of Jerusalem’ in Medieval Florence,” Outremer: Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem, eds. B.Z. Kedar, H.E. Mayer, and R.C. Smail, (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi Institute, 1982), 332-346; and “I Fiorentini alle crociate, i Fiorentini e le crociate,” I Fiorentini alle Crociate, eds. S. Angioletti and L. Mantelli, (Florence: Edizioni della Meridiana, 2007), 5-21. Cardini notes that Florence seems not to have been swept up in the crusading fervor of 1095, but fully embraced it only after the Latin conquest of Jerusalem in 1099. However, by the later 12th century, many important Florentines families had ties to or some presence in the Holy Land.
Jerusalem to light the lanterns of the tomb of the Holy Sepulchre. Though it is uncertain exactly who procured these stones, the Pazzi family effectively exercised control over them and successfully crafted and promoted the legend that an ancestor, one Pazzino (also Pazzo) de’ Pazzi, had been the first to breach the walls of Jerusalem during the great siege of 1099 and had been rewarded with the stones as a gift for his bravery. This personal association with the stones of the Sepulchre and their involvement in the local Easter ritual of the Holy Fire proved to be very efficacious for the Pazzi family in terms of offering political leverage and elevating the status of the family. Though according to Raveggi, the story of how the relic was obtained by Pazzino is likely a full fabrication, what is noteworthy is how these relics of the Sepulchre became key elements in Florentine civic ritual life and the image of that city’s baptistery as a Sepulchre replica.

Pisa is another city that offers a unique view into the ways in which civic identity could be built around a local connection with the tomb of Christ and how aspects of the Sepulchre’s history and a city’s crusading history could be appropriated for political means. As a key Italian port city and formidable naval power, Pisa’s fleets played an important role in the First Crusade. They were led into battle in 1098 by their own

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119 Morris, (as in 1), 228 notes that by the early 14th century, Giovanni Villani described the Easter ceremony as an “ancient custom” in which the flame was carried to all the houses in the city. For the history of the ritual and its relationship with the descent of the Holy Fire in Jerusalem see Neri, (as in 88), 75-78.


121 Raveggi, (as in 120), 314-315 notes that in fact the legend of Pazzino and the stones of the Holy Sepulchre saw a resurgence in popularity in the 15th century, a time when many important Italian families were eager to showcase their historical crusading bona fides and credentials. Cardini in “Crusade and the ‘Presence of Jerusalem’…” (as in 118), 322-346, also notes the legend’s resurgence in 15th-century Florence.
bishop Daibert, who despite a series of questionable military maneuvers en route to
Jerusalem, ultimately played a key role in the retaking of Jerusalem.\textsuperscript{123} Thanks to his
good relations with Bohemond of Antioch, as well as his control of the Pisan fleets, he
was able to garner the title of the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem late in the year 1099. He
held this title until he was deposed in 1102, though he was briefly reinstated as Patriarch
for a brief period in 1105 just before his death. During this time, he used his position and
influence to help establish a Pisan presence and influence in the Latin Kingdom, as well
as cultivate a sense of dedication to the cause of the crusade in Pisa. One of the ways in
which he accomplished this was to bring the Holy Land back to Pisa in the form of relics
of the Holy Sepulchre. These were eventually deposited in Pisa’s first Sepulchre replica,
the Templar church of the Santo Sepolcro in Pisa, itself a testament to the rapid embrace
of crusade culture on the part of the Pisans.\textsuperscript{124}

Pisa’s political and commercial investment in the crusades and the expanse of the
Latin Kingdom developed swiftly, as did their pious devotion to the cause of defending

\textsuperscript{122} William Heyworth, \textit{A History of Pisa: Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries}, (Cambridge: Cambridge
University Press, 1921), 45-57.

\textsuperscript{123} For a comprehensive study of Daibert’s role as Archibishop of Pisa and crusader see: Michael Matzke,
re-assessment of Daibert’s involvement with the First Crusade see: Patricia Skinner, “From Pisa to the
Patriarchate: Chapters in the Life of (Arch)bishop Daibert,” \textit{Challenging the Boundaries of Medieval
generally, for Daibert as a crusader see: Franco Cardini, “Profile di un crociato: Daiberto arcivescovo di

\textsuperscript{124} When the church was constructed is uncertain, though it is first documented in 1113. It was allegedly
designed by Diotisalvi, who is credited with the design of the Pisa baptistery; his name and the date 1153
are in an inscription on the accompanying bell tower. Who the original patron(s) of the church were
is unknown, but Morris notes that it was used as a meeting place by judges who were appointed by the
city government. Morris, (as in 1), 237. At some point, presumably no earlier than 1129 when the order
received papal approval, the church was given over to the Templars of Pisa. The church and several
adjoining buildings were eventually given over to the Hospitalers after the suppression of the Templars.
Maria Antonietta di Paco Triglia, \textit{La chiesa del Santo Sepolcro di Pisa}, (Pisa: Offset Grafica, 1986); Neri,
(as in 88), 69-71; and Otello Tarantino, “Chiesa di San Sepolcro a Pisa,” \textit{Arte Cristiana} 62 (614), (1974):
267-268.
and promoting the Sepulchre.\textsuperscript{125} In many ways they were perfectly poised to assimilate crusader spirituality and ideology given that even before the beginning of the crusades in the Holy Land, Pisa had been heavily involved in battling the encroaching Saracen threat from North Africa and Spain.\textsuperscript{126} The degree to which Pisa embraced this image of itself as a defender of the faith that began in the early 11\textsuperscript{th} century and their increasingly deep communal relationship with the Holy Land after the conquest of Jerusalem in 1099 is reflected in the development of their cathedral complex.\textsuperscript{127} First among the monuments to be erected in this public campaign of civic pride and piety, was the cathedral itself, which was begun in 1063 with funds gained during a naval battle against the Saracens off the coast of Sicily.\textsuperscript{128} This event was memorialized in an inscription still visible on the façade of the church along with a host of further inscriptions celebrating later battles against Muslim forces in both the East and the West.\textsuperscript{129} Additionally, the cathedral was decorated with several exotic trophies of war, perhaps the most notable of which was an enormous bronze griffin installed on the roofline over the apse.\textsuperscript{130} Thus, the cathedral

\textsuperscript{125} Heyworth, (as in 122), 107-116.


\textsuperscript{130} Though the bronze griffin strongly reflects aspects of the Fatimid style, the general consensus is that the piece is of Spanish manufacture. For more on this sculpture see: Marilyn Jenkins, "New Evidence for the
expressed a triumphalist devotion to the cause of Western Christendom and became a repository of sorts for the collective memory of what Pisa trumpeted as divinely ordained military victories.

The baptistery, however, reflects the practice of replicating the Holy Sepulchre as both a statement of civic piety and a vision of the city as a utopian New Jerusalem as well as a politically oriented statement of devotion to the cause of protecting the holiest of Jerusalem’s shrines. Begun in 1153 in the midst of the crusader effort to rebuild the church of the Holy Sepulchre, the Pisa baptistery is unique in that it is perhaps the most structurally accurate likeness of the Holy Sepulchre in the West in terms of its fidelity to the crusader reconstruction. Furthermore, there is the possibility that the baptistery and cathedral were also meant to evoke the Templum Domini (the Dome of the Rock) and the Al-Aqsa mosque (built over the site of the long-destroyed Justinian Church dedicated to the Virgin Mary) on the Temple Mount. If one accepts this reading of these two monuments, then the baptistery effectively collapses the symbolism of the Old Temple

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Additional Notes:

131 Schein, (as in 88), 83 notes a sermon by Bishop Federico Visconti wherein he describes the baptistery in relation to Jerusalem as “a mirror of the city and the Gate of Paradise.”


133 McLean, (as in 116), 97-98. McLean suggests that the cathedral and baptistery of Pisa, in both their general plans and alignment, mirror those of the Templum Domini and the Al-Aqsa mosque.
with the New Temple into one representative structure. Furthermore, it creates a more elaborate and extended conceptual replication of Jerusalem’s holy sites relative to the Anastasis and Sepulchre, as well as a recognition of the crusaders’ reclamation of them for Christendom.

The final addition to the cathedral complex, the cemetery known as the Camposanto, sealed this sacred space’s relationship with Jerusalem. At the heart of the Camposanto is a relic brought to Pisa by Archbishop Ubaldo de’ Lanfranchi during a military venture to Jerusalem undertaken between 1189 and 1192. The relic consisted of an enormous quantity of earth from the hill of Golgotha that was deposited next to the cathedral in 1203 and eventually enshrined by a cloister-like structure in 1278. Thus the cloister, originally dedicated to the Trinity, came to be viewed as a type of reliquary church and a burial space of the utmost sanctity. The earth from Golgotha also provided a physical, tangible link between Pisa and Jerusalem, which was all the more significant and valuable at this point as the rapidly disintegrating Latin Kingdom had already lost control of Jerusalem. Additionally, the Camposanto resonated with the baptistery in its function as a replica of the Anastasis by bringing full circle the themes of Christ’s sacrifice and the promise of resurrection and salvation. Ultimately, the whole

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134 See Schein, (as in 111); Ousterhout, “The Temple, the Sepulchre, and the Martyrion…” (as in 111); Kenaan-Kedar, (as in 111); and Amitzur, (as in 9).


137 The relic of the earth from Golgotha was believed to miraculously consume the body of the deceased in three days and confer eternal life upon those buried within the cloister. An inscription inside the Camposanto proclaims this miraculous effect. Baracchini and Castelnuovo, (as in 135), 4.
complex as a New Jerusalem with a replica of the Anastasis at its heart became a politicized network of monuments that stoked the memory of the triumph of Latin Christianity in the Holy Land. While one could always hold the experience of the Sepulchre in one’s own heart, such mystically sublime ideas could not stem the desire of many to tangibly hold the Sepulchre in the heart of their city as well.  

**BOLOGNA, THE HOLY LAND, AND SANTO STEFANO**

Much like the Pisans, the Bolognese celebrated both their civic pride and their pride of place within a larger spiritual and political crusade agenda by creating a multifaceted evocation of both the historical and mystical Jerusalem. However, the complex of Santo Stefano in Bologna translated and recreated not only the Anastasis and the Sepulchre, but a host of other related holy sites in Palestine as well. The Santo Stefano complex encapsulated the Christian history of the city, from its Early Christian roots to its fervent devotion to Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre, which in the 12th century came wrapped in the banner of the crusades and united almost all of the themes, meanings, histories and practices associated with Sepulchre replicas.

The Santo Stefano complex is unusual in that it is the most comprehensive attempt in all of Europe at a translation of the sacred topography of Jerusalem until the advent of the Sacro Monte di Varallo in Northern Italy in the late 15th century. Though

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138 This theme is elaborated by Diane Cole Ahl with particular attention given to the fresco cycles in the Camposanto in “Camposanto, Terra Santa: Picturing the Holy Land in Pisa,” *Artibus et Historiae* 24 (48), (2003): 95-122.

139 Morris, (as in 1), 248-249 notes the idea of holding the Sepulchre in one’s heart in the rhetoric of 12-century figures such as Ranieri of Pisa, Raimondo of Piacenza, Baudri of Bourgueil, and Peter the Venerable, though for the latter it was often with the intent of inspiring the hand to use the sword against the infidel. Also see: Colin Morris, “San Ranieri of Pisa,” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 45 (1994): 588-599; Luigi Canetti, *Gloriosa Civitas: culto dei santi e società cittadina a Piacenza nel medioevo*, (Bologna: Pàtron, 1993), 167-227; and James Kritzeck, *Peter the Venerable and Islam*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964).
Some aspects of its development present themselves more clearly than others, the building history of the complex remains a bit of a Gordian knot, the untangling of which has been irrevocably complicated by radical restoration interventions visited upon the complex in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Additionally, certain aspects of the story of its origins are rooted in sources which are largely projections of civic myth-making and reinventions of the civic-religious history of the city of Bologna.

Foremost among these mythopoeic sources for the origins of Santo Stefano is the *Life of Saint Petronius*, written somewhere between 1164 and 1180, which recounts how the church of Santo Stefano was built in the 5th century by San Petronius, then bishop of the city of Bologna (431-450). The *Life* tells how, in his desire to recreate the holy sites he had visited during a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, Petronius constructed a likeness of the Sepulchre of Christ based on measurements he himself had made during his pilgrimage to Jerusalem, a Golgotha with a wooden cross, and an artificial mountain nearby in the image of the Mount of Olives, today marked by the church of San Giovanni in Monte, while the site from which the dirt was removed to make the mountain represented the Valley of Jehoshaphat. Archaeological evidence directly refutes the claim that Petronius built an artificial mountain, but it does lend some credence to Santo Stefano’s

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5th-century origins, though not necessarily due to the efforts of Petronius. Excavations have revealed that there was a round centrally-planned structure dating from the time of Petronius that was built by reutilizing seven marble columns from a Roman structure dating from perhaps as early as the 2nd century CE. Whether this 5th-century structure was intended from the beginning to be a Sepulchre replica, however, and Petronius’s connection to it are uncertain. Looking beyond the veil of Petronius’s hagiography, possibly it was conceived as a commemorative martyrium with conceptual roots in the Anastasis, much like Santo Stefano Rotondo, and was part of an early Christian cemetery complex dedicated to celebrating the nascent cult of Bologna’s early martyrs, Vitale and Agricola, whose remains had been moved to the area at the end of the 4th century.

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142 As Ousterhout notes, the hill that is home to San Giovanni in Monte is a natural topographical feature, not a man-made construction. Ousterhout, (as in 140), 315.

143 Bergonzoni notes that the seven Roman columns of cipollino marble inside Santo Stefano have never been moved from their original bases, making it highly unlikely that the columns were spolia transported to the site from elsewhere. Franco Bergonzoni, “Le sette colonne,” 7 Colonne e 7 Chiese, ed. G. Fasani, (Bologna: Grafis Edizioni, 1987), 51-58 (esp. p. 54).

144 Though San Procolo is recognized as Bologna’s first martyr, Vitale and Agricola are among Bologna’s earliest martyrs. They were put to death around 304 under the same wave of persecution that claimed Procolo’s life. The cult of Vitale and Agricola was promoted by Saint Ambrose who, while in Bologna in 392, gathered the saints’ remains from the Jewish cemetery where they had been discovered by the bishop of Bologna and moved them to a Christian cemetery. Tradition has it that this new burial place was located near the church of the Trinity, a 13th-century addition within the Santo Stefano complex, where the foundational remains of what is believed to be an early Christian trichora martyrium have been found. Today the sarcophagi that held the remains of these two saints are housed in the eponymous 8th-century basilica. Regarding Santo Stefano’s titular dedication, as the first Christian martyr Saint Stephen’s cult following spread rapidly in eastern and western Europe when his tomb and remains were discovered just outside Jerusalem in 415. If Santo Stefano was a commemorative martyrium, possibly a typological relationship was meant between Stephen as first martyr and these two newly discovered early Bolognese martyrs. Whether a relic of Santo Stefano was ever housed there, however, is not known. In another hypothesis for the origins of Santo Stefano, Ivanka Nikolajević suggests, however, that Santo Stefano was originally built as baptistery, likely dedicated to Saint John the Baptist, on the ruins of a circular Roman temple to Isis. Ivanka Nikolajević, “L’architettura nelle planimetrie più antiche,” 7 Colonne e 7 Chiese, ed. G. Fasani, (Bologna: Grafis Edizioni, 1987), 70-87 (especially 71-72 for the trichora martyrium and Santo Stefano as an early baptistery). For Santo Stefano Rotondo in Rome and its possible relationship to the Anastasis of the Holy Sepulchre see note 24. For San Procolo see: Francesco Marchi and Mario Fanti, eds., San Procolo e il suo culto: una questione di agiografia altomedievale Bolognese, (Bologna: Capelli, 1989), especially the essays by Pini, Ropa, And Zanetti; and Mario Fanti, San Procolo: una parrocchia di Bologna dal medioevo all’età contemporanea, (Bologna: Capelli, 1983). For Saints Vitale and Agricola see: Giulio Malaguti, ed., Martirio di pace: memoria e storia del martirio nel XVII centenario di Vitale e Agricola,
It was not until the 8th century that Santo Stefano began to develop into an interconnected, multi-structure complex resembling what we see today. Under the Longobard occupation of Bologna, which began in 727, the church of San Giovanni Battista was constructed on the southern side of Santo Stefano. Shortly thereafter, when the Franks ousted the Longobards, they showed great interest in the early Christian legacy of the site as well. So much so, that in 786 Charlemagne sought to acquire relics of Saints Vitale and Agricola in exchange for a cache of relics of Frankish saints. Thanks to the royal interest shown in the cult of these two Bolognese martyrs, the small basilican church of Saints Vitale and Agricola was constructed on the northern side of Santo Stefano in symmetrical alignment with the Longobard church of San Giovanni Battista.

Through the Carolingian era Santo Stefano retained its reputation as an important sacred site, thanks to the wave of renewed enthusiasm for early Christian monuments, history, and traditions ushered in by Charlemagne. The measure of the complex’s growing temporal and spiritual importance is evidenced by the fact that by the late 9th century Santo Stefano had assumed the identity of a New Jerusalem. The first documented reference to the Santo Stefano complex as a New Jerusalem is found in a

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145 Gina Fasoli, “Le ‘Sette Chiese’,” *7 Colonne e 7 Chiese*, ed. G. Fasani, (Bologna: Grafis Edizioni, 1987), 11-17 (esp. p. 13 ). Charlemagne’s interest may derive from the saints’ association with the church of San Vitale in Ravenna. St. Ambrose brought relics of the two saints from Bologna to Milan, which were subsequently taken to Ravenna by Galla Placidia in 409 where she established a church for them. This small structure was demolished by Bishop Ecclesius to make way for San Vitale as we see it today. Deliyannis, *Ravenna in Late Antiquity* (as in 38), 223-224. For the attribution of the transporting of the relics to Ravenna by Galla Placidia see: Felice Lifschitz, “The Martyr, the Tomb, and the Matron: Constructing the (Masculine) Past as a Power Base,” *Medieval Concepts of the Past: Ritual, Memory, Historiography*, eds. G. Althoff , J. Fried, and P. Geary, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 311-341 (esp. p. 335).
royal diploma of Charles the Fat from 887, wherein he lists “Sanctum Stephanum qui dicitur sancta Hierusalem” among the churches where temporal authority was to be extended to Bishop Wibod of Parma, a staunch supporter of Charles.\footnote{For the diploma of 887 see: Morris, (as in 140), 51.} The extension of Bishop Wibod’s authority over such an important Bolognese church was a means of consolidating political power and conferring political reward, though in the case of Santo Stefano an extra measure of status came with having such a unique sacred site under his jurisdiction.\footnote{For Bishop Wibod’s position within the political realm of the court of Charles III see: Simon MacLean, \textit{Kingship and Politics in the Late Ninth Century: Charles the Fat and the End of the Carolingian Empire}, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), especially chapter 4. For an alternative (and not widely recognized and accepted) reading of this document and what was intended by “Sancta Hierusalem” see: Antonio Ivan Pini, \textit{Città, Chiesa e culti civici in Bologna medievale}, (Bologna: CLUEB, 1999), 24-29. Pini suggests that the Sancta Hierusalem referenced in the royal diploma actually refers to an obscure Byzantine saint, Santa Gerusalemme, rather than the Holy Land city.} It was not until 973 that the bishop of Bologna recovered ecclesiastical jurisdiction over Santo Stefano for the city.

Throughout the 10\textsuperscript{th} and 11\textsuperscript{th} century Santo Stefano retained its importance as both a cult site for Bologna’s early Christian history and as a spiritual New Jerusalem. If we are to believe the \textit{Life} of Saint Bononius, a native of Bologna and resident of the monastery of Santo Stefano who went on an extended pilgrimage in the 970s, he purportedly brought back a cache of relics from his travels to the Holy Land and other sacred sites throughout the Mediterranean to install in the altars of the Santo Stefano complex.\footnote{Morris, (as in 1), 124 and Thompson, (as in 83), 43. Also see: Giovanni Tabacco, \textit{La vita di san Bononio di Rotberto Monaco e l’abate Guido Grandi (1671-1742)}, (Torino: Università di Torino, 1954).} Whether there was any kind of programmatic plan in terms of where specific relics were placed and installed that related to the location of shrines in Jerusalem is unknown, but the net result was a further reinforcement of the image of Santo Stefano as
a New Jerusalem in very concrete and material terms. Additionally, documents from 959 and 1045 provide the first extant references to the church of San Giovanni “in monte Olivetto,” showing that another aspect of the story of Petronius’s New Jerusalem had concretized in the civic-religious collective memory of the Bolognese. Furthermore, the reference to the Mount of Olives reinforces the likelihood that Santo Stefano had taken on the identity of the Holy Sepulchre at the heart of Bologna’s New Jerusalem and that the two monuments were connected by liturgical ceremonies for Palm Sunday.  

149 It is in the 12th century, however, in the wake of the crusades that the decisive turning point came in the building history of the Santo Stefano complex and its place in Bolognese civic history. According to Ghirardacci, the Bolognese ardently embraced Urban II’s crusading message, sending approximately 2,000 men, including many members of Bologna’s leading families, to Jerusalem.  

150 The Latin victory in Jerusalem in 1099 gave the Bolognese ever more reason to cultivate their devotion to the Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre. Though enthusiasm for the crusader’s capture of Jerusalem gave new momentum to the effort to fashion Santo Stefano after its prototype, it is likely that

149 For the two documentary references to San Giovanni in Monte and its likely liturgical connections to Santo Stefano see: Morris, (as in 140), 51-52. Thompson, (as in 83), 43-44. The plan of San Giovanni Evangelista was not architecturally similar to the Church of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem; however, the Bolognese believed the distance between the Sepulchre of Santo Stefano and San Giovanni was the exact same distance as that between the Church of the Ascension and the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. Here it is the topographical relationship, rather than a replication of built forms, that is the defining element.

150 Cherubino Ghirardacci, *Della historia di Bologna*, parte terza, volume 1, ed. A. Sorbelli, (Città di Castello: Tipi della Casa Editrice S. Lapi, 1912), 57-58. There is always the possibility of embellishment of these numbers on the part of Ghirardacci, though Urban’s letter would indicate that enthusiasm for the First Crusade was indeed high. Studies of successive crusade recruitment drives in Bologna suggest smaller numbers. Augusto Vasina in “Le crociate nel mondo emiliano-romagnolo,” *Atti e Memorie della Deputazione di Storia Patria per la Provincia di Romagna* 23 (1972): 32-39 (esp. pp. 36-37) claims that perhaps 200 Bolognese actually left for the Third Crusade in 1188 and barely a handful in 1219 for the Fifth Crusade in Damietta. Thompson, (as in 83), 108 suggests this may have had to do with the need for manpower for more pressing local military conflicts. James Powell in *Anatomy of a Crusade, 1213-1221*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986), 67-88 presents an interesting analysis of early 13th-century crusade recruitment with much material drawn from Bologna.
Construction efforts at Santo Stefano became an object of even greater fervor in 1141 when two significant caches of relics were unearthed—those of Saint Petronius himself and a large number of Passion relics. The Passion relics were similar to those housed at the church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem and in the minds of the Bolognese lent credence to the legend of San Petronius having painstakingly collected relics of the Passion when he was in the Holy Land. A sermon given in celebration of the discovery of the relics eagerly promoted this idea, which would eventually be enshrined in San Petronius’s soon to be penned *Life*. The sermon also spoke in detail about the relics; however, it did not indicate whether the Passion relics were found in the area of the chapel of the Holy Cross with its small Golgotha replica, which corresponded with the location of the Passion relics housed in the church in Jerusalem. The sermon also confirms that the octagon of Santo Stefano was in existence at this point, though whether the construction was still in progress or complete is unclear, with a structure representing

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151 Morris, (as in 140), 39. For a study of this earthquake and the scope of its damage as recorded in monastic records of the time see: Emanuela Guidoboni, Alberto Comastri, Enzo Boschi, “The ‘exceptional’ earthquake of 3 January 1117 in the Verona area (northern Italy): A critical time review and detection of two lost earthquakes (lower Germany and Tuscany),” *Journal of Geophysical Research* 110 (2005): 1649-1669.

152 For the text of this sermon see the “Sermone Inventione Reliquarium,” in *San Petronio vescovo di Bologna nella storia e nella legenda*, ed. F. Lanzoni, (Rome: Pustet, 1907), 240-250. Some of the key Passion relics listed in the sermon are the garments of Christ, the cord and column of the Flagellation, the wood of the True Cross, the Crown of Thorns, the key to the cell where he was imprisoned, and his Sepulchre.
the tomb aedicule in its center.\textsuperscript{153} The relics of San Petronius went on to be housed in the replica of the tomb aedicule.

In this substantive rebuilding and expansion campaign Santo Stefano’s associations with all the major features of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre were solidified and monumentalized in a new grandiose structure, thus sealing the relationship between Bologna the New Jerusalem and the historical Jerusalem definitively. Furthermore, the octagon of Santo Stefano was built with a fair degree of historical accuracy in terms of its likeness to the Anastasis of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem as it appeared at the time. As Ousterhout notes, a distinguishing aspect the 12\textsuperscript{th}-century rebuild of the Santo Stefano complex and its replication of the layout of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the features of the Anastasis is the way in which it reflects a unique phase of the partial rebuilding of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre – that is, the construction conducted by the Byzantines from 1028 to 1048, rather than the crusader rebuild that began with the Latin conquest of Jerusalem in 1099.\textsuperscript{154} Thus, not only was Santo Stefano fitted with an octagonal gallery and a monumental dome overhead in unmistakable emulation of the Anastasis, an expanded series of chapels around the chapel of the Holy Cross with its imitation of Golgotha was added following the example of the Byzantine partial reconstruction in Jerusalem. The two structures were connected by a courtyard (though its Jerusalem counterpart was still partially in ruins at this point), with

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\textsuperscript{153}Ousterhout, (as in 140), 314 and Morris, (as in 140), 56.

\textsuperscript{154}Ousterhout, (as in 140), 312. For the appearance of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre during the 11\textsuperscript{th}- and 12\textsuperscript{th}-century rebuilds see: Ousterhout, (as in 2), \textit{passim}, which discusses the partial rebuild of the Anastasis and the Calvary chapel from c.1028-1048. He notes that for the first half of the 12\textsuperscript{th} century rebuilding of the Jerusalem shrine proceeded relatively slowly and that the first wave of crusaders would have returned with memories of the monumental complex still in partial ruins from the incomplete construction effort from the mid 11\textsuperscript{th} century.
the distance between the church of the Holy Cross and the Sepulchre reproduced exactly as it existed in Jerusalem.

This expenditure of resources and show of civic will took place in a period of turmoil and transformation in Bologna, much of which is reflected in the stories and meanings projected onto and embodied by Santo Stefano. In the context of local Bolognese politics, the 12th-century interest in revalorizing the Santo Stefano complex, particularly the Sepulchre, was a product of the rise of the city of Bologna as an independent commune, breaking free from imperial control and the searching for a new civic identity. Part of this effort entailed the promotion of the cult of a new civic saint, San Petronio, whose hagiography painted him as a defender of the city against imperial tyranny, a great rebuilding of the city, as well as the founder of the city’s cultic devotion to Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre.\textsuperscript{155} It was also a reflection of Bologna’s enthusiastic embrace of the crusades and a wholehearted melding of their civic-religious identity with the sacredness of Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre.\textsuperscript{156} Bologna’s burgeoning school of canon law and the theological debates that sought to justify the new idea of holy war in light of the successful capture of Jerusalem helped to keep the Crusades in the forefront intellectual life of the city as well, especially in the run up to the Second Crusade (1145-1149), which sought to expand even further the newly-founded Latin Kingdom in the

\textsuperscript{155} San Petronio’s \textit{Life} also recounts how he rallied the citizens of Bologna to rebuild after the city was destroyed by the Emperor Theodosius I in punishment for the murder of an imperial legate. Thompson, (as in 83), 117 and Lanzoni, (as in 152), 235-236.

\textsuperscript{156} Wharton, (as in 6), 50-51 notes how the New Jerusalem was an idea that could be used as a statement of ownership and triumph over the earthly Jerusalem, as well as moral and spiritual supremacy. It also became component of civic identity and pride as well as an expression of spiritual zeal. In this sense, monumental replicas became a repository for memory, be it of local history and power, civic origins, or even crusade lore.
Holy Land.\textsuperscript{157} Thus, Santo Stefano served as a touchstone on several key fronts in solidifying Bologna’s sacred civic identity as a New Jerusalem and its dedication to the cause of Jerusalem and liberating the Holy Sepulchre.

Even with the fall of Jerusalem in 1187 and the subsequent failures of the Third and Fourth crusades, Santo Stefano and the replicated Holy Land sites that orbited around it remained a cornerstone in the civic-religious life of Bologna. Santo Stefano evolved and grew in complexity as the site became evermore renowned as a locus for pilgrimage and Easter celebrations.\textsuperscript{158} The Palm Sunday procession from San Giovanni in Monte, which was the starting point for a procession to the Sepulchre in Santo Stefano, followed the pattern of the Jerusalem liturgy in this respect where the procession departed from Mount of Olives and finished at the Holy Sepulchre. It is possible the Sepulchre served as a backdrop for liturgical services and mystery plays performed during Easter, which is perhaps reflected in the relief panels depicting the \textit{Mariae at the Tomb} and the \textit{Resurrection} that were incorporated into the side of the Sepulchre structure in the late 13\textsuperscript{th} century.\textsuperscript{159} The chapel of the Cross and the hill of Golgotha within it may have also been used as backdrops for liturgical services and mystery plays as well.

As for other Holy Week celebrations, it is difficult to say whether chapels or designated sacred spots within the complex served as a backdrop for any type of liturgical or para-liturgical dramas or celebrations. At the very least they certainly seem

\textsuperscript{157} Tomaž Mastnak, \textit{Crusading Peace: Christendom, the Muslim World, and Western Political Order}, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 55-183. For the lead up to the First Crusade through the preaching of the Second Crusade; Frederick H. Russell, \textit{The Just War in the Middle Ages}, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 86-126; and Jonathan Phillips, (as in 103), 37-60.

\textsuperscript{158} More generally, for the importance of Holy Week in the late medieval communes of Italy see: Thompson, (as in 83), 317-320.

\textsuperscript{159} Ousterhout, (as in 140), 317-318.
orchestrated to evoke the experience of pilgrimage in Jerusalem. Just like the Sepulchre and the chapel of the Cross, these spots focused on events from the Passion narrative, referencing their corresponding shrines in Jerusalem. For example, the east end of San Giovanni Battista featured the room of the Last Supper as well as spaces relating to the story of Pilate, such as a chapel designated as the praetorium, or House of Pilate, which featured a round disc of marble set into the floor to mark Jesus’s place of judgment.\textsuperscript{160} Adjacent to the praetorium was the Scala Sancta, or Stairs of Pilate, that connected that chapel to the Courtyard of Pilate.\textsuperscript{161} Visible from the courtyard was a polychrome wooden sculpture of a rooster perched on a column designating the site where Peter denied Christ a well as an image (presumably painted) of the Ecce Homo.\textsuperscript{162} To the north side of the courtyard was a chapel space designated as the prison cell where Jesus was detained, also known as the House of Caiaphas.\textsuperscript{163} Additionally, in the Courtyard of Pilate there was a marble basin purported to be the one Pilate used to wash his hands, while a column in the ambulatory of Santo Stefano was billed as a likeness of the column of Christ’s flagellation.\textsuperscript{164} Such an elaborate network of spaces dedicated to the acts of Pilate certainly would have made for an ideal staging ground for a Passion play of that

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{161} Jeffery, (as in 160), 208 and Ousterhout, (as in 140), 315.
\bibitem{162} Ousterhout, (as in 140), 315 and Morris, (as in 140), 34. The sculpture of the rooster is dated variously from the late 14\textsuperscript{th} century to the mid 15\textsuperscript{th} century.
\bibitem{163} Jeffery, (as in 160), 206.
\bibitem{164} The basin was in the middle of the courtyard and identified as the basin of Pilate by at least the early 14\textsuperscript{th} century. Current consensus holds that it is of Roman manufacture rather than Lombard, though it bears a Lombard inscription with the date 740. The original purpose of the basin was to collect offerings from the faithful in the church of San Giovanni Battista. Morris, (as in 140), 34 and Ousterhout, (as in 140). 314-315.
\end{thebibliography}
theme, but more importantly it appears to have provided spaces in which to showcase many of the major Christological relics found at Santo Stefano as part of the orchestration of an immersive pilgrimage experience.165

Exactly when and how these different spaces within the Santo Stefano complex developed is not known and what we do know of them comes from sources of a later date. Though aspects of the Santo Stefano complex reflect the state of the church of the Holy Sepulchre before the interventions of the crusaders, much of the rest of the complex as described above corresponds with the extensive rehabilitation and refurbishing of other shrines in Jerusalem undertaken by the crusaders.166 Albeit uncertain when the

165 Such Good Friday observances related to the acts of Pilate were carried out in the courtyard of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. Though there are extant copies of mystery plays that take the Judgment of Pilate as their subject, such as the ones found in the corpus of the York Mystery Plays, there is no concrete evidence that such plays were performed at Santo Stefano. The idea of a mystery play of the Judgment of Pilate is an enticing one, if only for the fact that Bologna, home to a renowned school of law, would have provided a rather large and appreciative audience for a production of that subject. Any such possibility, however, remains purely in the realm of speculation, such as that posited by William Montorsi in Santo Stefano in Bologna: bizantini, longobardi, benedettini, (Modena: Aedes Muratoriana, 1980), 38-48. For the York Mystery Plays see: J.S. Purvis, The York Cycle of Mystery Plays: A Complete Version, (London: S.P.C.K., 1978). For the Passion relics of Santo Stefano see note 152. The sites relating to Pilate also featured along the Via Dolorosa in Jerusalem as part of Good Friday processions in Jerusalem, which would eventually inform the development of the Stations of the Cross. Thurston has even suggested that Santo Stefano may represent the oldest known replication of these stations as they were followed in Jerusalem. Herbert Thurston, The Stations of the Cross: An Account of Their History and Devotional Purpose, (London: Burns and Oates, 1906), 7-8. It is also possible that the emphasis on Pilate is a related to the development of two genres of cult images that gained in popularity during the late Middle Ages, namely the Ecce Homo and the Mandylion. See: Annette Hoffman and Gerhard Wolf, “Narrative and Iconic Space – from Pontius to Pilate,” New Jerusalems: Hierotopy and Iconography of Sacred Spaces, ed. A. Lidov, (Moscow: Indrik, 2009), 395-418 (esp. pp. 395-396).

166 For the areas and shrines built and refurbished by the crusaders see: Bernard Hamilton, “The Impact of Crusader Jerusalem on Western Christendom,” The Catholic History Review 80 (4), (October 1994): 695-713 (esp. pp. 699-703). Santo Stefano sites that correspond to those refurbished by the crusaders are the room of the Last Supper from Mount Sion as well as the sites relating to the story of Pilate, most notably that the stone that marked the place of Christ’s judgment. Even seemingly minor sites enshrined by the crusaders, such as the field of Josaphat and the pool of Siloam, were replicated at Santo Stefano, though where exactly these were located within the complex and the surrounding area is not clear. That these supposedly minor sites in Jerusalem were in fact of great interest to pilgrims is attested to in the Libellus de locis sanctis by Theodoric of Wurzburg, who visited the Holy Land in 1172. For more on the specific interventions realized in and around Mount Sion by the crusaders see: Bernard Hamilton, “Rebuilding Zion: The Holy Places of Jerusalem in the Twelfth Century,” Studies in Church History 14, ed. D. Baker, (Oxford: Boydell Press, 1977), 105-116.
development of the various sites of the Passion began at Santo Stefano, it is possible they could have been developed as early as the late 12th or early 13th century as they mirror the development of many of the same sacred sites the crusaders themselves rebuilt and ennobled. Thus, as a replica not only of the Anastasis and tomb, but also of a vast swath of Jerusalem’s sacred topography even after the holy city was lost once more in 1187, it lived on in the West in the complex of Santo Stefano and its related Holy Land monuments.

Later 15th-century sources make it quite clear that Santo Stefano maintained a persistent and valued legacy as an alter-Jerusalem and that it had indeed developed a reputation as an important pilgrimage site.167 Along with its pilgrimage function that drew attention from outside Bologna as well as within, the church was home to other important civic cult rituals. For example, the chapel of the Magi, which housed a polychrome wood tableau of the Adoration of the Magi, was visited annually on the feast day of the Epiphany by the city magistrates, who came bearing gifts.168 Furthermore, the

167 Morris, (as in 140), 57. The most substantial body of documentation regarding the development of the shrines and sacred spots within Santo Stefano consists of a series of booklets published by the Celestines in 1493 when they took up residence in the monastery of Santo Stefano. The booklets list the indulgences associated with the different spots and describe the devotions one was to perform at them. The most elaborate publication of this type is a book of 1575 by Francesco Patricelli, the Cronica della misteriosa et devota chiesa e Badia di S. Stefano. A compendium of these pilgrimage publications is found in Gina Fasoli, “Storigráfica Stefaniana tra XII e XVII secolo,” Stefaniana: Contributi per una storia del complesso di S. Stefano in Bologna, ed. G. Fasoli, (Bologna: Presso la Deputazione della Storia Patria, 1985), 27-49.

168 Ousterhout, (as in 140), 320 (cf. note 51). Today the Magi chapel is part of the church of the Trinity, which was built over the original chapel of the Cross in the early 17th century. The original location of the Magi chapel is uncertain. The sculptural group dates to approximately the 1370s and has recently been attributed to Simone dei Crocifissi. Whether a relic was associated with this chapel is unknown. The group is similar to the fragments of the marble tableau group of the Nativity carved by Arnolfo di Cambio c.1290 at the behest of Nicholas IV that is found in the crypt Chapel of the Nativity in Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome. Neri, (as in 88), 17-20 notes that the origins of the chapel of the Nativity (originally located in a different area of the church) go back to Sixtus III (432-440), though the first documented reference to the chapel dates to the 6th century. A relic of the Manger is first documented in association with this chapel in the 8th century. Pius IX commissioned the crypt chapel under the high altar. For the history of the chapel and proposed reconstructions of Arnolfo’s tableau group see: Shelley Maclaren, “Seeing the Whole Picture:
complex played an important part in the life of the city’s confraternities, with many of them playing a role in promoting the civic cult of relics housed with in the church. This is particularly true of the 15th century under the reforms initiated by Cardinal Niccolò Albergati. For example, starting in the 1420s, the confraternity of Santa Maria degli Angeli conducted an annual procession featuring young children dressed as angels singing hymns and calling out to the citizens of Bologna to come venerate the veil of the Virgin Mary housed in the chapel of the Veil.\footnote{Nicholas Terpstra, \textit{Lay Confraternities and Civic Religion in Bologna}, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 23. The chapel is referred to in Italian as the Cappella della Benda, or the Virgin’s hairband, rather than the veil. Indeed, the relic itself is a strip of cloth rather than a full veil that the Virgin supposedly wore tied across her forehead as a sign of mourning. See Terpstra, \textit{Lay Confraternities...}, \textit{passim} for the influence of Albergati on the confraternities of Bologna.}

Over the centuries Santo Stefano came to encapsulate fundamental aspects of Bologna’s sacred and political history, becoming one of the key shrines within Bologna’s network of civic-religious sacred sites. Even in the face of sparse documentation and the radical interventions of the undertaken in the 19th century, traces of the ways in which Santo Stefano informed visual and ritual traditions in Bologna can be found, perhaps on a wider scale and in ways that have yet to be fully recognized. I would argue that this is indeed the case with Niccolò dell’Arca’s \textit{Lamenation} group, which bears the traces of one of 15th-century Bologna’s most contested political causes, namely a revived call for crusades in the East. Bologna’s deeply engrained association with Jerusalem embodied in the Sepulchre at Santo Stefano would be resurrected in a new context in the 15th century as the specter of a crusade revival loomed on the horizon in Bologna, which as a papal...
state, found itself deeply enmeshed in the politics of a renascent crusade movement. The
*Lamentation* and the ever-present call of the Sepulchre would be the city’s call to arms.

**THE IMAGE OF THE SEPULCHRE POST-1187**

In many ways, the history of the Santo Stefano complex reflects the overall
vicissitudes of the image and political associations of the Holy Sepulchre in the West. At
its most fundamental level, it linked the Christian foundation history of Bologna to the
history of the monumental Christianization of Jerusalem under Constantine, stitching
their sacred histories together across time. It found favor within the Carolingian network
of holy sites in the West due to its invocation of the New Jerusalem. While deeply
immersed in the practice of pilgrimage and the collection of Holy Land relics it was also
a forerunner in the practice of replicating the Holy Sepulchre and the sacred topography
of Jerusalem. With the advent of the First Crusade, the city’s spiritual ties to the holy city
redoubled as the Bolognese converted their crusade zeal and their devotion to Latin
Jerusalem into an unparalleled architectural statement of allegiance to the cause of the
Sepulchre.

Even after Jerusalem fell to Saladin’s troops in 1187 and was lost definitively
after the failure of the Third Crusade in 1191, Bologna remained faithful to the memory
of Latin Jerusalem.\(^{170}\) Though the loss of Jerusalem heralded the swift demise of the

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practice of Sepulchre replication as a statement of triumph, devotion to the Sepulchre continued.\footnote{Morris, (as in 1), 345 and Kroesen, (as in 60), 43. Kroesen notes one major exception to this is cemetery charnel houses found exclusively in Bohemia, Austria, and Bavaria; approximately one hundred still survive.} Once the Peace of Ramla was established in 1192 and Christians were free to travel to Jerusalem and could visit the holy sites of the city without paying tributes or taxes, pilgrimage continued as strongly as ever. The emphasis at Santo Stefano mirrored this trend inasmuch as its development closely followed the practices of pilgrimage as they evolved throughout the 13\textsuperscript{th} and 14\textsuperscript{th} centuries in Jerusalem.

Nonetheless, even in the 14\textsuperscript{th} and early 15\textsuperscript{th} centuries when the construction of large-scale architectural replications of the Sepulchre had become relatively rare, the development of the Sepulchre chapel and a host of attendant iconographical themes were in full bloom, particularly in Northern Europe. However, the popularity of Sepulchre chapels in Italy does not develop until the mid 15\textsuperscript{th} century, at which time they appear uniquely embellished with the scene of the \textit{Lamentation} rendered with an unprecedented level of pathos. In the case of Bologna, the history and heritage of the Sepulchre replica at Santo Stefano, particularly relating to the Crusades, is of particular importance to understanding Niccolò dell’Arca’s \textit{Lamentation}, as is the history of the confraternity that commissioned it. As I will demonstrate in the next chapter, the resurgence of crusade ideology and a desire to reclaim the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem is woven through the history of Niccolò dell’Arca’s \textit{Lamentation}.

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CHAPTER 3: The Confraternity of Santa Maria della Vita, Niccolò dell’Arca’s *Lamentation*, and Crusade Politics, 1453-1464

As Christianity’s holiest and most hotly contested shrine, the Holy Sepulchre cast a long shadow in the Western imagination. Ideologies that stemmed from clashes between Muslims and Christians further heightened the sense of the centrality of the Holy Sepulchre to an integral vision of Western Christian history and sovereignty. After the fall of Constantinople in 1453, many historically rooted anxieties about the status of the Holy Land, Jerusalem, the Holy Sepulchre, and their attendant ideological agendas surfaced once again as the specter of crusade loomed on the horizon. For individuals and groups with historic attachments to the Holy Land and the Sepulchre, the crusade revival of the mid 15th century brought an opportunity to renew their commitment to the cause of reclaiming the Sepulchre and establishing Latin Christian dominance in the East.

As a city with a venerable history of crusading and a manifest connection to the Holy Sepulchre in the form of Santo Stefano, Bologna was home to many different constituencies with a stake in crusade revival, the confraternity of Santa Maria della Vita among them. Multivalent readings of Niccolò dell’Arca’s *Lamentation* and its Sepulchre chapel are rooted in the history and mission of the confraternity and are given further nuance by issues of civic pride as well as the individual political leanings and agendas of its leading members, especially with regard to the situation in the East in the mid 15th century. One key issue addressed in this chapter is a previously unexplored aspect of the history of Santa Maria della Vita in relation to facets of the political heritage of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem as discussed in Chapter Two. To understand how this monument spoke to these different issues, one must first look at the history of Santa Maria della Vita
as well as the political climate in Bologna at the time of the *Lamentation’s* commission.

**SANTA MARIA DELLA VITA: THE ORIGINS OF THE CONFRATERNITY**

The penitential, flagellant movement arrived in Bologna in October of 1260. This movement took root in the city and resulted in the formation of a sodality that operated under the name of the Congregatio Devotorum Civitatis Bononie and was sponsored loosely by the Augustinians in its initial years.¹ Not long after, a number of independent, autonomous congregations began to form, perhaps some as splinters from this original group; however, the Confraternity of Santa Maria della Vita appears to be the direct descendent of the original Congregatio Devotorum. In fact, the oldest statutes for a flagellant sodality in Bologna that have come to light thus far belong to this very confraternity. These date from 1286, when the group received formal approval from the Bishop of Bologna, and identify them as flagellants under the name of the Congregazione dei Devoti Battuti dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary, formed during the movement inspired by Raniero Fasani in 1260.² While the question regarding the direct, personal involvement of Raniero Fasani in establishing the flagellant movement in Bologna has yet to be resolved, one can, at the very least, see this as an attempt on the part of this confraternity to give authority to its origins by stressing its connections with the very beginnings of this movement and its legendary founder.³


² Fanti, (as in 1), 185-186 and 197.

³ For Raniero Fasani and the flagellants in Perugia see: Raffaello Morghen, “Raniero Fasani e il movimento dei disciplinati del 1260,” *Il movimento dei disciplinati nel settimo centenario dal suo inizio, Perugia*.
The chapters of the 1286 statutes set out guidelines for the organization and administration of the confraternity and frame the ways in which the brothers engaged in acts of private devotions and public charity.\(^4\) For the private act of flagellation, the statutes underscore the communal nature of the ritual as well as a concern for discretion and anonymity inasmuch as the rules regarding the practice of flagellation state that it was not to be conducted outside of the oratory or one’s own house, and was always to be done with the other brothers in order to prevent “disorder and scandal,” the exception being that whenever the brothers participated in a religious festival in any part of the city, they were to appear in their confraternal robes and flagellate.\(^5\) There are also two chapters that make specific references to the hospital as the public, charitable face of their devotional mission. The statutes indicate that, along with being obliged to donate time to the hospital, the brothers were also obliged to donate money in the form of bequests, underscoring their deep personal and financial involvement in charitable hospital activities.\(^6\) When exactly this group undertook the responsibility for operating a hospital is uncertain, but as the hospital is discussed in detail in the 1286 statutes, one can assume that it had already been in operation, for several years even if only on a small scale,

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4 Fanti, (as in 1), 186-191 gives a summary overview of the various chapters that comprise the statutes in their Latin original. These same statutes are translated into Italian and presented in full by Giancarlo Angelozzi in Le confraternite laicali: un’esperienza cristiana tra medioevo e età moderna, (Brescia: Editrice Queriniana, 1978), 85-95.

5 Fanti, (as in 1), 188, statute chapter 25. The limits on their participation in these public festivals was further described in that they could make an offering at the main altar of the festival, but it was to be nothing more than a large or small coin or a large or small candle, as the expenses incurred by the hospital could not permit larger gifts. See page 191 statute chapter 40.

6 Fanti, (as in 1), 187-188, statute chapters 22 and 23.
before the confraternity received its official recognition.\textsuperscript{7} The brothers began
construction of a formal hospital complex in 1289 and were aided by contributions made
by private citizens, who were encouraged by indulgences granted to those offering
financial assistance to the hospital, as evidenced by an indulgence from 1291.\textsuperscript{8} The fact
that this confraternity’s charitable acts were so locally directed, that is, they were an
institution dedicated to the sick and dying of Bologna rather than pilgrims and itinerants,
gave them particular prestige within the community, and Bolognese citizens frequently
made them the recipient of bequests in their wills.\textsuperscript{9} These bequests took the form of not
just money, but also gifts of property, which greatly facilitated the expansion of the
hospital throughout the 14\textsuperscript{th} century. Not only did these property bequests help the
hospital expand physically, the rent these properties brought in helped to line the
confraternity’s coffers as well and fund the charitable services the hospital offered to the
comune.\textsuperscript{10} By the 15\textsuperscript{th} century, their valued relationship with the community and their
prestigious history made the Confraternity of Santa Maria della Vita one of the largest,
most important of its kind in Bologna.

The 15\textsuperscript{th} century, however, brought many changes for confraternities in Bologna,
especially those like Santa Maria della Vita that existed not only as a private devotional
organization, but also maintained a large public charitable institution. Administrative and

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\textsuperscript{7} Fanti, (as in 1), 208.

\textsuperscript{8} Fanti, (as in 1), 207-208.


\textsuperscript{10} Terpstra, (as in 9), 151-170. Terpstra discusses the increasing prosperity of large public sodalities like Santa Maria della Vita. Over the course of the several generations many of the prominent and prosperous members of these groups used confraternal property holdings as a way to increase and solidify their own personal wealth, social standing, and political influence. This was achieved largely through granting wealthy members low-cost leases on extra-urban confraternal land holdings. See pages 162-170 for specifics about Santa Maria della Vita’s engagement in these practices in the early 16\textsuperscript{th} century.
organizational responsibilities for such a large charitable institution, not to mention the responsibilities of managing and overseeing its financial assets and property, required a good deal of attention on the part of the confraternity members. Charitable duties could leave little time for private devotion, and it was difficult to claim that one was necessarily more important than the other as each represented a fundamental aspect of the mission of the confraternity from its very inception. The solution these confraternities adopted was the formation of larga and stretta groups, the former tending to charitable, public works and the latter adding to this responsibility a stricter regimen of discipline and devotion. Indeed, this was a phenomenon that altered many of the confraternities in Bologna that strove to maintain unity in the face of diverging interests in private devotion and greater engagement with the public realm through charitable acts. In 1454, the Company of Santa Maria della Vita divided into larga and stretta groups, making it one of the last of the Bolognese confraternities of its type to undergo this transformation.

The development of larga and stretta groups within Bolognese confraternities was not driven by internal factors alone, however. Pressures from the outside also played

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11 Terpstra, (as in 9), 141-142. Following Christopher Black’s suggestion that broader social changes may have motivated the desire of confraternal members to abandon the practice of flagellation, he notes that in some ways it had come to be seen as a practice and a form of community that was “exclusive, secret, and demanding” and not as amenable to the public visibility inherent in a charitable practice rooted in broader community engagement. Christopher Black, Italian Confraternities in the Sixteenth Century, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 88-89.

12 See Terpstra, (as in 9), 139-144 for general differences in the practices and organization of larga and stretta divisions.

13 Terpstra, (as in 9), 28-29. For large confraternities, the trend of developing larga and stretta groups began with Santa Maria della Vita’s main rival, Santa Maria della Morte, in 1436 and culminated with the reformation of Santa Maria della Vita and Sant Maria dei Guariani in 1454. For the new stretta statutes as drafted in 1454 see: Giuseppe Alberigo, “Contributi alla storia delle confraternite dei disciplinati e della spiritualità laicale nei secc. XV e XVI,” Il movimento dei disciplinati nel settimo centenario dal suo inizio, Perugia, 1260: convegno internazionale, Perugia 25-28 settembre, 1960, (Spoleto: Deputazione di storia patria per l’Umbria, 1962), 156-251 (esp. pp. 176-202 for stretta spirituality and pp. 217-238 for a transcription of the stretta statutes).
a subtle yet important role in creating the need for public and private faces for the major confraternities of Bologna. Under the auspices of Nicolo Albergati, Bishop of Bologna from 1417 to 1443, confraternities took an increasingly active role in the creation of a civic cult built around public symbols and shrines. Now in addition to their private spiritual concerns and their public charitable works, confraternities began to cultivate a new public face dedicated to this growing civic-religious cult. Though it allowed many confraternities to develop a unique role in the spiritual life of the city, it also created an environment in which these groups jockeyed for public and political prominence. One of the first confraternities to suffer internal and external conflict as a result of this added civic responsibility was Santa Maria della Morte, a flagellant confraternity responsible for comforting the condemned and operating a hospital, which had recently become the protectors of the miracle-working image known as the Madonna di San Luca. Not only did the group’s newly assigned stewardship over this image and the honor of accompanying it in its processions during civic festivals that came with it provoke discord among the members of the confraternity, it also angered other confraternities as

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14 See Terpstra, (as in 9), 19-31 for Bishop Albergati and confraternal reforms in Bologna as well as the development of larga and stretta groups and the promotion of civic cults focused on important miraculous images and shrines in the city. These shrines and images reflected his program for spiritual and devotional revival, which focused on three main symbols: Christ, the Eucharist, and the Madonna.

15 Terpstra, (as in 9), 31-37 highlights how highly factional public life was under the Bentivoglio. Though the cult of civic shrines still allowed for a competitive spirit, it was channeled in ways that were of benefit to the community. For an in-depth study of several instances of this politicization of confraternities and civic cults see: Nicholas Terpstra, “Confraternal and Local Cults: Civic Religion between Class and Politics in Renaissance Bologna,” Civic Ritual and Drama, eds. A.F. Johnston and W. Hüskens, (Amsterdam: Rodopoi, 1997), 143-176.

well as the canons of San Pietro, who thought such a prominent honor should have been

given to them.\textsuperscript{17} In other instances, the statutory rewrites of newly formed \textit{stretta} groups
reveal pointed ideological differences that indicate the public attention directed at images
and shrines and the public celebrity that began to build around the \textit{larga} groups that acted
as their guardians smacked of the worldly temptations of vanity and politicking.\textsuperscript{18}

An examination of the 1454 statutes of Santa Maria della Vita’s newly formed
\textit{stretta} group reveals a great deal about the nature of their ideological disagreements with
their \textit{larga} brothers and how they sought to reconcile them and balance their practices of
“amor dei” and “amor proximi.”\textsuperscript{19} In the prologue they recognize that the group’s ardent
supporters of the practice of charity had renounced the principles of discipline set forth
by their revered founder, Raniero Fasani, and instead wished to come together with great
love and charity to tend to their spiritual well-being and that of their neighbors.\textsuperscript{20} Those
who continued to adhere to the devotional practice of flagellation would come together
under the name of the congregation of Santa Maria della Vita e del Beato Ranieri. The

\textsuperscript{17} Terpstra, (as in 9), 25-28. The solution to their internal discord was the formation of \textit{larga} and \textit{stretta}

groups, with the \textit{larga} group assuming full responsibility for the hospital charity work as well as
responsibility for the newly blossoming civic cult of the Madonna di San Luca and the \textit{stretta} continuing in
their traditional devotional practice of flagellation. Other strategies were employed to defray external
tensions. As for the canons of San Pietro, they were never successful in their challenge to assume
guardianship of this image, though their protestations continued into the 16\textsuperscript{th} century. Additionally the
priorship of Santa Maria della Morte became one of the most prestigious and coveted positions in the
Bolognese civic-religious sphere and was rotated annually amongst the noble families of the city in order to
defray jealousies and rivalries. For the religious and political power and importance of miracle-working
images and their confraternal guardians see Richard Trexler’s study of the Madonna of Impruneta in
and Gerhard Wolf, eds., \textit{The Miraculous Image in the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance}, (Rome:

\textsuperscript{18} Terpstra, (as in 9), 29 notes how the \textit{stretta} group that formed within the confraternity of San Francesco
specifically stated that they formed with the firm desire to “separate ourselves from worldly things.”

\textsuperscript{19} Alberigo, (as in 13), 183-184

\textsuperscript{20} Alberigo, (as in 13), 218-219.
addition of Beato Ranieri to the name of the *stretta* group is significant inasmuch as it indicates their appropriation of the aura of their famous founder and the company’s prestigious connection to the *disciplinati* movement of 1260; those in the *larga* group operated under the official name of La Compagnia Grande del Spedale di Poveri di Santa Maria del Spedale della Vita, clearly stressing their charitable hospital related activities.  

Even in the face of the formation of these groups, however, it is crucial to remember that this confraternity still considered itself to be essentially one unified group. In fact, chapter XVIII of the *stretta* statutes states explicitly that their members in no way wished to alienate themselves from the *compagnia grande* and that they would observe their rules and remain loyal to the missions of the hospital in addition to pursuing their stricter devotional program.  

Notably, though Santa Maria della Vita was one of the largest, wealthiest, and most esteemed organizations of its type in Bologna, it was conspicuously absent from the group of major confraternities who at mid-century were participating in the city’s new civic-religious cult built around shrines, icons, and *sacre rappresentazioni*. It seems likely that this lack of means with which to participate in the increasingly important

21 Alberigo, (as in 13), 218.

22 Alberigo, (as in 13), 231. Chapter 18 of the statues explicitly commands that in addition to the new rules laid out for the *stretta* group, the members were also bound to adhere to all of the old statutes that comprised the *larga* group’s rule. Significantly, although the *larga* group renounced the practice of flagellation, they still were able in part to reap the spiritual benefits of the practice from their fellow *stretta* congregants. Specifically, the *stretta* members received an indulgence of eighty years, four months and twenty-two days for the act of flagellation, while any *larga* member who was present while flagellation was being performed received an indulgence of one year and two hundred seventy-five days (page 218).

23 The group’s church, however, was one of four singled out by the *comune* in the city statutes of 1454 to be visited by city officials on its feast days. In the case of Santa Maria della Vita, it was likely the fact that they were the city’s oldest flagellant confraternity as well as their claim to have been founded by none other than Raniero Fasani himself that garnered them this honor. See: Klebanoff, (as in 16), 148.
civic-religious cult of the city was a motivating factor in commissioning the *Lamentation* from Niccolò dell’Arca for a Sepulchre chapel in the church of Santa Maria della Vita. As will be argued later, given the historic importance of the Sepulchre at Santo Stefano to the civic image of Bologna and its prominence in annual Easter celebrations, a permanent commemoration of the Holy Sepulchre certainly would have been a prodigious and monumental addition to the network of city-wide shrines and their cult celebrations in Bologna, for as Nicholas Terpstra notes, it was a great honor for a confraternity to have a connection to the Sepulchre at the heart of the Santo Stefano complex, given the exceptional status of this shrine.²⁴ By inserting themselves into the chain of replication and association at work in the Sepulchre at Santo Stefano, the confraternity was effectively appropriating aspects of the civic history this venerable civic shrine represented and adding their own history to the lot.²⁵

Though the papal bull of 1464 associated with the Sepulchre chapel indicates that the shrine with its *Lamentation* tableau was meant to bring in revenue to help support the hospital operations of Santa Maria della Vita, it also represented a sizable outlay of capital for both the work itself and the creation and maintenance of a space where it could be displayed.²⁶ Such an expenditure on a practical level diverted funds away from charitable works, which had the potential to create conflict among the brothers of Santa Maria della Vita in the same way financial issues created trouble for the members of

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²⁴ Terpstra, (as in 9), 23. The most direct association a confraternity could develop was becoming a guardian of a relic pertaining to the site and promoting its cult, as the confraternity of Santa Maria degli Angeli did with the relic of the Virgin’s hairband. Klebanoff, (as in 16), 151.

²⁵ Klebanoff, (as in 16), 151.

Santa Maria del Baraccano.27 Notably, there is an addendum to Santa Maria della Vita’s 1454 *stretta* statutes dated December 1461, a time which could feasibly coincide with commissioning of this work, that indicates conflict and dissention had in some way disturbed the peace of the brotherhood. Significantly, one source of disagreement and controversy, which in this document the brothers were forbidden to take before a public judge without first seeking reconciliation within the confraternity, is “pecuniale,” or financial disagreements.28 Money spent on a monumental shrine such as the Sepulchre chapel and *Lamentation* group, even while serving a devotional purpose, was a means for the *larga* group of the confraternity to stake their claim in the cult of civic-religious images and boost their prominence and visibility in the community in ways the *stretta* may have found inappropriate. Given that from the start, Santa Maria della Vita’s earliest statutes expressed not only a disapproval of making certain aspects of their devotional life too public, but also a concern for the proper allocation of funds for the hospital, this move on the part of the *larga* group may have stoked the *stretta* group’s anxieties and concerns for both the spiritual health of the group and the clarity of their charitable mission.

Despite any possible disagreements the *stretta* group may have had with commissioning the Sepulchre chapel and its *Lamentation* and the heightened visibility, commissioning the Sepulchre chapel and its *Lamentation* and the heightened visibility,

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27 Terpstra, (as in 9), 28-19. A similar fate befell the confraternity of Santa Maria del Baraccano which was responsible for a popular miracle-working Marian shrine known as the Madonna del Baraccano. The *stretta* group accused the *larga* group, who had taken responsibility for maintaining the shrine and thus enjoyed the glow of the public spotlight now focused on them, of mismanaging and misdirecting the offerings and donations the shrine received. Their solution, under Bishop Albergati’s orders, was to channel the shrine’s revenue into a pilgrim hospital.

28 Alberigo, (as in 13), 236-238 for the statute amendment. Beck, (as in 26), 335-337 demonstrates that in 1462 Niccolò dell’Arca was working on the *Lamentation* based on payment records for the rental of his studio space as well as payments to cover some of the artist’s personal debts. Therefore it seems likely that they could have contracted with him for the work around December 1461, close to the time when the amendment to the statutes was made.
prestige, and prosperity the larga group hoped it would bring to the confraternity, this monumental shrine did in both its form and content attempt to speak to the spiritual and devotional needs of both the larga and the stretta groups, as well as those of a larger public audience. What then were the aspects of the confraternity’s devotional practices this innovative shrine reflected, how did it speak to the broader population of Bologna, and how did it reflect the major devotional themes promoted by Bishop Albergati, namely Christ, the Eucharist, and the Virgin Mary? Furthermore, how did it help the larga group gain a foothold in the cult of civic-religious shrines and what types of spiritual and political roles did it aspire to play in the public life of the comune?

THE SEPULCHRE SHRINE AND LAMENTATION GROUP

Niccolò dell’Arca’s Lamentation (1461-1463) was installed on the right-hand side of the high altar in the church of Santa Maria della Vita in a small chapel that was accessible from the main nave of the church as well as a small side door. However, 16th- and 17th-century modifications to the church and chapel structure present today’s visitor with a much larger chapel and a view of the tableau that is more in keeping with a museum display that attempts to give maximum space and visual clarity to each individual figure. Thus the current display of the group is deceptive in that its chapel space would have been much smaller with the figures placed closely together. While these later changes may add to the aesthetic appreciation of the individual sculpted more figures, they also obliterate what was most significant about the original chapel space. As Mario Fanti notes, the chapel was meant to be understood as a replica of the tomb aedicule of the Holy Sepulchre and was built to reproduce the measurements of the
prototype, which as discussed in Chapter Two were readily known through pilgrim chronicles and guides.\textsuperscript{29} This meant that their chapel, like many of the features of Santo Stefano’s Holy Sepulchre, was intended to accurately translate the form of the tomb of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, while the figures of the \textit{Lamentation} group were meant to enhance the emotional experience of the replica.

As mentioned earlier, the choice of a Sepulchre chapel allowed the confraternity to draw upon several aspects of Santo Stefano’s prestigious civic-religious history. On one level they were able to situate themselves within the history of foundational moments in the Christian history of the city. Just as Santo Stefano was linked to the Early Christian origins of the city and a defining moment of spiritual renewal led by Saint Petronius, so was Santa Maria della Vita founded during another phase of spiritual renewal for the city by the illustrious Raniero Fasani. Furthermore, the confraternity was able to forge a connection between their Sepulchre shrine and the popular Easter traditions associated with Santo Stefano’s Sepulchre.\textsuperscript{30} In fact, along with the feast day of Raniero Fasani, Easter was one of the days specified in the papal bull of 1464 for which visitors to the shrine would receive an indulgence. In a sense, the \textit{Lamentation} at Santa Maria della Vita, with its dramatic sense of realism and high emotional charge, added a vivid

\textsuperscript{29} Mario Fanti, “Nuovi Documenti e Osservazioni sul ‘Compianto’ di Niccolò dell’Arca e la sua Antica Collocazione in S. Maria della Vita,” \textit{Niccolò dell’Arca: seminario di studi, Atti del Convegno 26-27 maggio 1987}, eds. G. Agostini and L. Ciammitti, (Bologna: Nuova Alfa Editoriale, 1989), 59-83. Fanti discusses the alterations that were made to the fabric of the church and chapel. He notes that the original dimensions of Sant Maria della Vita’s Sepulchre chapel were 1.9 x 2.66 meters versus the 1.94 x 2.3 meters of the Jerusalem tomb aedicule (page 68). The alterations made to the chapel have raised questions about whether the current arrangement of the figures follows their original disposition in the chapel. Klebanoff, (as in 16), 169-171 presents a summary and analysis of the different configurations of the tableau proposed over the years.

\textsuperscript{30} Klebanoff, (as in 16), 151 notes that a late 16\textsuperscript{th}-century source lists Santa Maria della Vita as one of seven confraternities enlisted to help control the crowds that came to visit the temporary Sepulchre set up during Holy Week at Santo Stefano. Though the document describes their participation in these festivities as “longstanding,” there is no indication of when they began performing this service.
experiential layer to the city’s Easter rituals inasmuch as it added a moment of animated narrative life to the pilgrimage experience orchestrated around the events of the Passion and of Holy Week at Santo Stefano, thus deepening the spiritual efficacy of one’s encounter with the reproduction of Christ’s tomb.  

Furthermore, the shrine also provided a vehicle for the promotion of Eucharistic worship, in line with Albergati’s reform themes. To the extent that the Lamentation has roots in para-liturgical sacred dramas connected to Easter celebrations, a eucharistic reading of sculpted Lamentation groups has its merits. As discussed in the previous chapter, the most common iconographic themes for a Sepulchre chapel that underscored the Eucharist were the Entombment and the Resurrection, as they corresponded to the depositio and elevatio in the Easter liturgy. What then did the Lamentation, especially such an emotionally feverish rendition of the subject, add conceptually and iconographically to the Sepulchre chapel as a monument oriented toward eucharistic devotion?

The most overt element of eucharistic iconography in the Lamentation derives from the presence of the Stone of Unction upon which Christ is laid, as it connotes the presence of the altar with Christ’s body as the Eucharist and its promise of life through his death. Other aspects of the chapel and the tableau group are a bit problematic, 

31 Beck, (as in 26), 343. The indulgence shows that the specific feast days connected with the shrine were Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost, as well as the feast day of the confraternity’s founder, Beato Ranieri.


33 For the iconography of the Stone of Unction see: Mary Ann Graeves, “The Stone of Unction in Caravaggio’s Painting for the Chiesa Nuova,” Art Bulletin 40 (30), (Sept. 1958): 223-238. For a brief consideration of the stone of unction in relation to Niccolò dell’Arca’s Lamentation see: Guido Gentile,
however, if one tries to understand them within a liturgical context. Firstly, there is no indication that there was an altar associated with the chapel nor are there records of masses being said; furthermore the indulgence associated with it speaks only of visiting and praying at the chapel of the Holy Sepulchre. Generally, chapels where Lamentation groups were housed, while not physically separated from the church by the independent micro-architecture of a shrine-like structure, still structurally cordoned off the subject in such a way that one was encouraged to divorce it largely, if not completely, from a sacramental context.

As for the narrative component, imposing a eucharistic reading upon it would imply that on a certain level these tableau groups would be subject to the same theological and liturgical standards of correctness and decorum in the treatment of the subject that one would expect to find in altarpieces. Interestingly, though there is no evidence to show that Lamentation groups were created to function, even indirectly, like altarpieces, Jacob Burckhardt includes Niccolò dell’Arca’s Lamentation as an example in a coda to his discussion of the development of sculpted altarpieces. While he conceives of this tableau group and others like it as a related offshoot of narrative altarpieces, he sidesteps altogether the theological issues that arise with tableau groups of this type by relating them to a liturgical context and chooses to treat them solely as vehicles for artists to explore in depth the artistic and devotional possibilities in three-dimensional, larger-than-life, highly affective narrative scenes.34


34 Jacob Burckhardt, The Altarpiece in Renaissance Italy, (London: Phaidon, 1988), 39. “Without getting ourselves too involved in the complex religious and aesthetic problems connected with these sculptures, it
Alexander Nagel, however, delves into the aesthetic and religious issues and the tension between narration and exposition of doctrine and theology that Burckhardt avoids in his reading of Niccolò dell’Arca’s *Lamentation* and others like it.\(^5\) He, too, analyzes this tableau as if it were a eucharistically themed altarpiece, he shows how the piece makes a potential theological misstep in its interpretation and presentation of the body of Christ and the act of lamenting when viewed in relation to a presumed liturgical context.\(^6\) The characters’ extreme expressions of grief, verging on utter despair and hopelessness, run the risk of presenting a negation of the promise of resurrection inherent

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\(^{36}\) Much like their smaller counterparts used for private devotion, altarpieces featuring *Lamentation* narratives could also engage the viewer on an emotional level, valorizing and reinforcing the emotional experiences of empathy and compassion and evoking eucharistic associations. Altarpieces of the *Lamentation* are found as early as the 14\(^{th}\) century. The panel of 1357-1359 by Giotto in the Uffizi is one of the better known examples. An early 15\(^{th}\)-century example is Beato Angelico’s *Lamentation* of 1436-1441. Yet while relatively common in small private devotional images, the popularity of the subject for large-scale public works, be they altarpieces or sculpted works, was fairly limited. More often in the early part of the 15th century when a Lamentation scene appears in a large-scale public work it is as an ancillary image, placed in a context where it generally glosses a eucharistic theme. Generally this takes the form of either a painted *predella* panel or a sculpted tabernacle door on an altarpiece or altar. An example of a *Lamentation* used in this way, and one which is also unique for its high level of pathos, is Donatello’s bronze relief of 1465-60. The accepted hypothesis for the function of this relief is that it served as decoration for a sacrament tabernacle. See Bonnie A. Bennett and David G. Wilkins, *Donatello*, (Oxford: Phaidon, 1984), 98-100. Nagel, (as in 35), 53 notes that the compartment in altars that held the sacrament were often referred to as the *sepulchrum*. In some 16\(^{th}\)-century altarpieces where the *Lamentation* is the principal subject, the eucharistic association is made explicit by the inclusion of an image of the Eucharist in the scene itself, as is seen in Fra Bartolomeo’s *Lamentation* of 1516-17 and Andrea del Sarto’s *Lamentation* of 1524-27, both in the Palazzo Pitti in Florence. One could point to Rosso Fiorentino’s *Descent from the Cross* of 1521 as a similarly challenging image, though it was created in an era much more inclined toward the artist’s use of *licenza*. For an attempt to reconcile the provocative aspects of this image with eucharistic theology and decorum see: Harvey E. Hamburgh, “Rosso Fiorentino’s *Descent from the Cross* in a Franciscan Context,” *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 19 (4), (1988): 577-604.
in the sacrificed body of Christ and his own resurrection. Though the figure of Christ is pacific in his repose, it is the depth of the desperation and resignation of his mourners that suggests Christ’s death is the final terminus – that there will be no happy “third act” in which his tragic death resolves in his resurrection and ultimately our salvation.  

In this sense, Niccolò dell’Arca’s Lamentation stands in stark contrast to the visually and conceptually confrontational Crucifixion and Lamentation images that form part of the Isenheim Altarpiece. Though this altarpiece presents a decidedly abject image of the body of Christ at the onset, eventually the inherent theological tension of the initial shock of the extreme image of the desecrated body of Christ is resolved with the presentation of its glorious and purified form at the Resurrection. It presents hope and resolution in a way that Niccolò dell’Arca’s Lamentation does not. Thus, while Niccolò dell’Arca’s Lamentation and its Sepulchre chapel does not wholly negate a eucharistic reading, it does complicate the issue.

This potential theological contradiction and interpretive ambiguity begs the question of what other possible functions a Lamentation scene presented in this mode and with this level of emotional turmoil and distress could serve. What was the Lamentation meant to communicate vis-à-vis the Sepulchre and who were the audiences or emotional communities this work could have addressed and what were the religious and civic

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37 Nagel, (as in 35), 35 and 37 notes theological problems that stem from the sense of the “irreversibility” of the event as it is presented by this sculptural group.

Addressing this question from the point of view of emotional communities and patronage, Timothy Verdon has discussed the emotional content of Niccolò dell’Arca’s Lamentation in relation to the private community of the confraternity and their practices of ritual flagellation, compassionate charity, and the wider public the charitable hospital served.\textsuperscript{40}

In trying to understand Niccolò dell’Arca’s Lamentation specifically within the context of the confraternity of Santa Maria della Vita’s religious ideology and practices, scholars traditionally associated the work with the flagellant stredda group by virtue of the fact that the indulgence connected with this work includes the feast day of their flagellant founder, Beato Ranieri, in the list of days on which the shrine was to be visited.\textsuperscript{41} However, it is clear from the indulgence that the commission originated primarily with the larga group for the hospital, albeit on behalf of the entire sodality. From the perspective of the flagellant stredda group and their devotional doctrine, the emphasis on interpreting this image draws from Passion iconography and its relation to the devotio moderna. In fact, Verdon likened this Lamentation to other Passion imagery such as the Crucifixion in that one of its primary functions was to help the viewer identify ever more closely with the suffering of Christ. The figures in the Lamentation are seen as reflections of the emotionally frenzied state brought on by the ritual of flagellation carried out in the


\textsuperscript{41}See note 31 for the feast days listed in the 1464 indulgence.
Passion-based mode of the *imitatio Christi*. Thus, the viewer would feel vicariously the pain of Christ through the pain of the holy women.\(^{42}\) In this sense, the holy women engage in ritual gestures of mourning, which serve as a vehicle for a cathartic expression of pain and grief, which in turn leads the viewer toward a shared feeling of their suffering.\(^{43}\) Such an assessment of this work fits nicely with the idea of Christological worship promoted by Albergati as it evokes the Passion of Christ and the concept of Christ as the Man of Sorrows, sharing in human suffering by dying a painful death. Furthermore, given that Christ appears laid out upon the Stone of Unction, the sick patients of the hospital could parallel this with the sacrament of extreme unction, which was not only an absolution for one’s past sins – itself a form of spiritual cleansing – but also symbolized consecrating one’s illness to God, thus accepting his will in either death or recovery. However, the somatic projection of physical pain as a means to identify with Christ’s sufferings is not the only one of Albergati’s devotional themes at work in this tableau. The idea of compassion expressed by the Virgin’s lament and the laments of those around her speak further to the confraternity’s devotional life and the charitable mission of the hospital.

Lamentations of the Virgin developed in devotional literature dedicated to meditations on the Sorrows of Mary, which were, in turn, often incorporated into Passion plays.\(^{44}\) These laments, while focusing on the Virgin, were often expanded to include

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\(^{42}\) In Verdon’s interpretation, the “spiritual animation” of the mourning women should be viewed as parallel to the auto-suggested spiritual excitement brought on by the act of flagellation.” See: Verdon, ““Si tu non piangi…”” (as in 40), 152-153.

\(^{43}\) Verdon, ““Si tu non piangi…”” (as in 40), 157-159.

laments or other shorter expressions of grief or guilt felt by other characters found in these *Lamentation* groups, which were worked into *laude drammatiche* of various lengths and complexity. Disciplinati confraternities tended to favor these *laude drammatiche* in their devotional readings and they sometimes served as the basis for their *sacre rappresentazioni*. More importantly for the devotional practices of the confraternity, however, these lamentations in the form of *laudes* served as a means of participating in the liturgy. Their connection to Christ’s Passion resided in identifying with the “grief of compassion” of Mary and the spiritual anguish of those around her, expressed through their tears of compunction. Laments of the Virgin stressed the ties between passion and compassion in that the humanity of Mary was expressed through her earthly suffering, that is, her suffering in the flesh of Christ. It was the profundity of the Virgin’s compassion that earned her the role of co-redeemer in 14th- and 15th-century theology. In fact, many theological writings of this time period stress that she suffered more than


45 Barr, (as in 44), 11.

46 Sticca, *The Latin Passion Play*. . . (as in 44), 150 and Barr, (as in 44), *passim*.


49 Sticca, *The Planctus Maria*. . .(as in 44), 57-58.

any martyr because the spiritual anguish she endured was greater than any bodily suffering. This concept of the strength of spiritual anguish is perhaps best expressed in this passage:

“...the grief of passion begins with a wound to the flesh, felt by the senses and then overflows into the soul. But the grief of compassion arises and begins in the soul and overflows into the senses and the flesh ... therefore since the soul is more powerful and more dominant over the flesh, and the flesh is more delicate and subject to the soul, the overflowing from soul to body is much greater.”

Thus, for the worshipper, body and soul are inextricably connected in the juxtaposition of passion and compassion, but when it comes to the religious experience it is the compassion of the soul that takes precedence over the passion of the flesh. Compassion as expressed by Mary related most closely to true human experience. Her compassion could move the soul by experiencing or reliving her sorrows through affective empathy and devotional contemplation.52

Another aspect of the emotive face of these sculptures that should be considered is how these early sculptural groups were read and understood beyond the immediate confines of the larga and stretta groups of the confraternity. How could this chapel and its tableau have been interpreted by the patients the hospital served? As Randi Klebanoff has demonstrated, the mode of compassion-based devotion expressed in the Lamentation was a powerful means to communicate aspects of the spiritual and charitable mission of the hospital of Santa Marias della Vita. For the terminally ill patient, the most important component of their well-being was their spiritual health and preparing for a good death.53

51 Ellington, (as in 50), 240. Here Ellington draws from a late 15th-century sermon on the Sorrows of Mary by Bernardino de Busti.

52 For more on the idea of affective spirituality and Marian devotions see: Miri Rubin, Emotions and Devotions: The Meaning of Mary in Medieval Religious Culture, (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2009), especially chapter 3.
Meditation on the physical sacrifice and suffering of Christ and the grief of compassion expressed by the Virgin, St. John the Evangelist, and the holy women would bring the viewer or patient to the contrition necessary to begin cleansing the soul of sin. The dying would be reminded that Christ chose to die a physically painful death in order to save mankind from an even more painful death, the eternal death of the soul. This could hopefully ease the patient’s anguish in physical suffering and eliminate the fear of death with the promise of resurrection in the body of Christ. As Klebanoff notes, such concern for the souls of the dying, especially members of the confraternity facing death, was spelled out explicitly in the company’s statutes wherein they were instructed to read from the company’s book of the Passion to a dying brother in the hopes of moving his soul toward devotion and contrition.

The Virgin’s lament and that of the other women also spoke to another aspect of death and dying inasmuch as the mourning gestures and attitudes of the figures reflect contemporary mourning rituals of the time, commonly known as a *pianto* for the deceased. The male and female figures all conform to the highly prescribed and

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55 Klebanoff, (as in 16), 154. These instructions are found in chapter 17 of the *stretta* statutes of 1454. “E dia avere el nostro libro de la passione de yehsu christo e ligere el passio in vulgari e altre cose spirituale e devote chello movano a devotione e a contritione.” See: Alberigo, (as in 13), 230.

gendered social norms for the act of mourning in that women were expected to give full vent to their emotional suffering while men were expected to maintain composure and refrain from emotional outbursts. Thus we see the young John the Evangelist grief-stricken and struggling with his pain and sorrow, barely able to contain himself. The female figures, however, carry particular charge with their gestures and cries that were meant to stir the passions of the viewer and that were restricted by law in many cities throughout Italy because of their breach of civil decorum and the unseemly or even violent disturbance such emotional outpourings could cause. Still, this touch of vernacular realism helped to bring the historical narrative of the Lamentation to life as well as provide, if not an assurance of, at least the image of proper mourning for the passing of a dying hospital patient and a sense of belonging in the community.

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58 Many cities had laws that attempted to limit the presence of female mourners in public spaces during funerals as well as sumptuary laws that attempted to limit excessive display. Many of the laws cite issues such as indecorous mixing of the sexes at large funerals, excessive burning of candles as a display of family status, social competition and the monopolization of public spaces by private families, as well as factional feuding provoked by the laments of the women which sometimes aired or revisited long-running grievances against individuals or other families. Augustine Thompson, Cities of God: The Religion of the Italian Comunes, 1125-1325, (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005), 398-405 provides an array of archival evidence regarding both the practice and regulation of mourning ritual, though the vast majority of the documents he cites are from the 13th and early 14th centuries. Klebanoff, (as in 16), 155 notes that Bologna in its 1454 civic statutes attempts to further restrict the practice of the female pianto in public spaces by relegating it exclusively to the home.

59 Klebanoff, (as in 16), 157 speaks of them representing the shared “ritual grief of the community.” Thompson, (as in 58), 399 also cites the notion that a poor turnout at a funeral and insufficient display of grief for the deceased slowed the progress of his or her soul through purgatory.
Amongst the uninhibited expressions of grief one figure stands out from the group, namely the kneeling bearded figure to the left. If the mourning gestures of the Virgin Mary and the other figures are meant to be our link to compassion as a form of both piety and charity, what then are we to make of this figure, who does not participate in mourning, but looks out and engages the viewer? Alternately identified as Nicodemus or Joseph of Arimathea, his presence adds another layer of significance to the tableau’s message by focusing on the Sepulchre itself as a source of spiritual renewal as well as the charitable act at the root of the Holy Sepulchre’s origins. Furthermore, it is possible this character is a portrait likeness of an important official in the governing body of the confraternity, thus adding immediacy to the tableau and all of its spiritual messages. If we follow the lead of older scholarship and identify this figure as Nicodemus, he is often a featured character in passion plays and laments and ultimately the Gospels themselves.

60 There is still some uncertainty in terms of a firm identification of this figure. Older scholarship generally identifies him as Nicodemus, while more recently the tendency is to identify him as Joseph of Arimathea, following the reasoning of Fanti, (as in 29), 72-73. Relying exclusively on biblical texts, he stresses that it is Joseph of Arimathea who is named as the one who removes Christ from the cross, not Nicodemus, and thus he holds the hammer and pincers. However, as Wolfgang Stechow in “Joseph of Arimathea or Nicodemus?,” *Studien zur Toskanischen Kunst – Festschrift für Ludwig Heinrich Heydenreich zum 23. März 1963*, (Munich: Prestel Verlag, 1964), 289-302 shows, the identification of one or the other based on solely biblical texts does little to clarify matters. Stechow notes that there are several other texts, such as Pseudo-Bonaventure’s *Meditations on the Life of Christ* and many Passion plays, as well as visual traditions featuring Nicodemus as the one who removes the nails from Christ’s crucified body. Furthermore, there is the tradition that holds Nicodemus to be the sculptor of the *Volto Santo* of Lucca, which has led to speculation that the kneeling figure is a self-portrait of the artist as Nicodemus. For the relationship between Nicodemus and sculptors see: Corine Schleif, “Nicodemus and Sculptors: Self-Reflexivity in Works by Adam Kraft and Tilman Riemenschneider,” *Art Bulletin* 75 (4), (1993): 599-626. Klebanoff, (as in 16), 157-158 argues that the kneeling figure should be read as Joseph of Arimathea and that he is likely a portrait figure of a confraternity official involved in the commission of the Sepulchre chapel and its *Lamentation*. Though this figure is the only one dressed in fully contemporary garb, beards were highly uncommon for men in the West at this time. However, it is worth noting that in the confraternity’s statutes of 1454-1463, an illumination of the compagnia kneeling before the Virgin Mary features a bearded figure on the right who greatly resembles Niccolò dell’Arca’s kneeling figure, possibly giving credence to Klebanoff’s hypothesis. Lastly, there is Gramaccini’s hypothesis, largely dismissed, that an eighth figure in the form of Joseph of Arimathea was a portrait of Giovanni II Bentivoglio, which was destroyed sometime after 1506 when Julius II drove the Bentivoglio from the city. See: Norberto Gramaccini, “La déploration de Niccolò dell’Arca: Religion et politique au temps de Giovanni II Bentivoglio,” *Revue de l’Art Paris* 62 (1983): 21-34.
yet his message is obviously not related, at least visually, to the grief of compassion. His message is perhaps best understood by considering his words as found in John 3:1-21, when Nicodemus came to visit Christ in the night. He had been told by Jesus, “Except a man be born again he cannot see the kingdom of God.” When Nicodemus asked him, “How can a man be born again when he is old?” Jesus replied to him, “That which is of the Spirit is spirit. Marvel not that I say unto thee, Ye must be born again.” With this message in mind, Nicodemus exhorts viewers to contemplate the idea of spiritual renewal and rebirth afforded to the faithful through the death of Christ. As discussed in the previous chapter, this concept draws on several levels from the meanings inherent in the Holy Sepulchre as the place of Christ’s own death and subsequent resurrection. This message hearkens to the significance of the Holy Sepulchre itself as the site of a spiritual cleansing – baptism as a spiritual cleansing and rebirth through the death of Christ – in much the same way the Isenheim Altarpiece does. Thus Nicodemus as an emblematic figure of spiritual renewal helps to bring the idea of salvation and resurrection full circle for those facing the prospect of their own death or that of a loved one.

Finally, the presence of the Stone of Unction in the tableau brings forth a connection to both Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathea and even the to Virgin Mary given that the body of Christ was anointed and prepared for burial upon it by the two men

61 Stechow, (as in 60), 300-301.

62 Hayem, (as in 38), 115 notes this link between the idea of baptismal waters and baptism in death pointing to the words of Paul in Romans 6:3: “Do you not know that all of us who have been baptized into Jesus Christ were baptized into His death? We were buried therefore with Him by baptism into death, so that as Christ was raised from the dead by the Glory of the Father, we too might walk into the newness of life. For if we have been united with Him in a death like His we shall certainly be united with Him in a resurrection like His.”

63 For a broader discussion of the theme of baptism, spiritual cleansing, and healing see: Hayem, (as in 38), 89-117.
and that it also bears the indelible marks left by the tears the Virgin Mary shed as she mourned for her son. If the kneeling figure is to be understood as Joseph of Arimathea rather than Nicodemus, he stands as a model of charity, not only for having sought to obtain Christ’s body for proper burial, but for having given up his own tomb for Christ. For visitors to the shrine, he stood as a sober reminder of the virtue of charitable giving, in this case, to pious organizations like the hospital of Santa Maria della Vita. Lastly, Joseph of Arimathea also places emphasis on the chapel itself as the inner sanctum of the tomb aedicule containing the rock-cut tomb in the Anastasis in Jerusalem, thus deepening the sense of realism in the viewer’s experience of both the narrative figures and the space they inhabit.

SANTA MARIA DELLA VITA, THE SEPULCHRE SHRINE, AND THE POLITICS OF LAMENT

On a multitude of levels, Niccolò dell’Arca’s Lamentation served both the devotional and charitable needs of the members of the confraternity of Santa Maria della Vita, a broader public within the hospital community, as well as the public at large in Bologna. What has not been addressed, however, is the possibility of other meanings and messages at work in this shrine and its tableau group in the political realm. Nicholas Terpstra’s study of Bolognese confraternities amply illustrates how these sodalities were often influenced or co-opted by the political agendas of social elites, who used them to reinforce their own political and even financial standing in the community, and at times could even function as unofficial spokes-organizations for promoting and reinforcing
civic, governmental, or ecclesiastical agendas.\textsuperscript{64} However, though there may have been advocates for certain political agendas within certain confraternities, these organizations were hardly hotbeds of political conspiracy; yet they certainly had a venue and a voice to publicly champion political causes as well as religious ideologies. When one considers how disadvantaged the confraternity of Santa Maria della Vita was in the competitive and prestige-driven cult of civic shrines, especially in relation to their main rival Santa Maria della Morte and their guardianship of the Madonna di San Luca, it is easy to understand why a monumental shrine with an audacious sculptural tableau like Niccolò dell’Arca’s \textit{Lamentation} held appeal. Not only did the shrine and tableau group showcase the confraternity’s own modes of pious and charitable devotions, it also spoke to issues of devotional importance for wider audiences in Bologna as well, all with spectacular and captivating dramatic flair.

The clear power of the spiritual messages of the \textit{Lamentation} notwithstanding, to the extent that other important images and shrines were enlisted to unite the populace of Bologna in the face of political perils and civic unrest, especially in the case of the Madonna de San Luca, surely the brothers of Santa Maria della Vita hoped their shrine would be able to engage with the social and political concerns of the Bolognese in a unique and significant way as well. This raises a question which has yet to be fully addressed in discussions of the Sepulchre shrine and its \textit{Lamentation} group, which is what were the political issues that would have been of importance to Santa Maria della

Vita and the Bolognese and how did the confraternity hope to harness any devotional fervor that built around their shrine for the civic-political benefit of the community? A closer look at the history of the confraternity and their historical religious mission as defined by their statutes reveals a potential clue that perhaps will shed new light on a heretofore unrecognized facet of the significance of Santa Maria della Vita’s decision to construct a Sepulchre shrine as well as new ways of reading Niccolò dell’Arca’s Lamentation.

The previous discussion underscored the important roles flagellation and charitable acts played in the devotional life of Santa Maria della Vita. However, within the group’s regular orations, one particular object of veneration and devotion stands out, namely the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. In fact, this dedication to the Sepulchre can be traced back to the group’s earliest statues, wherein the brothers are instructed to pray for the Sepulchre of Christ and for it to return to and remain solidly in Christian hands.

Few socio-political investigations have been carried out for the Lamentation groups of Niccolò dell’Arca and Guido Mazzoni. For Niccolò dell’Arca there is Norberto Gramaccini’s problematic discussion (as in 60) of a possible portrait figure of Giovanni Bentivoglio in the Lamentation group and its destruction after his exile. For a summary of the scholarship countering Gramaccini’s hypothesis see: Kelbanoff, (as in 16), 171-172. Another study, also by Gramaccini, attempts to link Mazzoni’s Modena Lamentation with the origins of the Monte di Pietà and anti-Semitic imagery. See: Norberto Gramaccini, “Guido Mazzonis Beweinungsgruppen,” Städel-Jahrbuch 9 (1983): 7-40. This study is also problematic, however, in that even though the general beginnings of the Monte do roughly coincide with the appearance of the earliest Lamentation groups (the earliest Monte was founded in Perugia in 1462), the foundation dates of specific Monti in the various cities that house Lamentation groups rarely coincide with the creation of those works. In fact, the dates of the Modena Lamentation (1478) and the foundation of the Monte of that city (1493) are relatively well separated. Similar patterns of chronological dissonance hold true for other sculptural groups in other cities. For example, Niccolò dell’Arca’s Lamentation was completed in 1463, yet the Bologna Monte was not founded until 1473. Guido Mazzoni’s Busseto and Naples Lamentations date to 1476 and 1492 respectively, but the establishment of the Monte in these cities dates to 1537 and 1539. The same holds true for Ferrara where the Monte was established in 1491, well after the date of Mazzoni’s tableau of 1480-1485.

The earliest statues state that the brothers must pray “pro sepulcro domini nostri Ihesu Christi quod restituantur christianis et quod semper in manibus christianorum permaneat.” See: Gentile, (as in 33), 174. The full scope of the objects of the brothers’ prayers is found in the Italian translation of these early statues, in which chapter 28 states: “Parimenti stabiliamo ed ordiniamo che le orazioni che si recitano ogni volta che la società si riunisce, devono essere recitate nel capitolo di detta società; in primo luogo si lodi e si
This aspect of the sodality’s history has received little attention, yet it is of great importance to understanding Santa Maria della Vita’s choice of a Sepulchre shrine as their representative monument within Bologna’s network of civic-religious shrines. Interest in perpetuating this aspect of the history and tradition of the confraternity derives from the fact that, just as with the practice of flagellation, devotion to the cause of the Holy Sepulchre was an aspect of the group’s devotional life rooted directly in the origins of Raniero Fasani’s flagellant movement as it developed in Perugia in the late 1250s.\footnote{Gary Dickson, “The Flagellants of 1260 and the Crusades,” \textit{Journal of Medieval History} 15 (3), (1989): 227-267.}

Furthermore, Santa Maria della Vita was not alone in terms of flagellant groups founded by Raniero Fasani who kept that aspect of their devotional history alive over the centuries. For example, the reformed statutes of 1454 of a flagellant group from Bergamo retain similar phrasing with regard to the cause of the Holy Sepulchre returning to and remaining in Christian hands.\footnote{Alberigo, (as in 13), 243. Chapter 15 regarding the orations of the Congregation of the Battuti of Bergamo (1454) reads: “A petitione et domanda del sepulcro dil nostro Signore yeshu christo ad re li piazza per la sua bonta et gratia restituirlo a li fidi et devoti christiani et che sempre romangi in le nostre mane zoe in nostra possanza et baylia.”}

Fasani’s interest in the cause of the Sepulchre was, in part, a product of crusade
politics inasmuch as his fledgling devotional movement received sponsorship in Perugia from the renowned defenders of the Holy Sepulchre, namely the Knights Templar. At this point Perugia was home to an important regional base for the knighthood in Italy and the organization allowed Fasani’s followers to use the Templar church of San Bevignate as their place of congregation.\(^69\) While Perugia was a relatively small outpost for the Templars, it was the home of the Archpriory of the Canonical Order of the Holy Sepulchre, which added further to the local spiritual culture that placed a premium on the standing and even the eschatological fate of Western Christianity vis-à-vis the status of Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre.\(^70\) In many ways, the flagellants were steeped in the Templar’s crusading ethos in terms of their dedication to the cause of the Holy Sepulchre and the fate of Jerusalem; however, unlike the Templars, who remained dedicated to the idea of holy war against the Saracens, the flagellants followed a practice more in line with what Joachim of Fiore and other apocalyptic preachers of the 13\(^{th}\) century espoused, which was the more peaceful tactic of conversion and penance to help set the stage for the coming of the New Jerusalem.\(^71\) The flagellants’ “pilgrimage” through Italy in 1260

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was in many ways modeled on the pilgrimage ideal of the crusaders; and though their means of contributing to the crusade effort was ostensibly peaceful, it was carried out with the hopes of aiding their armed brothers in attaining victory in the East. They employed much of the crusaders’ symbolism in terms of the use of banners and the sign of the cross. Though their weapon was prayer and penitence rather than arms and munitions, they still conveyed the appearance of a formidable “ecclesiastical fighting force,” fearless in their willingness to shed their own blood for the cause of Western Christendom in the East. When in 1259 the Templars in Antioch sent word back to Italy calling for reinforcements against a potential invasion by the Mongols, sounding the alarm in the face of this new scourge became part of the flagellant mission as it began its journey through Italy in 1260. Considering Bologna’s fervent dedication to the Holy Sepulchre as exemplified by the Santo Stefano complex, as well as the fact that Bologna was home to one of the most important Templar establishments in Italy, Raniero Fasani’s flagellants found an audience that was particularly receptive to their message when they arrived.

72 Dickson, (as in 67), 247.


74 A 17th-century history of Raniero Fasani’s disciplinati movement reveals that the Podestà of Perugia at the time of Raniero’s departure was Orlandino Marescotti of Bologna, who supposedly personally encouraged him to take his movement and its message to Bologna and found a hospital for the poor. See: Giovanni Antonio Castiglione, *Gli onori de gli antichi disciplinati instituiti da principio in Toscana, e poi*
Given this aspect of the confraternity’s history and the importance of the cult of the Holy Sepulchre in Bologna, the decision to commission a Sepulchre monument could be seen as a gesture that harkens back to Bologna’s utopian image of itself as an ideal New Jerusalem during a time when internal civic politics were fractious. The confraternity’s connection to crusade history also meshes well with aspects of Bologna’s overall history of involvement with the early crusades and how that coincided with the great rebuilding and expansion of the Sepulchre replica and surrounding church complex at Santo Stefano. This history was certainly a point of pride for the Bolognese and given that efforts to revive crusades were in motion in the middle of the 15th century it is reasonable that this confraternity would want to highlight their historical connection to the cause of the Holy Land. As noted in the previous chapter, it actually became quite fashionable at this time for prominent families to be able to lay claim to an illustrious crusading history, so one could assume the same would hold true for a corporate body as well.

The potential crusade connection takes a deeper and more involved turn, however, when one considers the choice of a Lamentation group to decorate Santa Maria della Vita’s Sepulchre chapel in light of the history of the rhetorical genre of the lament and the actual act of lamenting both within and outside the devotional realm. In many ways, fruttuosamente introdotti quasi in tutte l’altre parti d’Italia. Opera non meno curiosa, che divota, e profittevole à tutti in generale, e in particolare alle confraternite de’ disciplinati; scritta da Gio. Antonio Castiglione sacerdote Milanese; decuria prima, (Milan: appresso Gio. Batt. Bidelli, 1622), 40. With regard to the prestigious standing and wealth of the Templars in Bologna, the records of the property confiscated from them by the Archbishop of Ravenna after the trial and suppression of the order reveal sizable landholdings. See: Renzo Caravita, Rinaldo da Concorrezzo arcivescovo di Ravenna (1303-1321) al tempo di Dante, (Florence: Leo Olschki, 1964), 116. More generally for the trial of the Templars see: Malcolm Barber, The Trial of the Templars, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006). For the role of Pietro da Bologna, the preceptor of the commandery of Bologna and Modena and one of four defenders of the order during the trials see: Giampiero Bagni, Pietro da Bologna: difensore dei Templari, (Bologna: Bononia University Press, 2008).
the interpretative lenses used to discuss the possible meanings of the Lamentation cast it essentially as a form of private devotional imagery writ large. Though it performs that function quite well, there are other ways in which the act of lamenting and the grief and anguish of the figures could be read and understood both in relation to and beyond the devotional act of contemplating the Passion. The first place to look for an understanding of other dimensions of the image of the Lamentation is Jeremiah’s book of Lamentations. This biblical text consists of five laments over of the destruction of Jerusalem at the hands of the Chaldeans in which various speaking voices decry the cruel and unjust decimation visited upon the city. In each of the laments, it is the emphasis on an unjust injury that cries out for remedy that is the operative element.

The verse most often chosen to accompany the Lamentation and other Passion imagery, such as the Imago Pietatis or Man of Sorrows, the Crucifixion, and the Pietà, is Lamentations 1:12, which reads:

“Is it nothing to you, all you who pass by? Look and see if there is any sorrow like my sorrow, which was brought upon me, which the Lord inflicted on the day of his fierce anger.”

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75 See: William F. Lanahan, “The Speaking Voice in the Book of Lamentations,” Journal of Biblical Literature 93 (1974): 41-49 for the emphasis on bodily distress and profound emotional suffering in the book of Lamentations. In terms of the different speaking voices, in the first and second chapters the city of Jerusalem assumes a female voice to decry the unjust injury that has been inflicted on her. The third Lament assumes a male voice that speaks presumably from the view of a defeated soldier who laments his imprisonment and bodily suffering with an interjecting collective voice in verses 40-47 that repents of sin and laments to God. The final verses 59-66 call out for vengeance against those who have harmed and wronged him. These different voices and personifications facilitate the metaphorical transference of the lamentation of the body of Jerusalem as a holy site to the lamentation of Jerusalem as the body of Christ itself. Also see: Cristl M. Maier “Body Space as Public Space: Jerusalem’s Wounded Body in Lamentations,” Constructions of Space II: The Biblical City and Other Imagines Spaces, eds. J.L. Berquist and C.V. Camp, (T&T Clark: London, 2008), 119-138 for a feminist reading of Jerusalem as a bodily personification; Alan Mintz, “The Rhetoric of Lamentations and the Representations of Catastrophe,” Proof 2 (1982): 1-17; and Kathleen M. O’Connor, Lamentations and the Tears of the World, (Maryknoll: Orbis, 2002).
The oldest known example of an image paired with this verse is a 12th-century crusader mosaic of the Crucifixion in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.\(^{76}\) By the 14th century, Passion images bearing this inscription were fairly widespread in central and northern Italy and were disseminated, particularly in the form of small private devotional panels, through the rest of Europe.\(^{77}\) Largely connected with the practices of the devotio moderna, these types of Passion images bearing this text openly encouraged the viewer to turn inward toward the personal emotional experience of mourning as well toward engaging in exercises of atonement and compunction. Additionally, as Belting notes, all of these images operate within a pictorial rhetoric of accusation turned toward the viewer for the part his or her own sins play in necessitating the suffering and death of Christ.\(^{78}\)

The emotional script that follows from this act of accusation leads the viewer toward self-recrimination, compunction, and penance.

The accusatory refrain from Jeremiah’s Lamentations also found its way into other venues such as Easter celebrations, particularly on Good Friday during the liturgical funereal procession leading up to the depositio, as well as the Virgin Mary’s pianto in many Passion plays.\(^{79}\) In the case of the pianto, however, the accusation of unjust injury was used to direct recrimination onto an external target, whereby the lament became an invocation of ritualized violence. The targets were generally Jews, who were vilified and

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\(^{77}\) See Belting, (as in 76), especially chapter 1 for an overview of the development of new types of devotional image in the late Middle Ages.

\(^{78}\) Belting, (as in 76), 197.

\(^{79}\) Belting, (as in 76), 199.
portrayed as the killers of Christ. Thus the lament became a means of provocation to elicit a collective sense of anger at the perceived injustice of Christ’s death at the hands of the Jews, which would in turn give rise to a desire for revenge, which often took the form of stonings and other violent acts.

Through Passion plays Jeremiah’s lament was transformed from a rhetorical device of self-chastising devotion to the exact rhetorical mechanism employed in the culture of vendetta. The vendetta lament with its zealous and frenzied tenor was an ancient practice associated almost exclusively with women, one which blurred the line between the expression of personal grief and the desire for revenge. The affective vehemence of a woman’s vendetta lament was intended to dramatically lay out point by point the unjust injuries inflicted upon either herself or a loved one and emotionally co-opt and sway her male audience to react. Ultimately it served to provoke a sense of anger.


81 For Passion plays and violence against Jews see: Heinz Pflaum, “Les Scènes de juifs dans la littérature dramatique du Moyen-Age,” Revue des Etudes Juives 89 (1939): 111-134 and David Nirenberg, Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), 200-230. These biases and the public invective they generated were still prevalent in the 15th and 16th centuries. One thinks, for example, of instances where public spectacles, particularly those enacted by confraternities, were used to sway the emotions and actions of the viewing public against groups of perceived outsiders, most often Jews living in Italy. Such an incident occurred in 1539 when a Jew was stoned to death by a mob who had been incited to violence by the rabidly anti-Semitic rhetoric contained in the Easter passion played put on by the Roman Confraternity of the Gonfalone. See: Nerida Newbigin, “The Decorum of the Passion: The Plays of the Confraternity of the Gonfalone in the Roman Colosseum, 1490 to 1539,” Confraternities and the Visual Arts in Renaissance Italy, eds. B. Wisch and D. Cole Ahl, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 173-202. For 15th-century examples of prominent local sodalities using civic-religious celebrations and works of art to promote their specific political-religious platforms see: Dana E. Katz, The Jew in the Art of the Italian Renaissance, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008).

derived from shared pain for an injustice, which in turn led to a desire for revenge that the men would then exact upon the perpetrator of the injustice.83 Particularly in the age of the Italian comuni, attempts at regulating women’s laments were pursued so vigorously because they were more than an issue of an individual’s unruly or indecorous public conduct. They had the potential to fan the flames of personal or factional political vendettas, threatening to rouse long-running histories of provocation and retaliation amongst families and groups that the comuni struggled to diffuse and suppress.84 While Burckhardt characterizes the Romagna as being an area particularly rife with the pursuance of vendettas, the political dynamics of few cities were immune to the dangers of highly emotional, grief-laden inflammatory accusations of injustice and calls for retribution and revenge.85 The use of lament and the call for vengeance against injustice was pervasive and familiar in both sacred and secular contexts. Whether in the unruly


spaces of the public streets or the more controlled and mediated environment of the court of law, the rhetorical power of lament against injustice carried great potential as a political weapon in the arena of public opinion.\textsuperscript{86}

A final distinctly political venue where the idea of righteous vengeance and the vendetta mentality was at work was the chivalric culture of crusading.\textsuperscript{87} Common themes in crusade rhetoric of all types, from preaching to popular songs and Passion plays, were the injury done to Christ and to his inheritance (that is, the city of Jerusalem) and, as discussed in the previous chapter, the defilement of the Holy Sepulchre by the presence of the Muslim invaders.\textsuperscript{88} This framework appealed to the knightly sense of honor and protection in relation to kin and hierarchical allegiances. Here sacred and secular worlds and mentalities collided in that the mode of protecting and expressing care for loved ones in the form of the vendetta and exacting revenge against injustice carried over into the devotional dimension of crusading. On one hand, the persecuted and crucified Christ was

\textsuperscript{86} Belting, (as in 76), 200-201 points to the trial of the assassins of Louis of Orleans as an instance where this type of lament was used in the secular judicial realm. The lawyer of Louis’s widow conjured an image of the deceased rising from the grave and reciting a variant of the refrain of Lamentations 1:12 in the manner of the Man of Sorrows to underscore his innocence at the hands of his murders.

\textsuperscript{87} Susanna A. Throop in \textit{Crusading as an Act of Vengeance 1095-1216}, (Burlington: Ashgate, 2011) goes so far as to characterize the entire crusading enterprise as an act of vengeance.

\textsuperscript{88} Throop, (as in 87), 64-71 and 97-107 discusses how blame for the injuries to Christ that was traditionally directed at Jews as the killers of Christ was transposed the onto Muslims as those who defiled his inheritance. One of the most pointed examples of this thematic transference is found in popular texts and Passion plays such as \textit{La Vengeance de Nostre-Seigneur} where the theme of Christ on the cross calling out for vengeance against those who have wronged him is reprised in the crusader chanson de geste, \textit{La Chanson d’Antioche}, where that vengeance arrives in the form of the first crusaders. For studies of these texts see: Stephen K Wright, \textit{The Vengeance of Our Lord: Medieval Dramatizations of the Destruction of Jerusalem}, (Toronto: The Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1989) and Susan B. Edgington and Carol Sweetenham, trans., \textit{The Chanson d’Antioche: An Old French Account of the First Crusade}, (Burlington: Ashgate, 2011). The rhetoric of defilement and insult was revived upon the loss of Jerusalem to Saladin in 1187, as evidenced by the language used in the papal bull issued by Gregory VIII calling for the Third Crusade: “The Holy Sepulchre knew glorious days, but because of ours sins has lost its sacred halo… Demons dance round the Sepulchre; they lead their choirs, and sing: ‘where is the God of the Christians?’” See Morris, (as in 70), 256-257.
portrayed as a beloved brother and kinsman, appealing to familial sensibilities; on the other, he was both Lord and Savior and chivalric lord to whom allegiance is owed, playing on the knightly sense of hierarchy.89 These sentiments are found in crusader chronicles such as that of Baldric of Bourgueil, which framed the battle for Jerusalem as vengeance for Christ as a wronged and slain kinsman, while crusade sermons played on similar ideas of familial ties, honor, and the vendetta by portraying the church as a wounded and grieving mother, lamenting to her crusader sons and calling out for revenge.90 Thus the act of crusading was framed as just action against an unjust injury where lament was a powerful rhetorical tool used to incitement to anger and hatred to be channeled into collective political and military action against the injustices visited upon Christ and the Holy Land.91 And just as crusade preachers issued pervasive calls to take back the Sepulchre at the opening of the Crusades, after the loss of Jerusalem in 1187 lament and cries for revenge for that loss and injury became a rhetorical mainstay in perpetuating the battle to reclaim the Holy Land once again.92

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90 Throop, (as in 87), 57-64 and 108-116 for the themes of lament and vengeance for kinsmen and family.


92 Colin Morris in “Propaganda for War: The Dissemination of the Crusading Ideal in the Twelfth Century,” Studies in Church History 20, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1983), 79-101 (esp. pp. 94-95) notes the use of lament in an early French recruiting song that underscored the knightly understanding of the relationship between lament, injury, and retribution. The song opens with God issuing a plea to knights to fight against the Turks who have dishonored him and seized his fiefs, an injury for which they should feel great grief. He also cites a much more direct use of Jeremiah’s lament in the Itinerarium Regis Ricardi when the author decried the fall of Jerusalem to Saladin with the words, “There is no sorrow like this
While not necessarily negating the previous readings of the act of lamenting in relation to piety and charity, the violence associated with lament as a tool of both sacred and secular justice made the choice of such an animated *Lamentation* group a heavily laden gloss to put on a Sepulchre monument. Its political ramifications, especially as a tool of crusader rhetoric and ideology, further beg the question of whether Santa Maria della Vita’s Sepulchre shrine and *Lamentation* harbors a connection to crusade activity in the mid 15th century. While the Crusades and the status of the Holy Land and the Sepulchre held historic importance for this confraternity and the city of Bologna, was the contemporary crusade effort of sufficient importance for Santa Maria della Vita to want to breathe new life into the ostensibly archaic theme of Western hegemony in the East and delivering the Sepulchre into Western Christian hands once more?

**THE HISTORY AND RHETORIC OF THE 15TH-CENTURY CRUSADES**

Though the idea of a crusade to retake the Holy Land never truly faded from the Western imagination, the growing threat of Ottoman expansion westward made the need for military intervention in the East a very real concern. In early 1451 Mehmet II came to power and, despite his assurances to Western diplomatic envoys that he would respect current territorial boundaries, he began fortifying castles on the eastern Bosporus. By 1452 rumors of an impending Ottoman attack on the city of Constantinople began to circulate. The Byzantine Emperor felt the Turkish threat so great that he promised the pope he would reinstate the failed Decree of Union of 1439, forcing it through in sorrow, when they possess the Holy Sepulchre but persecute the one who was buried there; and they hold the cross but despise the crucified.” Colin Morris, (as in 70), 255. A more formal variant of lament in the form of the *Clamor pro Terra Sancta* also played an important part in liturgy devoted to the cause of Jerusalem and the Sepulchre. See: Linder, *Raising Arms* … and “The Loss of Christian Jerusalem…” (as in 66), *passim.*
December 1452; all the same, no aid from the West followed. On Easter Monday, April 2 of 1453, Mehmet II laid siege to the city of Constantinople and on May 29 the city fell into Ottoman hands. The news of the fall reached Rome in July and was met with great consternation and near disbelief, driving home the palpable reality of the Turkish threat. To the extent that Rome, Constantinople, and Jerusalem were seen as “sister cities” in the chain of historic Christian capitals, the loss of Constantinople was seen as a palpable threat to the last bastions of Western Christianity as well as a near deathblow to the aspiration of recreating Constantine’s expansive realm of Western Christian sovereignty.

From the very beginning, the reaction to the events in Constantinople was characterized by the revival of elements of traditional medieval crusade rhetoric, particularly the themes and tropes from the First Crusade, as it represented the West’s greatest moment of triumph in its efforts to claim the Holy Land and construct the Latin Kingdom. These themes were deployed to create a discourse focused on launching a new crusade effort, one intended to recoup not only the Greek Empire, but Jerusalem and the Holy Land as well. The rhetorical skills of the leading humanists and statesmen of the

93 The East’s anxiety about an impending Ottoman invasion and their inability to stave off the threat on their own was the main impetus for the original Decree of Union forged in 1439. The Decree of Union was abandoned shortly thereafter due to the vociferous opposition on the part of the Byzantine clergy to the doctrinal concessions made to the Latin church in exchange for the promise of military aid against the Ottomans. Ultimately the entire episode only exacerbated the rift between the Eastern and Western churches. See: Deno J. Geanakoplos, “The Council of Florence (1438-9) and the Problem of Union between the Byzantine and Latin Churches,” *Church History* 24 (1955): 324-346; Joseph Gill, *The Council of Florence*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959); and Giuseppe Alberigo, ed., *Christian Unity: The Council of Ferrara-Florence, 1438-39 – 1989*, (Leuven: Peeters, 1991).


day were enlisted to sway the Italian potentates to join with the pope in this great crusading effort. As Nancy Bisaha demonstrates, these scholars drew heavily from medieval crusade histories, sermons, and chivalric literature in their orations and texts dealing with the Turks and the East.\(^6\) For example, Flavio Biondo drew upon his vast knowledge of the Crusades of the Middle Ages in composing his oration, *De expeditione in Turchos* of 1453, written in the hopes of gaining Alfonso V’s support for a crusade.\(^7\) In this exhortation, he urges Alfonso to move to liberate not just Constantinople, but the Holy Land as well. Though in good humanist fashion he points to great Roman military figures whose historical ranks Alfonso would join, the bulk of his oration dwells on the glories of Urban II and the First Crusade, summoning up the specters of such crusading greats as Godfrey of Bouillon and Bohemond as examples for Alfonso to emulate. At this time, Biondo was not alone in this revival of early crusade rhetoric and heroes, as evidenced by Gianozzo Manetti’s oration to Calixtus III, which employed a similar strategy by paralleling him to great popes of the medieval crusades, in particular Urban II.\(^8\)

\(^6\) Nancy Bisaha, *Creating East and West: Renaissance Humanists and the Ottoman Turk*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004). Bisaha’s study covers a broad range of humanist responses to events in the East, Ottoman culture and history, and relations between Eastern and Western Christianity. Along with their positive assessment and revival of the West’s crusade history and chivalric traditions, she addresses the perceived threat to a blossoming revival of classical culture and letters that the fall of Constantinople presented. However, there were many humanists who, while they admired classical Greece held a far less favorable view of contemporary Greece, believing that the Greeks deserved their wretched fate at the hands of the Turks for their continual political triangulation between Western Christians and Muslims. For another assessment of humanist crusade rhetoric see: James Hankins, “Renaissance Crusaders: Humanist Crusade Literature in the Age of Mehmed II,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 49 (1995):111-207.


\(^8\) Bisaha, (as in 96), 26-27 and 81-83.
One finds much of the same invocation of medieval rhetorical tropes, classic emblems of the crusading ethos, and chivalric values in the many Latin and vernacular Laments written for the fall of Constantinople. These Laments decried the horrors of the attack and conquest of the city, emphasizing Turkish cruelty and the astounding bloodshed and atrocities committed during the battle in Constantinople. Often, however, woven throughout the laments were passages that harkened back to aspects of past crusades or passages that overtly conflated events from the contemporary situation and events in Constantinople with the historic events and situations in the Holy Land. A lament that typifies this deft literary maneuver is the Lamento per Costantinopoli 1453 by Frate Bernardino Cingolano. Early in the poem we find the author lamenting the loss of the holy sites in Jerusalem, with a pointed invocation of the Sepulchre. In other places he looks to strike multiple chords with a variety of audiences for whom crusading still carried cultural currency by evoking traditional elements of crusader culture and values. For example, he addresses the Duke of Burgundy urging him to join with the pope to wage a vendetta against the iniquities of the Turks and retake, not Constantinople, but rather “the places where Christ was born and died.” He also addresses the Hospitaller Knights of St. John, exhorting them to join the Grand Master in Rhodes in waging a

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100 Medin, (as in 99), 179. Stanza 68 ends, “Fate vendecta di tanta nequitia, Andate a far(e) lo glorioso acquisto, De’ luoghi dove nacque e mori Cristo.” Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy was renowned, largely thanks to his own self-promotion, as an ardent crusade enthusiast. For more on Philip the Good as a crusade enthusiast see note 106. Generally, however, the Dukes of Burgundy had cultivated a long-standing dedication to crusading and the cause of recovering the Holy Land for the French crown.
vendetta against the Saracens. In he then calls upon God to turn the hearts of the Italians toward making peace amongst themselves that they may come together and take up arms to recover the places of Christ’s birth and death. In addressing the Italians he exhorts the peninsula’s duchies, republican city-states, and the Papal States to put their strengths and virtues toward liberating either Constantinople or the Holy Land. Among the Papal States, Bologna is singled out for its military strength and crusading history and is called to put aside its internal squabbles and come together under the sign of the cross to fight the Saracens. Finally, in one last invocation of the West’s chivalric traditions and its great crusading heroes, he calls out to those who would be the new Charlemagne, Rinaldo, Orlando, Tristan, or Oliviero to step forward to claim their place in history in fighting against the Saracens.

101 Medin, (as in 99), 186. Stanza 88 ends, “El gran Mastro di Rodi sí v’ aspecta, Che vuol de’ saracini far vendecta.” The Knights of St. John were the last of the great military orders of the Middle Ages to actively engage in crusading. Though they were eager to aid the papacy in the call to crusade after the fall of Constantinople, their activity was in some ways limited and hindered by competing interests and historically bad relations with the Venetians. The order truly came into prominence again in the 15th century with the siege of Rhodes in 1480, during which they were able to fend off the sizable Turkish fleet under the leadership of Pierre d’Aubusson. For the history of the Knights of St. John in the 15th century see: Constantin Marinescu, “L’Ile de Rhodes au XVe siècle et l’ordre de Saint-Jean de Jerusalem d’après des documents inédits,” Miscellanea Giovanni Mercanti, (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1945), 382-401. For the Knights of St. John and chivalric traditions in the 15th century see: Schwoebel, (as in 95), 116-146. For the history of their relationship with the Venetians see: Anthony T. Lutrell, “Venice and the Knights Hospitaller of Rhodes in the Fourteenth Century,” Papers of the British School at Rome 26 (1958): 195-212. For the siege of Rhodes and Pierre d’Aubusson see: Eric Brockman, The Two Sieges of Rhodes 1480-1522, (London: J. Murray, 1969) and Gilles Rossignol, Pierre d’Aubusson, le "bouclier de la chrétienté” – Les Hospitaliers à Rhodes, (Besançon: La Manufacture, 1991).

102 Medin, (as in 99), 177, stanza 60. “…far(e) tra loro perpetua pacie, Massimamente a tutti Italiani… Acciò che quell(lo) paese si raquisti, Dove nacesti e dove tu moristi.”

103 Medin, (as in 99), 185, stanza 85. “…Che facci pace frà suoi ciptadini, Colle sue forte armate e belle squadre…Socto la croce dietro al santo padre, Siano mossi contro alli saracini…”

104 Medin, (as in 99), 186, stanza 87.
Amidst this clamoring for action, plans for a crusade were finally set in motion in September of 1453 when Nicholas V issued a crusade bull, fully expecting the support of Europe’s leaders great and small. Among European nobility invested in the chivalric political and devotional traditions that defined crusade culture, such as Emperor Frederick III and Alfonso V of Aragon, pledges and vows of participation were fairly quick to arrive. 105 Perhaps no one responded more enthusiastically than Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy. Having invested much of his self-image as a ruler in his family’s crusading heritage, he embraced the call to crusade by hosting the spectacular Feast of the Pheasant in February 1454, where he announced his personal crusade vow and urged his courtiers in attendance to make their vows as well. 106 However, while on the surface the call to crusade was received with great enthusiasm, in reality many a sovereign’s show of support proved to be little more than grand ceremonial gesture as demonstrated

105 For the survival of chivalric ideals and crusading legends from both the age of Charlemagne and the era of the early Crusades see: Bisaha, (as in 96), 25-30.

106 For Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, and the Crusades see: Richard Vaughan, Philip the Good: The Apogee of Burgund, (London: Longman, 1970), 334-372 and Jaques Paviot, Les ducs de Bourgogne, la croisade et l’Orient: fin XIVe siècle – XV siècle, (Paris: Presses de l’Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 2003), passim. More generally, for the chivalric ideal at the court of Philip see: Schwoebel, (as in 95), 82-115. The exhortations to take crusade vows hearkened back to French aspirations of Christian imperial sovereignty rooted retaking the Holy Land and the Sepulchre and drew from the crusading legends of Charlemagne and the Frankish protagonists of the First Crusade. The banquet itself abounded with medieval crusading motifs presented in an outsized display of contemporary courtly lavishness and sumptuousness. Perhaps the most renowned aspect of the banquet was the culminating masque in which a giant dressed as a Turk led an elephant upon whose back was a tower with a maiden meant to symbolize the Holy Church. She delivered a lengthy and piteous lament to all those present beseeching them to help liberate her from the oppression of the Turks. For the Feast of the Pheasant see: Agathe Lafortune-Martel, Fête noble en Bourgogne au XVe siècle: le banquet du Faisan (1454): aspects politiques, sociaux et culturels, (Paris: Vrin, 1984) and Gail Orgelfinger, “The Vows of the Pheasant and Late Chivalric Ritual,” The Study of Chivalry: Resources and Approaches, eds. H. Chickering and T.H. Seiler, (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1988): 611-644. It is also possible that Guillaume Dufay’s Lamentatio sanctae matris ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae, a motet in four voices that borrowed from and adapted the traditional content of “Laments of the Virgin” found in Passion plays as well as variations on passages from the book of Lamentations, was written for the Feast of the Pheasant or at least inspired by it. For Dufay’s Lamentatio and its possible connection to the Feast of the Pheasant see: Rima Devereaux, “Reconstructing Byzantine Constantinople: intercession and illumination at the court of Philippe le Bon,” French Studies 59 (3), (2005): 297–310.
by the stalling and politicking that defined the three Crusade councils convened at Regensburg, Frankfurt, and Weiner Neustadt over the course of the years 1454 and 1455.\textsuperscript{107}

On the Italian peninsula, garnering concrete support for a crusade proved equally difficult as the peninsula was divided into a fractious checkerboard of competing political and economic interests and alliances and very little of practical importance was achieved with regard to building consensus and initiating action.\textsuperscript{108} With the example of Venice’s experience at Varna still fresh in their minds, the Italian potentates were quite skeptical of embroiling themselves too heavily in the crusade agenda and jeopardizing their power and position by funneling money and manpower into a crusade led by the papacy.\textsuperscript{109}

\textsuperscript{107} The councils were convened in April 1454, October 1454, and February 1455 respectively. They were largely deemed failures as they resulted in little concrete action and were even spurned by some of the most important European powers. Setton, (as in 95), 149-160.

\textsuperscript{108} Hankins, (as in 96), 124-127. While a certain pious concern for the welfare of the Eastern Christian Empire did resonate with the princes of the Italian peninsula, their main concerns lay with preserving their own power bases at home. Mustering the money and military forces necessary to wage war against the Turks would have meant a considerable outlay of capital, siphoning resources away from maintaining the balance of power and territorial boundaries of the duchies and republics of the Italian peninsula. In many cases military actions against the Ottomans also had the potential to sever the relatively friendly and profitable economic relations several Italian states enjoyed with the Mamluks, as an attack on the Ottomans could be read by them as an attack on fellow Muslims. Therefore stalling and outright inaction were the most common tactics employed by most Italian states in regard to actual military intervention. States such as Venice and Naples were hesitant to attack the Ottomans as they stood to gain from allowing political tensions between the Ottomans and the Mamluks to unfold on their own. Even as the Turks advanced toward the peninsula in the 1480s, other Italian states took extremely passive stances toward the calls for crusade as it was actually to their benefit to allow their neighbors, who were in much more dire straits as a result of the Turkish invasion, to shoulder a larger share of the financial and military burden. Such was the case with both Milan and Florence, who only had to gain from Venice’s expenditures toward staving off the Turks as they made repeated incursions into their island holdings.

\textsuperscript{109} The Crusade at Varna was a near disastrous attempt at pre-empting Turkish movement toward Eastern Europe. What was initially hailed as a great victory for the West proved to be very little gain at an enormous expense. The papacy’s attempts to raise money for the venture by taxing the Florentines and the refusal to reimburse the Venetians for their substantial losses greatly strained those relationships. Overall the episode engendered a great deal of mistrust and was viewed as a cautionary tale by other republics and principalities in Italy. It also had the effect of further emboldening the Turks in their westward expansionist aims. See: Setton, (as in 95), 82-107; Thaddeus V. Tuleja, “Eugenius IV and the Crusade of Varna,” \textit{The Catholic Historical Review} 35 (3), (1949); 257-275; and Colin Imber, \textit{The Crusade of Varna, 1443-1445}, (Burlington: Ashgate, 2006).
Instead they chose to formulate their own *ad hoc* diplomatic responses to the Turkish threat, balancing them against their individual needs for maintaining their regional political interests and power. Ultimately Nicholas’s crusade efforts amounted to little more than a series of false starts on both the Italian and larger European stages and the tenuous plans to launch a crusade in the summer of 1455 that had been agreed upon through the course of the three major councils were immediately postponed upon his death in March of 1455.

As for the situation in Bologna, Nicholas V’s efforts to mount a crusade seem to have left little mark on the political landscape of the city. This was due in some part to the instability of local politics at the time and the fact that the Sante Bentivoglio’s relationship with the papacy was still tenuous at best, though considerable efforts were also underway to mend the Bentivoglio family’s relationship with the papacy. However, upon the ascension of Calixtus III to the papacy in May of 1455, the pace of developments quickened considerably. One of Calixtus’s first acts was to immediately confirm and reissue Nicholas V’s crusade bull; he also publicly and with great pomp and circumstance swore a personal oath to retake not only Constantinople, but the Holy land as well. He also attempted to muster support for military action against the Ottomans by unleashing legions of preachers across Europe to fan the flames of Crusade fever,

110 Sante’s grandfather, Antongaleazzo, was beheaded in 1435 at the hands of papal assassins in order to wrest civic power from the bourgeoning republican government. The Bentivoglio along with the Pepoli, Malvezzi, Marescotti, and Gozzadini were able to eventually oust the three major civic officials who ruled in pope Eugenius IV’s name, as well as fend off the threat of the condottiere, Niccolò Piccinino. With the confirmation of Nicholas V, the former bishop of Bologna, in 1447 relations began to normalize and thanks to the efforts of Cardinal Bessarion, Bologna’s papal legate, the balance of power among Bologna’s leading families was tipped ever further in favor of the Bentivoglio. See Cecilia Ady, *The Bentivoglio of Bologna: A Study in Despotism*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1937), 15-50.

111 For the reign of Calixtus III and his crusade activity see: Setton, (as in 95), 161-195.
setting the tone in his own preaching by implementing a crusade rhetoric that equated the importance of the cause of retaking Constantinople with that of Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre, a cause which had served as an emblematic touchstone of the crusading ethos for generations. Many of Italy’s princes, however, found the generality of the pope’s military planning absolutely incompatible with the grandiose scale of his aspirations. Furthermore, those princes who were also professional soldiers themselves were very wary of the idea of a military venture led by clerics and fought by untrained laymen.

112 Alberto M. Boldorini, *La predicazione della crociata di Calisto III a Genoa*, (Genoa: Tipografia Ferrari, 1967), 8. Observant Franciscans along with other preaching orders, such as the Dominicans and Augustinians, were heavily involved in these preaching campaigns, with the intent of garnering public support for a crusade effort to retake not only Constantinople from the Ottoman Turks, but also the Kingdom of Jerusalem from the Mamluks, who had held definitive possession of Palestine since 1291. Sermons directed at the laity often took a traditional approach to kindling the fires of the crusading effort in that they summoned forth much of the familiar rhetoric of retribution and vendetta for crimes against the Christian faith and flock and the need for Christian triumph that had been formulated during the late Middle Ages. Following the well-established models for sermons utilized during the Crusades of earlier centuries, mendicants leveled impassioned pleas to their audiences to save the honor of Christendom and Christ from the Turkish scourge and deployed inflammatory rhetorical tactics to belittle and dehumanize the enemies of the faith. For studies of medieval crusade sermons see: Christopher T. Maier, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology: Model Sermons for the Preaching of the Cross*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000) and *Preaching the Crusades: Mendicant Friars and the Cross in the Thirteenth Century*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994); and Penny Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095-1270*, (Cambridge: Medieval Academy of America, 1991).

113 Boldorini, (as in 112), 6-7. Boldoroni also notes that for cities like Genoa that had commercial and trade interests in the Levant, the call to take back the Holy Land was at odds with the political, diplomatic, and military strategies they had put in place to fend off the possibility of colonial and financial loss. Though Alfonso V of Aragon was an exception among the Italian princes in his enthusiasm for the grand rhetoric of retaking the Holy Land and the idea of a crusade, he too was tempered in his practical actions by concerns about relations with Genoa and Milan. Alfonso was also keen to use his participation in the crusade effort as leverage in gaining territorial concessions from the pope. When it became clear that the pope would not cede any territories to him, the crusade galleys he had promised to send remained moored. For studies of Alfonso’s reign and his motives for eventually abandoning the crusade effort see: A.F.C. Ryder, *Alfonso the Magnanimous, King of Aragon, Naples, and Sicily, 1396-1458*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), Ernesto Pontieri, “Alfonso I d’Aragona e la ‘crociata’ di Calisto III,” *Atti della Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, Rendiconti, Classe di scienze morali* 8 (29), (1974), 61-68; Constantin Marinesco, “Le pape Calixte III (1455-1458), Alfonse V d’Aragon, roi de Naples, et l’offensive contre les Turcs,” *Bulletin de la Section historique de l’Académie roumaine* 19 (1935): 77-97; and Francesco Cerone, “La political orientale di Alfonso di Aragona,” *Archivio storico per le provincie napoletane* 27, (1902): 3-93.

114 Hankins, (as in 96), 114. In the past, the fiery rhetoric of a crusade sermon would have been used to solicit the laity to volunteer their manpower, but by the 15th century soldiering was seen as an activity best left to professional mercenaries. The participation of rank and file citizenry in the business of crusade warfare was viewed with increasing skepticism from the 13th century onward, as it often posed a threat to civic order at home and spelled a recipe for military disaster abroad. What was hoped for now was to make
Francesco Sforza in particular, whose support was crucial for the pope, found great frustration with the pope’s impractical and untenable ideas about scope the crusade campaign, as well as his unrelenting and overbearing pressure for funds.\textsuperscript{115}

Calixtus’s aggressive levying of crusade taxes as well as the issuance of crusade indulgences to raise much needed funds, however practical and necessary, proved to be a public relations debacle, provoking ill will and cynicism amongst Italian and European sovereigns and the populace alike.\textsuperscript{116} Amongst Calixtus’s legions of preachers and \textit{collettori apostolici} there were many individuals who abused their authority to collect funds, itinerant fraudsters posing as crusade preachers who absconded with collections, as well as local collectors who also pocketed portions of the collected funds.\textsuperscript{117}

Furthermore, the increasing commercialization of crusade indulgences alienated many would-be supporters of the crusade effort inasmuch as the traditional response to the general populace amenable to paying the crusade taxes levied on them by framing the issue as a moral imperative and the duty all good Christians in the face of infidel effrontery. For the professionalization of soldiering and warfare in the Renaissance see: Michael Edward Mallett, \textit{Mercenaries and their Masters: Warfare in Renaissance Italy}, (Totowa: Rowman and Littlefield, 1974) and Stephen R. Turnbull, \textit{The Art of Renaissance Warfare: From the Fall of Constantinople to the Thirty Years War}, (London: Greenhill, 2006).

\textsuperscript{115} A letter of December 1, 1456 to Francesco Sforza from a Milanese official at the court of Rome indicates with a fair degree of sarcasm how unreasonable they found the pope’s stance to be: “Fate conto ogni suo pensiero è avere fiorini a proseguire la impresa contro il turcho che s’è messa in testa havere per prigione e batezarlo in Sancto Petro.” For Francesco Sforza’s stance on Calixtus’s crusade efforts see: Luigi Fumi, \textit{Il disinteresse di Francesco I Sforza alla crociata di Calisto III contro i turchi}, (Milan: Tipografia Ed. L.F. Cogliati, 1912), 11.

\textsuperscript{116} With the reissuance of Nicholas V’s crusade bull came a slew of added instructions and regulations regarding both indulgences and tax collection for the crusade effort. Setton, (as in 95), 162-164.

\textsuperscript{117} Norman Housley, \textit{The Later Crusades from Lyons to Alcazar 1274-1580}, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 412-415. Perhaps one of the biggest offenders in terms of diverting crusade funds was none other than the Duke of Burgundy, who pocketed all the funds that had been collected once the King had declared the pope’s crusade tax illegal. Vaughan, (as in 106), 366-367.
crusade call, which once meant serving in person to receive the promised spiritual benefits, was now discouraged in favor of simply donating money and materiel.\textsuperscript{118}

In many ways, the situation in Bologna mirrored the larger landscape in Italy in terms of a guarded and even cynical view of crusade taxes and papal plans for carrying out an actual crusade. The chronicle of Fileno della Tuata is particularly revealing regarding the first rumblings resentment and cynicism toward crusade preaching and the collection of funds in the city of Bologna, when on August 29, 1455 Calixtus sent a papal crusade brief that was read in San Petronio with great fanfare.\textsuperscript{119} Immediately following the papal announcement, Paolo da Roma, an Augustinian friar, gave what Ghirardacci describes as an animated exhortation to follow the pope’s call to crusade.\textsuperscript{120} After this, a council of clerics and citizens was elected by the Senate to administrate the collection of money and provisions destined for the mounting crusade effort, which Fileno della Tuata suggests was largely coerced from the populace. Paolo da Roma continued his vehement

\textsuperscript{118} Housley, (as in 117), 407-410.

\textsuperscript{119} Fileno della Tuata, \textit{Istoria di Bologna: origini – 1521, vol. 1}, ed. B. Fortunato (Bologna: Costa, 2005), 315-316. “Papa Chalisto deliberò fare Guerra al Turcho, e mise la cruciata per tuta Christianitade el dì 29 d’agosto [1455] arivò el briefe in questa tera, chi li voleva andare e mandare era absolto de cholpa e pena, e chossi done e zuveni pagasseno segundo la soa possibilitá era, pure che dinari vengano. A dì 31 d’agosto [1455] se fe’ una bella procession, e vene el legato in San Petronio, e se liesse el ditto briefe in suso al pergola, e lieto el ditto briefe muntò in pergola uno mestro Paulo de l’ordene de santo Agostino, e chomerno ad inanimare el populo huomini e done, che volesseno dare alturio ala dita armata, secondo la loro posibilitá chi dinari chi arme chi roba, e confortando li homini a pigliare la santo Chroçe, asolvendoli de cholpa e pena, e per questo funo eli eti homini a tenire conto de diti dinari e robe, e funo li infraschriti: m. Piero di Çiçilia inquisitore de San Domenico, Zoane Ghuidoti delo oficio de Sedese, Bartolomeo dai Chospi merchadante de seda, Tomaxe Zanetino merchadante de pano de lana, Jachomo dala Renghiera chanbiadore. El predichatore disse in pergola che il papa voleva che deli dinari e robe racholte in Bologna volea se armasse una galea a l’arma del chomun de Bologna, in sula quale volea andaseno li Bolognisi che pigliavano la Chroçe. E dapoi funo racolti multi dinari e robe con molte arme el sopradito predicatore disse contra le prime parole, e disse che el papa volea li dinari e robe e arme, e che aveva homini assai, e in questo modo fu beffata la brigata da quisti preti, e per mancho schandoli fu mandato li dinari robe e arme e fu al dì 22 de febraro 1456, e de questo non voglio piu dire, che molte chose me convegneria schrivere che per mancho schandolo voglio taçere, pure è pechato tore violentamente quello d’altrui.”

\textsuperscript{120} Cherubino Ghirardacci, \textit{Della historia di Bologna}, parte terza, volume 1, ed. A. Sorbelli, (Città di Castello: Tipi della Casa Editrice S. Lapi, 1912), 160.
preaching for almost a month in Bologna before heading to Ferrara with a band of
Bolognese volunteer soldiers behind him.\textsuperscript{121} Much to the embarrassment of those
officials who had worked to garner support from the people and the disillusionment of
those citizens who had placed their manpower at the service of the pope, six months later
Calixtus sent word that no extra manpower was needed; rather what he wanted was the
monetary funds that had been raised, which at that point totaled 7,200 lire.\textsuperscript{122}

During those six months, papal correspondence with the Bolognese government
supports the idea that the type of criticisms Fileno della Tuata expressed regarding
Calixtus’s heavy-handed taxation strategy were present even in the highest levels of civic
power. In January 1456 a series of briefs were issued declaring that the government must
accept the commissioning of the pope’s appointed \textit{collettore apostolica} for the crusade
tax and that the city officials must obey the decree of the papal legate to collect the tax.\textsuperscript{123}

Presumably, however, in an attempt to make enforcing the crusade tax more tolerable for
the government, another brief was sent to the preacher Paolo da Roma, instructing him
that he should not attempt to collect the crusade tax from city officials.\textsuperscript{124} Then in early
spring two papal briefs were sent to the communal officials instructing them to assemble
all the materiel and funds collected and to send a suitable citizen with the \textit{galera} and the
7,200 lire collected for the crusade to Rome.\textsuperscript{125} Even after those funds had been sent,

\textsuperscript{121} Ghirardacci, (as in 120), 160.

\textsuperscript{122} Ghirardacci, (as in 120), 161. Notably, Ghirardacci’s later history glosses over the sense of
disillusionment and thinly veiled cynicism expressed by Fileno della Tuata.

\textsuperscript{123} Archivio di Stato di Bologna (ASB), \textit{Sommario delle Bolle, Chirografi, Brevi dall’anno 325-1796}, 53.
Briefs of 7 January and 23 January, 1456.

\textsuperscript{124} ASB, \textit{Sommario}… (as in 123), 53. Brief of 23 January, 1456.

\textsuperscript{125} ASB, \textit{Sommario}… (as in 123), 54. Briefs of February 15 and March 4, 1456.
however, yet another brief arrived shortly thereafter instructing city officials to keep pressing forward with collecting the crusade tax from the Jews.\(^{126}\) This decree met with resistance inasmuch as the Bolognese community found the services of the Jewish money lenders indispensable because of the financial structure of their agrarian economy; furthermore Sante Bentivoglio had a vested interest in not overtaxing the Jews inasmuch as his family had been granted the revenue from the annual *Tasse degli Ebrei*.\(^{127}\) The government’s reluctance to comply with this demand is evidenced by yet another papal brief sent several months later complaining about how the papal representative was actively hindered in his efforts to collect the tax from the Jews and thus ordered city officials to help him collect the tax.\(^{128}\)

Despite these difficulties, Calixtus pressed forward with crusade plans in the Balkans and continued to issue indulgences and press for crusade tax collection to aid in financing the venture, eventually raising sufficient funds to put together sixteen galley ships to send eastward.\(^ {129}\) Finally, in July of 1456 the tide took a further turn for the better when the West achieved a great victory at Belgrade. Ordering parades and processions to celebrate the “miraculous” victory, Calixtus sought to use the apparatus of great civic pageantry and the issuance of papal indulgences to instill in the citizenry a sense of tangible reward and spiritual benefit for their financial sacrifices and to exploit


\(^{127}\) Ady, (as in 110), 10-11. This financial privilege had been granted to the Bentivoglio in 1412 by pope John XXIII.

\(^{128}\) Ady, (as in 110), 188 and ABS, *Sommario…* (as in 123), 55. Brief of 5 May, 1456.

\(^{129}\) Ghirardacci, (as in 120), 160. A series of indulgences was announced in Bologna for those who performed the required orations to help with the war against the Turks. ABS, *Sommario…* (as in 123), 55. Brief of 29 June, 1456.
the victory to the fullest, using it as a rallying point to push forward with the crusade to regain both Constantinople and Jerusalem.\textsuperscript{130}

Despite the pageantry that marked the autumn and early winter after the victory at Belgrade, circumstances changed drastically in Bologna in 1457. January marked a period in which the Crusades were the last thing on anyone’s mind, as the city was besieged by a series of natural disasters and waves of disease and pestilence.\textsuperscript{131} Further afield, despite the victory at Belgrade, Italian and European sovereigns remained cool and distanced in the face of the pope’s enthusiasm to press forward. Calixtus found one faithful ally in Cardinal Ludovico Trevisan, who assembled a large fleet that was able to fend off the Turks at Rhodes and was even successful in taking back the islands of Naxos, Samothrace, and Lemnos in autumn of 1457.\textsuperscript{132} However, 1458 saw the declining health of Callixtus and a renewed aggression on the part of the Ottomans. By August of that year the West was handed the doubly sad news of the pope’s death and the Ottoman conquest of the Peloponnesian peninsula.\textsuperscript{133}

\textsuperscript{130} Ghirardacci, (as in 120), 162-163. In August of 1456 a grand procession was held in which the Madonna di San Luca was carried through the city along with the heads of San Petronio and San Domenico, as well as other venerable relics. Beginning August 22, 100 days indulgence were granted for saying three \textit{pater nosters} and three \textit{ave marias} or 40 days indulgence for saying only one of each. Fileno della Tuata adds that processions were to take place every first Sunday of the month and that those who participated would receive seven years indulgence. Della Tuata, (as in 119), 319.

\textsuperscript{131} Ghirardacci, (as in 120), 164. The aid of the Madonna di San Luca was enlisted in several penitential processions throughout the city over the winter and spring of 1457. Crusade preaching appears to have come to a standstill.

\textsuperscript{132} Setton, (as in 95), 187-188 (cf. note 109). In a letter to Cardinal Ludovico Trevisan, Calixtus vehemently insisted that with the victory at Belgrade, Constantinople and Jerusalem were imminently within reach if the crusade continued to push forward. However, despite Cardinal Lodovico’s continued military victories in the Aegean, he returned to Rome in the fall of 1458 to find that Calixtus had died, making it almost impossible to carry forward any momentum at that point.

\textsuperscript{133} Ghirardacci notes that Calixtus left behind a sizable untapped war chest totaling 115,000 gold ducats. Ghirardacci, (as in 120), 166.
THE CRUSADES UNDER PIUS II

The death of Calixtus III in August of 1458 brought the advent of perhaps the most vociferous crusade proponent of the 15th century, Pius II. Eneas Silvio Piccolomini, now Pius II, had been an active participant in the crusade effort of Nicholas V as a papal diplomat and orator and was more than primed and prepared to take up the cause. Circumstances, though, were not favorable to Pius’s agenda. While Mehmed’s troops were back on the attack after the events at Belgrade, many western states and principalities were content to simply continue paying tributes to him to prevent him from attacking any territories or trade routes where they might have vested interests, rather than entangle themselves in a papal plan of grand attack. In the face of this resistance, Pius pushed forward and issued the call to convene the ill-fated council of Mantua, despite the failure and bitter disappointment he had encountered with the last series of councils he had been involved with in 1454-55. He also continued with many of the same policies for crusade taxation implemented by his predecessor. In October 1458, a papal bull arrived in Bologna exhorting the citizens to donate to the papal crusade effort. The mood of Bologna with regard to the papal crusade effort had changed little in terms of Sante Bentivoglio’s resistance. Additionally, the general populace of the city

134 During that time he served as a papal diplomat and preached for a crusade before Nicholas V and Frederick III in April 1452 while Flavio Biondo made his appeal to Alfonso of the court of Naples. For Pius’s crusade efforts as pope see: Setton, (as in 95), 200-270.

135 Franco Cardini, “Una Crociata per gli Innocenti,” Matteo di Giovanni: cronaca di una strage dipinta, (Asciano: Ali, 2006), 64-93 (esp. pp. 73-74). Florence, at the behest of Bishop Antonio Pierozzi, as well as Venice made perhaps the largest shows of opposition to papal crusade plans in outright refusing to support any course of action that would jeopardize their trade relationship with the Sultan.


137 ASB, Sommario… (as in 123), 63. Papal bull of 13 October, 1458 related to crusade plans in Hungary.
had grown increasingly inured to the papal calls to aid in financing the crusade efforts due to more than a year of food shortages and pestilence.

However, against this background of crusade resistance and fatigue and with Pius in desperate need of allies to further his crusade agenda, a contingent that stood to benefit from assisting the crusade effort formed within the political landscape of the city. Two individuals in particular, Achille Malvezzi and Jacomo degli Ingrati, who during the papacies of Nicholas V and Calixtus III had played ancillary roles in local crusade politics, emerged as staunch advocates of Pius’s crusade plans. Jacomo degli Ingrati already held a certain level of civic standing in that he served mainly as a diplomat for the Bolognese government, but began to gain substantially in civic stature thanks to his association with Achille Malvezzi.138

As for Achille Malvezzi, his family had accumulated great wealth from the silk trade and politically was second in power in Bologna only to the Bentivoglio; in fact, the Bentivoglio rise to power would not have been possible without the support of the Malvezzi throughout the late 1300s and early 1400s.139 While the Malvezzi had

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138 Jacomo degli Ingrati began his civic service largely as a diplomat to Venice, though later that service was expanded to Florence and Rome. Dolfi lists his major diplomatic and governmental positions. Pompeo Scipione Dolfi, *Cronologia delle Famiglie Nobili di Bologna*, (Bologna: presso Gio. Battista Ferroni, 1670), 399-400. For an assessment of Jacomo’s career as a diplomat see: Nerio Malvezzi de’ Medici, “Giacomo Grati, diplomatico Bolognese del XV secolo,” *Atti e Memorie della Deputazione di storia patria per le provincie dell’Emilia* 4 (2), (1878-79): 153-187. Ghiradacci, (as in 120), 198-199 relates a story that underscores the political bond between Achille and Jacomo. Before Jacomo had received his noble title from the Pope, Sante attempted to have him ejected from the governing body of the Senate for having opposed him politically. At the next Senate meeting, Achille accompanied Jacomo to the Senate chamber, ordered him take his customary seat, and proceeded to issue a challenge to anyone in the room to contradict his order. No one, including Sante, spoke up for fear of incurring the wrath of Achille. The bond between the degli Ingrati and the Malvezzi was strengthened by the fact that Achille’s daughter, Dorotea, married Jacomo’s son, Francesco, in 1456. Guiseppe Fornasini, Romolo Dodi, and Giuliano Malvezzi Campeggi, “Note Biografiche e Tavole Genealogiche,” *Malvezzi: Storia, Genealogia, e Iconografia*, ed. G. Malvezzi Campeggi, (Bologna: Costa Editore, 1996), 148.

traditionally been proponents of church rule in Bologna, with the rise of the Bentivoglio in the 15th century, they shifted their alliances toward the Republic headed by first Annibale and then Sante Bentivoglio, though there were members of the family who did little to hide their dissatisfaction with the Bentivoglio family’s increasing consolidation of power. The push for a crusade offered an opportunity for the Malvezzi family to renew their papal relations and benefit politically from assisting the pope and for Achille in particular to leverage the power of his chivalric titles to enhance his civic standing. The Malvezzi were among the Bolognese families who laid claim to a long and illustrious history of involvement with the Crusades and, more importantly, they were perhaps Bologna’s greatest torchbearers of that legacy in the 15th century due to the fact that several members of the family had held the positions of lieutenant in the Order of the Hospitallers in Bologna (more commonly known as the Gerosolamitani) as well as the rectorship of the ex-Templar church of Santa Maria del Tempio, colloquially known as the Maggione. Achille inherited both of these titles upon his father’s death in 1452.

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140 Ady, (as in 110), 53-54 notes that Achille’s next youngest brother, Virgilio, was particularly resentful of the turn of political fortune for his family and was often involved in resistance efforts against Sante Bentivoglio’s leadership.

141 Dolfi names Gabbione Malvezzi as an early crusader, drawing his information from Giovanni Francesco Negri’s list of Bolognese nobility who were believed to have departed for the First Crusade in 1096 and to have fought with Godfrey of Bouillon found in the Prima Crociata of 1658. Dolfi further develops the Malvezzi family’s ties to the Holy Land when he repeats a rather fantastic claim by Francesco Sansovino that he saw in the annals of Brescia mention of one Sigismondo Malvezzi, who in 71 AD led 100 horses and 200 foot soldiers under General Vespatian in the conquest of Jerusalem. Dolfi, (as in 138), 490-491. Santa Maria del Tempio was the principal Hospitaller church in Bologna. It was one of four churches confiscated from the Bolognese Templars and given over to the Knights of St. John in the fall of 1313 after the suppression of the order. The church, located at the far end of the Strada Maggiore, was destroyed in 1805 during the Napoleonic invasion.

142 Ghirardacci, (as in 120), 142.
To the extent that he could utilize his civic authority and the chivalric prestige of his Hospitaller titles to advance the crusade agenda among the citizens of Bologna, Achille opened the doors to increased papal political support for his personal and familial desires to stem, and possibly even turn, the tide of the Bentivoglio’s grip on civic power.

In the midst of all the false starts and financial public relations missteps that occurred during the papacies of Nicholas and Calixtus, Achille Malvezzi and Jacomo degli Ingrati made only brief appearances on the local and international diplomatic scenes. However, with the advent of Pius II, a large window of opportunity opened for them to advance their personal interests and positions via the crusade effort as Pius was eager to find allies to exert as much influence and pressure as possible within the Papal States. Beginning in January 1459, Pius implemented a sweeping taxation initiative as well as plans for a great crusade council in Mantua. By mid January, several papal bulls arrived in Bologna regarding the implementation of a crusade tax. The bulls were read from the pulpit of San Petronio and ordered the Jews to pay one twentieth, the churches and monasteries to pay a tenth, and all citizens to pay one thirtieth of their total income

143 When news of the fall of Constantinople and the massacre of its population arrived in Bologna, Jacomo was designated the city’s ambassador, along with Gasparo della Renghiera, and was sent to Rome by the Senate on July 26, 1453. See Ghirardacci, (as in 120), 143. He also began cultivating diplomatic ties with the neighboring d’Este states, as evidenced by the fact that in February of 1454 Borso d’Este granted him citizenship in Ferrara, Modena, and Reggio. See: ASB, Sommario… (as in 123), 43. On March 23, 1455, Jacomo and Achille Malvezzi departed for Rome with the papal legate, Cardinal Bessarion, upon receiving news of Nicholas V’s failing health; however, only upon their arrival in Rome did they learn the pope had died the day after their departure. See Ghirardacci, (as in 120), 158. Jacomo appears to have begun to garner returns for his willingness to aid Calixtus III in promoting the crusade in that in May and June of 1456 Calixtus granted him the tax revenue from Castello dei Gritti and then subsequently tasked him in aiding in crusade preparations in Bologna. ASB, Sommario… (as in 123), 56. Papal briefs of May 31 and June 5, 1456. As for Achille Malvezzi, he and his brothers were made counts of Castel Guelfo and Achille was appointed to the treasury of Bologna in December of 1458. ASB, Sommario… (as in 123), 62-63. Briefs of December 8 and 13, 1458.

144 ASB, Sommario… (as in 123), 64-65. Three bulls dated January 14, 1459. That Pius expected the government of Bologna to be hesitant to both enforce and pay the tax themselves is evidenced by a papal brief of 17 January, 1459 insisting that officials must pay the tax. ASB, Sommario… (as in 123), 66.
for three years or face having the sacraments withheld.\textsuperscript{145} Furthermore, reversing the policy of Calixtus regarding volunteer manpower, he issued another bull offering to anyone who would go to war against the Turks the same full indulgence they would receive for visiting the basilicas of Rome during a Holy Year.\textsuperscript{146} Shortly thereafter both Achille Malvezzi and Jacomo degli Ingrati were called upon to head the administration and enforcement of the collection of the crusade tax revenue.\textsuperscript{147}

Not only was the government resistant to the tax, but once again Fileno della Tuata reveals how many Bolognese, while supportive of the idea of a crusade, were becoming evermore weary of the heavy cost of the crusade. Others had already become obstinately resistant, opting to refuse to pay the tax and forego confession that year in protest. Fileno’s opinion of the enterprise, particularly those charged with carrying out the taxation, had darkened considerably, directly accusing Achille Malvezzi and Jacomo degli Ingrati of authoritative abuse in extracting the tax and embezzlement of funds, likening them to wolves and pigs growing rich and fat off the money they strong-armed from the most vulnerable members of the populace.\textsuperscript{148}

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\textsuperscript{145} Ghirardacci, (as in 120), 173.
\textsuperscript{146} ASB, \textit{Sommario}… (as in 123), 65. Bull dated January 14, 1459. The offer was valid for eight months.
\textsuperscript{147} Jacomo degli Ingrati was to collect the crusade tax revenue and in return was granted various tax exemptions. ASB, \textit{Sommario}… (as in 123), 66. Briefs dated January 29 and March 20, 1459. Achille Malvezzi, along with Giorgio Ambrosi, was made the head of the Camera Apostolica. ASB, \textit{Sommario}… (as in 123), 66. Brief dated March 30, 1459.
\textsuperscript{148} Della Tuata, (as in 119), 324, written in March or April of 1459. “La cruçiata non voglio dire male. El papa fe’ predichare la chruciata a Bologna, e vole ognomo chosì femene chome homini pagasseno de trenta uno de quello che guardagnavano e li preti de diexe uno de l’intrade, e chi non pagava non se posea confesare né chomunigare, e dicea volere quisti dinari per andare contra el Turcho, e volea durasse questa cholta tri anni, per la qual chosa multi non se confesonu quell anno, e fu una gran bararia che poi avevo(no) quisti dinari multi manzaduri chome m. Achille Malveço, m. Jachomo degli Ingrati e multi altri simili, che li soi romanxeno ricchi degli dinari dele povere vedoe pupilli e artisansi, colti per andare contra Turchi restoronu a ingrassare lupi e porci.” Also see: Ady, (as in 110), 177.
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Meanwhile, Pius’s plans for the council in Mantua had been taking shape as he and his entourage worked their way northward from Rome, making extended stops in Perugia, Siena, and Florence before descending upon Bologna on May 6.\textsuperscript{149} Pius’s intention to pass through Bologna on the way to Mantua for the council was of great concern to Sante, as the pope’s presence potentially provided an opportunity for those who opposed his rule to revolt in favor of papal rule.\textsuperscript{150} Despite civic rumblings against the crusade tax, when the pope entered Bologna in May, he and his entourage were met with great fanfare, civic celebration, and lavish hospitality over the course of his visit, all of which represented a sizable financial outlay for the city.\textsuperscript{151} Furthermore, given the Bentivolglio’s tenuous political relationship with the papacy, there was a great deal of political and civic tension and suspicion to navigate as well. In certain respects Sante’s fears regarding some of the potential political ramifications of the pope’s visit were well founded as Bornio da Sala, to the shock of many, made an unexpected and brazenly anti-Bentivoglio speech in front of Pius and his court, referring to Bologna as city dominated by tyrants and oppressors of justice, calling upon the pope to remedy the situation.\textsuperscript{152}

\textsuperscript{149} Ghirardacci, (as in 120), 167-173 chronicles these travels.

\textsuperscript{150} Ady, (as in 110), 17 and 51-52. Ady transcribes a letter written by Sante to Francesco Sforza of 21 January 1459 that states, “The blood of my own kin has taught me a bitter lesson as to the little faith that can be placed in priests,” (found in Archivio di Stato di Modena, Potenze Estere, Romagna, Busta 161). Sante had good reason for this distrust as it was the papacy that had supported the assassination of Antongaleazzo Bentivoglio in 1435 and the Bolognese clergy who had essentially given their tacit approval of the assassination by allowing the assassins to go free.

\textsuperscript{151} Della Tuata, (as in 119), 321-322 noted the considerable expense for Pius’s ten day visit, citing the sum of 19,476 ducats (or nearly 48,000 lire as reported by Ghirardacci) as the cost of hosting not only the pope’s retinue from Rome, but also the sizable entourage and security detail provided by Galeazzo Sforza, comprised of 300 courtiers, 3000 horses and 500 foot soldiers. Also see: Ghirardacci, (as in 120), 171.

\textsuperscript{152} Ady, (as in 110), 52-53. Della Tuata, (as in 119), 327 notes the close friendship between Bornio and the Malvezzi family.
Pius tactfully ignored the tirade, however, knowing full well that he needed the support of the Bentivoglio for his crusade efforts, and the Sedici of Bologna followed the pope’s lead by forgiving Bornio his political indiscretion as well. The good will of the pope was further extended to other citizens who were eager to back his cause. Notably, Fileno della Tuata tells of how Jacomo degli Ingrati in particular profited from papal beneficence toward those willing to support the crusade when he was made a cavalliere during the course of Pius’s visit.\footnote{Della Tuata notes Jacomo was even allowed to change his name from the rather infelicitous degli Ingrati to Grati. Della Tuata, (as in 119), 321. “Quando el papa fu indrito chaxa de Jachomo degli Ingrati indrito la Maxone fe’ chavaliero Jachomo degli Ingrati e felo chiamare de Grati, e questo Jachomo fu figliolo de Pelegrin degli Ingrati piliçaro, e lui anchora piliçaro, ma doventò eloquentissimo e savio e andò in molte a[n]basarie, era conzunto la vertù con la beleça corporale, e questo fu el primo che de’ chondicione ala chaxa soa.”}

When Pius finally arrived in Mantua in late May, he found no delegates there and only in late summer after his prompting did representatives and statesmen start to trickle in.\footnote{Pius had to write the Bolognese government demanding that they send ambassadors to Mantua. ASB, Sommario… (as in 123), 66. Brief dated July 28, 1459. For Pius’s account of the Council of Mantua see: Meserve, (as in 136), 118-144. Also see: Setton, (as in 95), 201-214 and R.J. Mitchell, The Laurels and the Tiara: Pope Pius II, 1458-1464, (London: Harvill Press, 1962), 119-146.} On September 9, the Bolognese delegation comprised of Achille Malvezzi, Lodovico Caccialupi, and Jacomo degli Ingrati went to Mantua to join the council, with Sante Bentivoglio arriving on the 20th.\footnote{Della Tuata, (as in 119), 322. “A dì 9 di setenbre [1459] andono anbasadori de Bologna a Mantoa, dove era el papa al conçilio, do[v]e erano tuti li anbasadori de Christiani e multi gran signori, e funo questi: m. Achille Malveçò chavaliero dela Maxon, m. Lodovico Chaçalovo (Caccialupi) chavaliero, m. Jachomo degli Ingrati chavaliero. A dì 20 dito m. Sante di Bentivoglio andò a Mantoa ma tornò presto indrieto, la chaxon non se sa.”} Near the end of the month the first council session opened in the cathedral and it seemed progress toward actually undertaking a crusade was being made, but many of the parties present pulled out when the moment
came to finalize the plans and make their pledges official and binding.\footnote{Florence and Venice returned to their traditional anti-crusade stances based on protectionist trade policies, while Francesco Sforza remained pro-crusade to the extent that he thought it would further his aims to take control of the port of Genoa. Eventually, however, Francesco slowly and subtly withdrew his crusade support by stalling and finding excuses to prohibit crusade preaching in Milan. The Sforza’s general pro-crusade policy would be fully reversed by his son, Galeazzo Maria, who abandoned his father’s designs to conquer Genoa, choosing instead a military strategy centered on economic policy, similar to the approaches espoused by the Florentines and Venetians. Marcello Simonetta, “Il Duca alla Dieta: Francesco Sforza e Pio II,” Il sogno di Pio II e il viaggio da Roma a Mantova: atti del Convegno Internazionale, Mantova, 13-15 aprile 2000, ed. A. Calzona, (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2003), 247-285 and “Pius II and Francesco Sforza: the history of two allies,” Pius II, “el più expeditivo pontefice”: Selected Studies on Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini (1405-1464), eds. Z. von Martels and A. Vanderjagt, (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 147-170.} As the council negotiations began to collapse, however, Sante swiftly returned to Bologna.\footnote{Notably, after Sante’s departure, Achille, Lodovico, and Jacomo signed a politically loaded oath of allegiance to the pope, which put them squarely at odds with Sante’s evasive position vis-à-vis the crusade. Antonio Ivan Pini, ‘‘Non tam studiorum mater quam seditionum altrix’: Pio II e Bologna – Pio II a Bologna,” Il sogno di Pio II e il viaggio da Roma a Mantova: atti del Convegno Internazionale, Mantova, 13-15 aprile 2000, ed. A. Calzona, (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2003), 179-201 (esp. p. 199). Pini translates the text of the document dated 1 October, 1459 as follows: “Quantunque noi sottoscritti oratori siamo ben consci che Bologna è città suddita al Santissimo Romano Pontefice e che pertanto dobbiamo ubbidire a ciò che Sua Santità vorrà ordinare e ubbidire a ciò che egli comanda, tuttavia ‘ad maiorem expressionem dovoecionem et obedientia nostra’ io Achille Malvezzi, oratore della predetta città prometto e guiro a Dio e al Santissimo signor nostro Pio ut supra e con mia mano mi sottoscrivo.” The signatures of Lodovico Caccialupi and Jacomo degli Ingrati follow. As Fileno della Tuata notes (as in 155), no reason was given for Sante’s departure, however, a papal brief sent to Bologna several days later indicates that there may have been some unrest caused by an itinerant crusade preacher. In the brief the pope orders the Bolognese governmental officials to prevent one padre Danielle da Piacenza from preaching and that he was to return to his congregation in Mantua on pain of excommunication. ASB, Sommario… (as in 123), 67. Brief dated September 24, 1459. Difficulties continued with collecting the crusade tax as evidenced by a papal brief sent in November that instructed the Bolognese government to obey their ambassador, Jacomo Grati. ASB, Sommario… (as in 123), 68. Brief dated November 28, 1459. Jacomo’s dedication to the cause would be rewarded with the conference of a bevy of tax exemptions and tax revenues several months later. ASB, Sommario… (as in 123), 69. Brief dated March 20, 1460.} Thus, in January of 1460 the council closed leaving Pius with little to no substantive claims of success beyond tenuous pledges of financial cooperation and military support.\footnote{The publication of a papal bull known as the Execrabilis in late January of 1460 was an attempt to hold the princes and sovereigns to their pledges. Nancy Bisaha, “Pope Pius II and the Crusade,” Crusading in the Fifteenth Century: Message and Impact, ed. N. Housley, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 39-52 (esp. pp. 44-45).}

Though no resolution for concrete action had been agreed upon, one significant product of the council was the articulation of an ideological framework for the crusade effort that was considerably broader in scope, despite the grandiose rhetoric, than the
limited interventions executed by Pius’s predecessors. In many ways, Pius’s vision of the crusade mirrored those of Charlemagne in its desire to re-establish Western Christian sovereignty over the East and reconstruct the great Christian empire established by Constantine. It would not be a secular sovereign however, who would follow in the footsteps of the great crusaders such as Godfrey of Bouillon or even the mythologized crusader Charlemagne, rather the pope. As the head of a newly reconstituted Western Christian empire he would reclaim not only Constantinople, but the Holy Land and the Holy Sepulchre as well.

It is the spirit of this vision for Western hegemony that underlies an unusual letter written to the Sultan Mehmed, wherein Pius trumpets the superiority of Western culture, the Christian religion, and even Western military strength.


160 The oration that best captured this sentiment was the famous Cum bellum Hodie. For the text of the oration see: Giuseppe Cugnoni, ed. Aeneae Silvii Piccolomini Senensis qui postea fuit Pius II, pont. Max. opera inedita, (Farnborough: Gregg International, 1968), 905-914. Pius’s vision of East and West coming together under Western ecclesiastical rule was facilitated by several pro-Western Byzantines, the most notable of which were Cardinal Bessarion and Theodore II Palaiologus, lord of Morea and the son of Emperor Manuele II. Both were present at the Council of Mantua and went to great lengths to make a strong case for the crusade. Gherardo Ortalli, “La Chiesa di Roma, Costantinopoli e l’idea di Europa al tempo del Piccolomini,” L’Europa dopo la Caduta di Costantinopoli: 29 maggio 1453 – Atti del XLIV Convegno storico internazionale, Todi, 7-9 ottobre 2007, (Spoletò: Fonadazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull’Alto Medioevo, 2008), 435-466. A political inroad to eventual Western sovereignty in the East rested in Cleofa Malatesta, the wife of Theodore II. See: Silvia Ronchey, “Orthodoxy on Sale: The Last Byzantine and the Lost Crusade,” Proceedings of the 21st International Congress of Byzantine Studies, London, 21-26 August 2006, volume I: Plenary Papers, (Burlington: Ashgate, 2006), 315-341 and “Il Piano di Salvataggio di Bisanzio in Morea,” L’Europa dopo la Caduta di Costantinopoli: 29 maggio 1453 – Atti del XLIV Convegno storico internazionale, Todi, 7-9 ottobre 2007, (Spoletò: Fonadazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull’Alto Medioevo, 2008), 517-531.

and prowess in the hopes of convincing the Sultan to convert to Christianity.\textsuperscript{162} Though hyperbolic at times in its rhetoric, it reflects his sense of the do-or-die urgency for the sovereigns and princes to Europe to unify and fight to fulfill what he saw as the West’s great imperial destiny.

With this vision in mind Pius continued to look for ways to augment funds for his great crusade. With the three-year crusade tax meeting resistance, he added benefices as an enticement for people to donate to the cause. In Bologna, the most noteworthy of these, whereby Pius sought to harness the popularity of Bologna’s premiere shrine, was a plenary indulgence for all who visited the Madonna di San Luca and left an offering.\textsuperscript{163} Once again, Fileno della Tuata’s reaction to this tactic reveals his bitterness and cynicism, noting that as long as the money was forthcoming, things went well.\textsuperscript{164} His cynical suspicions were likely reinforced when a just over a month later a brief arrived ordering the government to pay 3000 florins to help with the crusade.\textsuperscript{165}

\textsuperscript{162} The exact purpose of and audience for this curious letter, written at some point in late 1461 or early 1462, is not entirely clear as it was never actually sent to the Sultan and only published after Pius’s death. Its structure follows the epideictic model of sacred humanist orations, assigning praise and blame to the sovereigns and princes of the West as well as the Sultan. As a polemic and potential tool of propaganda, the letter put forth a scathing indictment of the short-sighted, self-interested politics of western rulers, shaming them for their equivocating and inaction with the hopes of spurring them to take up the cause of the crusade in earnest. Pius even went so far as to declare the Sultan more powerful than all the Christian princes and that as the “New Constantine” he should accept baptism, thus legitimizing his supremacy over them all. For the full text of the letter see: Aneaus Silvius Piccolomini, \textit{Epistola ad Mahometen II}, ed. and trans. A.R. Baca, (New York: Peter Lang, 1990). For a study of the letter see: Nancy Bisaha, “Pope Pius II’s Letter to Mehmed II: A Reexamination,” \textit{Crusades} 1 (2002): 183-200. For sacred humanist orations see: John W. O’Malley, \textit{Praise and Blame in Renaissance Rome: Rhetoric, Doctrine, and Reform in the Sacred Orators of the Papal Court, c. 1450-1521}, (Durham: Duke University Press, 1979).

\textsuperscript{163} ASB, \textit{Sommario…} (as in 123), 69-70. Brief dated April 2, 1460. The indulgence was valid until the Feast of the Assumption in mid August.

\textsuperscript{164} Della Tuata, (as in 119), 324. “A di 12 d’aprire [1460] vene uno breve del papa che deva el perdono de cholpa e pena a Madonna Santa Maria in Monte a mezzo agosto facendoli hoferta: pure che dinari vengano ogni chosa sta bene.”

\textsuperscript{165} ASB, \textit{Sommario…} (as in 123), 70. Brief dated April 28, 1460. Setton, (as in 95), 214.
By early 1461, Pius was formulating a large-scale crusade plan with the Doge of Venice.\textsuperscript{166} Meanwhile, the Sultan was making fast inroads into Serbia, having already placed Trebizond and the coast of the Black Sea squarely under his control. To add insult to injury, the island of Lesbos fell to the Turks in late 1461. In March 1462, Pius chose to make a bold move to force the princes and sovereigns of Europe to make good on their crusade pledges made in Mantua by leading the crusade himself and obligating the princes to follow him. With a small, select group of trusted cardinals Pius formulated an offering of sticks and carrots to Europe’s sovereigns, hoping that on some level his action would set an example and shame them into action. He also understood at this point how much damage the heavy taxation and sale of indulgences had done for the image of the papacy.\textsuperscript{167} Thus, in a final reformulation of strategy, Pius promoted the crusade as an act of devotion in the traditional mode of self sacrifice for the honor of Christ as well as a way for the church to redeem itself in terms of the mistrust it had engendered over the years.\textsuperscript{168}

\textsuperscript{166} Even earlier, however, he was already channeling crusade tax revenue to Venetian coffers as evidenced by a brief sent to the Bolognese crusade tax collectors and the papal legate ordering the transfer of the crusade funds collected to date to the Doge. ASB, Sommario… (as in 123), 70. Brief dated May 13, 1460.

\textsuperscript{167} Housley, (as in 117), 107. Pius lamented to the cardinals that, “People think our sole objective is to amass gold. No one believes what we say. Like insolvent tradesmen we are without credit. Everything we do is interpreted in the worst way.” Pius also sought alternative means of raising funds for the crusade, the most notable of which was the exploitation of an alum mine discovered in Tolfa in the spring of 1462. Initially, the mine generated a large sum of money, which eliminated the opportunity for the sovereigns and princes to object to the crusade on the grounds that money was lacking. By 1472, however, substantive crusade financing with alum revenue was no longer a possibility. Fritz Saxl, "A Marsilio Ficino Manuscript Written in Bruges in 1475, and the Alum Monopoly of the Popes," Journal of the Warburg Institute 1 (1), (July 1937): 61-62. As for crusade taxes, in late 1462, the Bolognese government was informed that the three-year crusade tax issued in 1459 had been fulfilled. ASB, Sommario… (as in 123), 70. Brief dated 17 November, 1462.

\textsuperscript{168} Bisaha, (as in 158), 48-52 and Setton, (as in 95), 261-262.
Preparations began in the summer of 1463 and in October Pius issued a crusade bull and an encyclical admonishing any prince or sovereign who would not follow him into battle. Though it was widely recognized on the Italian peninsula that the Turks at the very least needed to be contained, fears of political imbalance resulting from unequal cost distributions for the war and self-interested maneuvering proved a force to be reckoned with for Pius. Nonetheless, Pius pressed forward in November of 1463 by issuing another three-year crusade tax and by early spring was intent on assembling legions of soldiers and galley ships. In mid March, the Bolognese government sent a representative to Venice to secure two galley ships that the Bolognese would arm at their own expense. Once the ships were secured, the Bolognese elected Achille Malvezzi and

169 The Bolognese government was instructed to assemble ambassadors to negotiate with the Duke of Burgundy for the crusade effort. ASB, Sommario… (as in 123), 79. Brief dated 3 July, 1463. Cardinal Bessarion also stopped in Bologna in mid July on his way to Venice to help preach the crusade and arrange for provisions. Ghirardacci, (as in 120), 182. News of the crusade tax, a repeat of the tax levied in 1459, arrived in Bologna in late November, 1463. Ghirardacci, (as in 120), 183 implies that a great deal of money was collected for the armada that was to launch from Ancona.

170 Setton, (as in 95), 263-268. The Duke of Burgundy’s participation was crucial to the success of the venture, as Pius himself recognized in his commentaries, but in reality the Duke was unable to heed the pope’s call, as the King of France was shoring up resources for an eventual attempt at a claim to rulership in Naples. He would eventually extricate himself from his vow to take up the crusade in February, 1464. Milan pledged allegiance, if only to protect its interest in Genoa’s eastern strongholds, though Francesco would eventually renig on his pledge as well. At this point, the Turks occupied Bosnia and threatened to attack Venice via the Morea. Though reluctant to join the papacy again in a crusade, the Venetians realized they had to mount at the very least a defensive front against the Turks and sought aid from the Florentines, as they had been partners up to this point in presenting a unified opposition to large scale papal crusade plans. Florence refused aid to Venice, figuring that if Venice were weakened and their trade ties with the East broken or diminished, Florence could step in and pick up what they had lost. At that point, the Venetians became profoundly self-protective in their stance and in maneuvering around Pius’s crusade call. For the French response see: Vaughan, (as in 106), 368-372 and Paviot, (as in 106), 163-176. For the Florentine response see: Francesco Cardini, “La Repubblica di Firenze e la crociata di Pio II,” Rivista di storia della chiesa in Italia 33 (1979): 455-482. For Milan see: Simonetta, “Pius II and Francesco Sforza…” (as in 156). For Venice see: Giuseppe Valentini,” La Crociata di Pio II dalla documentazione veneta d’archivio,” Archivium Historiae Pontificiae 13 (1975): 249-282. For an overview of the reaction to the 1463 call to crusade see: Barbara Baldi, Pio II e le trasformazioni dell’Europa cristiana (1457-1464), (Milan: Edizioni Unicopli, 2006), 231-252.

171 Pius wrote to the Bolognese government warning them not to hinder the assembly of two galleys for the war against the Turks. ASB, Sommario… (as in 125), 84. Brief dated 1February, 1464.
Jacomo degli Ingrati to be the captains of the ships; the two traveled to Venice in mid April to see to provisions and returned to Bologna in mid June. In stout defiance of the increased wavering and stalling on the part of many of the key players in the crusade, the pope traveled to Ancona in June of 1464 to await the gathering of troops and fleets. Many were slow to come, mostly waiting to see if the Venetians would actually depart for Ancona. In fact, the Venetians cunningly stalled as long as they could, only arriving in Ancona on August 12. Upon hearing the news that the Venetians were on the way, the two Bolognese legions headed by Achille and Jacomo departed as well, with Achille’s contingent leaving on August 11 and Jacomo’s on August 15. As Ghirardacci said, however, it all went up in smoke as Pius died in Ancona on August 14; the Venetians promptly set sail for home, carrying with them the 40,000 ducats Pius had helped them collect, and the Bolognese contingents returned with the funds and materiel they had assembled as well.

THE CRUSADE AGENDA AFTER THE DEATH OF PIUS II

In many ways the passing of Pius II marked the end of the first wave of a major attempt at a crusade campaign as the advent of Paul II ushered in new strategy whereby the papacy, in league with Venice and Milan, tried to engage in diplomacy with the

172 Ghirardacci, (as in 120), 183-184.

173 Ghirardacci, (as in 120), 185-185 recounts the preparations and celebrations leading up to the departures of Achille and Jacomo’s legions. He also provides a partial list of some of the individuals who comprised each legion. Fileno della Tuata tersely records his exceptionally jaded opinion of the whole affair, offering a final condemnation of Achille Malvezzi and Jacomo degli Ingrati. “A di 11 d’agosto [1464] parti m Achille Malveço per andare in sule galee contra el Turcho, e andò con lui multi çitadini. A di 15 dito parti m Jachomo degli Ingriati per andare pure sula dita armata contra Turchi, poi non se ne fe’ nulla e tornon adret con di dinari el sangue di povri homini, el Diavolo se ne portò li inganati.” Della Tuata, (as in 119), 328.
Turkish prince Uzun Hasan. This policy would largely dominate the rest of the decade and any potential opportunities for political maneuvering through supporting the papal crusade agenda completely disappeared. Furthermore, in Bologna the two major ringleaders of the papal crusade efforts, Achille Malvezzi and Jacomo degli Ingrati, died before the decade was over. While it is likely that Sante Bentevoglio, like other Italian princes, was committed in principle and spirit to the ideals of the decade-long crusade effort, the Realpolitik of maintaining sovereignty made it impossible to act upon to those ideals. The same held true for Giovanni II, who took over rule of Bologna after Sante’s death in October of 1463. All this is not to say, however, that the crusade effort did not leave its mark on the political, social, and even artistic landscape of Bologna.

As even this brief overview of the history of crusade politics in Bologna during this time demonstrates, there were many individuals who had much to gain politically from casting their lot with the papacy and its aspirations for victory in the East. Achille Malvezzi and Jacomo degli Ingrati were perhaps the two most prominent individuals to emerge as papal proxies for the crusade effort. Though both profited in various ways from their efforts on behalf of the pope, had the winds of fortune blown differently on the crusade front, both potentially would have been in a position to radically alter the balance of power in Bologna and advance their local political positions, with perhaps the possibility of overthrowing the Bentivoglio altogether. There might have also been the

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174 Della Tuata, (as in 119), 331 and 333 briefly records their passing: “Muri m. Jachomo degli Ingrati a di 31 die xenbre [1467], e fu se terato a dì primo de zenaro in li Servi, homo veramente de grande estima benché fusse venuto de bassa zente…” and “Muri m. Achille Malveço chavaliero dela Maxon a dì 4 de zenaro [1468], fu sepelito a San Jachomo a grande honore, e avé la Maxon m. Estore figliolo de Verzilio Malveço.” Ghirardacci, (as in 120), 198-199 records in detail the commemorative fanfare surrounding Achille’s funeral.
chance for them to garner landholdings and titles in the East and other rewards for their leadership and victory in battle.

While the traces of Achille Malvezzi and Jacomo degli Ingrati’s political footsteps are fairly distinct, within their realm of action there are also traces of others who put themselves in league with Bologna’s pro-crusade contingent. Perhaps the most significant among them in terms of influence within the confraternity of Santa Maria della Vita is the Gozzadini family. The Gozzadini figured prominently in the confraternity’s membership and served in administrative positions such as rettore and guardiano, as well as doctors in the hospital. Furthermore, not only did the family have historical claims to crusading greatness, their adherence to the pro-crusade contingent in 15th-century Bologna is born out by the fact that several Gozzadini are listed among those who joined Achille Malvezzi and Jacomo degli Ingrati for the ill-fated crusade launch from Ancona. Perhaps of greatest significance, however, is the fact that

175 Several Gozzadini family members are found in the membership rolls of 1453 and 1463. By 1463, enrolment in the stretta group was very small. Archiginnasio Bologna, Santa Maria della Vita, 6 and 10, Statuti e matricole, 1454 and 1463. Also see: Biblioteca dell’Archiginnasio di Bologna, Ospedale S.M. della Vita, Atti I/173, Libro della congregazione, 1473-1479.

176 The Gozzadini, much like the Malvezzi, were a very prominent family in Bologna during the late Middle Ages and had traditionally claimed Guelph sympathies and thus support for papal rule of Bologna. For the place of the Gozzadini in the political landscape of 14th- and 15th-century Bologna see: Sarah Rubin Blanshei, Politics and Justice in Late Medieval Bologna, (Leiden: Brill, 2010). The Gozzadini, like the Malvezzi and the Marescotti, also saw their power erode in the face of increasing Bentivoglio hegemony over the course of the 15th century. Ady, (as in 110), 15-50. Regarding the Gozzadini’s historical crusade ties, Dolfi, (as in 138), 369 lists Bernabò (also Bernardo) d’Enrico di Bernabò as one of the Bolognese crusaders who fought with Godfrey of Bouillon in the First Crusade. In successive crusade campaigns he lists Testa di Costanzo Gozzadini, who went to fight in the Holy Land in 1188 during the Third Crusade, and Princivalle Gozzadini who fought in the Fifth Crusade of 1217. Ghirardacci, (as in 120), 185-186 lists Testa Gozzandini and Antonio di Boetio Gozzandini as members of Achille’s legion and Battista di Boetio Gozzadini as a member of Jacomo’s for the aborted crusade mission of 1464. Furthermore, Fileno della Tuata noted that on October 23, 1460 Cardinal Bessarion made Michele Gozzadini a knight during his stay in Bologna while traveling from Germany to Rome. The reason for the conference of the title, however, was not given. ‘A dì 23 otobre vene Bisarion chardinale griechio egìa nostro legato, che vignea d’Alemagna, fulli fato grande honore, lozò in li Servi e fe’ chavaliero m. Michele Gozadino uno deli signori Ançiani.” Della Tuata, (as in 119), 325. Furthermore, the Malvezzi and Gozzadini families became
the Gozzadini boasted titled landholders in the East; at the time of the fall of Constantinople, Angelo II Gozzadini (d.1464) was Lord of the islands of Kithnos and Siphnos in the Venetian-dominated Cyclades and therefore had a strongly vested interest in staving off further Turkish incursions in the area.\footnote{The island of Siphnos came into the Gozzadini family’s possession in 1337 as part of a dowry to Nicholas Gozzadini when he married the Venetian Maria da Corogna. They came into possession of the island of Kithnos (then known as Fermania or Thermia by the Venetians) the same year when Nicholas I Sanudo, Duke of the Archipelago, granted Francesco Gozzadini the title of Lord. Their political ties to Venice and the Venetian archipelago were further strengthened when Angelo II Gozzadini married Caterina Crispo, daughter of Nicholas Crispo, Lord of Syros, in 1429. The Gozzadini retained rule of Kithnos and Siphnos until 1617 when they were definitely ousted by the Turks. Charles A. Frazee, \textit{The Island Princes of Greece: The Dukes of the Archipeligo}, (Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1988), 91-92.}

All told, the Gozzadini had much to both protect and gain from a successful crusade in the East. The fact that they are the only other family besides the Malvezzi and the Grati (degli Ingrati) to send so many members to Ancona for Pius’s crusade surely indicates their dedication to the cause, even if they are absent from other civic records that chronicle crusading activity in the city. Their prominent standing in the Confraternity of Santa Maria della Vita would have provided them an ample stage from which to promote the papal agenda regarding a crusade. Given that the confraternity itself, as discussed earlier, had strong historical ties to the crusades and the recovery of the Sepulchre was in its foundational blood, they were an ideal corporate body to promote the cause. Furthermore, the Gozzadini were not alone in terms of prominent families within the confraternity who held a distinct dislike for the Bentivoglio family’s grip on civic power and who potentially stood to gain from increased papal presence and leverage within the city. The Marescotti boasted many family members within the confraternity and, in a way, could even claim a hand in the very foundation of the allied through marriage in 1461 when Ginevra di Gaspare (Achille’s sister) married Giovanni Antonio Gozzadini. See: Fornasini, (as in 138), 148.}

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sodality as it was a Marescotti who first directed Raniero Fasani and his flagellant movement toward Bologna. \(^{178}\) They were also resentful of their diminished power in the shadow of the Bentivoglio and would likely have been amenable as well to supporting the pro-papal crusade agenda to the extent it would have offered them renewed political power and leverage. \(^{179}\) The measure of the animosity both the Gozzadini and the Marescotti held for the Bentivoglio and the political hopes they placed in a papal alliance is perhaps best reflected in the events surrounding the eventual overthrow of the Bentivoglio by papal troops when Ercole Marescotti and Camillo Gozzadini, with the blessing of the papal legate, led the sack of the Bentivoglio palace in the spring of 1507. \(^{180}\) To the extent that the Gozzadini and Marescotti were able to exert influence over the corporate patronage of the confraternity during the crusade efforts of the 1460s, Niccolò dell’Arca’s *Lamentation* potentially represents a messaging campaign of political ideas and interests that, while at odds with Bentivoglio policy, offered great potential political rewards for those willing to risk going against the grain.

If we are willing to accept that the historical crusade connection of the confraternity meshed with the contemporary political crusade concerns of some of its members...

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\(^{178}\) See note 74 for Orlandino Marescotti.

\(^{179}\) The Marescotti took great risks to protect Sante’s grandfather, Annibale, only to be repaid with diminished power. Ady, (as in 110), 23-26. Much like the Malvezzi before them who had plotted an assassination attempt against Giovanni II in 1488 only to be foiled and exiled, the Marescotti were uncovered in an attempt to covertly oust the Bentivoglio from power by supporting a military attack by Cesare Borgia at the opening of the 16th century. See Ady, (as in 110), 103-117 for the Malvezzi conspiracy and 118-133 for the events leading up to the eventual overthrow of the Bentivoglio by Julius II in 1506. In the direct wake of the Malvezzi conspiracy, not only were the Malvezzi exiled from the city, but members of other families such as the Marescotti, the Grati (degli Ingrati), and the Gozzadini were exiled as well. Terpstra, (as in 9), 175. Fore relations between the Bentivoglio and the Malvezzi after the death of Sante see: Raffaele Belvedere, “I Bentivoglio e i Malvezzi a Bologna negli anni 1463-1506,” *Annali della Facoltà di Magistero, Università di Bari* 6 (1967): 33-78.

\(^{180}\) Ghirardacci, (as in 120), 370-372 chronicles the overthrow of the Bentivoglio in October of 1506 and the looting and destruction of the palace led by the Gozzadini and Marescotti in May of 1507.
most prominent members, the next question is how might the Sepulchre chapel with Niccolò dell’Arca’s *Lamentation*, which was commissioned during the lead up to Pius’s crusade, have played a part in showcasing and promoting the crusade effort? As discussed earlier, the Sepulchre chapel itself was in a sense a narrated extension of the Sepulchre complex of Santo Stefano, the great touchstone of crusade history and Holy Land spirituality in the city. What the combination of the *Lamentation* and the Sepulchre chapel offered was a new way for the citizens of Bologna to relate to that history, making the critical issues surrounding the status and fate of the Holy Land and the East more palpable and immediate. The sacred narrative of the *Lamentation* became a politicized gloss onto the condensed and synthesized model of the tomb aedicule of the Holy Sepulchre. It combined elements of past history attached to the Sepulchre with contemporary events inasmuch as the fall of Constantinople could be framed as the final culmination of a series of offenses against Christianity in the East stemming from the loss of Jerusalem in 1187. As was seen in the laments and orations produced after the fall of Constantinople, the conflation of Constantinople and Jerusalem was a relatively easy operation, as Constantinople could serve as a transferable metaphor for the memory of the fallen Jerusalem. In this sense the woes, the fates, and the destinies of Jerusalem, Constantinople, and ultimately Rome were linked.

The sense of unjust offense elicited by the mourning figures called for action and justice in the form of vengeance for the crimes the Turks committed against the memory of Christ’s sacrifice and his holy sites, be they in Constantinople or the Holy Land. The life-like quality and the highly expressive, emotive power of the figures combine for powerful effect in communicating a sense of emotional devastation and injury as the
female figures perform the familiar ritual gestures of the vendetta lament. They react to the dead body of Christ not simply with meditative sorrow, but with demonstrable pain, horror, and outrage at the injury done to him. Amidst them all, Nicodemus appears already resolved to what must be done as engages the audience with his stern gaze and projects an air of indignation, reproach, and vituperation that calls upon the viewer to scrutinize his conscience and summon up an absolute indignation and righteous anger toward the sacrilege perpetrated by the Turks against the body of Christ.

There is no doubt that the medieval rhetoric of vengeance in the context of the Crusades was alive and well in the 15th century and it was used to speak to both chivalric values of pious honor and a more general sense of familial justice. The survival and use of this rhetoric is perhaps best exemplified by a near contemporary letter written by Cardinal Bessarion, not long after his stay in Bologna en route to Venice to preach the crusade, during which time he could very easily have seen Niccolò dell’Arca’s recently installed Lamentation. Notably, in this model sermon the first reason he gave in favor of taking up arms against the Turks was retribution, where he begins:

“First, vengeance for the unutterable outrages and abominable injuries committed by the Turks against Christ our God, His saints, the relics of the saints, the churches and holy images, and our fellow Christians.”

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182 Housley, (as in 181), 148.
He goes on to describe such outrages and injuries in gruesome detail for full effect, after which he returns to another rhetorical tactic that relied on a familiar culture of grievance and revenge, namely the vendetta.

“Following this, they must try to make the populace indignant and eager for revenge. If somebody insulted us by saying that we were thieves, liars or deceivers, we could hardly restrain ourselves, but would immediately hurry to exact vengeance. And if something dishonorable were said about our family or kinsman, even the deceased, we would be fired straightaway with vengeful zeal. If we are so prompt and ready to exact revenge for such small offenses, even verbal ones, committed against ourselves and those dear to us, then surely Christian blood will be ashamed to tolerate so many blasphemies, insults, and wrongs against God our Creator and Savior? How will such a one dare to appear in the sight of God and His saints, when the Lord says to him: ‘Most diligently did you exact revenge for wrongs done to you, but mine you treat with contempt. Secular laws state that a man is unworthy of his father’s inheritance if he does not avenge his father’s death. So isn’t it shameless of you to seek a share in my inheritance, and that of the saints, after disdaining to avenge so many blasphemies committed against my name and my saints?’”

It is just this sense of righteous indignity, anger, and even lust for vengeance that the Lamentation itself had the potential to engender in the service of the crusade effort. The invocation of anger and a need for vengeance could have been channeled into several different courses of action. As evidenced by the situation in Bologna, one of the difficulties Pius encountered in trying to muster support for the crusade was resistance to the taxation needed to finance the venture. After several years of repeated taxation with little to show in terms of concrete results, a general air of cynicism toward financing the crusade set in; thus the kind of jaded response and resistance to paying crusade taxes expressed by Fileno della Tuata in his chronicle was not atypical. A shrine such as the Lamentation and its Sepulchre chapel could serve as a vivid reminder of the ultimate virtuous aim of the crusade, that is the liberation of the holy sites in the East, in particular

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183 Housley, (as in 181), 148-149.
the eventually reclamation of the Holy Sepulchre itself, and vengeance against the Turks for the offense against Christ himself that their occupation of the holy sites represented. Though the Sepulchre chapel was an abbreviated and condensed version of the tomb aedicule, it still carried with it all the ideological connotations and symbolic power of the Holy Land prototype. The *Lamentation* added a powerful narrative and rhetorical gloss that collapsed both past and present events in East-West history into a vital and visceral call to action and arms, evoking historical events with both chivalric piety and dutiful devotion to the cause of the Holy Land. At the very least it would have fostered a sense of assurance that the sacrifice of bearing the burden of heavy taxation for the crusade was for a noble cause and would have spurred the faithful to volunteer their manpower for the battle once again. Ultimately, the Sepulchre chapel and *Lamentation* group could serve as an effective rallying cry for the populace to renew their historical ties and commitment to the cause of Christ’s honor and the fate of the Holy Sepulchre and Christianity in the East.

The commission of the *Lamentation* also offered the possibility for the confraternity to step into the limelight of civic politics by embracing what was ostensibly the greatest hot-button political issue of the day. The issue was one which in the moment seemed destined to continue to drive aspects of European and local politics for years to come, though ultimately the failure of Pius’s expedition signaled what would prove to be a death knell for the European crusade movement. In this light, the timing of the commission is significant inasmuch as it not only coincides with Pius’s determined push toward a crusade after the council of Mantua, but also comes on the heels of an indulgence having been granted to Santa Maria della Vita’s main rival, Santa Maria della
Morte and their shrine dedicated to the Madonna di San Luca, to aid in raising funds for the crusade. However, fate pulled the rug out from any hopes the brothers of Santa Maria della Vita may have had in terms of their shrine being similarly enlisted in helping to fund the crusade effort.

To the extent that Niccolò dell’Arca’s *Lamentation* embodies and reflects aspects of crusade rhetoric that tapped into many of the anxieties and attitudes toward crusade politics, its debut was ultimately rather untimely given the ultimate failure of the crusade movement. The *Lamentation* appeared just in time for Bologna’s most spectacular response to the repeated calls to crusade over the past decade, that is the two galleys assembled by Achille Malvezzi and Giacomo degli Ingrati, to evaporate into thin air, taking with it any significant hope of mustering further local support for the crusades. Matters were not helped by the fact that Paul II soon abandoned the idea of a waging crusade, preferring to pursue more conciliatory diplomatic remedies to the situation in the East instead. Therefore, what had once seemed an ideal platform for promoting the papal cause of the crusade and reviving the crusade history of the sodality by means of a life-like and dramatic image housed in a spiritually and politically charged shrine was stripped of its momentum. What would ultimately give the *Lamentation* its staying

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184 Though the exact dates for the Lamentation are uncertain, James Beck’s examination of the few notices of payment in the remaining records held by Santa Maria della Vita indicate an approximate date of at least December 1461 (possibly earlier) as a starting point for the sculpture group and a completion date of April 1463 based on a final payment to the artist. See Beck, (as in 26), 335-336 for the payment records. For the indulgence for the Madonna di San Luca see note 163.

185 Soon after his election, Paul II sent a brief to Bologna requesting that the money that had been collected for Pius’s crusade be sent to Rome. ABS, *Sommario...* (as in 123), 81. Brief of 20 September, 1464. There is no more crusade related correspondence until 1470 when, a few short months before the fall of Negroponte in July, Paul issued a bull ordering citizens to pay a crusade tax of a tenth and Jews a twentieth of their annual income. ABS, *Sommario...* (as in 123), 96. Brief of 25 March, 1470.
power over time was the rich potential for devotional content discussed earlier. As the next chapter hopes to underscore, however, the precedent set by Santa Maria della Vita and Niccolò dell’Arca’s *Lamentation* for politicizing the Sepulchre and scenes of the Passion would persist in the *Lamentation* groups by Guido Mazzoni and eventually the tableau ensembles of the Sacri Monti as well.

**POST-SCRIPT FOR SANTA MARIA DELLA VITA AND POLITICIZED ART**

In many ways, Niccolò dell’Arca’s *Lamentation* was an extraordinary work that reflects a unique moment of both religious and political turmoil in Bologna as well as a defining moment in the visual arts. From its technical virtuosity to its powerful expressivity it remained unique among all the subsequent *Lamentation* groups produced in Italy over the course of the next half century, none of which would replicate its raw, emotional intensity. Additionally, perhaps one of the most curious aspects of its afterlife is the fact that Bologna would become host to several more Sepulchre chapels with *Lamentation* groups. Vincenzo Onofri created one for San Petronio between 1493 and 1500 while Baccio Da Montelupo created another for San Domenico in 1495. Lastly,

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Notably, the bull of indulgence for the *Lamentation* was issued only in 1464 (there is no month specified). There is no question that indulgences could be a convenient tool of politicking; the bull issued for the Madonna di San Luca was once such example of how they could serve to raise funds. However, there is also the example of a bull of indulgence for the chapel of the Ospedale Maggiore and the Duomo in Milan that were given explicitly as a *quid pro quo* enticement by Pius II in return for Francesco Sforza’s support for and military leadership of the crusade. Francesco’s wife, Bianca Maria Visconti, also had a hand in obtaining these indulgences. For the Ospedale Maggior indulgence and other benefices garnered at the Council of Mantua see: Michele Ansani, “La provista dei benefici (1450-1466). Strumenti e limiti dell’intervento ducale,” *Gli Sforza, la Chiesa lombarda, la corte di Roma: strutture e pratiche beneficiarie nel ducato di Milano (1450-1535)*, ed. G. Chittolini, (Napoli: Liguori Editore), 1-113 (esp. pp.18-22). While there is no direct evidence that the administrators of Santa Maria della Vita hoped for a similar arrangement, there is definitive evidence of Paul’s aversion to such casual trafficking in spiritual benefices in return for political favors in the form of a bull condemning all forms of simony that arrived in Bologna in November of 1464. ABS, *Sommario…* (as in 123), 82. Brief of 23 November, 1464.
Alfonso Lombardi created yet another *Lamentation* tableau for the convent of Santa Margerita in 1526.

Though little is known about the context of the commissioning of these works, one thing they share in common is the general time frame during which they were created. One possibility for a revived interest in Sepulchre chapels during this time could possibly be linked to yet another spike in interest in waging a crusade, this time on the part of Charles VIII. As will be argued in the following chapter, this is a possibility for several of the groups by Guido Mazzoni. While there certainly was a renewed interest in the Holy Land in Bologna, largely promoted by Anton Galeazzo Bentivoglio, who was actively integrating himself into the civic- and corporate-religious life of the city over the course of the 1490s, it seems possible that the appearance of these groups is a response to the Bentivoglio family attempt to co-opt important civic organizations and shrines.¹⁸⁷

The placement of a Sepulchre chapel with Vincenzo Onofri’s *Lamentation* group, which distinctly echoes that of Santa Maria della Vita, in the civic church of Bologna was a way

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¹⁸⁷ Giovanni II’s son, Anton Galeazzo, was a key figure in the Bentevoglio plan to promote the sacred presence of the family throughout the city. He was quite fond of all manner of civic religious ceremony as well as pilgrimages, making a particularly noteworthy pilgrim to Jerusalem to visit the Holy Sepulchre from which he returned in 1498. Ghirardacci, (as in 120), 295 noted that he had this pilgrimage commemorated with a portrait of himself in the cloak bearing the Hospitaller insignia that he was wearing upon his return inserted into an altarpiece of the Nativity. Completed by Francesco Francia in 1499, the painting was installed on the high altar of the church of Santa Maria Misericordia; it is now in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna. Terpstra, (as in 9), 180 notes that in the wake of the Malvezzi conspiracy in 1488, the Bentivoglio were keen to expand their presence in the city by infiltrating prominent corporate groups and co-opting patronage of various civic-religious shrines. The *Lamentation* groups in San Petronio and San Domenico appear during a time in which civic cults were a prime target of the Bentivoglio family’s attention. For a broader study of Bentivoglio patronage strategies see: David J. Drogin, “Bologna’s Bentivoglio Family and its Artists: Overview of a Quattrocento Court in the Making,” *Artists at Court: Image-making and Identity 1300-1550*, eds. S.J. Campbell and E. Welch, (Boston: Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 2004), 72-90, 211-216.
in which the city itself could appropriate an aspect of an important political-religious cult as a hedge against the increasingly pervasive Bentivoglio presence. 188

Baccio da Montelupo’s Lamentation in San Domenico possibly represents a similar case of push back against the Bentivoglio’s long reach. From the few surviving documents that pertain to the group, we know that the Bolognini family was responsible for the Sepulchre chapel that housed the Lamentation as well as the adjacent Chapel of San Domenico, which underwent renovations starting in 1493 thanks to an endowment by the Bolognini family. 189 The Arc of San Domenico was an exceptionally high-profile site of civic cult patronage and sponsoring the rebuilding of the chapel was one way to lay claim to a pretigious role in promoting that cult. The same dynamic was at work in the Sepulchre chapel which now referenced not only Santo Stefano, but Niccolò dell’Arca’s tableau group as well. Thematic patronage that both appropriated and echoed iconic monuments and shrines of such a high order of civic prominence was one way to reassert and affirm one’s place in the civic hierarchy.

Several decades later, Alfonso Lombardi created Bologna’s last monumental Lamentation group for the nuns of Santa Margherita. 190 The original context for the


commission of this work does not appear to have had any particular overtly political connotations or connections. However, it would become part of an amalgamated quartet of Sepulchres in Bologna under Cardinal Paleotti when in 1586 he instituted the ritual visit to the Sepulchres of Santa Maria della Vita, San Petronio, San Domenico, and finally to the cathedral San Pietro, where Alfonso Lombardi’s *Lamentation* was transferred in 1584, on Maundy Thursday. Effectively, Paleotti’s gesture was one which sought to politically harmonize the various Sepulchre monuments by diminishing the individual patronal and political histories of the city’s four main Sepulchre monuments and their *Lamentation* tableaux and subordinating them to the central civic Sepulchre shrine of Santo Stefano as the prime locus for civic Easter celebrations. In doing so each of the Sepulchre groups became subsumed into a homogenous narrative of civic sacred ritual and piety in a revitalized environment of devotional reform where the political charge attached to the ideology and symbolism of the Holy Sepulchre dissipated into little more than the glow of nostalgic notions of chivalric glories of days long past.

In addition to the afterlife of the *Lamentation* tableau in Bologna, there is also the final issue of a tradition of politicized art patronage within the confraternity of Santa Maria della Vita that begins with Niccolò dell’Arca’s *Lamentation*. Rather than simply a one-time dalliance in the arena of civic politics, subsequent commissions by the


192 Not long after Paleotti was made archbishop of Bologna in December of 1582, he had Lombardi’s *Lamentation* moved to a sunken crypt-like area near the apse in San Pietro. See: Sinigalliesi, (as in 190), 49 and Zanotti, (as in 190), 57. For Paleotti’s inauguration of the Easter visits to the four Sepulchres see: Daniela Sinigalliesi, *I Compianti nella spiritualità popolare bolognese*, (Bologna: Stampa Tecnofoto, 1991), 60-61.
confraternity evince political leanings and indicate that the sodality embraced the image of itself as a political and moral bellwether for leading political issues of the day. While Niccolò dell’Arca’s *Lamentation* was commissioned in an environment of competing political voices where Bentivoglio hegemony had not completely solidified, by the time the confraternity contracted for its next major public commission, the landscape of its internal politics had changed considerably. Just as with the many other sodalities and civic organizations where the Bentivoglio had increased their presence and tightened the reigns of their influence over the following decades, the confraternity of Santa Maria della Vita found itself headed by none other than Anton Galeazzo Bentivoglio. Where once the confraternity had been free to commission a work that effectively advocated against Bentivoglio policy and interests, it now became an outlet for Bentivoglio ideological leanings.

During his tenure as *rettore* of the confraternity Anton Galeazzo commissioned an altarpiece of the *Presentation in the Temple* for the high altar of the church from Lorenzo Costa.\(^{193}\) The subject focuses on the Christological theme of Jesus as both the sacrificial lamb and the bridge between the Old and New Testaments and two eras of eschatological history. As Stephen Campbell notes in his discussion of the iconography of this subject, it offered potential for presenting the relationship between the Jewish and Christian faiths

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\(^{193}\) Emilio Negri and Nicosetta Roio, *Lorenzo Costa 1460-1535*, (Modena: Artioli Editore, 2001), 110-111. Giovanni Boschini (*Vite de’ pittori e scultori ferraresi*) was the first to note the connection to Anton Galeazzo citing a payment record from December 1502 of 100 large gold ducats, or 360 lire, to Lorenzo Costa from Anton Galeazzo Bentivoglio, *rettore* of the confraternity, for the painting on the high altar. Formerly in the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, the painting was destroyed in 1945. The subject has alternately been identified as *The Circumcision* and *The Presentation in the Temple*, with each of these images have slightly different theological emphases; in fact, Costa’s version seems to be a melding of the two.
in both positive and negative lights. Dalia Haitovsky argues that Costa’s rendition of the subject presents a positive, conciliatory approach, stressing the links between the two faiths. Though the underlying theological concept at work in the image hinges on the passing of the Jewish tradition and laws with the advent of Christ as the Messiah, the image shows an extraordinary knowledge of and sensitivity to aspects of the Hebrew language and Jewish traditions. The painting features several iconographic elements that hold dual significance for the Jewish and Christian faiths while the inscription held by the kneeling woman on the left shows a particularly adept knowledge of Hebrew. She attributes these unusual aspects of the painting to the patron, Anton Galeazzo, a highly educated young man and refined patron of the arts who had been groomed for a career in the church from a young age. In 1464 under the auspices of Giovanni II, the University of Bologna opened a department of Hebrew studies, which would have provided Anton Galeazzo’s own education in the language or a wealth of scholars he could have consulted for aid in choosing text and formulating the inscriptions for this painting.


196 Anton Galeazzo had become an apostolic protonotary in 1483 with hopes of advancing to the cardinalate, as well as archdeacon of the University of Bologna in 1491. Ady, (as in 110), 143 and 161.

197 Haitovsky, (as in 195), 119. Haitovsky goes so far as to suggest that the kneeling figure on the right is a portrait of Anton Galeazzo, who would have been thirty years old when this painting was commissioned. However, the facial figures are those of a decidedly older man and are not that similar to the known portrait of him in the Nativity by Francia of 1499 (see note 187). Another possible identification of this figure is Beato Raniero, the confraternity’s founder.
Thus, it was thanks to the Bentivoglio that the Jews of Bologna enjoyed a level of intellectual prestige in the city as well as protection from broader persecution and exploitation.\textsuperscript{198} As Haitovsky demonstrates, it is ultimately the Bentivoglio family’s political position vis-à-vis the Jews of Bologna and their tolerance and understanding of Jewish traditions and culture in tandem with Anton Galeazzo’s leadership within the confraternity that accounts for the positive light cast upon Jewish traditions and Jewish-Christian relations in this image.

With the expulsion of the Bentivoglio, however, the political and cultural landscape of the city began to shift rapidly.\textsuperscript{199} By the time Santa Maria della Vita initiated their next major artistic commission, \textit{The Death of the Virgin} (1519-1521) by Alfonso Lombardi, the political leanings of the membership clearly reflected aspects of this shift.\textsuperscript{200} The tableau portrays a rarely seen moment in the story of \textit{The Death of the Virgin} that has a distinctly anti-Semitic thrust, wherein an angry Jewish high priest who attacks the Virgin’s bier during her funeral is struck down by an angel with a fiery

\textsuperscript{198} As noted earlier in relation to the crusade tax, the Benitvoglio were keen to protect the Jewish community from persecution and over-taxation as the Bolognese economy relied on the monetary influx their loans provided and the Bentivoglio themselves relied on the income from annual taxes levied upon the Jews. See note 127 as well as Ady, (as in 110), 188 who cites a letter of 23 September, 1488 from the Sedici to Rome protesting papal attempts to exact taxes from the Jews of Bologna. “The people are obliged to borrow money daily from these Hebrews for their infinite necessities.” Though a Monte di Pietà was established in Bologna in 1473 by the observant Franciscan friar Michele Caracano, it foundered over the years and was not functional again until 1505, when it was re-established by Fra Bartolomeo Nibbia with its official seat in San Petronio.


\textsuperscript{200} Norberto Gramaccini, \textit{Alfonso Lombardi}, (Frankfurt am Maim, 1980), 13-27.
sword. When the priest lays his hands upon the bier, the angel severs his hands, which remain stuck to the bier. He is healed only when he kisses the bier in repentance and praises the Virgin in Hebrew; ultimately he converts to Christianity upon seeing the angel overhead.

Returning to the dramatic format of the monumental sculpted tableau and the expressive and realistic medium of terracotta, the brothers chose a subject that placed an overtly anti-Semitic gloss on a Marian narrative, thus promoting a stridently triumphalist position with regard to the relationship between Judaism and Christianity. This marked a distinct departure from the more tolerant and conciliatory interfaith stance espoused during the tenure of Anton Galeazzo and reflected in the altarpiece he commissioned for the confraternity. The expulsion of the Bentivoglio from Bologna ushered in an era of increasingly divided relations between Jews and Christians where greater voice was given to the anti-Semitic preachings of the Monte promoters and the papal push to convert Jews. As Bologna’s confraternities were increasingly being called upon to aid with the social and political agenda of the Monte in their efforts to shut down Jewish money-lending operations, the brothers of Santa Maria della Vita found themselves in an

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201 Though this anti-Semitic incident is found in Jacobus de Voragine’s *Golden Legend*, has its roots in a slightly different 7th-century rendition of the story formulated by John of Thessalonica. In the *Golden Legend* the priest’s hands stuck to the bier as soon as he touched it and his hands and arms withered and were overcome with a searing pain. He was healed once he repented and praised the Virgin. See: Fabrizio Lollini, “‘Lo strepito degli ostinati giude.’ Iconografia antiebraica a Bologna e in Emilia Romagna,” *Banchi ebraici a Bologna nel XV secolo*, ed. M.G. Muzzarelli, (Bologna: Il Mulino Editore, 1994): 269-328 (esp. pp. 286-292).

202 For many years, the angel was lost as a result of the tableau group having been moved in 1639. It was only recently rediscovered in storage, restored, and reintegrated into the tableau. See: Francisco Giordano, “Nell’Oratorio della Vita si vede di nuovo ‘un’Angelo appeso,’” *Strenna Storica Bolognese* 53 (2003): 185-201.

awkward position. As Maria Delbianco demonstrates, the confraternity had been renting some of their properties to Jewish money-lenders for years. In the new climate ushered in by the Bentivoglio family’s exile, not only did the confraternity find itself under pressure to evict those tenants and sever any financial ties they had with the Jewish money lenders, as Delbianco argues, they also needed to present themselves as staunch advocates of the new social order with regards to relations – be they financial, cultural, or theological – between Christians and Jews. Alfonso Lombardi’s dramatic and powerful tableau of the Death of the Virgin helped them to make a decisively bold and public bona fides statement to that effect.

Ultimately, one element that stands out in the sixty-year history of Santa Maria della Vita’s artistic commissions is the group’s predilection for unusual subjects and iconography as well as dramatic presentation with Niccolò dell’Arca’s Lamentation standing not as an isolated incident, but rather the first in a series of politicized commissions for the brotherhood. As one of Bologna’s preeminent confraternities, their membership laid claim to powerful and cultivated individuals who recognized the political power of the civic platform the sodality offered. In the group’s effort to create a spectacular addition to the city’s nascent network of civic-religious shrines, Niccolò dell’Arca’s Lamentation and its Sepulchre chapel offered them a monument that not only revived the foundational history of the confraternity, but also linked them to one of the city’s most beloved shrines and symbols of devotional history. Furthermore, inasmuch as a select handful of members saw an opportunity to advance their own personal political agendas through the cult of a civic shrine, they also created a monument that promoted

the call for a crusade to take back Constantinople and eventually the Holy Land itself with powerfully dramatic urgency and insistence and with the hope of laying the foundations for a resurgent Western Christian empire. For the brothers of Santa Maria della Vita, the Sepulchre chapel was a complex amalgamation of religious and devotional themes, political ideology, and cultural references all synthesized together and brought to life by the uniquely life-like and expressive qualities of the *Lamentation* tableau. The powerful example this monument offered would cast a long shadow in Bologna and beyond.
CHAPTER 4: Harnessing the Rhetorical Power of the Sepulchre: The *Lamentation*
Tableaux of Guido Mazzoni and Agostino de’ Fondulis and the Beginnings of the
Sacro Monte di Varallo

In effect, the Holy Sepulchre never completely faded from view in the West in the centuries following the crusaders’ loss of the last stronghold of the Latin Kingdom in 1291. The first half of the 15th century, however, marked a turning point for the West’s interest in the East and its relationship with the city of Jerusalem. The return of the papacy to Rome and the push for the unification of the Latin and Eastern churches in the face of the East’s increasingly precarious position inspired ambitious plans for the repositioning of the papacy as a political institution and the city of Rome as an imperially inspired expansion in the form of Nicholas V’s vision of the papal city rebuilt and fashioned as a New Jerusalem.\footnote{Marie Tanner in *Jerusalem on the Hill: Rome and the Vision of St. Peter’s in the Renaissance*, (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2010) explores the political circumstances and the ideological basis behind creating an analogy in the second half of the 15th century between Rome and Jerusalem and the tomb of Peter and that of Jesus. See pages 117-149 for the architectural connections to the Holy Sepulchre.} At the heart of it would be a new St. Peter’s modeled on none other than the structure that symbolized the West’s imperial Christian heritage in the East, the Holy Sepulchre. In this sense, the plan to recast Rome as a revived Christian imperial center hinged on the revival and expansion of the traditions of appropriation and translation of Jerusalem and its shrines found in Sepulchre replica complexes such as those in Bologna and Pisa. The civic and political meanings invested in these expansive Sepulchre replica complexes, and even smaller ones such as Florence’s Baptistery, found new resonance in papal ambitions for an imperially revamped Rome. Even though the grandiose plan for rebuilding the city and repositioning the papacy as an aspiring imperial
power were dealt a devastating blow by the Turks with the capture of Constantinople, the vision was slowly carried forward by successive popes, finally culminating in Bramante’s plans for the new St. Peter’s built in the image of the Sepulchre. The push toward a revitalized papacy embodied by the new St. Peter’s reflected the continuing power and potency of the symbolism and ideology attached to the Sepulchre and reinstated its primacy as both a devotional and political touchstone in the Western imagination.

In this larger context, Niccolò dell’Arca’s Lamentation and its Sepulchre chapel is but one artistic manifestation of the West’s renewed enthusiasm for harnessing the symbolic power of the Holy Sepulchre. The gloss this tableau group puts on the Sepulchre is both a reaction to the anxieties about the status of the Holy Land provoked by the fall of Constantinople and a mirroring of the rhetoric used to stoke enthusiasm and support for a crusade. To the extent that the visual rhetoric of lament as presented by Niccolò dell’Arca’s Lamentation had the potential to fan the flames of anger and a desire for revenge against the Turks, it also takes its place among a body of imagery used to incite anger and invoke violent response. All of this, however, does not negate in any way the traditional devotional interpretations given to these groups, namely their connection to the growing popularity of Passion-based devotions as they developed in relation to the devotio moderna and the Christological spirituality of the Observant

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2 As Tanner, (as in 1), 150-201 asserts, this renewed embrace of the symbolic and ideological heritage of the Holy Sepulchre was not limited to Rome. The architectural projects of Alberti and Bramante for the Gonzaga, the Medici, the Malatesta, and the Sforza families made direct reference to the Sepulchre both as the quintessential Christian funerary structure and as a model of imperial grandeur.

3 The example of Lorenzo the Magnificent’s ex-voto figure donning his bloodied clothes from the Pazzi attack discussed in Chapter One is certainly among this type of imagery as well. Other types of images included painted effigies of hanged men of the type that earned Andrea del Castagno the moniker Andrea degli impichiati and that are hinted at in the sketches by Pisanello and Leonardo. See: Samuel Y. Egerton, Pictures and Punishment: Art and Criminal Prosecution during the Florentine Renaissance, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985), especially the chapters on “effigies of shame” and Gherardo Ortalli, La pittura infamante nei secoli XIII-XVI, (Rome: Jouvence, 1979).
Franciscans. Rather, it underscores the potential for multivalent readings, from devotional to political, inherent in these tableau groups, adding a new layer of politicized meaning to the wealth of Christological devotional themes they reference. Even when the mode of lament performed by characters represented in *Lamentation* tableaux is more restrained, as is often the case in Guido Mazzoni’s renditions of the subject, it still has the power to speak to a political stance on the status of Christendom’s holiest shrine.

While Niccolò dell’Arca’s *Lamentation* is perhaps unique in the extent to which it engages with an intense local environment of crusade fervor as it manifested in Bologna, the following discussion will demonstrate that several of the *Lamentation* groups by Guido Mazzoni also had distinct ways of reflecting different levels of engagement with political issues, whether of local interest or of broader impact, such as the drive for a crusade in the East. While Mazzoni’s *Lamentation* tableaux in Ferrara and Naples have been discussed by scholars such as Timothy Verdon and George Hersey as part of a general strategy of pious princely display, what is developed in the following chapter is an exposition of specific ways in which the Holy Sepulchre represented by a Sepulchre chapel and *Lamentation* group reflected a political devotion to the Sepulchre that was rooted in a culture of chivalric, crusader values. Such pious political statements were a way of expressing political allegiances as well as grand political aspirations. For Mazzoni’s princely patrons, spiritual devotion to the cause of retaking the Sepulchre, even when their political actions betrayed a more pragmatic stance with regard to the status of the Holy Land and actual military intervention in the East, was a powerful emblem of chivalric piety that served to strengthen their images as rulers. For other

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4 Preachers such as Bernardino da Siena and texts such as the *Meditations vitae Christi* and the *Ziardino de oratione* are frequently pointed to, especially by Timothy Verdon in relation to the works of Guido Mazzoni. Timothy Verdon, *The Art of Guido Mazzoni*, (New York: Garland, 1978).
patrons of lesser status, such a monument still had enormous power to craft the image of a role of civic prominence. Furthermore, in relation to the development of the Sacro Monte di Varallo, though general connections between the Lamentation tableaux of the 15th century and the birth of historiated chapels of the Sacro Monte have long been acknowledged, I propose that the connection has less to do with the evolution of the uses of tableau sculpture per se, and is more specifically rooted in practices of replicating the Holy Sepulchre that stemmed from evolving East-West relations in the age of Renaissance crusade anxieties.

BUSSETO

Guido Mazzoni’s first Lamentation group was made for the brothers Gianludovico and Pallavicino Pallavicini in the years 1476-1477 and installed in a Sepulchre chapel in the Observant Franciscan church of Santa Maria degli Angeli. The church and monastery of Santa Maria degli Angeli were built roughly between 1470 and 1475 by the brothers with funds bequeathed by their father, Rolando “il Magnifico” Pallavicino, the Marquis of Cremona and founder of the Pallavicino State. Gianludovico and Pallavicino became the marquis of Cortemaggiore and Busseto respectively after their father’s death.5 The brothers served as important political go-betweens for the Sforza court and major court centers in Emilia Romagna while their brother Carlo, who served as the bishop of Lodi from 1456-1497, played an important role in the religious-

5 The division of the Pallavicino State was executed by Francesco Sforza in 1458 as a resolution to property and right of rule disputes and familial infighting amongst Gianludovio, Pallavicino, and the fourth son of Rolando, Gianfrancesco. This intervention weakened the Pallavicino family politically as the resolution effectively made them official vassals of the Sforza. Emilio Seletti, La città di Busseto: Capitale un tempo dello Stato Pallavicino — Memorie Storiche, volume 1, (Milan: Tipografia Bortolotti di Dal Bono e Co., 1883), 207.
political machine of the Sforza realm. The brothers received a concession of spiritual benefits for the construction of the church in 1472 when a bull from Sixtus IV was delivered to them by Cardinal Bessarion, then papal legate to Lombardy. Both brothers and their father had shown a longstanding devotion to the Observant Franciscans and a congregation of Friars Minor from Bologna was brought in to take residence in the monastery in the spring of 1473. While the church itself was funded jointly by Gianludovico and Pallavicino, Gianludovico was responsible for commissioning the Lamentation and Sepulchre chapel from Guido Mazzoni. Both brothers, however, are generally believed to be represented in the tableau in the guise of Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus.

On the face of things, the adoption of a potent Christological subject such as the Lamentation was perfectly in line with Observant Franciscan spirituality, however, the situation in Lombardy was unique thanks to the presence of a firebrand crusade advocate, the Portuguese Franciscan, Amadeo Menez de Sylva. Amadeo had made a name for

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7 Seletti, (as in 5), 215.

8 Seletti, (as in 5), 215.


10 Adalgisa Lugli, Guido Mazzoni e la Rinascita della terracotta nel Quattrocento, (Turin: Umberto Allemandi, 1990), 319. Lugli notes that the effigies of the two brothers have suffered considerable damage. While we see them today in a kneeling pose, it is possible that one or both of the figures were originally standing. As for the question of whether the figures of Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus are in fact portraits, it is local tradition with no documentary evidence to secure the claim. The difficulty in identifying the figures as portraits is further compounded by a lack of portraits of the brothers in other media that could serve as comparatives.
himself early on as a fiery preacher who placed emphasis on the sanctity of the Holy Sepulchre and the need to free it from Muslim rule as well as the cause of liberating Spain from the Moors.\textsuperscript{11} He arrived in Milan in 1454 and found favor with Bianca Maria Sforza, which allowed his particular brand of Franciscan belief to prosper and spread. One of the effects of Amadeo’s presence in Lombardy was the diffusion of his emphasis on the Sepulchre of Christ, which contributed greatly to the prominence of painted and sculpted images of scenes such as the \textit{Entombment} and the \textit{Lamentation}.\textsuperscript{12} It is difficult to know the extent to which the ideas of Amadeo and his followers held sway at Busseto and may have encouraged a Sepulchre related theme for Gianludovico’s chapel; however, given that the new resident congregation at Santa Maria degli Angeli came from Bologna, they would likely have been familiar with Niccolò dell’Arca’s \textit{Lamentation} in the Sepulchre chapel at Santa Maria della Vita and could have suggested such a monument.

The theme of the Sepulchre would have resonated with the Pallavicino family not only from a spiritual standpoint, but from a political standpoint as well given aspects of

\textsuperscript{11} Amadeo was born in Portugal, but began his religious activities in Spain where he first enlisted as a soldier with the idea of becoming a martyr for the faith in the effort to drive the Moors out of Spain. Surviving his stint as a soldier, he subsequently entered a Hieronymite monastery for a short time before departing for Italy. He first joined the Franciscan order at Assisi in 1453, but was expelled for his extremism. He then worked his way north where as an itinerant preacher he gained the support of Bianca Maria Sforza in 1454. In the next several years his status rose and he even served as a diplomat for Bianca Maria at the court of Pius II. His following continued to grow and in 1460 he joined the monastery of Santa Maria da Bersanora where his preaching led to the establishment of new Franciscan communities throughout Lombardy. In 1472 Sixtus IV transferred him from Lombardy to the monastery of San Pietro in Montorio and took him on as his confessor as well. See: Paolo Maria Sevesi, “Il beato Amadeo Menez de Sylva,” \textit{Miscellanea Francescana} 32 (1932): 227-232. For Franciscan influence in Lombardy in general see: Maria Pia Alberzoni, ed., \textit{Francescanesimo in Lombardia}, (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana Editoriale, 1983). Upon arriving in Rome Amadeo began transcribing his \textit{Apocalypsis nova} from the prophetic words told to him by the Angel Gabriel, a text that was highly influenced by Joachim of Fiore’s 12\textsuperscript{th}-century millennial prophecy (see Chapter Two, footnote 78). For the impact of the \textit{Apocalypsis nova} at the court of Sixtus IV and successive popes see: Anna Morisi-Guerra, “The \textit{Apocalypsis nova}: A Plan for Reform,” \textit{Prophetic Rome in the High Renaissance Period: Essays}, ed. M. Reeves, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 27-50.

\textsuperscript{12} Sandrina Bandera, \textit{Agostino de’ Fondulis la riscoperta della terracotta nel Rinascimento}, (Bergamo: Edizione Bolis, 1997), 55-56.
the family’s history. Until the mid 14th century, members of the Pallavicino family had held the title of the Marquis of the Frankish stronghold of Boudonitza in Northern Greece on the outskirts of the Duchy of Athens. The fiefdom had originally been given to Guido Pallavicino of Parma in 1204 by the newly installed king of Thessalonica, Bonifazio di Monferrato. Guglielma Pallavicino was the last of her family to hold the title as an attempt by her relative, Manfredo Pallavicino, to claim the title of Marquis in lieu of her husband, the Venetian Niccolò Zorzi, was thwarted. Zorzi subsequently had Manfredo jailed and executed. Though Guglielma fought the Venetian state through legal channels for years in order to retain the title for her family, the fiefdom was definitively lost to the Zorzi family when Gugliema died in 1358. In turn, the Zorzi lost the territory when it was attacked by the Turks in June of 1414. Though the Pallavicini were relative latecomers to the crusades, they nonetheless had held title to a strategically important area within the Frankish crusader kingdom. Given that Busseto played an important role in garnering support for the 15th-century crusades in that it became the headquarters for the collector general of the crusade tax for all of Lombardy in 1477, Gianludovico would have been eager to showcase his family’s chivalric bona fides and crusading heritage with a monument that spoke to an unabated devotion to the cause of the Sepulchre, even if his ability to aid in its recovery was limited and any hopes he may have had for regaining his family’s lost title small.


14 In terms of current events regarding the Turkish threat, the peaceful negotiations in which Paul II had placed his faith resulted in naught and by July of 1470 the Turks were able to deal a substantial blow to the Venetians and the West by taking the island of Negroponte. With the election of Sixtus IV in August of 1471, calls for a crusade came out in force. As a Franciscan, Sixtus was eager to put the familiar crusade...
MODENA

Guido Mazzoni’s next patrons for a *Lamentation* tableau were the confraternity of San Giovanni della Buona Morte in Modena. The confraternity was founded in 1372 with the charitable aim of operating a *conforteria* for criminals condemned to death. In 1436 they received ownership of a tower in which they created an upper and lower oratory. The lower oratory is likely where both the *conforteria* and the Sepulchre chapel were located. The chapel was completed between 1477 and 1479 and the *Lamentation* was then installed between 1479 and 1480. There is still some debate as to whether this tableau contains portraits of members of the confraternity playing the roles of Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus, with some speculative attempts having been made at identifying specific officers of the confraternity who may be portrayed. Additionally, the confraternity obtained a bull of indulgence for the Sepulchre chapel, though the terms of the indulgence are unknown. As for the group’s overall artistic patronage, as Adalgisa Lugli notes, they already had a history of sophisticated patronage inasmuch as their oratory was richly decorated with frescoes and stucco work and the altar of the

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17 Existence of the bull is confirmed by a payment record of 1479 for having the bull notarized. The bull itself, however, has not survived. Adolfo Venturi, “L’Oratorio dell’Ospedale della Morte. Contributo alla Storia artistica modenese,” *Atti e memoriale delle Regie Deputazioni di Storia patriaer le province modenesi e parmensi* 3 (1885): 245-277 (esp. p. 277).
upper oratory housed the *Coronation of the Virgin* (1461-1466) by Angelo and Bartolomeo degli Erri, now in the Galleria Estense in Modena.\(^{18}\)

In his work on Guido Mazzoni’s *Lamentation* groups, Norberto Gramaccini has attempted to find political significance in this particular tableau in relation to mounting anti-Semitism.\(^{19}\) Specifically, he links this *Lamentation* to the establishment of the Monte di Pietà, the low-cost loan cooperatives promoted by Observant Franciscan preachers such as Bernardino da Feltre in an attempt to shut down Jewish pawn brokering and money lending enterprises. As discussed in Chapter Three, Passion imagery and the motif of lamentation in particular had a history of being used to incite hatred against Jews. Though there was an increase in preaching against Jewish pawn brokers over the course of the 1470s and 1480s in the region, the d’Este did not show any interest in allowing the establishment of a Monte in these decades. In fact, the Monte in Modena and Ferrara were established relatively late with official foundation dates of 1494 and 1507 respectively.\(^{20}\) Furthermore, the d’Este were reliant upon their Jewish communities for financial security in much the same way the Bentivolgio were and continued to be relatively welcoming to Jews over the course of the 15\(^{th}\) century, accepting over twenty Jewish families expelled from Spain in 1492.\(^{21}\)

\(^{18}\) Lugli, (as in 10), 321-322. The oratory was destroyed in 1888, but photographic documentation was undertaken before demotion began.


\(^{21}\) For the Jews under d’Este rule see: Andrea Balletti, *Gli Ebrei e gli Estense*, (Modena: Società Tipografica Modenese, 1913).
Gramaccini bases his anti-Semitic reading on the fact that before the Monte received its official recognition from Duke Ercole I d’Este in 1494 and established a permanent seat, the fledgling organization that began in 1491 was assigned by its elected officers to the Oratory of San Giovanni della Buona Morte. However, Gramaccini fails to note that shortly thereafter the Monte joined together with the Compagnia del Corpo di Cristo, thus leaving the oratory of San Giovanni. While it is tempting to suppose, as Gramaccini does, that the confraternity commissioned the *Lamentation* because they were proponents of the Monte and the Observant Franciscan agenda regarding Jews and money lending and that they used the theme of the *Lamentation* to foster a rejection of local Jewish money lenders, there seems to be very little evidence to support the claim. A more likely explanation for the decision to house the first Monte in the oratory of San Giovanni della Buona Morte is simply that this sodality was one of the premier charitable civic organizations in Modena and therefore a familiar and trustworthy face to put on the fledgling institution of the Monte. Part of the confraternity’s civic prominence, which Gramaccini overlooks, was due to the charitable part they played in the state apparatus of the dispensation of justice. It is notable that in the chronicle of Jacopino de’ Bianchi, one of the types of civic events he mentions frequently is the appearance of Ercole d’Este in the city to preside over the execution of a criminal or to dispense a pardon to a prisoner facing execution. However, Jacopino mentions these events in passing, giving no real details of the possible theatrics employed during these public ceremonies that were

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22 Balletti, (as in 21), 48.

23 Balletti, (as in 21), 48.

literally a matter of life and death. Certainly the character of Joseph of Arimathea, who
defended Jesus in the face of the Sanhedrin, presented an opportunity to put a scriptural
gloss on the proceedings, especially in the case of criminal pardons. For those who were
condemned to die, it presented a message of hope for salvation and the promise of proper
burial. This functional context for San Giovanni della Buona Morte’s *Lamentation* lends
itself to readings that draw from the most fundamental symbolic aspects of the Sepulchre,
such as the promise of resurrection and proper Christian burial and mourning for the
dead. However, it also presented political opportunities for the confraternity to showcase
their piety and civic charity in mode that paralleled the charitable giving of Joseph of
Arimathea, who gave his own tomb to Christ. Furthermore, this aspect of the
confraternity’s charitable activities coordinated with those of Duke and his authoritarian
displays of both justice and clemency, allowing the members of the sodality to associate
themselves with the power of the Duke.

**FERRARA**

The enthusiasm the d’Este showed for all things French is well-known with one
particular aspect of that enthusiasm manifesting itself in a love of chivalric literature,
crusading lore, and courtly values.\(^{25}\) Thus, the Holy Land, and the Holy Sepulchre in
particular, emerge with relative frequency in the artistic patronage of several generations
of d’Este rulers and in other works produced within the context of their court. The first of
the d’Este to cultivate a symbolic family connection with the Holy Land was Niccolò III,
who made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre where he was knighted in

\(^{25}\) Perhaps the most ostentatious way this love of courtly customs manifested itself was in the grand display
and spectacle of jousting tournaments hosted and sponsored by the d’Este, particularly under the rule of
Borso and Ercole. See: Thomas Tuohy, *Herculean Ferrara: Ercole d’Este, 1471-1505, and the Invention of
1413. A chronicle of the journey was made by a court official who accompanied Niccolò on the journey. Niccolò also showcased his love of chivalric lore by giving all of his children names derived from Arthurian legends, the most notable of whom were Leonello, Borso (Bohort), and Meliaduce. Niccolò’s choice of literary names for his progeny was perhaps less a personal, eccentric whim, and more of a reference to Modenese history and imagery, as the Porta della Pescheria (1120-1140) of the cathedral of Modena is decorated with Arthurian legends. Furthermore, the building of the cathedral itself followed the ups and downs of Countess Matilda’s involvement in the politics of the First Crusade, so in many ways crusading history was quite literally built into the fabric of the city. Additionally, the cathedral of St. George in Ferrara was home to a relic of the arm of Saint George, one of the pre-eminent patron saints of aristocratic crusaders. Of Niccolò’s children, Meliaduce, who played an important role in the intellectual life of the d’Este court and served important diplomatic roles for the family, also made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. During the diplomatic mission to


accompany Amedea Paleologa of Monferrato on her voyage overseas to marry the King of Cyprus, he travelled to Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre, a journey which was recorded in a chronicle as well.\(^{30}\)

Of Niccolò’s successors, Borso was perhaps more eager than Leonello to cultivate an air of chivalric practice and romance as he was rather enamoured his family’s Carolingian history and avidly read French chivalric legends and epic tales.\(^{31}\) Borso’s fantasies of chivalry and daring met with reality in 1453 with the fall of Constantinople and the calls to crusade that ensued. Undoubtedly Borso had listened at length to orations warning of the increasing Ottoman threat and rhetoric decrying the insidious deeds of the cruel Turks when he participated in the council of Ferrara in 1438.\(^{32}\) However, when the reality of a crusade launch under Pius II approached, try as Pius might to cajole him into using his sway with the French and to emulate the model of the saintly King Louis IX, Borso staunchly refused to participate.\(^{33}\) Though he did finally concede to Pius’s pleas by pledging two galleys for the doomed Ancona launch, they never actually arrived.


\(^{31}\) Borso’s library was stocked with books about the heroic deeds of Charlemagne and other types of chivalric romances. As Giovanni Ricci notes, he had a particular liking for the Lancelot stories and other Arthurian legends. As for important crusade epics, it appears he did not own a copy of the immensely popular *Song of Roland*, however, he may have known a copy owned by the Gonzaga. See: Giovanni Ricci, “Una nicchia d’Oltralpe: Ferrara come Digeone,” *Cosmè Tura e Francesco del Cossa: L’arte a Ferrara nell’età di Borso d’Este*, ed. M. Natale, (Ferrara: Sate Srl, 2007), 61-73 (esp. pp. 65-67). For overall assessments of the contents of the d’Este library in the 15\(^{th}\) century see: Adriano Capelli, “La Biblioteca Estense nella prima metà del secolo XV,” *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana* 14 (1886): 12-30 and Guido Bertoni, *La Biblioteca e la coltura ai tempi del Duca Ercole I (1471-1505)*, (Turin: E. Loescher, 1903).


\(^{33}\) Setton, (as in 14), 262. Borso had been attempting to obtain the title of Duke of Ferrara for years (he had obtained that of Duke of Mantua from Emperor Frederick III in 1452), but Pius II repeatedly rejected the idea, possibly as a tool of leverage against Borso’s reluctance to support his crusade efforts. Before Borso
In effect, Borso’s dedication to the Holy Land and the cause of the Sepulchre was rooted in little more than romanticized nostalgia as he eschewed any substantive commitment to the cause of the crusade over the course of the 1450s and 1460s. However, one of Borso’s last, and least understood, commissions was perhaps the closest thing he ever built that resembled or referenced a shrine in the Holy Land. Late in 1469 Borso undertook the unusual project of constructing an artificial mountain to be called the Monte Sacro near the villa Belriguardo on a field that had been traditionally referred to as the Camposanto when it was in the possession of the Pio family.\textsuperscript{34} Borso expropriated the property from the Pio family as part of a campaign of retribution for plotting to overthrow this rule.\textsuperscript{35} The purpose of the man-made mountain is unknown, though documents reveal that the project met with substantial criticism as many believed the project to be a diversion of resources and manpower that would have been better spent on agricultural work aimed at feeding the populace and maintaining the basic infrastructure of the countryside.\textsuperscript{36}

\textsuperscript{34} Charles M. Rosenberg, \textit{The Este Monuments and Urban Development in Renaissance Ferrara}, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 86-87. How the site came to be known as the “Camposanto” in the first place is not clear.

\textsuperscript{35} In July of 1469, Giovanni Ludovico Pio joined with Piero de’ Medici, Galeazzo Maria Sforza, and Ferrante of Aragon in a plot to depose Borso and replace him with his brother Ercole. It was Ercole himself who revealed the plot to Borso and foiled the coup. The Pio family faced severe punishment in the form of executions and exiles as well as property confiscations. The events of the Pio conspiracy are relayed in Antonio Cappelli, “La congiura dei Pio signori di Carpi” \textit{Atti e memorie della Deputazione di Storia Patria per le province Modenesi e Parmensi} 2 (1864): 377-393 and Werner L. Gundersheimer “Crime and Punishment in Ferrara, 1440-1505,” \textit{Violence and Disorder in Italian Cities, 1200-1500}, ed. L. Martines, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), 103-128 (esp. pp. 123-127).

Borso died in August 1471 leaving the project incomplete. After Borso’s death, Ercole largely abandoned the Monte Sacro project and by the early 16th century the artificial hill or *montagnone* had become part of a terraced garden, one of the d’Este’s many countryside delizie, near the Villa Belvedere. This venture is often looked upon in older scholarship as a rather bizarre act bordering on sheer folly, though Charles Rosenberg suggests that the name Monte Santo possibly hints at a quite serious and pious intention. Borso had already established a strong legacy of building campaigns aimed at the sanctification of himself, his family, and the city, the most notable of which was the establishment of the Carthusian Certosa beginning in 1452 in the northern suburbs of the city. Given this pattern of large-scale building activity, it is possible, as Rosenberg suggests, that the Monte Santo was ultimately intended to house a shrine-like monument, something akin to an early prototype of the sacro monte complexes that developed in northern Italy starting with Varallo in 1486. He also notes that if this were indeed the

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37 Borso officially declared the mountain itself complete in January of 1470, though there are documents that reference ongoing work on the site. Rosenberg, (as in 36), 116-117.


39 Gundersheimer posits the episode as a whim possibly related to a vogue in landscape design or an attempt at a despotic show of sheer omnipotence over nature. Werner L. Gundersheimer, (as in 33), 155-156. However he goes on to discuss how Borso encouraged the rhetoric of deification in relation to his image as a ruler (pages 158-169), which could suggest the construction of the mountain was a show of his omnipotence. For further thoughts on the idea that the Monte Santo, later referred to as the “*montagna di sotto*” (referring its position relative to the villa of Belriguardo), was related to a villa or garden project see: Gibbons, (as in 38).

case, the Monte Santo would have been the first monumental complex of its type in the Renaissance. Given the circumstances behind the seizure of the Camposanto, one might also hypothesize that perhaps it was meant to house a votive shrine.\footnote{Rosenberg, (as in 36), 121-122. Though Rosenberg ultimately recants the idea of the Monte Santo as an embryonic Sacro Monte of the type found at Varallo that he first suggested in \textit{The Este Monuments and Urban Development in Renaissance Ferrara} (as in 34), there are examples of other types of sacred mountains such as that described by Antonio Bettini in his \textit{Libro del Monte Sacro di Dio}, printed with illustrations by Baccio Baldini in 1477. While the publication date is several years after Borso began his project, such rhetoric may have already been familiar in sermons. It could also have been another project related to Borso’s image of himself as “the just ruler.” See Rosenberg on the Monument to Borso d’Este in \textit{The Este Monuments and Urban Development in Renaissance Ferrara} (as in 34), 88-109 (esp. pp. 101-102 for Borso as the embodiment of the wise ruler). The idea for constructing the mountain, and possibly a shrine atop it, may derive from the Book of Wisdom, which abounds with instructions to kings on the relationship between wisdom and justice. Chapter 9 verses 6-8 reads: “For if one be perfect among the children of men, yet if thy wisdom be not with him, he shall be nothing regarded. Thou hast chosen me to be king of thy people, and a judge of thy sons and daughters. And hast commanded me to build a temple on thy holy mount, and an altar in the city of thy dwelling place, a resemblance of thy holy tabernacle, which thou hast prepared from the beginning.” Here Borso would be cast in the role of Solomon building the Temple.}

One last unusual episode connected to Borso, but carried out by Ercole, provides another view into the chivalric traditions perpetuated at the d’Este court. An anonymous chronicle of the 15\textsuperscript{th} century recounts how Ercole ordered Borso’s heart and intestines to be removed before burial.\footnote{Though the mountaintop setting of the sanctuary that held the Madonna di San Luca was a natural topographic formation, it could have served as the inspiration for the construction of a similar Marian shrine, though what image Borso might have sent there is unclear. There is also the fictional history of the artificial mountain believed to have been built in the image of the Mount of Olives by San Petronius in the 5\textsuperscript{th} century in nearby Bologna (see Chapter Two). One important example of an artificial hill with a long history was Testaccio in Rome, an ancient Roman hill formed of potsherds and refuse that was used for executions. The site of Carnival games and races throughout the Middle Ages and Renaissance, these festivities were moved from Testaccio to the via Lata (modern via del Corso) in the 16\textsuperscript{th} century. See: Anna Vos, “Testaccio: change and continuity in urban space and rituals,” \textit{Urban Rituals in Italy and the Netherlands: Historical Contrasts in the Use of Public Space, Architecture, and the Urban Environment}, (eds. H. De Mare and A. Vos, Assen: Van Gorcum, 1993), 58-89 (esp. pp. 79-82). Testaccio was used as a setting for various \textit{sacre rappresentazioni} throughout the 16\textsuperscript{th} century while the Easter plays of the Confraternity of the Gonfalone were first performed in the Colosseum in 1490, although the \textit{confratelli} had done earlier “\textit{devozioni}” at Santa Croce in Gerusalemme and San Giovanni in Laterano. See: Nerida Newbiggin, “The Decorum of the Passion: The Gonfalone Plays in the Colosseum 1490-1539,” \textit{Confraternities and the Visual Arts in the Italian Renaissance: Ritual, Spectacle, Images}, eds. D. Cole Ahl and B. Wisch, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 173-202. However, there is mention in the \textit{Diario Romano di Antonio di Pietro dello Schiavo} of plays of the martyrdoms of Saints Peter and Paul being performed at Testaccio in 1414. Cited in: Ferdinand Gregorovius and Annie Hamilton (trans.), \textit{History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages}, volume 12, (London: Bell, 1909), 712.} While his body was buried at the Certosa, his heart and intestines...
intestines were interred in a column in San Paolo, one of the traditional d’Este burial churches, which was unfortunately completely destroyed in an earthquake in 1570. This mode of distributing the internal organs of the deceased was on one hand reminiscent of the treatment given to three crusade heroes by Charlemagne as relayed in the Song of Roland and, on the other, was common practice for French monarchs. In emulating either example, Ercole was using French chivalric ritual making a potent symbolic statement about the status of his predecessor and a fitting last gesture toward a ruler who strove for levels of unparalleled grandiosity during his time as duke.

Ercole continued to cultivate an image of both princely grandeur and piety that drew from chivalric traditions and references to the Holy Land. For example, during his time at Ercole’s court, Matteo Boiardo began his crusade-inspired epic poem Orlando innamorato, which would continue to find resonance in the work of 16th-century Ferrarese poets such as Ludovico Ariosto (Orlando furioso) and Torquato Tasso (Gerusalemme liberata). Though Ercole, like Borso, never made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, he cultivated a tradition of elaborate sacred theatre that brought the events of Jesus’s last days in Jerusalem to life in Ferrara. Themes from the Passion played a key role in both theatrical productions and public rituals, such as Ercole’s Maundy Thursday ritual performance where he washed the feet of twelve poor citizens who were subsequently treated to a lavish feast in the form of a recreation of the Last Supper.

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45 Ercole’s Easter rituals are described in detail in Werner L. Gundersheimer, ed. Art and Life at the Court of Ercole I d’Este: The De triumphis religionis of Giovanni Sabadino degli Arienti, (Geneva: Librairie
Ercole’s annual ritual performances, which one could think of as living tableaux, and the profound piety and Christ-like acts of charity and humility expressed in all his acts of magnanimity are conceptually summed up and made permanent by Mazzoni’s Ferrara Lamentation group inasmuch as it reflects the pious concerns of the everyman as well as pious devotion befitting a chivalrous prince devoted to the humble sacrifice of Christ as Saviour and to his tomb as the emblem of Christian sovereignty.

The Ferrara group is also unique in that it is the first of Mazzoni’s tableaux where we can identify portrait figures with certainty, with Ercole playing the role of Joseph of Arimathea and Duchess Eleonora playing the role of Mary Cleofa. The date of this group is uncertain, though it is generally dated to 1483-1485 based on indirect documentary references to Mazzoni and the tableau. However, there is other evidence that could point to an earlier date for the origin of this sculpture group. Firstly, in 1481 Mazzoni received the privilege of a tax exemption from Ercole, a gesture that signalled

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47 Lugli, (as in 10), 326. The terminus for this work is based on a payment to the Duchess’s tailor for cloth for Mazzoni’s wife. He is identified specifically as the artist who “made the Sepulchre in Santa Maria della Rosa.” The start date of 1483 is based on the assumption that a group of this size took about two years to complete. The date of 1483-1485 fails to take into account the possibility of any lag time involved in payment to Mazzoni for his work, which was a common problem faced by court artist.
significant recognition, possibly as an official court artist, as a prelude to his first large-scale d’Este commission.\textsuperscript{48} In this light, it is possible that a start date of 1480 or 1481 for this piece is more accurate.\textsuperscript{49} Furthermore, there were two particularly significant political events that happened in the early years of the 1480s that may have prompted the commission of the tableau. The first is Ercole’s induction in the Order of the Garter by Edward IV of England in 1480.\textsuperscript{50} A display of personal devotion to the Holy Sepulchre would have been a way to convey to his subjects in an accessible way his newly reinforced chivalric \textit{bona fides} and the heart-felt piety and princely devotion such an honor implied. Public displays of the Duke’s personal interest in Passion themes also emerge during this time, as 1481 is the year Ercole sponsored his first Passion play in Ferrara.\textsuperscript{51}

Another significant event that would place the commission for this tableau in the early part of the decade was the Ottoman invasion of the southern Italian port city of Otranto in 1480. In the years following the fall of Constantinople, the d’Este remained relatively isolated from crusade politics as they did not feel directly threatened by the unfolding events in the East. However, the Turk’s capture of the southern Italian city of Otranto and the massacre that ensued in August of 1480 was a great blow to the kingdom

\textsuperscript{48} Verdon, (as in 4), xxx.

\textsuperscript{49} As, Verdon, (as in 4), xxx notes, Mazzoni came to the attention of Ercole years earlier when in 1476 he was hired by the Arte della Lana of Modena to produce a celebratory masque for the arrival of the newly married Duke and his wife. The subject was the Labors of Hercules. Afterward, documents indicate he was working on the tableau for San Giovanni della Buona Morte through 1479. In theory, he could have begun work on the Ferrara tableau as early as 1480 or 1481.

\textsuperscript{50} This honor was commemorated in a fresco in the villa of Belriguardo where Ercole was shown wearing the jeweled chain of the order. The fresco was described by Arienti. See Gundersheimer, \textit{Art and Life at the Court of Ercole I d’Este}… (as in 45), 61.

\textsuperscript{51} Manca, (as in 46), 531.
of Naples and reverberations were felt throughout Italy as the defeat represented an
unprecedented incursion of Ottoman power into the Italian mainland.\footnote{For the fall of Otranto and the siege of Rhodes in 1480 see: Setton, (as in 14), 339-363.} Given that the
d’Este ties to the kingdom of Naples were greatly strengthened with Ercole’s marriage to Eleonora of Aragon, the devastating blow to Otranto must have brought the Turkish threat close to home. However, as much as the horrific events at Otranto may have resonated within the court in the immediate aftermath of the event, fears calmed for many Italian principalities after the death of the sultan Mehmed in 1481 and the success of reclaiming the city from the Turks that ensued over the next several years.\footnote{For the recovery of Otranto in 1481 and subsequent negotiations with the Turks through 1484 over territories in the region see: Setton, (as in 14), 364-380. This turn of the tide would have also bode well in relation to prophecies about an astrological event known as the “Grand Conjunction” that was predicted to occur on November 25, 1484. When the “Grand Conjunction” took place, Saturn and Jupiter would conjoin in Scorpio under the ascendance of Libra, with Jupiter dominating Saturn. It was believed that this was the same configuration under which Christ was born and that its repetition signaled a new religious era of great changes. Specifically for Christians, it was read as the beginning of the End Times. With regard to the Holy Land and the Sepulchre, this meant that only when the Holy Sepulchre was once again in Christian hands would Christ return for the Final Judgement. Thus the cause of the Sepulchre took on renewed eschatological importance as Western Christendom awaited the arrival of the prophesied leader who would retake Christ’s tomb and usher in the Last Days. For the dissemination and effects of the writings of well-known astrologer-prognosticators such as Paul of Middelburg and Johannes Lichtenberger see: Dietrich Kurze, “Popular Astrology and Prophecy in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries: Johannes Lichtenberger,” ‘Astrologi hallucinati’: Stars and the End of the World in Luther’s Time, ed. P. Zambelli, (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1986), 177-193 and Johnathan Green, Printing and Prophecy: Prognostication and Media Change 1450-1550, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2012). I offer my deepest thanks to Dr. Barbara Wisch for bringing this information to my attention.} Still, a display of devotion to the cause of the Sepulchre would have been an apt expression of solidarity to the larger ideal of a Christian empire recovered.

Lastly, Ercole’s choice of location for a Sepulchre chapel with a Lamentation group reflected a knowledge and respect for Ferrara’s crusading history. Though currently housed in the church of the Gesù, the original location of the tableau was the church of Santa Maria della Rosa, also known as Santa Maria del Tempio, one of two
Templar churches in Ferrara. Santa Maria del Tempio was located in the area of Borgo San Lorenzo, just outside the walls of Ferrara. However, the earliest Templar church in the area around Ferrara was Santa Maria di Betlemme in Mizzana, built in the early 12th century with money given to the Templars by Bulgaro degli Adelardi. His son, Guglielmo II degli Adelardi, who participated in the Second Crusade in 1147, returned from the Holy Land and constructed a slightly oval-shaped chapel next to the church meant to represent the Holy Sepulchre. He was buried in the chapel in 1149. Whether Santa Maria del Tempio was similarly graced with a Sepulchre chapel before Ercole’s Lamentation group was installed is unknown. The first documentary reference to a Sepulchre chapel appears only in a chronicle of 1495 wherein the author speaks of Duke Ercole having built three chapels in the church in the past, without referencing a specific year. The chapel of the high altar and the area around the crossing was further expanded in 1500 with money given by Ercole. Given the rebuilding campaigns and ultimate destruction of the church, there is no way to know what the original shape and location of

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54 The church eventually took on the name Santa Maria “della Rosa” from roxa or roggia, a place to wash down and water horses that was in the neighborhood. See: Silio Sarpi, “La chiesa ed il convento della Rosa di Ferrara,” Bollettino della Ferrariea Decus: Atti e Memorie della Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Province di Romagna 10 (Nov. 1996): pp. 16-23 (esp. pp. 16-17).


56 In a bull of 1448, Nicholas V confirmed the Knights of St. John’s ownership of the church. The preceptor of the order at that time was Avanzo de’Ridolfi. It would seem the church had been all but abandoned as parts of it had crumbled to the ground. In 1466, once Avanzo had completed the necessary repairs, he conjoined Santa Maria della Rosa with the neighboring church and hospital of Santa Maria della Misericordia, occupied by a community of Jerolomites. See: Sarpi, (as in 54), 16-17.

57 Tuohy, (as in 25), 386-387 documents the payments and construction carried out over the years 1500-1501.
the chapel was. Nonetheless, its associations with the West’s crusading legacy were clear at the time of the Sepulchre chapel’s creation.

Even in light of these events from the early part of the 1480s and the associations of the church that originally housed the Lamentation, a date of 1483-1485 for this tableau does not necessarily preclude a display of Ercole’s princely display of devotion to the cause of the Sepulchre. Some interpretations of this group discuss it as an ex-voto in thanks for recovery from a nearly fatal illness that struck Ercole during the war with Venice in 1482-1484. As the site of Christ’s resurrection, a Sepulchre monument would have made sense as an ex-voto. In this sense, the Lamentation would have been unique to the extent that there is little record of the d’Este making use of these types of votive figures of themselves, whether in wax or terracotta, in the way that their contemporaries such as the Medici did. Other attempts to link this tableau to sacred theatre have validity as well. Though as Gundersheimer notes, there is a turn toward secular subjects and comedies in Ercole’s theatrical patronage after 1486, his displays rooted in courtly

58 The church was further reconstructed in the early 17th century. Mazzoni’s Lamentation was moved to the church of the Gesù in 1938. The church was bombed in 1944 and what remained of the church was demolished in 1955. See: Sarpi, (as in 54), 21-22.

59 Lugli, (as in 10), 326.

60 The only reference to the d’Este and wax votive figures that has surfaced dates to 1443 when Leonello paid for a wax votive of one of his falconers who survived a dangerous voyage to Cyprus. “Maistro Nicolò de Zohane Baroncelli da Fiorenza de havere adi VIII de dicembre lire dudece marchesane, per lui dalo Illustro nostro Signore per fatura de una statua de cira lunga come è uno homo, come dui falcuni da piedi, et per lui colorita a tute sua spexe, la quale ha fato fare lo Illustro nostro signore per uno vodo che fece uno falconiero dela Sua Signoria per andare a Cipri, al quale pericolò in mare, et la quale statua fu posta a Sancta Maria dali Agnoli da Belfiore. …L.XII.” See: Adriano Franceschini, ed., Artisti a Ferrara in età umanistica e rinascimentale: testimonianze archivistiche, parte I, dal 1341-1471, (Ferrara-Rome: Gabriele Corbo Editore, 1993), 232. This lone example perhaps speaks more to Leonello’s devotion to hunting and falconry than to spiritual concerns.

61 Verdon, (as in 4), 51-53 largely discusses this work in relation to sacred theatre, though he ascribes to it a date that precedes the Busseto group.
devotion and chivalric culture persisted.\textsuperscript{62} For example, in May of 1485 both the Duke and Duchess attended a Passion play where the subject specifically featured was the Lamentation.\textsuperscript{63} Furthermore, in 1487 Ercole began a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostella with the intention of fulfilling a vow his father Niccolò had made to undertake the journey to the famed shrine of St. James.\textsuperscript{64} In this sense, perhaps the tableau was meant to function as a sort of a substitute pilgrimage in an attempt to link him to the pilgrimage heritage of his father Niccolò.

Whatever the inspiration for the creation of this tableau, it is a ducal monument where Ercole’s use of sculpted portraiture is markedly different from his predecessors’, specifically the equestrian statue of Niccolò III and the seated portrait of Borso, which are both very formal, official state portraits in bronze.\textsuperscript{65} In invoking a scene of humble piety and pilgrimage to the holiest of shrines, the \textit{Lamentation} employs a rhetorical strategy of simplicity and humility similar to that in the monument to Alberto V d’Este (1393) celebrating his pilgrimage to Rome found on the façade of San Giorgio.\textsuperscript{66} Though Ercole, much like his predecessors, supported the chivalric cause of the Sepulchre more

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{62} Gundersheimer, (as in 33), 209-211.
\item \textsuperscript{63} Manca, (as in 46), 531. Ercole did not return to personally sponsoring Passion plays until the close of the 1480s, but when he did the result was a spate of annual productions of the Passion in 1489, 1490, and 1491.
\item \textsuperscript{64} Ercole and his entourage made it as far as Milan, where he was then encouraged to change his pilgrimage destination to Rome instead. Charles L. Stinger, \textit{The Renaissance in Rome}, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), 34. Gundersheimer, \textit{Art and Life at the Court of Ercole I d’Este...} (as in 45), 69 notes that Sabadino degli Arienti described a fresco at Belriguardo that commemorated Ercole’s departure for the journey.
\item \textsuperscript{65} For the monuments to Niccolò III and Borso see: Rosenberg, (as in 34), 50-82 and 88-109.
\item \textsuperscript{66} Both Manca, (as in 46), 532-533 and Verdon, (as in 4), 43-56 and 324-326 note the humble dress of the Duke in this monument. For the monument to Alberto V see: Rosenberg, (as in 34), 25-45. A bronze equestrian monument to Ercole was planned in the late 1490s for the heart of his urban addition, but it never materialized. See: Rosenberg, (as in 34), 153-181.
\end{itemize}
in appearance that in practice, the *Lamentation*’s use of the vivid and life-like language of the effigy to portray the Duke in a state of perpetual devotion to Christ, his sacrifice, and his Sepulchre speaks with both humility and power of the princely concern for Christendom’s holiest shrine. Furthermore, the choice of Ferrara’s one remaining Templar church and architectural testament to the city’s crusading history as a setting for the Sepulchre chapel reinforces the chivalric and knightly associations of the monument. In this sense, the Sepulchre chapel and its *Lamentation* tableau is the perfect synthesis of a statement of Ercole’s princely status and chivalric values with a perpetual enactment of sober and heart-felt piety.

**NAPLES**

Guido Mazzoni’s last extant *Lamentation* tableau was made for Alfonso II of Aragon, Duke of Calabria, for the church of Santa Maria di Monteoliveto (now Santa Maria dei Lombardi), which dates from approximately 1490-1492. The period of Aragonese rule in Naples began with Alfonso V, King of Aragon, laying claim to the Kingdom of Naples in 1442. As the King of Naples, Alfonso (now Alfonso I of Naples) created a court culture that blended references to ancient Roman imperial grandeur and

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67 The date of this work is based on two payments to Mazzoni in February of 1489 and another payment in December 1489 for “some images” he made for the Duke. Another payment record of December 1492 refers to the tableau group as almost complete, lacking only a few finishing touches. See Lugli, (as in 10), 328 and Verdon, (as in 4), 76-77.

traditional chivalric codes of honor and virtue.69 The great public monument that summed up Alfonso I’s image of himself as the new King of Naples is best seen in the triumphal arch entrance to the Castel Nuovo, which chronicled much of the actual pageantry enacted for Alfonso I’s triumphal entry into the city on 1443.70 Of particular interest are the chivalric references in the frieze such as the fire and throne of the siege perilous from Arthurian legend and the collar Alfonso wears signifying his membership in the Order of the Stole and Jar.71 The Order of the Stole and Jar was a monarchical order of the house of Aragon founded by Alfonso I’s father, Ferdinand I, and like other orders of its type was a Neo-Arthurian revival of chivalric ideals.72 However, the vestiges

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70 Alfonso’s placement of the triumphal arch on the Castel Nuovo was an unabashed gesture toward overwriting the Angevin presence in Naples, as the castle was originally constructed by Charles I in 1279-1282. For the history and iconography of the arch see: George L. Hersey, The Aragonese Arch at Naples, 1443-1475, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973) and Margaret Ann Zaho, Imago Triumphalis: The Function and Significance of Triumphant Imagery for Italian Renaissance Rulers, (New York: Peter Lang, 2004), 48-64.

71 Zaho, (as in 70), 58. The siege perilous was described in the chronicle of the procession. Zhao refers to the chivalric collar as that of the Order of the Lily. The full name of the order was la Stolla de la Jarra y Gryfo, more commonly referred to as simply the Stole and Jar during Alfonso’s reign. The foundation date of the order is disputed. Some scholars date its foundation to 1403 while others date it to 1410, which coincides with Ferdinand I’s victory against the Moors at Antequera, one of the first significant victories that laid the way for the reconquista. See: Juan Torres Fontes, “Don Fernando de Antequera y la romántica caballeresca,” Miscelánea Medieval Murciana 5 (1980), 85-120. Though the griffin was the main pendant emblem, the collar composed of a series of jars of lilies became the primary referential aspect of the order’s iconography. For the history of the order see: Anna Corten, “Der ‘Orden von der Stola und den Kanneldeln und dem Greifen’ (Aragonesischer Kannennorden),” Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchiv 5 (1952): 34-62 and D’Arcy Jonathan Dacre Boulton, The Knights of the Crown: The Monarchical Orders of Knighthood in Later Medieval Europe 1325-1520, (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2000), 330-338.

72 The earliest monarchical orders of lay knights attached to royal courts were in a sense hybrid organizations that drew inspiration from traditional religious orders as well as knightly organizations.
of the crusading ethos that permeated these types of orders took on special resonance for Spain due to the Moorish presence on the Iberian Peninsula. The crusading legacy such orders carried, even if only in a nostalgic form, was of particular importance to Alfonso I as one of the titles he claimed for himself was that of King of Jerusalem. Though the crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem was long defunct, the title still carried with it the glow of imperial grandeur and aspiration. Enhancing the honorific cache the title carried, Alfonso was also inducted into the Hungarian Society of the Dragon, a knightly pseudo-order formed with the express purpose of battling the Turks.

In reality, however, as was noted in Chapter Three, for as fond as Alfonso I was of all things regal and chivalric that enhanced his aspiring imperial image, he was anything but willing to actually embroil himself in papal plans for a crusade, though he did come to the aid of his long-time ally, Skanderbeg, in his battles against the Ottomans. In fact, Alfonso I’s alternately aggressive and obstinate political manoeuvring with Calixtus III, especially over the issue of the crusades, nearly allowed

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73 The title of King of Jerusalem was one that René of Anjou claimed was rightly his. René also made political use of knightly orders to bolster the appearance of his right to claim the title by reviving the Order of the Crescent in 1448. This order was originally founded by Charles I of Anjou, himself a crusader and King of Sicily and Naples, in 1268. Charles had purchased the right to the title of King of Jerusalem from Maria of Antioch in 1277. René also used it as a diplomatic tool to create alliances with anti-Aragonese barons in Naples. For the Order of the Crescent see: Boulton, (as in 71), 397-398.

74 For the history of the Society of the Dragon see: Boulton, (as in 71), 348-355.

for his rival René of Anjou to retake the kingdom of Naples as Alfonso’s truculent political posturing left the pope so ill disposed toward his illegitimate son, Ferrante, who was poised to take the throne upon his death in 1458, that Calixtus refused to recognize his right to rule. 76 Only the death of Calixtus a few short weeks later saved Ferrante from losing the kingdom. Calixtus’s successor, Pius II, recognized Ferrante’s right to the titles of both King of Naples and King of Jerusalem with the hopes that he would return the favour by supporting the crusade effort. As Ferrante’s illegitimate birth was a longstanding political issue with his rivals, he was of necessity fast and fierce in his attempts to consolidate power, especially against factions of Neapolitan barons who would have gladly supported the return of Angevin rule. 77 Ultimately, Pius II proved to be a great ally on many fronts during the tumultuous opening years of Ferrante’s rule. 78

As for Ferrante’s stance on the crusade effort, his alliances and actions were as self-interested as his father’s, or any of the Italian princes for that matter, though on the whole very measured. 79 However, there were some episodes where he could be

76 For an overview of Alfonso’s crusade politics and relations with Calixtus see: Bentley, (as in 68), 153-168.

77 Well before Ferrante took the throne, René of Anjou sought to use his illegitimate birth against him by circulating disparaging rumors that his true father was a Moor or a converted Jew. See Ernesto Pontieri, “La giovinezza di Ferrante I d’Aragona,” Studi in onore di Riccardo Filangieri, (Naples: L’Arte, 1959), 531–601. The seeds of Anjou enmity bore fruit in the form of a rebellion against Ferrante in 1460 led by Neapolitan barons backed by René’s brother, Jean of Anjou. With the help of Lodovico Sforza, Ferrante was able to quash the rebellion and by 1464 had placed his rule of sure footing. Perhaps the most vicious propagators of anti-Ferrante propaganda was the French chronicler, advisor to Louis XI, and ambassador to Italy for Charles VIII, Philippe de Commynes, who attempted to paint a picture of Ferrante as a cruel, blood-thirsty, and untrustworthy tyrant amongst his Italian peers. See: Jöel Blanchard, Philippe de Commynes, (Paris: Fayard, 2006).

78 Bentley, (as in 68), 159-161.

79 For an overview of Ferrante’s reign see: Bentley, (as in 68), 19-34 and 169-182 and David Abulafia, “Ferrante of Naples: The Statecraft of a Renaissance Prince,” History Today (February 1995): 19-25. For a study of the development of the Neapolitan economy under Ferrante see: David Abulafia, “The Crown and the Economy under Ferrante of Naples (1458-1494),” City and Countryside in Late Medieval and
considered highly opportunist in his approach to the Turkish situation, using his kingdom’s strategic ports to his advantage in extracting concessions for his cooperation. Perhaps his most flagrant posturing occurred when Paul II opened his papacy with a call for sizeable crusade contributions from all the Italian princes. Ferrante refused to pay and went so far as to threaten allying with the Turks, claiming the Sultan had offered to pay him 80,000 ducats, the exact amount Paul had demanded of him as a crusade contribution, for the use of his ports. Although that threat proved idle, he did eventually open parts of the bay of Naples to Ottoman ships to prepare an attack against rival Venice in 1478-79. The great irony, however, was that in 1480 his kingdom suffered an enormous blow when the Turks attacked and pillaged the port city of Otranto.

Though the death of Sultan Mehmed in 1481 and the subsequent recovery of Otranto along with increasing internal strife within the Ottoman empire bode well for Naples, the situation with regard to politics within the Italian peninsula began to deteriorate. In particular, a series of political shifts in Milanese and Neapolitan relations over the course of the later 1470s came to a head, resulting in the collapse of the Milan-Naples alliance. Ultimately this led to increased political isolation for Naples over the course of the 1480s with the aggressive and at times bombastic political posturing of Ferrante’s son, Alfonso II, doing little to help the situation. Perhaps the greatest threat

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*Renaissance Italy: Essays Presented to Philip Jones*, eds. C. Wickham and T. Dean, (London: Continuum, 1990), 125-146.

80 Bentley, (as in 68), 28.


82 Florence, however, came to the rescue of the Neapolitan kingdom several times over the course of the 1480s.
to Naples, however, was the rise of Charles VIII, who upon his ascension to the throne in 1483 was encouraged to attack Italy and make good on his inherited claim to the Kingdom of Naples and the title of King of Jerusalem. The idea was floated twice more in 1486 and 1489 with the enticements to attack becoming ever more grandiose. With his political and economic ambitions further fuelled by millennial thoughts, Charles envisioned himself as a sovereign with a divine destiny, one who would bring imperial greatness to France and reunite the Eastern and Western churches as well as initiate the final crusade against the Turks to reclaim the Holy Land using the strategic ports of the Kingdom of Naples to launch the grand attack.

All of these events were taking place at a time when Alfonso II was preparing to make his mark upon the city as its next king. Alfonso II’s plans for renovating the city included grand architectural embellishments and additions in the form of villas and fortifications, public sculpture programs that presented Alfonso as a sovereign and a

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83 The essays in David Abulafia, ed., *The French Descent into Renaissance Italy, 1494-95: antecedents and effects*, (Brookfield: Ashgate, 1995) present a thorough investigation of the circumstances, events and lasting implications of Charles’s attempt to control Italy.


85 Georges Peyronnet, “The Distant Origins of the Italian Wars: Political Relations between France and Italy in the 14th and 15th Centuries,” *The French Descent into Renaissance Italy, 1494-95: Antecedents and Effects*, ed. D. Abulafia, (Brookfield: Ashgate, 1995), 29-53 discusses the dynastic claims the Houses of Anjou and Orléans had upon northern and southern Italy. Robert W. Scheller, “Imperial Themes in Art and Literature of the Early French Renaissance: The Period of Charles VIII,” *Simeolus* 12 (1), (1981-1982): 5-69 examines how pervasive the theme of creating a French empire was and how crucial it was to Charles’s image as a sovereign. He also underscores the development of the theme of Charles VIII as a new Charlemagne and how launching a great crusade to retake of Jerusalem related to a millennial image of Charles as not only a new Western emperor, but the last Western emperor who would free the Holy Land and set the stage for the apocalypse and the coming of the New Jerusalem. For Savonarola’s role in encouraging this thinking see: Donald Weinstein, *Savonarola: The Rise and Fall of a Renaissance Preacher*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 132-147. More generally for the idea of the triumph of the “Last World Emperor” as a harbinger of the coming apocalypse see: Kurze, (as in 53) and Green, (as in 53).
triumphal military leader, and the renovation and decoration of churches. Within Alfonso’s plans for church renovation and decoration we find Guido Mazzoni’s *Lamentation* in Santa Maria di Monteoliveto. The commission for this tableau is roughly contemporary with other important commissions for funeral chapel decorations in this church by artists such as Benedetto da Maiano and Antonio Rosellino. George Heresy suggests that Alfonso planned to turn this church into a “royal pantheon” of sorts, though admittedly the noble luminaries and relatives buried here were largely second-tier compared to Aragonese royalty. In the context of the other funerary monuments constructed in the church, Mazzoni’s tableau was certainly intended to conjure funerary connotations revolving around the theme of death and resurrection represented by the Holy Sepulchre itself. The portrait figure of Alfonso II in the guise of Joseph of Arimathea speaks to this idea. Yet this context also carries with it certain ideas of dynastic ambitions and connotations of an unending and divinely appointed and sanctioned Aragonese presence in Naples. As for dynastic references at work in the *Lamentation*, along with the confirmed portrait figure of Alfonso II, there is also a presumed portrait of Ferrante as Nicodemus. That Alfonso was perhaps looking to create a votive funerary monument that memorialized himself, Ferrante, and the Neapolitan Aragonese dynasty is quite plausible given Ferrante’s state of ill health in the last few

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87 For the funeral chapels see: Hersey, (as in 86), 109-124.

88 Hersey, (as in 86), 109. In addition to remodeling the church and embellishing several chapels, Alfonso was exceptionally generous financially with the monastery, bequeathing several substantial property holdings to them along with monetary donations. In the last years of his time in Naples he became notably more immersed in devotional practices often frequenting the brothers to dine with them in the refectory or using the monastery as an urban spiritual retreat. See Hersey, (as in 86), 119.
Furthermore, within this dynastic statement, subtle aspects of chivalric piety were at work in the use of the Sepulchre theme and the gestures of devotion to Christ employed by Alfonso and the presumed figure of Ferrante.

This brings us back to the issue of the use of chivalric imagery. While Alfonso I employed chivalric imagery and symbolism liberally in public monuments such as the Triumphal Arch at the Castel Nuovo, his successor Ferrante found a different venue to showcase a variety of chivalric emblems and devices, namely coinage. Alfonso I’s coinage employed a rather generic frontal portrait on the obverse and the coat of arms of the House of Aragon as the identifying marker on the reverse. Ferrante, however, introduced two new iconographical elements into Neapolitan coinage in the form of a profile portrait head, always wearing a crown of sovereignty, and heraldic devices that referenced chivalric orders to which he belonged. Some of the earliest devices he used, such as the *siege perilous* and the Mount of Diamonds, were part of the iconography of his father’s Order of the Stole and Jar. Ferrante’s coinage featured the *cinquina*, one of these coins, which featured the Mount of Diamonds on the obverse and the Jerusalem Cross on the reverse with an

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89 Whether the figure of Nicodemus is a portrait of Ferrante, or of anyone, is still debated. Hersey is inclined to identify the Nicodemus character as Federigo, Alfonso’s younger brother, as he supposedly had a gaunt appearance. See: Hersey, (as in 86), 29. However, the figure looks considerably older than Alfonso. Furthermore, investigations carried out on Ferrante’s mummified corpse, kept in San Domenico Maggiore, the traditional burial church of the Aragonese rulers of Naples, show that Ferrante died of colon cancer, a fact which would account for the exceptionally gaunt appearance of Ferrante, if the figure is in fact a portrait. Despite the gaunt features, however, the portrait attribution is plausible as there is a fair amount of resemblance to be found in the once robust features of Ferrante as seen in a marble bust of him as a young man by Domenico Gagni of 1465-1470 in the Louvre and the aged figure in Mazzoni’s *Lamentation*. For Ferrante’s illness see: Gino Fornaciani, “Malignant tumor in the mummy of Ferrante I of Aragon, King of Naples (1431-1494),” *Medicina nei Secoli* 6 (1), (1994): 139-146 and “Renaissance Mummies in Italy,” *Medicina nei Secoli* 11 (1), (1999): 85-105.

inscription stressing the Kingdom of Jerusalem as part of his realm. Ferrante added a new element when in 1465 as part of his diplomatic strategy for re-establishing his political power after the baronial uprising of 1460 by founding the Order of the Ermine (Armellino). The emblem of the ermine appeared on a series of silver coins known as armellini and was paired with two different inscriptions: DECORVM and OMNIA SERENA, and secondly IVSTA TVENDA. The motto IVSTA TVENDA also appeared on one of Ferrante’s last issuances of the carlino along with the device of St. Michael Slaying the Dragon, which was also a principle component of the iconography of the Order of the Ermine, as it was dedicated St. Michael. The minting of this coin in 1488 followed on the heels of another major baronial uprising that was quashed by troops led by Alfonso II.

While these examples of Ferrante’s personal iconography drew strictly from chivalric culture and ideals, in other issuances of coinage he infused some of these chivalric emblems with overtly devotional references that evoked aspects of Christological piety. For example, Ferrante’s quarter carlino bore the inscription IN

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91 Grierson, (as in 90), 728. The cinquina was issued from 1462-1467. The Jerusalem Cross (a cross potent with four smaller crosses in each of the four voids) was part of the coat of arms of the Aragonese of Naples. On several versions of Ferrante’s coronati a cross potent appears as a general symbol of sovereignty in place of his family coat of arms; however, in other issuances a simple cross potent stresses the title King of Jerusalem.

92 Ferrante’s order is not to be confused with the English Order of the Ermine. For the history of the order see: Boulton, (as in 71), 397-426. Boulton suggests that Ferrante used the order as a diplomatic tool to both gain the favor of and reign in the baronial families of Naples as the statutes placed heavy emphasis on honorable behavior and knightly virtues.

93 Grierson, (as in 90), 19. Grierson translates IVSTA TVENDA as “Just things should be protected.”

94 Alfonso also used the emblem of St. Michael slaying the dragon is his coinage in 1494. Grierson, (as in 90), 736.

95 Boulton suggests Ferrante used the emblem as a statement of “royal victory” following the suppression of the baronial revolt. See: Boulton, (as in 71), 357.
Additionally, one series of Ferrante’s *armellino* bore the inscription IN DEXTERA TVA SALVS MEA, a motto derived from Psalms 107:7 that Alfonso II repeated in his own *armellino* and half-*carlino*, which bore not only the emblem of the ermine but the *siege perilous* as well. Alfonso II’s motto, however, presented a slight variation, reading: IN DEXTERA TVA SALVS MEA D[OMINE]. On one hand, the motto is a profound statement of piety and religiosity, yet given the threat that Charles VIII posed to the Aragonese kingdom throughout the 1480s, it perhaps has undertones of political fatalism as well. Finally, the inscription RECORDATVS MISERICORDIAE SVAE appeared on Ferrante’s gold ducat and double *carlino* as well as Alfonso II’s gold ducat. In the case of Alfonso II’s ducat no chivalric emblem is used, rather the obverse bears the Christological inscription which circles Alfonso’s head and the reverse bears the Aragonese coat of arms.

These series of coinage underscore how the iconographic worlds of the chivalric and the devotional were used in tandem to propagate distinct modes and images of royal piety. This same mode of combining chivalric imagery and knightly ethos with Christological and Passion related themes is also at work in the Sepulchre chapel that housed Mazzoni’s *Lamentation*. Alfonso and Ferrante show the same type of chivalric devotion to Christ and the Sepulchre that all the previous noble patrons of Mazzoni’s work show. However, there is another image of Alfonso II, thought to be part of the original chapel decoration, that further underscored the implied relationship between the

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96 Grierson, (as in 90), 19. “To your virtue, Christ, my heart shall be given.”

97 Grierson, (as in 90), page19 for Ferrante and page 14 for Alfonso II. He translates the motto as “In thy right hand (Lord) is my salvation.” For Alfonso’s half-*carlino* see page 736.

98 Grierson, (as in 90), 19. “In remembrance of his mercy.”
dedication to the Christ and the Sepulchre and the chivalric ethos, namely the bronze bust of Alfonso II now displayed in the Museo di Capodimonte.99

The bust is commonly attributed to Guido Mazzoni and dated to between 1489 and 1494 based on its similarity to the portrait likeness of Alfonso II in the *Lamentation*; however, there are no documents to connect the piece directly to Mazzoni.100 The likeness, including the large jowly cheeks and wrinkles around the eyes, is striking, save for the substantially different hairstyle seen in the terracotta *Lamentation* figure, which bears an uncanny resemblance to a tonsure. In terms of the iconographic details included in Alfonso’s dress, he is wearing the chain of the Order of the Ermine as well as a pin on his hat with the Archangel Michael slaying the dragon; though surely Alfonso was inducted into the order, there is no record of when that might have taken place.101 That the order was associated with a certain degree of Passion based piety is born out by the association of the order’s devices with Christological mottos as found on some of Alfonso’s coinage. Though the first mention of the bust and its location in the Sepulchre chapel does not occur until the late 16th century, as Boulton notes, Giuseppe Maria Fusco, the first scholar to study the order and its statues, suggested that the chapel may have been a meeting place for the order. Though the statutes speak of an *Ecclesia de S. Michael* as the meeting place for the order, no such church dedicated to St. Michael has been identified from this era, despite the fact that St. Michael was an important local

99 The first mention of the bust occurs in Scipione Mazzella’s *Le Vite dei re di Napoli* published in 1594.

100 In the earliest 19th-century scholarship Ferrante was identified as the subject, however, the current consensus is that the bust portrays Alfonso II. See: Lugli, (as in 10), 329.

101 The various devices included in ovals of the chain are: an open book with studded binding, the mountain of diamonds, the *siege perilous*, and the sprouting stock, while the ermine pendant hands from the center. Lugli, (as in 10), 330.
Whether there had ever been a connection of any sort between this chapel and the Order of the Ermine, even as simply a chapel where a daily mass in honor of St. Michael was said by the college of nine canons appointed to the order, is difficult to say. What remains clear is that if the bust was part of the original chapel decoration, at the very least it underscores the connection for Alfonso between the idea of chivalric piety and Christological devotions and dedication to the Holy Sepulchre.

Perhaps of more direct importance in relation to princely piety and the Sepulchre, however, is the Order of the Jar and Griffin. As discussed earlier, the order was founded by Ferdinand I, father of Alfonso I as a chivalric, monarchical order. That dedication to the cause of crusading was one of the ways in which one could be deemed worthy of induction is reflected in members such as Oswald von Wolkenstein, who was inducted by Ferdinand’s wife, Eleanor of Alburquerque, after having fought against the Moors in the battle of Ceuta. The induction of members into the order was carried forward enthusiastically by his son Alfonso I, however, Ferrante seems to have been decidedly less interested in cultivating that order, preferring instead to promote his Order of the Ermine. It does seem, however, that in the latter half of the 1480s there was some rekindled interest in the Order of the Jar and Griffin in Naples. Based on the pilgrim diaries of Konrad Grünemberg and William I, Landgrave of Hesse, both of whom had led

102 Boulton, (as in 71), 421-422. Fusco produced a study of the order as well as a transcription of the statutes: Intorno all’Ordine dell’Armellino da Re Ferdinando I. d’Aragon all’Archangelo S. Michele Dedicata, (Naples, 1844) and I Capitoli dell’Ordine dell’Armellino, messi a stampa con note, (Naples, 1845).


104 In Spain, however, the order was promoted by Juan II and Ferdinand II. See: Boulton, (as in 71), 332-333. For a select list of notable members inducted by Alfonso I see: Von Hye, (as in 103), 174-178.
pilgrimages to Jerusalem in 1486 and 1491 respectively, we know that they were inducted into the order when they passed through Naples on their return journey and stopped to recount the events and sights of their pilgrimage to the Holy Land to the Neapolitan court. 105 Such an interest in the Holy Land and the Holy Sepulchre is perfectly in line with the spirituality and devotional themes at work in Mazzoni’s _Lamentation_ and Sepulchre chapel, which would suggest that it was Alfonso II, rather than Ferrante, who was interested in reviving the Neapolitan heritage of the order. 106 The bestowal of knightly honors to pilgrims to the Sepulchre shows that at this point Alfonso’s piety was still tinged with a princely chivalric air.

In the end, Alfonso II’s faith would not be enough to save his Neapolitan kingdom. Thoroughly soured political relations with Milan, along with the deaths of Lorenzo the Magnificent and Pope Innocent VIII in 1492 and ultimately the death of Ferrante himself in 1494, left the political landscape of Italy in sufficient disarray for Charles VIII to finally launch a plan that was over a decade in the making. Finally Charles had his chance to bring the Kingdom of Naples back into the French fold of royal

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106 There is also the question of whether this chapel may have had some previous connection to the Order of the Jar. The church itself was founded in 1411 by Gurello Origli, the protonotary to King Ladislaus, and the chapel that Alfonso chose for the _Lamentation_ was originally Gurello’s chapel. The year 1411 is the same year Ladislaus entered into a peace treaty with Florence and Siena. Perhaps the foundation of the monastery for the newly arrived Olivetan order, itself of Sienese origin, was part of a series of gestures of goodwill initiated by the Angevin court. The chronicler, Fernán Pérez de Guzmán, mentions in _La Crónica del sereníssimo rey don Juan el seungdo_ , that several of Ladislaus’s ambassadors were sent to Spain to be inducted into the Order of the Jar by Ferdinand, so the honor was obviously used as a diplomatic tool. See: Boulton, (as in 71), 332. However, whether Gurello ever received the honor for the foundation of Santa Maria in Monteoliveto is not known.
possessions as well as lay claim to the coveted title of King of Jerusalem. When French troops arrived at Naples’s doorstep, Alfonso swiftly abdicated, leaving the throne to his son Ferrandino, and sailed to Sicily in February of 1495 where he entered an Olivetan monastery in Mazera del Vallo. Before the year was over Alfonso died, having spent his last days deeply immersed in a life of devotion. Despite having captured Naples without a fight, Charles’s possession of Naples was short-lived, and thus his plans to launch a crusade from southern Italy in order to take back the Holy Land never came to fruition. Rule of the Kingdom of Naples returned shortly into the hands of Ferrandino, who also passed away within less than a year of taking the throne. Possession of Naples finally came into the hands of King Ferdinand II of Spain, who would also be encouraged on many fronts to make good on the title to King of Jerusalem and take back the Holy Land.

As for Guido Mazzoni, Charles was sufficiently impressed with his Neapolitan Lamentation, arguably Mazzoni’s most sophisticated and expressive tableau, that he engaged him to come back to France to create his royal tomb monument, which was enthusiastically received upon its completion. The success of this monument then brought him to the attention of King Henry VII of England, whose commissions from

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107 Alfonso II inherited the title of King of Jerusalem in 1465 upon the death of his mother, Isabella of Taranto, who had herself inherited the House of Brienne’s claim to the title just a few years prior.

108 After the conquest of Grenada, Ferdinand II was hailed as a new Charlemagne and, just like Charles VIII, was encouraged by many to set his sights next upon liberating the Holy Land. Even Columbus was among those swept up by the prophesied millennial portent of Ferdinand’s victory. See: Pauline Moffitt Watts, “Prophecy and Discovery: On the Spiritual Origins of Christopher Columbus’ ‘Enterprise of the Indies’,” American History Review 90 (1985): 73-102 and John L. Phelan, The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970, 17-28).

109 For Charles’s tomb monument, destroyed in 1793, see: Verdon, (as in 4), 123-134 and “Guido Mazzoni in Francia: nuovi contributi,” Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorisches Institutes in Florenz 34 (1-2), (1990): 139-164 (esp. pp. 139-141); and Lugli, (as in 10), 330-331.
Mazzoni were discussed in Chapter One. Overall, the career of Mazzoni is effectively one of the best stories of artistic achievement and success, both home and abroad, of the 15th-century Italian Renaissance, and yet his work is still sorely underrepresented, as is that of Niccolò dell’Arca, in discussions of Italian Renaissance sculpture. Of Mazzoni’s tableaux, only the one created for the prestigious Monastery of Sant’Antonin in Castello, which is sadly known only in fragmentary form, provides us with a testament to the enthusiastic reception Mazzoni’s creations received in their day. The Venetian group (1485-1489) was hailed as a marvel and described attentively by a Bohemian nobleman who sojourned at length in Venice before setting sail for a pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1493. The group, for which Mazzoni received the princely sum of 600 Venetian gold ducats, had become one of the most celebrated works of the city, one which no doubt left a lasting impression on those who saw it. If nothing else, the increasing status of Mazzoni’s patrons, the high prices he was able to command for his works, and the enthusiasm with which they were received should be sufficient to dispel notions that his polychrome terracotta groups were simply a form of popular or vernacular art.

In the end, Guido Mazzoni’s terracotta Lamentation groups served as a vehicle for embodied devotional presences that served to make seemingly humble, yet emotionally powerful spiritual statements about devotion to the Passion of Christ. For his aristocratic patrons, his tableaux also stood as powerful princely statements of devotion, not only to the noble sacrifice of Christ, but also to the cause of the Holy Sepulchre and the idea of a

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110 For the Venetian Lamentation, the fragments of which are now in the Museo Civico of Padua, see: Verdon, (as in 4), 69-72 and Lugli, (as in 10), 327-328.

111 Of the works seen by the nobleman, Jan Hasištejnsky of Lobkowicz, during his nearly month-long stay in Venice, the descriptive attention he lavished on Mazzoni’s Lamentation is rivaled only by that given to some of the key monuments of Jerusalem he saw while in the Holy Land. See: Jan Chlíbec, “A Description of Guido Mazzoni’s Lamentation in Venice by a Bohemian Traveler in 1493,” Burlington Magazine 144 (1186), (2002):19-21.
prophesied imperial Christian renewal that would once again encompass the Holy Land. As the following discussion of Mazzoni’s tableau groups has shown, though the rhetoric of princely devotional politics often diverged widely from practice, the politicization of the Passion and a renewed form of chivalric veneration of the Holy Sepulchre became an important visual tool for crafting the appearance of pious rule in an age when the status of the Holy Land and eastern Christendom was becoming increasingly perilous.

**MILAN**

Lastly there is the city of Milan to consider as the site where the Sforza court would forge its own unique relationship with imagery and architectural forms connected to the Holy Sepulchre. Furthermore, the particular devotional approach to the Sepulchre and the Holy Land that developed in Milan would prove to be the springboard for the transformation of the single episode of the *Lamentation* in a Sepulchre chapel to the episodic narrative form employed at the Sacro Monte di Varallo. This thematic, narrative complex used chapels to demarcate and reproduce the sacred topography of the Holy Land in conjunction with life-like polychrome sculpture to bring the biblical events of the Holy Land to life.

Rising interest in the symbolic power of the Holy Sepulchre in 15th-century Milan was the result of a confluence of various religious and political currents. The military might of Milan under Francesco Sforza’s rule meant that it was one of the key states within the Italian peninsula whose participation was indispensable for the papal crusade effort. Therefore, a full understanding of the situation in the East was essential for Francesco in terms of formulating a strategy for action, or as in many instances his
inaction. Much like the court of Ferrara, officials from Francesco Sforza’s court had undertaken voyages to the Holy Land, afterwards producing descriptions of the journey and the sites and marvels seen along the way. The most notable of these is the journal of Roberto da Sanseverino, the nephew of Francesco Sforza, who made a pilgrimage to Palestine to do reconnaissance work on the status of the Ottoman army and assess diplomatic possibilities with the Turks as well as see the holy sites and record his observations. In this sense the Milanese court under the Sforza became a repository of both tactical and devotional knowledge about the Holy Land. A particularly noteworthy example of pilgrimage literature that stemmed from the Sforza court was written by Santo Braca, a cancelliere in Lodovico Sforza’s court, who carried on this tradition of court pilgrimage chronicles in 1480 by creating a detailed account of his journey to Palestine, which was swiftly published in Milan in 1481. One of the unique aspects of Santo’s text is the parallel he draws between some of Milan’s oldest monuments and those in Jerusalem, such as the church of San Lorenzono and the Holy Sepulchre. Such parallels underscored Milan’s history as one of the great imperial Roman capitals.


113 Anna Laura Momigliano Lepschy, Viaggio in Terrasanta di Santo Brasca, 1480. Con l’itinerario di Gabriele Capodilista, 1458, (Milan: Longanesi, 1966). Santo’s text drew from Roberto da Sanseverino’s text as well as one of his fellow companions on the spring voyage of 1458, the Paduan Gabriele Capodilista. Santo’s text was extremely popular with reprints published in 1497 and 1519.

glorified even further by its Constantinian heritage and monumental ties to his greatest imperial monument in the Holy Land.\textsuperscript{115} Even beyond the Sforza court, making the Holy Land pilgrimage was a popular undertaking amongst Milanese nobles, with notable persons such as Giangiacomo Trivulzio making the journey in 1476, Fra Girolamo Castiglione in 1486, and Pietro Casola in 1496, just to name a few.\textsuperscript{116}

Milan itself was home to several imperial mausolea and monuments, such as the chapel of Sant’Aquilino, now part the San Lorenzo complex, the mausoleum of Maximian built beside the church of San Vittore al Corpo, and the church of San Nazaro, otherwise known as Constantine’s Basilica Apostolorum.\textsuperscript{117} Both San Lorenzo and Sant’Aquilino in particular hearkened back to the Holy Sepulchre in both their form and function. Additionally, mid 15\textsuperscript{th}-century structures such as the Portinari chapel in Sant’Eustorgio helped set the precedent for the use of the Holy Sepulchre and imperial mausolea as a model for elite sepulchral architecture.\textsuperscript{118} Ludovico Sforza’s interest in these types of architectural forms and references surfaced in the 1490s with the construction of the crossing of Santa Maria delle Grazie, which was to be his personal

\textsuperscript{115} For 4\textsuperscript{th}-century imperial Milan see: Richard Krautheimer, \textit{Three Christian Capitals: Topography and Politics}, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 69-92

\textsuperscript{116} Fra Girolamo Castiglione penned \textit{Fior de Terra Sancta} in 1491, which went through several printings, while Pietro Casola wrote \textit{Pellegrinaggio a Gerusalemme nell’Anno 1494}. For Pietro Casola’s voyage see: Pietro Casola, \textit{Canon Pietro Casola’s Pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the Year 1494}, ed. M.M. Newett, (Manchester: The University Press, 1907).

\textsuperscript{117} For Sant’Aquilino see: Mark J. Johnson, \textit{The Roman Imperial Mausoleum in Late Antiquity}, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 156-166. The mausoleum of Maxentius was destroyed during an early 17\textsuperscript{th}-century rebuilding of San Vittore al Corpo.

mausoleum. At this point Bramante had been working in Milan for well over a decade and knew quite well both the early Christian examples of imperial mausolea as well as Alberti’s ideas for sepulchral architecture based on the Holy Sepulchre as discussed in *De re aedificatoria* and exemplified by his architectural creations.\(^ {119}\) Much of Bramante’s Sepulchre-inspired work in Milan ultimately set the stage for his vision of St. Peter’s as a representation of papal imperial aspirations and ambitions.\(^ {120}\)

Along with the ancient Roman imperial monuments of the city, crusader monuments such as the church of the Santo Sepolcro became the focus of renewed interest as testaments to Milan’s devotional and military history. Though the church was originally constructed in the 1030s and dedicated to the Trinity, upon returning from the First Crusade, Benedetto Ronzone had the church dedicated to the Holy Sepulchre and rebuilt in its image.\(^ {121}\) That it was of historical interest to Lodovico is underscored by the fact that the Sforza court historian, Tristan Calco, discussed the church as an important testament to Milan’s devotion to the cause of the crusades.\(^ {122}\) Furthermore, the structure was of architectural interest as a Sepulchre replica as shown by a drawing of the plan of the church made by Leonardo da Vinci in the 1490s, possibly as a study for the dome and crossing of Santa Maria delle Grazie.\(^ {123}\)

\(^{119}\) Tanner, (as in 1), 180-181.

\(^{120}\) Tanner, (as in 1), 178-201.


\(^{122}\) Tanner, (as in 1), 181-182.

\(^{123}\) Notably, Leonardo’s drawing shows a structure that was similar in many ways to Carolingian churches that featured westwork facades of the type discussed in Chapter Two. For more on Leonardo’s drawing see:
Even before Ludovico’s own personal interest in appropriating the sanctity and imperial prestige of the Holy Sepulchre in architectural forms took root, elites within the circle of the Sforza court engaged with the theme by commissioning the *Lamentation* by Agostino de Fondulis for the tiny 9th-century church of San Satiro. Little is known about this *Lamentation* group, other than it was part of a larger body of terracotta and stucco work Agostino was commissioned to carry out in 1483 for the church of Santa Maria presso San Satiro, the majority of which was destined for the Sacristy and the drum of the main dome. However, based on when the final stages of work were carried out in the church, the tableau may date as late as the end of the 1480s. The setting for the tableau is a particularly significant one as the chapel of San Satiro, a mausoleum for one of Milan’s important Early Christian saints, was essentially understood to be a type of Sepulchre replica whose architectural form, though diminished in scale, was evocative of


San Satiro was founded in 865 and likely conceived as a martyrium. In 879 it became part of a hospital complex for pilgrims and the poor. See Fiorio, (as in 121), 79. The structure is one of a handful of medieval churches in the West that employ a Byzantine quincuncial plan. The rebuilding of San Satiro and the Marian church adjacent to San Satiro began in 1477 when a confraternity was formed to care for a miraculous image of the Virgin Mary housed within the church. The confraternity was composed of twenty-five noblemen from in and around the parish who were bound to statutes that strictly regulated their behaviour and speech by prohibiting criticism of church officials and the dukes of Milan. Many members of the group were close allies of the Sforza family. See: Evelyn S. Welch, *Art and Authority in Renaissance Milan*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 256-259. An overview of the literature and the issues and questions surrounding the rebuilding of Santa Maria presso San Satiro is found in: Richard Schofield and Grazioso Sironi, “Bramante and the problem of Santa Maria presso San Satiro,” *Annali di Architettura* 12 (2000): 17-57

Schofield, (as in 124), 33 mentions a document of 1491 in which Bramante was to serve in an advisory capacity regarding the painting of Agostino’s *Lamentation*. The original document appears in Costantino Baroni, *Documenti per la storia dell’architettura a Milano del Rinascimento e del Barocco*, volume 2, (Firenze: Sansoni, 1968), document number 547.
the Holy Land prototype and more ancient than Milan’s premiere crusader church, the Santo Sepolcro.\textsuperscript{126}

The sculpture group itself is unusual for the number of characters present, fourteen in all, not all of whom are readily identifiable.\textsuperscript{127} Sandrina Bandera suggests the presence of the extra characters perhaps derives from distinctly local traditions and apocryphal legends melded with standard Passion play narratives.\textsuperscript{128} Of the extras that appear in Agostino’s tableau, perhaps the most curious is the Moorish woman holding a child seen at the far right of the group. Given the Sforza court’s fondness for \textit{imprese} and clever name play, these two figures could be read as some sort of oblique punning reference to Lodovico Sforza himself, as his dark complexion earned him the moniker “il Moro” or “the Moor,” thus serving as a means to insert the presence of the Duke into the sacred narrative.\textsuperscript{129} Or if, as Sandrina Bandera suggests, their presence is due to local apocryphal flourishes appended to traditional Passion play narratives, then this is an aspect of Renaissance Milanese sacred drama that still awaits study. It is possible that the

\textsuperscript{126} Richard Schofield and Grazioso Sironi, “New Information on San Satiro,” \textit{Bramante Milanese e l’architettura del Rinascimento Lombardo}, eds. C.L. Frommel, L. Giordano, and R. Schofield, (Venice: Marsilio, 2002), 281-298. During Bramante’s remodelling, the outside of San Satiro was altered to create the appearance of a circular-plan structure that was more suggestive of a traditional medieval replica of the Holy Sepulchre. In fact, in the documents regarding the decoration of the chapel in 1491 it is explicitly referred to as a \textit{sepulcrum}. See Baroni, (as in 125), document 547. Schofield and Sironi (as above) note that by the 15\textsuperscript{th} century, one of the ways to stress a structure’s likeness to the Holy Sepulchre was to include a tableau of the \textit{Lamentation} (page 291).

\textsuperscript{127} Beyond the traditional seven or eight figures present in most \textit{Lamentation} groups, Agostino’s tableau also includes two young men, one kneeling behind Christ’s head and another standing beside the cross, as well as an elderly bald and bearded man who holds Christ’s torso, and a Moorish woman and her child off to the far right of the group.

\textsuperscript{128} Bandera, (as in 12), 55.

\textsuperscript{129} In Giovanni Pietro Birago’s illuminations for the \textit{Sforziada} (\textit{The Life of Francesco Sforza}) of c.1490, the device of the Moor as a symbolic reference to Lodovico appears several times. For the general use of emblems and devices as elements of propaganda in the \textit{Sforziada} see: Luisa Giordano, “Politica, tradizione e propaganda,” \textit{Ludovicus Dux}, ed. L. Giordano, (Vigevano: Diakronia, Società Storica Vigevanese, 1995), 94-117.
Moorish figures could reference characters that appeared in local renditions of Passion plays as a reminder and political commentary on the status of the Holy Sepulchre and the fact that Jerusalem and the Holy Land were under Arab domination. The interjection of such glosses onto the Sepulchre could be the result of specific currents of Amadeite Passion-based spirituality. As discussed in relation to Guido Mazzoni’s Buseto Lamentation, the Amadeiti were great promoters of the Holy Sepulchre as a devotional focal point and the founder of the order was himself originally moved to undertake his religious mission in part because of his dedication to the cause of the Holy Land. ¹³⁰ A certain degree of Amadeite influence in Agostino’s rendition of the Lamentation does seem plausible as a proliferation of characters also appears in Bernardino Luini’s painting of the Lamentation of 1516 created for the Sacrament chapel in the Milanese church of San Giorgio al Palazzo, a work which is often discussed in light of Amadeite

¹³⁰ The first Amadeiti church of Santa Maria di Guadalupe di Bressanoro (begun in 1465) was a centralized church with a Greek cross plan and an octagonal dome, which was very unusual for monastic architecture. The plan for the church, whose construction was sponsored by Bianca Maria Sforza, appears to have originated from the Sforza court itself and has been linked to some of the ideas about ideal plans for churches found in Filarete’s text on architecture. Luisa Giordano, “Il trattato del Filarete e l’architettura lombarda,” Les traits d’architecture de la Renaissance, ed. J. Guillame, (Paris: Picard, 1988), 115-128. Though the form of this church bears the distinct hallmark of Filarete’s budding interest in the quincunx plan, perhaps derived from a renewed interest in structures such as San Satiro, it is difficult to say if it was intended to connote any sort of relationship with the Holy Sepulchre itself, though it certainly was evocative of other churches and shrines in the Holy Land. To what extent overall Amadeite architecture can be linked to Sepulchre replication is difficult to say as other Amadeite structures such as the Convent of the Annunciata in Borna follows a very conventional basilican configuration. For the architecture and fresco decorations in the church of Santa Maria di Guadalupe in Bressanoro see: Luisa Giordano, “Santa Maria di Guadalupe a Bressanoro,” Bramante Milanese e l’architettura del Rinascimento Lombardo, eds. C.L. Frommel, L. Giordano, and R. Schofield, (Venice: Marsilio, 2002), 217-224; Licia Carubelli, “La chiesa di Santa Maria Bressanoro presso Castiglione,” Arte Lombarda 61 (1982): 13-22; Alessandra Galizzi, “Per una cronologia degli affreschi di S. Maria di Bressanoro,” Arte Lombarda 70/71 (1984): 25-46 and “La riforma amadeiti e Santa Maria di Bressanoro: un episodio all’interno dell’Osservanza francescana,” Arte Lombarda 76/77 (1986): 62-68. For ways in which 15th-century centrally planned monastic structures such as Santa Maria di Guadalupe di Bressanoro and others like it influenced the development of centrally planned structures for the Barnabites see: Jörg Stabenow, “La pianta centrale nell’architettura di un ordine religioso: i Barnabiti tra Cinquecento e Seicento,” La pianta centrale nella Controriforma e la chiesa di S. Alessandro in Milano (1602). Atti del Convegno. Milano 6-7 giugno 2002, eds. F. Repishti and G.M. Cagni, (Rome: Centro Studi Storia Padri Barnabiti, 2003), 133-155 (esp. pp. 134-139).
spirituality. Perhaps most importantly, however, given that the commission for this work came not long after the traumatic fall of Otranto, it would not be surprising to find a Lamentation laden with references to Arab possession of the Holy Land and the Holy Sepulchre as the status of the Sepulchre was a theme related to urgent millennial concerns stemming from apocalyptic prophecies of an imminent change in favor of Western Christianity. Ultimately, however, the political-religious reach and influence of the

131 Notably, a woman holding a child also appears in the far right of this painting, though she is European Caucasian rather than Moorish. Amadeite iconography stemming from Amadeo’s Apocalypsis nova appears frequently in Luini’s works, including the Corpus Domini chapel is San Giorgio al Palazzo (commissioned by Luca Terzago for the confraternity of the Santissimo Sacramento in 1516), but especially in the fresco cycle from Santa Maria della Pace (now in the Brera in Milan), a convent founded by Amadeo himself. However, Luini’s relationship and the relationship of many of his elite patrons to this order is still not fully understood. Maria Teresa Binaghi, “L’immagine sacra in Luini e il circolo di Santa Marta,” Sacro e profane nella pittura di Bernardino Luini, ed. P. Chiara, (Milan: Silvana, 1975), 51-76. More generally for Luini see: Giulio Bora, “Bernardo Luini,” The Legacy of Leonardo: Painters in Lombardy 1490-1530, eds. D.A. Brown and M. Carminati, (Milan: Skira, 1998), 325-370. It is possible that Luini and contemporaries, such as Bramantino first came in contact with Amadeite spirituality through their involvement with the Spanish cardinal, Bernardino Lopez (also Lupi) da Carvajal at the Abbey of Chiarvalle of Milan around 1512-1513. See: Pietro C. Marani, Bramantino: La Pietà Artaria ritrovata. Contributo al percorso e alla cronologia del pittore lombardo, (Paris: Galerie G. Sarti, 2005), 82. For Bernardino Lopez da Carvajal at the Abbey of Chiarvalle and his position as Patriarch of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre see: Michele Caffi, La abbia di Chiarvalle in Lombardia: illustrazione storico-monumentale-epigrafico, (Milan: per l’editore Giacomo Gnocchi libraio, 1842), 132-133. Beginning in the 1490s, Cardinal Lopez used prophecy drawn from the Apocalypsis nova as a means to instigate actions against the military advances of the Turks and wage a crusade to take back Jerusalem. For him, the reconquista in Spain was a prelude to the West’s ultimate conquest of Jerusalem. See: Nelson H. Minnich, “The Role of Prophecy in the Career of the Enigmatic Bernardino Lopez de Carvajal,” Prophetic Rome in the High Renaissance Period: Essays, ed. M. Reeves, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 111-120.

Amadeiti in Milan, Lombardy, and Rome needs to be understood more fully.\textsuperscript{133} Agostino’s *Lamentation* with its possible links to the religious reform agenda of the Amadeiti represents an important first step in the development of tableau sculpture and painted decorative programs that embraced themes and scenes of the Holy Land and the Holy Sepulchre. While the Observant Franciscans found great favour with Milanese aristocracy, even to the extent that many nobles joined the order, and went on to develop strong ties with the Visconti and Sforza courts in the first half of the 15\textsuperscript{th} century, the arrival of Amadeo and the establishment of his Minorite order introduced a new wave of Franciscan inspired religious fervor that captivated successive generations of Milanese nobility and individuals in the Sforza court. Furthermore, running beneath it all was a current of millennial thinking bent on seeing a new age of Christian dominion in the Holy Land and the return of the Holy Sepulchre to Christian hands come to fruition in order to usher in the End of Days.

**THE SACRO MONTE DI VARALLO**

This reignited enthusiasm for Passion based spirituality and the cause of the Sepulchre and Holy Land brought about by Amadeite preaching and prophecy helped set

\textsuperscript{133} This Franciscan reform order also found favor with the French monarchs Louis XI and Charles VIII and the Spanish monarchy, but ultimately encountered difficulties with the papacy. Louis XI personally financed and sponsored Amadeo’s funeral celebrations in 1482, while the Amadeiti in the convent of San Pietro in Montorio in Rome received strong support from King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella of Spain. See: Gabriella Ferri Piccaluga, “Economia, devozione e politica: immagini di francescani, amadeiti, ed ebrei nel secolo XV,” *Il Francescanesimo in Lombardia: storia e arte*, ed. M.P. Alberzoni, (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana, 1983), 107-122 (esp. p. 116). In Rome, the Amadeiti received papal support from Sixtus IV and Alexander VI. Julius II, however, attempted to reign in the reform-oriented Minorite Franciscans by uniting them with either the Conventuals or the Observants, but to little effect. In 1517, Leo X solidified the separation between the Conventuals and the Observants and placed the Amadeiti under the rule of the Observants. Nonetheless, the Amadeiti continued to maintain a certain degree of autonomy until they were finally abolished in 1598 by Pius V. For more on the union of the Amadeiti and the Observants see: Lázaro Iriarte (trans. Patricia Ross) and Lawrence C. Landini, *Franciscan History: The Three Orders of St. Francis of Assisi*, (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1982). For Amadeite influence in Rome see: Morisi-Guera, (as in 11).
the stage for the Observant Franciscan Bernardo Caimi and the development of his vision of a New Jerusalem situated on the hilltop town of Varallo. Caimi had been in Jerusalem in 1478 and returned to Milan with the idea of recreating the holy sites and shrines of Jerusalem as a way to make the spiritual experience of a pilgrimage to the Holy Land accessible for those who were unable to undertake the trip abroad. However, the fall of Otranto in 1480 and the calls to crusade that ensued left little time to pursue the project. Almost immediately Caimi was sent to the court of King Ferdinand of Spain as the papal nunzio. He was subsequently appointed as a crusade preacher in Lombardy and the Piedmont from 1481-1482. It seems only after the situation in Otranto was resolved was he able to return to Milan to pursue the construction of his Sacro Monte.

Caimi’s vision of a New Jerusalem in the countryside of Lombardy garnered great support from Duke Lodovico as well as noble families in Varallo, such as the Scarognini,


135 This desire to make the spiritual experience of visiting Jerusalem available to those not able to undertake the trip abroad is expressly stated in an inscription over the entrance door to the chapel of the Holy Sepulchre.

136 Emilio Motta, Il Beato Bernardino Caimi: Fondatore del santuario di Varallo; documenti e lettere inedite, (Milan: Tipografia Bartolotti dei Fratelli Rivara, 1891), 9. Roberta Panzanelli suggests an intriguing connection, little noted in the literature on the Sacro Monte, between Caimi’s idea for the Sacro Monte of Varallo and his time in Spain in that he may have learned about the Dominican Escalaceli founded by Alvaro de Córdoba in 1423. The Escalaceli consisted of a series of oratories dedicated to sites from the Holy Land and scenes from the Passion of Christ. Like Caimi, Alvaro had also traveled to the Holy Land and had been a fervent crusade preacher. See: Roberta Panzanelli, Pilgrimage in Hyperreality: Images and Imagination in the Early Phase of the New Jerusalem at Varallo, 1486-1530, (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1999), 67-69 and 151 (cf. note 24). The development of the Via Crucis is often discussed in terms of Spanish origins as well. Guido Gentile in “Sacri Monti e via crucis: storie intrecciate,” Saggio Storico sulla Devotione alla Via Crucis. Saggi introduttivi, eds. A. Barbero and P. Magro, (Casale Monferrato: Atlas, 2004), 31-42 considers the possible relationship of this Passion based devotion to the Sacri Monti.

who donated the land upon which the complex was built. Additionally, the Sacro Monte emphasized the Franciscans’ special relationship with the sacred sites of Jerusalem as Custodians of the Holy Land.\textsuperscript{138} In this sense, the enterprise fit into a quintessentially Franciscan religious agenda intent on cultivating an intense Christological devotion that was reinforced by their special ties to the most sacred Christological shrines. It is also possible the Observants drew new inspiration from certain aspects of Amadeite millenarian eschatological thinking in that a New Jerusalem and the contact with the Holy Land it provided, albeit indirectly, enabled people to prepare spiritually for the coming of the apocalypse by providing those of modest means the opportunity to experience the spiritual benefits of the overseas pilgrimage they would otherwise never have.

In terms of making the Holy Land more accessible, often Caimi’s desire to construct a New Jerusalem at Varallo is framed in terms of the difficulties pilgrims to the Holy Land faced because of the Turkish threat. However, this is not entirely the case. While aggressive Ottoman territorial advances had diminished the viability of many overland routes to the Holy Land, there were several overseas trade routes that remained relatively safe. Additionally the Mamluks, who had controlled Jerusalem and Palestine since the early 14\textsuperscript{th} century, were relatively accommodating of Western pilgrims thanks to the commercial ties cities like Venice had cultivated with the Mamluk sultans over the

\textsuperscript{138} The Franciscans gained the right to be custodians of the holy sites thanks to a treaty negotiated between the Mamluk Sultan and the King and Queen of Naples in 1333. The arrangement was officially recognized by Pope Clement VI in 1342. The title of the principle custodian was the Guardian of Mount Zion. See: Michele Piccirillo, “I Frati Minori al servizio dei Luoghi Santi,” \textit{In Terrasanta: Dalla Crociata alla Custodia dei Luoghi Santi}, ed. M. Piccirillo, (Milan: Artificio Skira, 2000), 44-57.
centuries. Even so, while Christian pilgrims were not barred from the Holy Land by the Mamluks, there were certainly issues of time and expense that a pilgrimage to Jerusalem entailed that made the journey difficult if not outright prohibitive for many.

Additionally, one must also wonder to what extent those like Ciami, who had spent time in Jerusalem and had some understanding of the political situation there, foresaw a swiftly approaching day when the holy city would fall into the hands of the Ottomans. Perhaps Caimi hoped that bringing a replica of the Holy Land closer to home would help spur enthusiasm for a crusade to protect the true Holy Land; however, he simply may have seen the writing on the wall in terms of the West’s diminishing overall access to the holy shrines of Jerusalem. Not only had the events at Otranto shaken the West in terms of protecting itself from the advances of the Ottomans, conflict was also building between the Ottomans and the Mamluks. In fact, a protracted conflict erupted between the two groups from 1485-1491, which would set the stage for the Ottoman takeover of the Mamluk territories. Palestine, including Jerusalem, fell to Ottoman rule in 1510, which resulted in severe restriction on access to Christian shrines for Westerners.

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141 Shai Har-El, *Struggle for Domination in the Middle East: The Ottoman-Mamluk War, 1485-1491*, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995). This study examines the political issues behind the first armed conflict between the Mamluks and the Ottomans from 1485-1491, which in turn laid the foundations for the Ottoman conquest of the Mamluk territories in 1515-1517.
While the rest of the Mamluk territories eventually fell in 1517, 1510 also marked the beginning of a period of difficulty for the Franciscans as they struggled, ultimately with success, to retain their rights of custodianship to the Holy Sepulchre.\textsuperscript{142}

As for the actual development of the Sacro Monte complex at Varallo, though it seems Caimi’s idea for a New Jerusalem in Lombardy took root in the early 1480s, it was only in 1486 that work at Varallo began.\textsuperscript{143} By 1491 the chapel of the Holy Sepulchre was complete along with a hermitage for monks and visitors and by 1493 the Calvary chapel and the chapel of the Ascension had been added as well.\textsuperscript{144} Though the original scheme and scope of Caimi’s Sacro Monte is difficult to reconstruct due to a dearth of documentation, one can discern Ciami’s interest for physical authenticity in chapel complex. Caimi’s focus seems to have been to replicate first the most spiritually and ideologically loaded shrines and sites. He also was careful to arrange the Sepulchre and Calvary chapels relationally in terms of the distance and orientation of the original sites in Jerusalem. It is difficult to know the extent to which painted and sculpted decoration was intended from the start to be part of the decoration of the chapels. From the scant information we have regarding the first few years in which the complex developed, overall figurative decoration and even actual relics seem to have played a minimal part in

\textsuperscript{142} Piccirillo, (as in 138), 48 notes that in the midst of the turmoil brought about by the change from Mamluk to Ottoman rule, the Gregorians challenged the Franciscans’ rights to the upper and lower Calvary chapels at the Holy Sepulchre. Ultimately, the Sultan ruled in favor of the Franciscans.


\textsuperscript{144} Two of the most useful studies of these early chapel configurations are by Casimiro Debiaggi: “La cappella Subtus Crucem al Sacro Monte di Varallo,” \textit{Bollettino Storico per la Provincia di Novara} 66 (1), (1975): 72-80 and “Le cappelle dell’Ascensione, dell’Apparizione di Gesù ai discepoli e l’originaria topografia del Sacro Monte di Varallo,” \textit{Bollettino Storico per la Provincia di Novara}, 69 (2), (1978): 56-81.
the chapel decorations.\textsuperscript{145} The first place sculptural decoration appears is in a part of the Calvary chapel dedicated to the Deposition, sometimes referred to as the chapel under the cross (\textit{subtus crucem}).\textsuperscript{146} The date and attribution of the wooden tableau of the \textit{Stone of Unction}, which iconographically is most similar to an \textit{Entombment} tableau, is still a matter of debate, though most scholars tend to place it either after Caimi’s death in 1499 or at the earliest 1493.\textsuperscript{147}

The year 1499 brought even bigger changes in the duchy of Milan as this was the year Louis XII drove out Lodovico Sforza, making a hereditary claim to the city and its territories. With Lodovico’s departure, the active significance of any political underpinnings of imperial ideology and aspirations the New Jerusalem at Varallo may have signified for Lodovico’s realm were substantially diminished. Notably, however, aristocratic associations with the Holy Sepulchre persisted for a short time after the fall of Sforza rule inasmuch as we know through documents that in 1503 Count Alberto Bruscolo of Bologna left a donation to the friars of Santa Maria delle Grazie for a

\textsuperscript{145} See: Panzanelli, (as in 136), 43 (cf. note 64). Much of what we know stems from later 16\textsuperscript{th}-century descriptions of the chapels, which had already seen some modifications. A minimal amount of mural decoration may have been involved in these early chapels, not unlike what was found in some of the Holy Land shrines. As for relics, the Calvary chapel contained a cross that was supposedly brought back from Jerusalem by Caimi himself. The Sepulchre chapel, which replicated the rock-cut tomb alone (that is to say, with no allusion to the tomb aedicule or Anastasis), still contains a relic of the tomb, though it is uncertain exactly when this was added to the site. There is a large stone next to the entrance to the tomb that carries an inscription recounting the legend of how it was excavated at the time the chapel was being constructed and that it was miraculously of the exact dimensions of the stone used to seal Christ’s tomb in Jerusalem. See: Jonathan Bober, “Storia e storiografia del S. Monte di Varallo: Osservazioni sulla ’prima pietra’ del S. Sepolcro,” \textit{Novarien} 14 (1984): 3-18. Finally, the chapel of the Ascension (a shrine that was largely off-limits to Christians and pilgrims in the Holy Land) contained a replica of the imprint of Christ’s foot (the \textit{sacra orma}) that was believed to be the last physical trace he left on earth before he ascended to heaven. As early as 1488, this replicated relic had an indulgence attached to it. See: Alberto Bossi, “Un mistero attorno all sacra orma,” \textit{Il Sacro Monte di Varallo} (marzo 1978): 23.

\textsuperscript{146} See Debiaggi: “La cappella Subtus Cruce…” (as in 144).

\textsuperscript{147} The group is attributed to the brothers Giovanni Pietro and Giovanni Agostino de Donati. It is currently housed in the Pinacoteca Civica in Varallo Sesia. See the catalogue entry in: Giovanni Testori and Stefania Stefani Perrone, eds., \textit{Artisti del legno: La scultura in Valsesia dal XV al XVII secolo}, (Borgosesia: Valsesia Editrice, 1985), 248-249.
Sepulchre chapel with atracotta *Lamentation* group to be built in the tribune of the church. Bruscolo, a faithful, long-time administrator and functionary for the Sforza family, had sustained severe injuries during the French invasion of the city. After a substantial amount of time spent recovering in a Servite hospital, this Sepulchre chapel and *Lamentation* tableau was his last gesture of loyalty to the now-deposed Sforza dynasty before leaving the city in 1503. Sadly, we know nothing of the appearance of the group or who the artist was that created it.

Nonetheless, the political changes that befell Milan did not spell the end for the Sacro Monte nor for the Milanese enthusiasm for Passion based imagery and the Sepulchre theme; instead, they opened up new avenues of development for the more directly spiritual aspects of Caimi’s vision of a New Jerusalem and for Christological images in general. Though the hilltop Jerusalem at Varallo was home to only three shrines at the time of Caimi’s death, in the next fifteen years that number grew to twenty-eight. The monumental complex was described in 1514 in a guidebook by Gottardo da Ponte that has proven to be a critical document for understanding the topographic evolution of the site and the conceptual shift in the way the individual hillside shrines were meant to function. It appears that from the beginning the chapels were sited and organized on the hilltop to evoke a pilgrimage experience in terms of the sequence in which a pilgrim in Jerusalem would encounter important Christological sites and shrines,

148 This tableau no longer exists, but was seen in 1515 by Pasquier Le Moyne, who mentioned only that it was a Sepulchre tableau consisting of eight figures that was in the tribune of Santa Maria delle Grazie. When exactly it was destroyed or what its fate was is not known. Giordano hypothesizes that it may have been installed in a chapel been the choir tomb of Beatrice d’Este. Luisa Giordano in “L’effimero e la memoria: La sepoltura,” *Ludovicus Dux*, ed. L. Giordano, (Vigevano: Diakronia – Società Storica Vigevanese, 1995), 183-185 provides the text of Bruscolo’s bequeathal.
rather than the traditional linear arc of an episodic, textual Christological narrative. In many ways, this is quite similar to what evolved at Bologna’s Santo Stefano, but in a much more topographically aware and measured way. In terms of the chapel decorations, as mentioned before, the early chapels had minimal decoration, perhaps just enough to spark a visitor’s imagination. Though the imagery likely would have been quite standard, any number of devotional texts could have been used to guide the iconography. In terms of texts that would have informed Caimi’s vision of the Sacro Monte as a pilgrimage route, there was certainly no lack of Milanese pilgrimage chronicles that would have delineated the traditional routes visitors followed through Jerusalem, not to mention his own vivid experiences in the Holy Land.

Though the sculpture program in the chapels was not extensive at this point, Gottardo’s guidebook indicates that the chapels had already evolved from the idea of simple chapels as conceptual markers of sacred topography to one which included sculptural tableaux as narrative elements. The union of topographic reproduction and figurative narrative was turning the chapels into decorative complexes that synthesized the pilgrimage experience and the kinds of imaginative Passion based practice common

\footnote{Of particular importance are the essays by Pier Giorgio Longo, “‘Hi loco visitando’: temi e forme del pellegrinaggio ai Misteri del Monte di Varallo nella guida del 1514,” Questi sono li Misteri che sono sopra el Monte de Varal, ed. S.S. Perrone, (Borgosesia: Società per la Conservazione delle Opere d’Arte e dei monumenti in Valsesia, 1987), 111-120 and Anna Maria Brizio, “Configurazione del Sacro Monte di Varallo nel 1514,” Bollettino della Società Piemontese di Archaeologia e Belle Arti 8-9 (1954-1957): 6-18.}

\footnote{Though Pseudo-Bonaventure’s \textit{Meditationes de Vita Christi} would have been a standard choice of texts that encouraged imaginative devotions Panzanelli notes that Ludolfo di Sassonia’s \textit{Vita Christi} (first published in Milan in 1480) was also widely available. Panzanelli, (as in 136), 213-214. Also see: Judith Wolin, “Mnemotopias: Revisiting Renaissance Sacri Monti,” \textit{Modulus} 18 (1987): 54-61.}
to the *devotio moderna*.\textsuperscript{151} In fact, Gottardo’s guide avidly encouraged such sensorial imaginative devotions. Again, however, what we know of the early tableaux is quite limited. Due to the heavy restructuring of the overall layout of the Sacro Monte and the renovations carried out in the post-Tridentine era under the direction of Carlo Bascapè, a substantial amount of the early fresco decoration and tableau sculpture has disappeared. Along with the simple *Stone of Unction* group, the tableaux of the *Last Supper* and the *Annunciation*, all loosely attributed to the de Donati brothers and dated to the first decade of the 1500s, are all that remain from the Sacro Monte as it is described in the 1514 guidebook.\textsuperscript{152}

However, a trace of the key turning point, both in terms of the quality of the tableaux sculptures and in the way they were incorporated into the chapels, took place with Gaudenzio Ferrari’s first major intervention at the Sacro Monte. Though Gaudenzio had done decorative fresco work on the walls of some of the original chapels as early as 1510, beginning in 1515 with his renovation of the Crucifixion chapel, he introduced a new level of visual and spatial synthesis into the chapels. Whereas the early chapels presented simple tableau scenes with little spatial complexity and rather simple painted backdrop settings, Gaudenzio’s *Crucifixion* was an elaborate affair consisting of twenty-six sculpted figures and a scenographic frescoed background. Though it still adheres to a bit of a stage-like setting for the sculpted figures, the tableau became visually embedded

\begin{flushleft}\textsuperscript{151} Testori was the first to suggest this as the underlying principle behind the overall disposition of the chapels. See: Giovanni Testori, *Gaudenzio Ferrari, catalogo della mostra, aprile-giugno 1956, Vercelli*, (Milan: Silvana, 1956), 25.\end{flushleft}

\begin{flushleft}\textsuperscript{152} The figure of Christ being led by a rope to the Roman pretoriate is generally attributed to Gaudenzio Ferrari, though it is of lesser quality than most figures found in the Crucifixion chapel. It could possibly be another figure by the de Donati brothers or their workshop that predates Gaudenzio’s work. It is one of the few figures from the original Calvary chapel that was saved and reused when the chapel was restructured decades later.\end{flushleft}
into an illusionistic ensemble of architectural and painted surroundings. The chapels thus became venues for the visitor to both visually and spatially, and thus bodily, engage with the biblical scenes laid out before them. This collapsing of time and space rendered the pilgrimage experience that the sequence of the chapels orchestrated vivid and palpable, as if one were actively a part of the events of the Christ’s life as they unfolded in the chapel.\textsuperscript{153} 

Thus the sculptural and painted programs at the Sacro Monte as they developed in the interventions by Gauenzio Ferrarri helped set the stage for a new phase of synthesis between architecture, painting, and sculpture in the service of a mode of devotion that maximized the interaction of both physical and spiritual engagement. Returning to Milan momentarily, one can see some of the ways in which this new approach to rendering Christological subjects evolved, especially in relation to the spirituality being promoted in patrician and other reform-minded Amadeite and Observant Franciscan circles in Milan. The Observants already had a well-established tradition of painted Passion narratives that had developed as a standard decoration for church interiors, especially in the form of large-scale fresco cycles on church tramezz\textit{i}.\textsuperscript{154} A few of the best known


examples are the cycles found at the church of San Bernardino at Ivrea by Martino Spanzotti (1485-90) and Gaudenzio’s first major work at the church of Santa Maria dell Grazie in Varallo (1513). There were also other painted Christological cycles that drew from Passion imagery that were developing in novel ways. One such example is the Sacrament chapel by Bernardino Luini in San Giorgio al Palazzo, whose Lamentation altarpiece was mentioned earlier in relation to Agostino de’Fondulis’s tableau in San Satiro. In many ways, the Passion cycle in this Sacrament chapel represents a new concept, and as mentioned before a certain Amadeite influence, inasmuch as it was unique for its time for not referencing Passion episodes that had a direct allegorical connection to the ritual aspects of the Mass. What the chapel scenes show instead are the Crowning with Thorns, the Flagellation, the Ecce Homo, the Crucifixion, and the Lamentation, all of which focus on the physical, body suffering and sacrifice of Jesus. In this sense, the iconography chosen to represent the Sacrament focuses on an intense physical and corporeal identification with the suffering of Christ as a conduit for meditation on the mystery of the nature of Christ and both divine and human.

Furthermore, the sidewall scenes of the Flagellation and the Ecce Homo are composed using a perspectival construction that creates the illusion of two small recessed chapel-like spaces in which the scenes are taking place. The effect is not unlike that of the small chapel structures with their tableau groups found at the Sacro Monte.

In terms of sculptural works related to the Passion narrative, while the Lamentation and Sepulchre chapel in Santa Maria delle Grazie was the last Sforza related monument to embrace that theme for its princely and imperial connotations, the

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155 For the iconographic program of this Sacrament chapel and the composition of the individual scenes and the chapel overall see: Maurice E. Cope, The Venetian Chapel of the Sacrament in the Sixteenth Century, (New York: Garland, 1979), 148-155.
Lamentation tableau re-emerged about a decade later at the church of the Santo Sepolcro. The work in question is generally attributed to Agostino de’Fondulis and dated no earlier than 1514 based on the foundation date of the Sacrament confraternity that commissioned it. It was housed in the crypt of the chapel in much the same way the tableau at the Sacro Monte was housed in the cappella di sotto of the original Calvary chapel. As was the case with Luini’s Sacrament chapel, the terracotta Lamentation was becoming part of a new vocabulary of Observant and Amadeite inspired sacramental imagery in Milan wherein the mystery of the sacrament was expressed through rendering the palpable presence of Christ’s sacrificed body. At the same time, however, the Lamentation also took on the function of emphasizing the connection the church had to the Holy Land. As mentioned earlier, architecturally the church had been rebuilt in the 11th century with the idea of making it a faithful replica of the Holy Sepulchre. Furthermore, the church was also a repository for two Holy Land relics, namely earth from Jerusalem and a small lock of the hair of Mary Magdalene. Finally in the late 1570s, Carlo Borromeo expressed the desire to transform the church of the Santo Sepolcro into a sort of condensed Sacro Monte by constructing twenty-four chapel of the mysteries of the Passion. However, only two tableaux (Jesus Washing the Feet of his Disciples and the Crowning with Thorns) were ever created and installed in this church. Ultimately at each of these points of intervention in the church of the Santo Sepolcro, the use of terracotta tableau sculpture followed in synchrony with development of its use at the Sacro Monte di Varallo.

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157 Fiorio, (as in 121), 437. In 1527 a women’s sodality dedicated to Mary Magdalene, and possibly linked to the men’s confraternity of the Sacrament, formed as custodians of the relic of the Magdalene’s hair.
creating an ever more vivid and physical experience of the Passion narrative while simultaneously evoking the experience of a Holy Land pilgrimage.

Though Gaudenzio worked on the chapels of the Sacro Monte di Varallo until about 1528, the Crucifixion chapel is the best testament to the changes he introduced to the mountaintop complex. Of the existing chapels, perhaps the Calvary chapel with the tableau of *Christ on the Way to Calvary* (“il Tabacchetti,” 1599-1602) and the surrounding frescoes by Pierfrancesco Muzzucchelli (“il Morazzone”), 1602-1607, best represent the devotional spirit and the visually and psychologically immersive power and potential that Gaudenzio Ferrari’s work on the Crucifixion chapel hailed. Much of Gaudenzio’s work and that of his followers that was executed over the next few decades was either lost or radically altered by the changes introduced in the 1590s by Bascapè.

Upon obtaining the bishopric of Novara in 1593, one of Bascapè’s first projects was the overall renovation and alteration of the Sacro Monte di Varallo with the intent of putting it in line with Tridentine ideas about coherent narrative. Thus, many chapels were dismantled and the tableau either moved or replaced while others were created ex-novo to transform what had once been a pilgrimage format for the route through the chapels into one that followed a linear biblical narrative. Thanks to Bascapè’s interventions, what exists today at the Sacro Monte Complex is largely a hodge-podge of work by a host of different artists with differing styles and in some cases distinctly different levels of artistic ability. Furthermore, later modifications made at the behest of Carlo Borromeo blocked off the entrances to the chapels. Visitors were physically barred from entering the chapels, thus making the tableaux visible only through metal grates and limiting the
viewer to one fixed viewpoint, turning what was once a multilevel engagement with the
chapel imagery into a passively viewed distant spectacle.\(^{158}\)

Ultimately, the tableaux of the Sacro Monte di Varallo reflect a new mode of
experiential worship and devotion tied to a politics of religious reform. They expound
upon the profoundly embodied and empathetic devotions pursued by cultivated
individuals and patrons influenced by Observant Franciscans and Amadeite spirituality.
As the work of William Hood and Alessandro Nova demonstrates, though Gaudenzio
Ferrari’s sculptural tableaux and chapel decorations for the Sacro Monte di Varallo were
meant to engage all viewers, they were also created with a great deal of conceptual and
aesthetic sophistication behind them. Additionally, the support of a network of highly
educated, sophisticated, and devout patrons dispels any idea that the Sacro Monte
represents a mode of low or “popular” art.\(^{159}\) The tableaux sculptures themselves also
believe a recognition that polychrome terracotta as a medium enabled a new way of
approaching the mystery of Christ incarnate inasmuch as it was capable of fully

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\(^{158}\) On the other hand, David Freedberg suggests that the physical separation of the sculpted figures from
the viewer was not the ultimate negation of the power of the terracotta statues to suggest life-like presence;
rather it heightened the illusion even more by denying the viewer the ultimate verification of the sculpture
as object, and thus reinforced the leap of faith as part of the experience of the mysteries of Christ’s life set
(Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 196. “And always the grilles prevent the ultimate
verification of their fleshiness; but the suspension of final proof and the urge to verify makes the perception
of the body as real still more acute.”

\(^{159}\) Hood stresses the sophistication of the conceptual scheme as well as the monastic theological and
devotional roots of the worship practices encouraged by the Sacro Monte. Nova stresses the noble
patronage behind the Sacro Monte and the praise-filled responses regarding the devout nature of the
complex the Sacro Monte elicited from sophisticated, aristocratic visitors. See: William Hood, “The Sacro
Monte of Varallo: Renaissance Art and Popular Religion,” *Monasticism and the Arts*, ed. T. Verdon,
(Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1984), 291-311 and Alessandro Nova, “‘Popular’ Art in Renaissance
Italy: Early Response to the Holy Mountain at Varallo,” *Reframing the Renaissance: Visual Culture in
and 319-321. Wittkower recognized early on what a unique devotional enterprise the Sacro Monte
communicating embodied presence in a work of art. Though Gaudenzio Ferrari is largely ignored by Vasari, he lauded by Lomazzo in his *Idea del tempio della pittura* of 1590.\(^{160}\) As the principle artistic figure of the Lombard school of painting in the early *Cinquecento* he is listed as one of the seven pillars in Lomazzo’s “temple of the arts,” connected specifically with the concept of *moto*, the communication of the passions or emotions.\(^ {161}\) He is also described as a highly educated man as well as a man of profound piety.\(^ {162}\) His work at the Sacro Monte represented a new approach to harnessing polychrome terracotta sculpture’s unique power to mimic the material world and human presence in both physical form and psychological and emotional depth in the service of creating a new spiritual relationship between the West and the Holy Land.

FROM PREACHING THE SEPULCHRE TO NARRATING THE HOLY LAND

This early phase of the development of the Sacro Monte di Varallo represents a culminating point in the development of the use of tableau sculpture that began with Niccolò dell’Arca and Guido Mazzoni’s *Lamentation* groups. In many ways, both the Sepulchre chapels of the 15\(^{th}\) century and the chapel shrines of the Sacro Monte di Varallo represent a shift in the mode of thinking that believed wholeheartedly in the power of appropriation and translation of the sacred topography of the Holy Land to the West. What makes both of these evocative modes of Sepulchre replication distinct from their medieval predecessors, however, is the way in which life-like polychrome sculpture


\(^{161}\) Lomazzo, (as in 160), 38.

\(^{162}\) Lomazzo, (as in 160), 46.
was used to gloss both devotional and political readings onto the Sepulchre. The
Lamentation tableaux of the 15th century were part of a potent new variation on a long
tradition of appropriation and translation of the Sepulchre as both a devotional act and as
a political statement. The life-like qualities of the polychrome terracotta figures created a
palpable sense of immediacy with regards to the eschatological centrality of the Holy
Sepulchre to the Christian faith and to the power and image of the Western church.
Though the popularity of the Sepulchre shrine and Lamentation tableaux waned at dawn
of the 16th century as the push for a large-scale European crusade dissipated in the face of
new East-West political realities, these monuments nonetheless paved the way for new
uses of sculpture as a narrative vehicle for devotional practices vis-à-vis the Holy Land.
The Sacro Monte di Varallo began as a tool of religious reform stemming from an
apocalyptic eschatology in which the question of who controlled the holy city of
Jerusalem and the Sepulchre was the key signal of the beginning of the end, yet
ultimately it morphed into a devotional tool for delving experientially into the mysteries
of the Passion and of the Christian faith. Though the Lamentation tableaux and the Sacro
Monte both have the West’s anxieties about the status and possession of the Holy
Sepulchre at their root, the Sacro Monte di Varallo evolved to embrace a combined
strategy of replication and narration through sculpture to reach across time and space and
stitch the experience of the historical events of the Passion into the here and now of
contemporary 16th-century life. Though the polychrome sculptures used to historiate
Sepulchre chapels and the chapels of the Sacro Monte are visually powerful ensembles in
and of themselves, the full scope of their message and import can only be made manifest
with an awareness of the political history of their Holy Land associations and contexts.
CONCLUSION

Of the different genres of terracotta sculpture produced in the 15th century, *Lamentation* tableau, particularly those by Niccolò dell’Arca and Guido Mazzoni, are far and away the flagship examples. With their visually arresting realism and their emotionally communicative power they are perhaps the best reflections of Alberti’s aspiration to a more tangibly sensate and embodied mode of representation in the visual arts of Renaissance Italy. In many ways, it is the medium of terracotta itself that makes these *Lamentation* groups such an ideal vehicle for impassioned, embodied engagement on the part of the viewer as the life-like quality of the painted terracotta figures has the ability to bring sacred narratives out of the past and into the immediate present, bridging the gap across time and space. In the cases where portrait figures play a part in the biblical narrative of the *Lamentation*, a distinct patronage strategy is at work in creating a monument of perpetual memory that works as both a devotional statement and a tool of statecraft. The extreme life-likeness of the portrait figures immersed in the drama of a sacred narrative acts with the powerful presence of a votive effigy to communicate an active public allegiance to a set of devotional and political principles.

As this study has underscored, these *Lamentation* groups were intended to speak on a variety of levels to a broad audience, drawing from devotional associations with the subject of the *Lamentation* and the Holy Sepulchre, as well as the powerful political ideology and history this venerable Christian monument represented. Far from being an object of political and devotional attention that faded from view after the crusade fervor of the Middle Ages had waned, the Holy Sepulchre continued to occupy a seminal place in the imagination of Western Christendom during the Renaissance and beyond. In terms
of the ways in which the political symbolism of the Holy Sepulchre was used, it became a statement of both piety and moral rectitude rooted in noble, chivalric values that created a sense of implied chosen status and divinely sanctioned political sovereignty. The significance of the 15th-century Sepulchre chapels discussed here has been overlooked in terms of how they relate to the architectural reproductions of the Holy Sepulchre of the late Middle Ages. What this study has emphasized is that these 15th-century Sepulchre chapels through their reproduction of the tomb aedicule, the most intimate structure within the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, served many of the same devotional, political, and ideological functions as earlier Sepulchre replicas. Furthermore, the traditional approach of divorcing the Lamentation groups from their function as part of a decorative complex that was understood in the 15th century to be a “historiated” Sepulchre shrine has stripped these tableaux of a fundamental part of their meaning. These Lamentation groups as “living images” and their chapel spaces as Sepulchre replicas are, in a sense, dual simulacra, each carrying its own distinct set of cultural and political connotations that amplify in meaning when combined.

In terms of Sepulchre chapels with Lamentation tableaux as devotional monuments, this study does not attempt to diminish the validity of traditional readings of these 15th-century tableaux that interpret them in relation to Passion based devotions. Rather it adds to the possible readings of these monuments by opening a new window into a heretofore unexplored world of political uses of the historiated Sepulchre shrine. This study has suggested that the prime political motivating factor for the emergence of Sepulchre chapels with Lamentation tableaux was the fall of Constantinople at the hands of the Turks in 1453. A number of key Sepulchre shrines appeared in several of the major
court centers in Italy in the 15th century during the decades when anxieties about East-West relations, Islam and Christianity, were at a crisis point and the push for a crusade was the most urgent it had been for nearly a century and a half. In courtly environments in particular, replicating and referencing the Holy Sepulchre was rarely a politically neutral gesture and attaching part of one’s princely persona to this monument carried a number of implications. On one level, a Sepulchre shrine served as a public declaration of both personal and state devotion to the redemptive power of the Holy Sepulchre and the Holy Land, showcasing the piety and the spiritual zeal of both rulers and their subjects. However, these monuments could also be co-opted as symbols of the moral and religious underpinnings of a larger political agenda.

As this study has demonstrated, a Sepulchre chapel and Lamentation tableau could also serve as a policy statement of sympathy for and devotion to the cause of recovering the Holy Land and Eastern Christendom at least in principle, as often the specific policies of the crusade agenda attached to it were not followed in practice. In this sense, devotion to the Holy Land, belief in the New Jerusalem, and dedication to the cause of retaking the Holy Sepulchre perpetuated the idea of a ruler and his people as an elect group, a concept that in and of itself was heavily laden with political undercurrents of imperialism. Furthermore, when considered in light of the eschatological urgency of millennial prophecy and the belief in the beginning of an impending Golden Ages for Latin Christianity, these tableau take on even deeper significance vis-à-vis their relationship with the Holy Sepulchre and the status of the Holy Land.

Lastly, this study suggests that the development of both the 15th-century Sepulchre shrines with Lamentation groups and the Sacro Monte di Varallo are related
inasmuch as their appearances stem from similar concerns about the status of the Holy Land and the West’s desire to possess the Holy Sepulchre once again. In much the same way that Lamentation tableaux were used to give a palpable sense of immediacy to the issue of the status of the Holy Sepulchre, so too was polychrome sculpture used to enliven the experience of the mysteries of the Passion and the holiest sites in Christendom through substitute pilgrimage. While the visual power of life-like polychrome terracotta is a key part of the rhetorical efficacy of the Lamentation groups and the Sacro Monte tableaux, both must also be viewed through a lens that gives importance to their relationships to the Holy Land itself and all the political complexities it brings to bear. By recovering this contextual aspect of the use and meaning of Sepulchral and Passion based tableau sculpture, this project has underscored the many different readings, from the devotional to the political, such sculpted images could take. Ultimately the aim has been to craft a new understanding of how these terracotta tableaux were seen, used, and understood within a more complete view of the styles, cultural readings, functions, and historical circumstances at work in the realm of Renaissance sculpture.
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